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**“It is Really Hard Being in Their Shoes”:
Developing Historical Empathy in Secondary School Students**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of
education in the Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland, 2012.**

ABSTRACT

Historical empathy is highly valued by many history education researchers as a means of cultivating tolerance and critical thinking. The potential of historical empathy however, to be widely taught in classrooms, may not be fully realised because there is little agreement regarding its meaning and teaching. This thesis, through a qualitative comparative case study, explores students' development of historical empathy, how the concept might be taught and whether its meaning can be clarified.

The thesis begins by describing my interest in historical empathy, before identifying the concept's affective and cognitive dimensions found within the literature. It then outlines how as a teacher-researcher I devised an intervention which entailed teaching one class (Class A/C) the affective dimension first, followed by the cognitive dimension, and teaching another class (Class C/A) the reverse: that is the cognitive dimension first, followed by the affective. Within this context I set out to explore three research questions.

The first investigated, through interviews and visual material, how students interpret historical empathy. Findings showed that their interpretations emphasised the difficulty of empathising historically and they identified elements such as open-mindedness and evidence. Building on this, I developed a typology and pathway to help establish a common understanding of historical empathy.

The second explored the development of historical empathy in two students, Lucy (Class A/C) and Claire (Class C/A), using their workbooks, essays and assessment task responses. Typologies, pathways and spider-web diagrams were used to plot their progression, while their essays exemplified what the concept of sophisticated historical empathy looked like.

The third investigated the sequencing of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. Results drawn from multiple data sources showed that student enjoyment and interest were strongest when the affective dimension was taught first, followed by the cognitive.

The thesis has made a useful contribution to my practice and the wider history community. It has done this by clearly interpreting the meaning of historical empathy, identifying students' growth in developing the concept through the use of progression strategies and by exploring

how the sequence in which historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions are taught can influence learning.

DEDICATION

I would like to acknowledge those who have contributed to the writing of this thesis. Associate Professor Mary Hill, Dr Claire Sinnema and Associate Professor Graeme Aitken, for their wise guidance, patience and good humour. Lil and Max, my wife and son, have found me time and space to write. Max has matched my reading with his own, as we've mined the university library for very different books. And, to my first history teacher, Mr O'Hara, who brought the past to life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

This thesis is concerned with the teaching and learning of historical empathy, a concept often thought of as vicariously walking in the shoes of someone who lived in the past. As such, it reflects my practical interest in how students respond to my teaching of history and social studies at Eastside School,¹ a large suburban secondary school in New Zealand. It also signals my belief in the idea of the teacher as someone who can make a contribution to the wider field of educational research. As a teacher-researcher I am aware that I occupy a space, which Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) call the intersection between practice and theory. It is a space which is particular to my professional setting in New Zealand but looks to connect with the international literature on history education.

This introductory chapter provides the conceptual background to my thesis. It begins by articulating my values and interests as a teacher-researcher. This provides knowledge about what underpins my actions as a teacher-researcher and what led to my puzzlement about historical empathy. Next it examines the existing knowledge of historical empathy within the literature. Based on my reading of this literature I briefly outline the complexity surrounding definitions of historical empathy and identify areas of debate which have influenced the design of my study. Then, I introduce the study's purpose, research questions and research design. Next, I set out a justification of why I believe the undertaking of this study has been worthwhile. I conclude with an outline of the structure of the study and a summary of its principal findings.

Teacher-Researcher

My values and interests as a teacher-researcher were first shaped by the experience of teacher training in the mid 1990s, at the University of Exeter in the South West of England, which was dominated by what Grundy (1987) has called a professional model of teaching. Two

¹ To help protect the anonymity of the research participants, pseudonyms have been used for their names and for the research setting.

thirds of my time was spent on teaching practice, where the emphasis was upon doing and then reflecting. I used these reflections to make judgements about my teaching and with my supervising teacher, to make practical plans on how to improve.

Another significant influence was undertaking part-time the University of Exeter's professional studies Master of Education course, from 1997 to 2001. This course aimed to foster what Macquire (1998) has called a stronger version of a teacher, as someone who is reflective, autonomous and research focused. During this time I felt that my values were closely aligned with these aims. My MEd dissertation focused on what constituted success among a group of boys who were students at the school I was teaching in, and was firmly within the field of practitioner research. Perhaps it is not surprising that when, in 2008, I enrolled part-time on the Doctor of Education (EdD) programme at The University of Auckland I thought that I would remain within this tradition.

Certainly, my doctoral study has enabled me to maintain my focus upon practice and research, and on my pre-existing interest in historical empathy. As Stenhouse (1985a) has argued, practice and research are bound together and "research is educational to the extent that it can be related to the practice of education" (1985a, p. 19). The EdD programme however, has also made me more aware of pursuing research that will have a meaningful impact on the wider history education community. This has entailed knowing what research has said about historical empathy and figuring out how to contribute to this body of work. In this regard, I have found myself developing what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993, 2009) call an expanded view of practice. It has meant that my study, to use the language of Cochran-Smith and Lytle, has focused on what is inside and outside my classroom.

My interest in historical empathy began almost at the beginning of my teaching career. On being appointed in 1996, to my first job as a history teacher in Plymouth, England, I placed in a prominent position on my classroom wall, the following quotation from an eleven year old girl, Doreen Grainger: "what's important about history ... is that you can sort of be alive when you weren't really alive" (Fernandez-Armesto 1996, p. 23). Although I have left other things behind, this carefully laminated quotation, has always been taken down and put back up whenever I have shifted to somewhere new. Today it sits just above my whiteboard at the front of my classroom at Eastside School. I am drawn to this quotation because it neatly sums

up the idea that by studying history the past can live again. It is like an advert to my students: ‘hey the history in this class will be like time travel, transporting you back into the past.’ For Doreen, the young author of the quotation, that was important, because as one of six children from a West Indian family, living in the racially charged atmosphere of East London in the 1970s, she felt cut off from her past (Cottle, 1980). Perhaps Doreen saw history as a means of escaping from the present and as a way of finding herself. As a novice history teacher I am not sure I saw my role in these terms, but I was keen, at the very least, for my students to somehow empathise with the past-lives of historical characters.

These values and interests led me to reflect on how I might make more sense of historical empathy in my own practice. I was genuinely puzzled about its meaning and how to develop sophisticated historical empathy in my students. My next step was to explore how the history education literature interpreted the meaning and development of historical empathy.

Preliminary Reading of the Literature: Areas of Debate

During my preliminary reading I found that the definition of historical empathy was contested, in so far as it was frequently seen either as a predominantly affective or cognitive concept. This was one of three areas of debate. The other two were: how best to track the development of historical empathy in students (Barton, 2008a); and uncertainty about how to interpret the interplay between historical empathy’s affective and cognitive dimensions (Bardige, 1988; Schweber, 2004, 2006).

Historical empathy is commonly defined in the literature as vicariously walking in someone else’s shoes, in order to interpret how an historical character might have felt about things and to comprehend why they might have behaved in one way and not in another. This is similar to dictionary definitions² of empathy which state that the concept comes from the German word *Einführung*³, which was coined in the late nineteenth century and means the “capacity to understand and enter into another person’s feelings and emotions” (Colman, 2001, p. 241).

The notion of vicariously walking in someone else’s shoes, has been elaborated upon by Gaddis (2002), when he contends that historical empathy is a process of “getting inside other

² For instance, the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, (2002).

³ “In 1909 ... psychologist E.B. Titchener translated *Einführung* into a new word, ‘empathy’” (Rifkin, 2009, p. 12).

people's minds ... [by allowing your own mind to] be open to their impressions - their hopes and fears, their beliefs and dreams" (2002, p. 124). He goes on to say that once these impressions have been given serious consideration the student of history 'bails out' and begins to critically make sense of what they have empathetically experienced. This process of historical empathising, described by Gaddis, is both cognitive (thinking) and affective (feeling). It is cognitive because it requires thinking about how pieces of evidence fit together. It is affective because it attempts to imagine what an historical character might have felt about their circumstances and actions. Taking these points into account historical empathy can tentatively be defined as:

Enter[ing] into some informed appreciation of the predicaments or points of view of other people in the past ... it is simply a word used to describe the imagination working on evidence, attempting to enter into a past experience while at the same time remaining outside it (Department of Education and Science, 1985, p. 3).

This definition is tentatively proffered because early on in my reading I was struck by the way historical empathy was described as a contested term by researchers such as Yilmaz (2008) and Brooks (2009), who had surveyed the literature.

Within this literature there were two competing ways of interpreting historical empathy. One was mostly cognitive and the other was primarily affective. Some researchers viewed historical empathy through a predominantly cognitive lens (Yeager, Foster, Maley, Anderson & Morris III, 1998; Foster, 2001; Lee & Ashby, 2001) arguing that it was far removed from sympathy and the process of identifying with historical characters. They saw it being about marshalling evidence, insisting that "contextual and chronological information must remain the central focus of exercises in historical empathy" (Yeager *et al*, 1998, p. 19). In contrast, other researchers focused more on the affective dimension of historical empathy (Bardige, 1988; Barton & Levstik, 2004) emphasising ideas such as students caring about what happened in the past and responding to past events with compassion. Although I did not necessarily feel that one of these groups of researchers was right and the other was wrong, I did want to explore how students interpreted historical empathy and whether I might clarify for students and teachers what historical empathy's affective and cognitive characteristics looked like.

At the same time, I had also become aware that Barton (2008a), one of the leading researchers of how students learn about history, had identified as a problem the lack of empirical research into classroom strategies or interventions designed to improve the historical thinking of students. Even where such research studies did exist, he argued that they tended to describe where students' thinking started and where it ended up whilst "only offering limited information on the nature of the journey" (2008a, p. 249). Mindful of these deficiencies, I became interested in developing an instructional intervention that would allow me to explore changes to students' interpretations of historical empathy and how their grasp of the concept developed.

Furthermore, as my reading of the literature progressed I began to realise that the way in which the cognitive and affective dimensions of historical empathy were taught might potentially matter. Bardige (1988) and Schweber's (2004, 2006) research suggested that one of these dimensions might partly impede the other. In exploring how students learnt about the Holocaust, Bardige found that when students did the hard cognitive work of identifying multiple perspectives they became rather detached from their earlier emotion of moral outrage about what had happened. Schweber's research, which also focused on the Holocaust, came to the opposite conclusion, and argued that too much time spent on affective historical empathy meant that students finished their study of the Holocaust with little historical knowledge of events. This led me to consider the interplay between the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy and what it might mean for student engagement and achievement if historical empathy was taught using both dimensions sequentially.

In summary, I have identified three areas of debate within the literature: the contested nature of what historical empathy means (Foster, 2001; Barton & Levstik, 2004), how best to track the development of historical empathy in students (Barton, 2008a); and, uncertainty about how to interpret the interplay between historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions (Bardige, 1988; Schweber, 2004, 2006). The next section of this chapter explores the purpose of my study, and the formation of my research questions and design.

Purpose, Research Questions and Design

The purpose of my thesis was, as a teacher-researcher to explore, in my classroom setting within Eastside School, students' development of historical empathy. I wanted my students to develop historical empathy and I wanted to better understand the meaning of the concept. Because this purpose was carefully positioned within the wider field of research about history education (Levstik & Tyson, 2008; Brooks, 2009) it sought to focus on how students interpret historical empathy and how the interplay between, and sequencing of, its affective and cognitive dimensions may influence students' development of historical empathy. The following three research questions (not necessarily in order of importance) reflected this purpose:

1. How do students interpret historical empathy?
2. How do students develop/become sophisticated in their ability to empathise historically?
3. What influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students' development of historical empathy?

To answer these questions I decided on a qualitative comparative case study research design. This involved devising an instructional intervention and teaching this to two Year 10 (14 to 15 year olds) social studies classes. The intervention consisted of 16 one-hour lessons which focused on developing students' historical empathy as they learnt about events at Gallipoli in 1915; a significant event in New Zealand's past⁴. Eight of these lessons included learning tasks that exclusively focused on the affective dimension of historical empathy, such as fostering care. An equal number of lessons involved learning tasks that explored with students the cognitive dimension of historical empathy, such as working with evidence. The remaining lessons were used to administer a series of entry, mid, exit and post tasks. These provided a series of markers for tracking the students' progress.

⁴ The Gallipoli campaign in 1915 is sometimes described as a side-show in the larger history of the First World War. For the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) it was a defeat which foreshadowed worse losses on the Western Front. 8709 Australians and 2721 New Zealanders lost their lives in the campaign and as a place where the ANZAC spirit was forged it has found a significant place in the narrative of Australian and New Zealand history.

The students who participated in the study were members of my two Year 10 social studies classes. One of these classes, referred to throughout the study as Class A/C ($n=22$), was taught, by me, the affective dimension of historical empathy first followed by the cognitive dimension. The second class, referred to as C/A ($n=23$), was also taught by me using exactly the same material but with this sequence reversed. That is, the students in Class C/A were taught the cognitive dimension first then the affective. I was, therefore, in the dual role of teacher-researcher for students in Class A/C and Class C/A.

My intention was two-fold. Firstly, to compare the progress of these students as they developed historical empathy and thereby find out if the sequencing mattered. Secondly, it was to explore the students' ideas about the meaning of historical empathy. To do this, my data sources were: the students' workbooks (including an essay); entry, mid, exit and post tasks (also referred to in this study as assessment tasks); a student feedback survey; a classroom response system; interviews; and, drawings / pictures of what students' felt historical empathy meant in the context of studying Gallipoli.

My Justification for Undertaking this Study

My justification for undertaking this study was based on four factors. First, it reflected my professional interest as a classroom teacher in developing students' historical empathy. Second, the need within the field of history education research, for classroom based studies which explore on-going changes to students understanding of history. Third, the potential for historical empathy to enhance students understanding of how to contribute to civic society. The final factor was the contribution of historical empathy to thinking historically.

As discussed earlier, there is a need for classroom based research which explores how students develop historical empathy and other historical concepts (Barton, 2008a). This might seem surprising because educational research is awash with studies about how students learn history (Lee, 2005). Regarding social science research over the last thirty years, the number of research studies in history is ahead when compared to fields such as geography and economics (Levstik & Tyson, 2008). There is a significant body of history education research from places as diverse as the Netherlands (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008), New Zealand (Sheehan, 2010) and Northern Ireland (Barton & McCully, 2005). Furthermore, there are

universities, such as The University of British Columbia, with Faculty dedicated to history education research (Seixas, 2006) and in the past there have been longitudinal studies of how students learn history, like Project CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches) in the UK (Lee, Dickinson & Ashby, 1996). History education research is also disseminated through its own journals (e.g. 'International Review of History Education') and occasional conference proceedings (Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000). Yet, despite the weight of published research I found that very little of it was based on classroom studies that attempted to describe the on-going changes in students understanding of history. This study is an investigation of changes to students' understanding of historical empathy, and thus makes a contribution that addresses this gap in the literature.

This study is also worthwhile because historical empathy has the potential to contribute to democratic society, as it requires students to not only identify the points of view of others, but to at least temporarily attempt to understand them. This notion of historical empathy serving the common good originates from three places. The first stems from history being linked to the teaching of citizenship and the belief that it is the ideal place to develop in students' political literacy, moral responsibility and community participation (Crick, 1998). The second is psychotherapy (McWilliams, 2004) and the third, moral philosophy (Hoffman, 2000, Noddings, 2005, Slote, 2007, 2010). In the latter two contexts, empathy is seen therapeutically as a mechanism for helping people. Of course, left to our own devices nearly all of us can show concern and empathise with those who are similar to ourselves. Training in psychotherapy and empathy teaches us however, to do something harder but equally worthwhile: to empathise with those who are different from us. It does this by affectively tuning in to our shared human traits and by cognitively comprehending why another person holds a different set of beliefs. Hoffman's (2000) point that "children [who have learnt to empathise] will be more aware of the impact of their actions on others who differ from them in obvious ways" (2000, p. 294) is a compelling reason to study how students get better at historical empathy.

A further reason to explore historical empathy is that in recent years it has been identified as a key element of what it means for students to think historically. Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008) and Taylor (2005, 2011, May 6) include historical empathy in the way they describe historical reasoning and historical literacy respectively. Indeed, thinking historically is

consistently seen as an important objective of teaching history in schools (Barton, 2012). Because history education researchers such as Taylor believe that historical empathy is one of several key elements that describe historical thinking, being able to clarify its meaning and how students develop it are, then, potentially worthwhile. After all, it seems unlikely that students will be able to exhibit historical thinking if they cannot make sense of historical empathy.

The Structure of My Study and Summary of Principal Findings

In this introductory chapter I have explained why I am interested in my three research questions and how they fit with the extensive literature on historical empathy. In doing so, my intention was to acknowledge my role as a teacher-researcher and for the reader to have a clear idea of the purpose of my study. The remainder of the thesis is divided into six chapters.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on historical empathy and proposes that historical empathy has six characteristics, three of which are cognitive and the remainder affective. It also brings together a series of themes within the literature. Firstly, that historical empathy has the potential to make a significant contribution to citizenship and historical thinking. However, to realise this potential in New Zealand there is a need for some change to practices in history classrooms. Secondly, that there are several impediments to the way students develop historical empathy. Thirdly, that there is a need to better understand the interplay between historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions. This is important because this thesis draws upon each of these themes and seeks to contribute to the ways that the history community interprets historical empathy and its development in secondary school students.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology used in the research. Its structure is adapted from Maxwell and Loomis' (2003) interactive model of research design. The chapter is set out under six headings: research questions; purposes; conceptual framework; qualitative comparative case study; methods (and analysis); and, trustworthiness. Maxwell and Loomis also included within their model a number of different environmental factors, of which I have included case study and ethics. This chapter emphasizes the importance of research questions as the drivers of my methodological choices.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 each report on the findings of my research and, through discussion, link the findings to the literature. Chapter 4 addresses the question of how students interpret historical empathy. It indicated that the students' thoughts on historical empathy can be described as a series of elements which were broader than those which I had originally envisioned, especially in terms of making judgements. This led me to revise my interpretation of historical empathy, especially concerning the interplay between its affective and cognitive dimensions. I have called my revised interpretation an historical empathy pathway and this is displayed in Figure 13.

Chapter 5 explores how students develop historical empathy. I describe how two students' interpretations of historical empathy, Lucy (Class A/C) and Claire (Class C/A) became more sophisticated over the period of the instructional intervention. This provided an outline of the ebb and flow of these students' progress. However, I also found that tracking student progress was far from straight-forward and could be described either as a linear typological pathway (Ashby & Lee, 1987) or to use Vermeulen's (2000) metaphor, as a slow moving process, radiating outward like a spider's-web. In my findings I drew upon a typology that I had adapted from the work of the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986) and Ashby and Lee (1987). I also described student progress by putting into practice Vermeulen's metaphor. This involved displaying across an affective and cognitive pathway (see Figure 19), a series of spider-web diagrams showing Lucy and Claire's developing grasp of the different elements of historical empathy outlined in my pathway.

I also used Lucy and Claire's essays, as a means of exemplifying how students' write about historical empathy. These exemplars could provide teachers with benchmarks against which to gauge the sophistication of their students' grasp of historical empathy. Furthermore, I found out that the differences in responses to the assessment tasks between Class A/C and Class C/A were not statistically significant, except in the context of the mid task, where students in Class A/C achieved at a higher level than those in Class C/A. This suggested that engaging students with the affective dimension of historical empathy before the cognitive may enhance their overall development of the concept. In the final section of this chapter I investigated whether gender had a significant effect on the development of historical empathy. Data from the student feedback survey suggested that in both classes gender only

made a difference in terms of how much the instructional intervention had fostered in students awareness that they were developing an imaginative feeling for the past.

Chapter 6 explored my last research question: what influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students' development of historical empathy? I found that there was a significantly higher degree of enjoyment and interest in Class A/C compared to Class C/A and that students' in Class A/C had completed a larger number of learning tasks compared to students in Class C/A. In other words, in the context of my instructional intervention at Eastside School, teaching the affective dimension of historical empathy, before its cognitive dimension, led to greater student enjoyment and interest. This is potentially significant because it may address the concern that the complexity of historical concepts can lead to student disengagement (Barton, 2012).

In chapter 7 I bring together the discussion sections from chapters 4, 5 and 6 and outline my conclusions. Similar to the aims of Aitken and Sinnema's (2008) best evidence synthesis iteration of the social sciences *Tikanga ā Iwi* in New Zealand, this chapter seeks to state what my study "is and is not saying" (2008, p. 222). In this way I hope to make my findings sufficiently clear to those readers who might consider relating them to their own practice. The chapter also considers the potential limitations to the study, before exploring the contribution it has made to my practice and the wider history education community. In the latter section, I present a framework of historical empathy (see Figure 22) which describes student progression for each of the eight elements of historical empathy identified in this thesis. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the direction of future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The first part of this chapter reviews the literature on history teaching in New Zealand in the last twenty five years, in order to set the scene for this study. It argues that in the past, out-dated curriculum materials, conservatively minded history teachers and a pre-occupation with historical content knowledge, tended to divert attention away from teaching concepts such as historical empathy.

Next, the chapter explores the significance of historical empathy. Having described what led to it vanishing from many curricula by the early 1990s, it links historical empathy's re-emergence to advances in neuroscience and the belief that it is an important part of both historical thinking and citizenship education.

Following this, the chapter investigates areas of debate surrounding historical empathy. It begins by looking at the challenges of trying to interpret historical empathy and to what extent these challenges may be overcome. Next, it considers the issue of progression and how to describe and make sense of the journey from novice to more sophisticated historical empathy. Furthermore, it explores competing claims that historical empathy might be seen as a predominantly affective or cognitive concept, or as a concept with affective and cognitive dimensions of equal value.

In summary, this chapter brings together four themes within the literature. First, that historical empathy is a worthwhile concept which has the potential to make a significant contribution to citizenship and to what it means for students to think historically. However, to realise this potential in New Zealand there is a need for some change to practices in history classrooms. Secondly, that there are several impediments to the way students develop historical empathy. Thirdly, that descriptions of progress in historical empathy are relatively few and that there is a need for teachers and students to have a clearer picture of what the journey from naïve to more sophisticated historical empathy looks like. Lastly, that there is also a need to better understand the interplay between historical empathy's affective and

cognitive dimensions. This thesis draws upon each of these themes and seeks to contribute to the ways that the history community interprets historical empathy and its development in secondary school students.

Now is an Exciting Time to be Teaching History in New Zealand

History is not a compulsory subject in New Zealand secondary schools and students only have the option of taking it in their final three years of schooling (Years 11 to 13). During this time, between five to ten per cent of secondary school students opt to study history (Hipkins et al, 2005), with about five per cent of students taking it in the final year of school (Wellings, 2010). What is taught in those three years is a patch-work of topics, most focusing outwardly on contexts beyond New Zealand's shores, such as: conflict in twentieth century Europe; the winning of civil rights in the USA; the Vietnam War; early modern England; and, some local and New Zealand history (Fountain, 2005). There is continued debate about achieving a balance between these topics and about which historical content is the most relevant to teach in New Zealand. This mirrors a debate overseas, which Stearns (1993) has described as being limited to replacing one list of content to teach to students with supposedly a better list of content.

On one side of this debate in New Zealand are those who advocate teaching students something about the contested nature of the nation's history. They would agree with Belich's (2001) comment, that when 60 per cent of Year 13 (seventeen / eighteen year olds) history students' courses emphasize early modern English history, it is unsurprising that they seem to have "little knowledge of their own country's past" (2001, p. 546). Others however, see nothing amiss in what Sheehan (2010) has called "the reluctance of the New Zealand history teaching community to engage with a national past" (2010, p. 672). Those on this side of the debate have sought to conserve the status quo by teaching largely European history (Hunter & Farthing, 2004, 2007). Still, as a debate it is far from the 'history wars' encountered either in Australia (Clark, 2008) or the USA (Nash, Crabtree and Dunn, 1998). Occasionally it does manifest itself in the media, in articles similar to the 2008, Sunday Star Times [a New Zealand broad-sheet] report about the dismal knowledge of New Zealand's past, among a group of 137, Year 4 and 5 (9 and 10 year old) students. These students had taken part in a New Zealand culture and heritage quiz, and only 14 of them had got more than half the

questions right, with most students scoring between 10 and 40 per cent (Scanlon, 2008). However, such articles are relatively rare and have not caused the sort of panic about students' knowledge of historical events that has been seen in the USA (Ravitch & Finn, 1987) or fostered the type of debate, which in Australia, focused on why young people seem so bored with their country's history (Clark, 2008). Indeed, the idea that there has not been a serious debate about history education in New Zealand is implicit to the findings of Hunter and Farthing's (2004, 2007, 2009) and Sheehan's (2010) research.

Hunter and Farthing's research suggested that learning in the country's history classrooms "remains largely as a transmissive factual pursuit distanced from recent theories and reshaping of thinking ... relating to history education" (2007, p. 21). They have found little evidence that students have any grasp of concepts such as historical empathy (2009). These claims were based on two lines of argument, the first of which supposed that older history teachers, taught "from a factual base with little resonance to the present" (2004, p. i). Newer teachers with more up to date approaches to learning history, Hunter and Farthing argued, had been socialised into their older colleagues' dominant approach to teaching history. The evidence for this was based on interviews with five highly regarded new history teachers (with less than five years' experience), five equally well regarded experienced history teachers (with more than five years' experience) and with fifty-one questionnaire responses (representing 70 per cent of Waikato history teachers). It is debatable however, whether the age or experience of history teachers alone explains why the teaching of secondary school history in New Zealand appears to be out-dated.

The second line of argument proposes that the aims of history education in New Zealand have been unclear and have therefore tended to conserve the status quo. Sheehan (2010) has argued that in the 1980s, the Department of Education wanted a consensus among history teachers and consequently did not "promote an explicit philosophical direction in the development process [of writing a new history curriculum]" (2010, p. 681). From 1989 to 2007, school history in New Zealand had, in practice, no curriculum document other than the Forms 5-7 History Syllabus for Schools (Department of Education, 1989) which tended to give European history a dominant position. While this syllabus did include topics such as New Zealand history, Māori perspectives, history skills, and women's history, it gave little direction as to how they might be taught. For instance, one of its aims was to "develop in

students the ability to enter imaginatively into the events of the past” (Department of Education, 1989, p. 7). However, there was no discussion in the History Syllabus of what this meant. Equally, only in the last year of schooling (Year 13) did it recommend “a shift in emphasis towards a consideration of historical method” (1989, p. 11). Furthermore, because it left unchanged the wide range of existing Eurocentric topics taught in history classrooms, teachers were able to continue to teach their pre-1989 preferences. These had been drawn from the 1987 school certificate examination prescription for history, the 1988 sixth form certificate history national course statement, and the 1988 university bursary prescription. All favoured content drawn from European history. Finally, because the introduction of the history syllabus was not supported with significant teacher professional development or with any compliance procedures, teachers had little incentive to change what they were doing (Hunter & Farthing, 2004).

Since the 1980s, other changes to secondary school education in New Zealand also appeared to have little effect on the teaching and learning of history. In 1993, the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (NZCF) did in theory replace the earlier Forms 5-7 History Syllabus for Schools, but in practice it said nothing about teaching history in its seven essential learning areas and it did not provide history teachers with a curriculum statement (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008). In essence, the NZCF did not supersede the Forms 5-7 History Syllabus for Schools. Nearly ten years later, the introduction of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement⁵ (NCEA) in 2002, brought about a great deal of structural change but it also left the teaching and learning of school history largely unaltered. Bolstad and Gilbert (2008) have argued that this was not surprising because the Ministry of Education had always stressed that NCEA was “not going to substantially change the curriculum” (2008, p. 71). This assertion was largely drawn from the findings of the Learning Curves project, carried out between 2002 and 2004, in six New Zealand secondary schools. It revealed that the teaching and content of senior secondary school subjects changed very little following the introduction of NCEA: “traditional-discipline courses look similar to the sorts of courses most students would have taken pre-NCEA” (Hipkins et al, 2005, p. ix). Hipkins et al found that the senior secondary school curriculum, organised around achievement standards, “reflect(s) traditional ways of thinking about the structure and content of each discipline or subject” (2005, p. xvi).

⁵ New Zealand’s senior secondary school qualification.

The idea that achievement standards in history did not change the status quo (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008) however, is only partly true. Since their introduction in the earlier 2000s, several achievement standards have focused on historical thinking. At NCEA Level 1, achievement standard 91003 requires students to ‘interpret sources of an historical event’ and achievement standard 91004 requires them to ‘demonstrate understanding of different perspectives of people’ (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2012). Furthermore, those which are internally assessed, such as achievement standard 91001, provide students with the opportunity to carry out ‘an investigation of an historical event, or place’. Sheehan (2011) has hypothesised that “internally-assessed, inquiry-based, NCEA research projects motivate senior secondary school students to engage with the disciplinary features of history and learn how to think historically” (2011, p.1). The introduction of the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) (Ministry of Education, 2007) at the end of the decade also provided the impetus for change.

As Guyver (2007) has emphasized, the NZC focuses on history’s ability to foster desirable values and social action through it being taught as an interpretive and investigative subject. The online *Teaching and Learning Guidelines* (Te Kete Ipurangi⁶, 2010) that support the new curriculum’s implementation, give a prominent place to the teaching of historical concepts. The NZC’s history achievement objectives at curriculum level 6⁷, are about understanding how people’s perspectives differ, and at curriculum level 8 there is an expectation that students will understand that past events of significance to New Zealanders are “complex and ... contested” (Ministry of Education, 2007, supplement). However, reflecting on the potential of the online *Teaching and Learning Guidelines* (Te Kete Ipurangi, 2010) to foster change, Hunter (2011) was not particularly optimistic, pointing to their tendency towards vague generalisation. For instance, she was critical of the lack of explanation which accompanied the *Teaching and Learning Guidelines* statement that history ‘examines the past

⁶ Te Kete Ipurangi: knowledge basket, “New Zealand’s online bilingual (Māori and English) education portal. An initiative of the Ministry of Education, it provides New Zealand schools and students with ... information, resources, and curriculum materials.” Retrieved August 13, 2011, from <http://www.tki.org.nz/About-this-site/About-Te-Kete-Ipurangi>

⁷ In the New Zealand Curriculum achievement objectives for history are set out by levels within the social science learning area. These curriculum levels typically relate to years at school [so curriculum level 6 to 8 relate most closely to history being taught to students in Years 11 to 13 respectively]. Retrieved March 10, 2012, from <http://www.nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Curriculum-documents/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum>.

to understand the present'. Signs of change however, have not only emerged from those responsible for writing curricula.

Among members of curriculum subject associations, such as the New Zealand History Teachers' Association (NZHTA), there is evidence that teaching historical thinking has been enthusiastically embraced. NZHTA conferences and newsletters have consistently promoted pedagogy which includes the teaching of historical concepts. Indeed, the 2012 NZHTA conference theme was 'historical thinking' and included workshops on historical empathy and other concepts.

Furthermore, from 2005, the History Group of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage provided history teachers in New Zealand with their own on-line community called *The Classroom*, via their website: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/>. It provides resources and tasks which have frequently engaged with ideas and themes surrounding historical thinking. Anecdotal evidence also suggested that there was a grass-roots movement of history teachers who discussed the historical thinking literature and adopted an inquiry-based pedagogy to teaching history (Sheehan, personal communication, 14 April, 2011). Ambitious teachers based in Auckland, such as Graeme Ball, head of social sciences at Northcote College and Brent Coutts, head of history at Baradene College, have promoted cluster groups within the city where teachers can share resources and discuss new ideas. Yet, this interest in historical thinking is not necessarily replicated in the majority of history classrooms. When discussing the teaching of history in New Zealand, Barton, a visiting US history education researcher, made the point that in promoting historical thinking the challenge remained to "spread those practices [of ambitious teachers] to all schools" (cited in Frost, 2009, p. 3). While Ball and Coutt's cluster groups may partly meet this challenge, Watters who coordinates *The Classroom* section of the History Group's website has found creating a digital community of history teachers a challenge. With few replies to *The Classroom's* blog, he has recently posted on the site the comment that: "I must admit that as I write these occasional forums [blogs] I wonder who is actually reading them or how useful they are to readers." (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012).

These debates about history curricula and changes to the way that history is taught are not confined to New Zealand. Reflecting on history curriculum reform in Australia, Taylor

(2011) cautions that all too often history teachers' approach the process of curriculum implementation by avoiding any real change as to what happens in their classroom. And in the USA, VanSledright (2009) has found that teachers' rarely discuss historical concepts with students. In Europe, the Youth and History Project, which in the mid 1990's surveyed thirty thousand Year 10 students from twenty seven different European countries, found that 'up to date' approaches to history were "not as common as we might expect after twenty five years of school reform" (von Borries, 2000, p. 256). And in the UK, Husbands, Kitson and Pendry's (2003) research of eight English secondary schools concluded that while history teachers confidently used historical concepts, there was "little professional consensus on what the terms [concepts] mean[t]" (2003, p. 142). However, Haydn (2011) has found that history teachers in the UK have created similar communities of practice to the cluster groups found in Auckland, New Zealand, and that organisations such as the Historical Association⁸ are influential in promoting and delivering professional development based on historical thinking.

In 2012, it is clear that the NZC signals an expectation that senior secondary school students develop an understanding of concepts, such as historical empathy and continuity and change. Within the social sciences learning area the NZC document states that history involves not only learning "about past events, experiences, and actions [but also] the changing ways in which these have been interpreted over time" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 30). The inertia of history education in New Zealand over the last twenty five years, as described by Hunter and Farthing (2007) and Sheehan (2010) may persist, but there now seems to have emerged a readiness among ambitious history teachers to introduce historical concepts and the practices of historians into their classrooms. The revision of NCEA achievement standards to align with the NZC suggests that this is an opportune time to promote the introduction of concepts such as historical empathy into New Zealand's history classrooms.

Historical Empathy: Realising its Potential

The significance of historical empathy has ebbed and flowed for at least forty years. When Schama, following the broadcasting of his television series *A History of Britain*, said that

⁸ The Historical Association is a charitable body supporting the study and teaching of history in the United Kingdom.

history was largely about empathy, he added the qualification that his colleagues were “constitutionally allergic” to it (Schama, 2002). He was perhaps reflecting on the historical profession’s general mistrust of emotion. This mistrust is notable in the work of revisionist historians of the First World War (Sheffield, 2001), who have argued that while the war led to enormous loss, it is emotion rather than evidence that accounts for misunderstanding it as disillusioning, tragic and/or futile. As Rifkin (2009) has put it, historians have not been very interested in exploring empathy. And for a long time history educators have also seen historical empathy as something that could give you a nasty reaction.

Deciding whether or not to historically empathise with those who were lost at Gallipoli and in other battles of the First World War, is one of the differences, between the two teachers (Hector and Irwin), in Bennett’s play *The History Boys* (Bennett, 2004). Despite Bennett’s sympathies for Hector, it is Irwin’s non-empathetic approach to the past that is portrayed as the up to date method of teaching history. This reflects attitudes in 1980s and 1990s England where there was strong political opposition to historical empathy (Phillips, 1998). Ironically, in the 1970s, empathy had been championed as a desirable historical skill in England and Australia by proponents of the *New History*⁹ and those involved in the Schools History Project (Shemilt, 1984). Still, within a decade it was under attack. As Harris and Foreman-Peck (2004) have emphasised, this was largely because it supposedly led to a ‘let’s pretend’ view of the past. Furthermore, its affective attributes were claimed to be too wishy-washy and fanciful to properly assess students’ understanding of history (Low-Beer, 1989). In late 1980s England, historical empathy had become the most discredited of the *New History’s* skills-based approach. Phillips (1998) has described how conservative academics and politicians publically discredited historical empathy as replacing knowledge of historical events with exercises in imagination which were devoid of knowledge. While many history teachers and students disagreed with this interpretation, it was, as Phillips pointed out, the detractors who dominated the debate. By 1997, historical empathy had disappeared from the history curriculum in England. Within the pages of the Historical Association’s journal *Teaching History*, the question was asked ‘*historical empathy – R.I.P.?*’ (Clements, 1996).

⁹ *New History* (Rogers, 1978) emerged in the 1970s and emphasised historical skills and the idea of students ‘doing history’ themselves. It cast history as an interpretative subject rather than one which involved students solely acquiring knowledge of historical events.

In New Zealand, the Forms 5-7 History Syllabus for Schools' (Department of Education, 1989) aim to "develop in students the ability to enter imaginatively into the events of the past" (1989, p. 8) had also been seen as problematic. Urging students to imaginatively "explore their own feelings and reactions in simulated historical situations" (1989, p.13) had tended to lead to activities that began with: 'imagine you are ...' As Booth, Culpin and Macintosh (1987) have argued, such activities could work, but experience tended to show disappointing results because they provided students with minimal guidance as to what to do and led to the projecting of present-day feelings into past situations. While the latter might sometimes be appropriate, such activities failed to recognise the strangeness of the past.

It is rather remarkable then, that since 2000, historical empathy has enjoyed a revival (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Moyn, 2006). The causes are perhaps three-fold. First, developments in neuroscience had made empathy a more tangible concept. In the last decade neuroscience has identified areas of the brain that are activated when people try to comprehend as well as feel the emotions of others (Decety, 2007). It has also identified the affect as an important part of learning (Damasio, 1996). Broadly speaking, this has helped to underpin the place of empathy in education and provided a strong theoretical basis for the idea of emotional intelligence (Arnold, 2005; Cooper, 2011). This may have provided a context for looking again at historical empathy and questioning whether it really was so wishy-washy.

Secondly, historical empathy has come to be included in various models which attempt to define secondary school history as being about critical thinking and mastering what historians do (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Taylor, 2005; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). In these models historical empathy (or perspective taking as it is sometimes referred to) has been variously described as: a crucial element of historical thinking (Seixas & Peck, 2004); an attribute of historical literacy (Taylor 2005); and, a key part of historical reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). The emphasis here is on a cognitive version of historical empathy.

Thirdly, historical empathy has benefitted from an interest among educators of promoting democratic citizenship and in a broader sense that in today's world "everyone feels the pressure to 'empathize' with the experience (and notably the suffering) of others" (Moyn, 2006, p. 397). Historical empathy fosters citizenship because it allows students to genuinely entertain other peoples' viewpoints, even when they disagree with them (VanSledright,

2001). As Harris (2011) has pointed out, even if we do not agree that teaching history and citizenship fit together, there is evidence that citizenship can be fostered in the history classroom. Research by Jordan, Robinson and Taylor (2012) of students understanding of citizenship at a middle school in the UK, revealed that history encouraged students to reflect on the meaning of citizenship both in the past and the present. Furthermore, Ashby and Lee (1987) have reasoned that while it may be too simplistic to say that historical empathy will lead us all towards the common good, it is true that “where the alien is seen as stupid and inferior, there is little chance of progress towards genuine understanding” (1987, p. 65). These views were underpinned at a policy level, in the UK and elsewhere, by the Crick Report’s recommendation that combining history and citizenship in future curricula would have “obvious educational merit” (Crick, 1998, p.22). A very similar rationale for historical empathy has been made by moral philosophers (Hoffman, 2000; Noddings, 2005; Slote, 2007).

Empathy has been placed at the heart of civic society by several moral philosophers. Hoffman (2000), has argued that it is “the spark of human concern for others, the glue that makes social life possible” (2000, p.3) and Slote (2007) has posited that empathy is a “mechanism of caring, benevolence, compassion” (2007, p. 4). Furthermore, Meier (1996) was no less emphatic, when she pointed out that the informed scepticism of democratic societies is nurtured through empathy. She suggested that as citizens we develop

the habit of stepping into the shoes of others – both intellectually and emotionally. We need literally to be able to experience, if even for a very short time, the ideas, feelings, pains, and mind-sets of others, even when doing so creates some discomfort. (1996, p. 272)

This is important because as Noddings (2005) reminds us, people might agree that there is such a thing as citizenship but it “usually looks suspiciously like their own way (of life)” (2005, p. 2). So, the significance of historical empathy may rest on the idea that it enables students to care about others: a key characteristic of participants in a civic society.

However, it is worth remembering that students can develop citizenship without having to study history. Data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Lang, 2010) found that New Zealand students in Year 9, who would have not studied history

as a separate secondary school subject at that stage, were nonetheless generally well prepared to be future citizens. Whether being taught history would make them even more prepared is unclear, but Lang has commented that in Year 9, New Zealand students' proficiency in citizenship was "only average in comparison with other participating OECD countries" (Lang, 2010, p. 6) and there was a wide distribution of civic knowledge scores.

Having argued that the renewed interest in historical empathy stems from three sources its revival should perhaps not be overstated. For instance, the Historical Association's journal *Teaching History*, which had once asked if historical empathy was dead and buried (Clements, 1996), was wondering in 2011 whether the concept should "come out of the closet?" (Lee & Shemilt, 2011, p. 39). The inference was that history teachers may have been teaching it all along, but were doing so covertly. In New Zealand however, the evidence does not support this. In Hunter and Farthing's (2009) survey of students in six history classes (four in Year 11 and two in Year 13) at one high school, between 2006 and 2008, the authors were disappointed to find that there was little indication that students had any awareness or understanding of historical empathy when voicing what they thought about history.

To summarise, historical empathy is a worthwhile concept that has the potential to play a significant role in the teaching of history. While its status has long been uncertain, now seems an opportune time to explore how students develop historical empathy. The next section of this chapter explores factors that might impede progress in developing historical empathy and how researchers, in the field of history education, suggest that these might be overcome.

Too Many Problems to Handle and What to Put First?

Historical empathy sometimes appears to be a difficult concept to master. For instance, an Australian survey investigating Year 5 and Year 9 students' historical understanding found that only 5 per cent of Year 5 (9 to 10 year olds) students ($N = 518$) and 21 per cent of Year 9 (13 to 14 year olds) students ($N = 518$) displayed historical empathy when asked to explain the thoughts of Australians living in the 1860s (Doig, Piper, Mellor & Masters, 1994). Why this might be, has several possible explanations. These include: difficulty in pinning-down the meaning of historical empathy; the high level of literacy required to interpret the past; the remoteness and unfamiliarity of the past; intuitively rushing in to unfairly judge the past; finding past beliefs too strange or challenging to comprehend; the problem of presentism;

and, the temptation to over-identify with historical characters. In the following pages these issues, and how they might be addressed, are explored in more detail.

For many students, history consists of several concepts such as historical empathy, significance and continuity and change, which are difficult to precisely define. The problem, as VanSledright (2011) has highlighted, is that historians rarely reveal how they have used these concepts in producing the finished product of their research, whether it be a book, journal article or television programme. For readers and viewers alike, concepts such as historical empathy “remain typically opaque” (2011, p. 68). To allow for greater clarity, VanSledright and other researchers, such as Seixas (2006), have produced benchmarks which attempt to describe these concepts, often breaking them into criteria that reflect a spectrum of thinking, from novice to expert.

Historical empathy can also be seen to be challenging, much like any other element of historical thinking, because it requires fluent literacy skills. Stoll, Montgomery, Villecco, Forquignon and Lincoln (2010), confronted by the constraints of poor literacy skills and low attendance rates when teaching history at an urban high school in the United States, decided that historical empathy could therefore best be approached by making “dramatic elements a more explicit part of the learning process” (2010, p. 44). Previously their learning process had focused mainly on interpreting primary source material. They subsequently developed a drama based lesson which was taught by university educators to undergraduates. This was successful because it helped to make primary source material come alive and allowed students to personalise well known historical characters without having to read and interpret large amounts of text.

Another challenge to developing historical empathy is that the past can appear remote and frequently unfamiliar. This makes things difficult, because as Meier (1996), Hoffman (2000) and Slote (2007) have argued, empathy is strongest when there is a sense of connection, familiarity and immediacy. Hoffman has called this empathy’s familiarity bias. It follows that empathy is far weaker when there is an absence of familiarity, which is often the case in the history classroom. For instance, interpreting religious disputes, which is part of the early modern England history course studied by many Year 13 students in New Zealand, involves dealing with a remote adult world with unfamiliar beliefs (Husbands & Pendry, 2000). The

context of Gallipoli may be even more challenging. Writing in the 1930s and looking back at his battalion days in the First World War, Chapman (1965) felt that “it was - I think it still is - impossible to make those who had no experience of this war, understand it” (1965, p. 138). Many other veterans have said much the same thing (Fussell, 1975). Furthermore, for many students the way that the past is depicted in school history lessons might make it appear unfamiliar because it does not always include groups, such as women, that they might identify with.

By analysing the audio recordings of what occurred in social studies lessons at Year 7 (ten to eleven year olds), Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick (2000), found that in a study of the Middle Ages, students were presented with an overwhelmingly male story. In the Middle Ages unit “references to females comprised only 3.9 per cent of the references to people” (2000, p. 251). As a result the students struggled to recall anything about the lives of women living in this time period. The research of Fournier and Wineburg (1997) suggested that boys may be particularly prone to picturing a past peopled mostly by men. Their research required 5th and 8th grade, boys and girls, in a Washington State school, to draw pictures of characters in American history. The boys’ pictures depicted the past peopled nearly entirely by men. In contrast, the girls peopled their images of the past with families and included men and women. The research of Alton-Lee et al (2000) and Fournier and Wineburg (1997) raises the question of what role gender might play in developing historical empathy and how students might identify with the experiences of female historical characters.

In terms of the former, neuroscientists have claimed that differences in the capacity to empathise between boys and girls are actually very small (Baron-Cohen, 2011). Furthermore, the research of Hodkinson (2009), based on a quasi-experimental design and a sample of 150 Year 4 and 5 students in an English primary school, discounted gender as a determinant of achievement in terms of understanding the concept of historical time. Whether this would also be the case in terms of historical empathy is something that may be worth pursuing further. As Levstik and Barton (2008b) have posited, the question of whether gender makes a difference to the way students approach concepts such as historical empathy has not been widely researched. However, Hodkinson (2009), does caution that the research that does exist in this field is “contradictory ... [and] generally based on small sample sizes” (2009, p. 53).

In terms of the latter, Slote (2007) has proposed getting children “into the habit of imagining” (2007, p.29) so that they practice having to imagine what is unfamiliar. Rogers (1975), from a therapeutic perspective, has suggested that practiced experience of the unfamiliar can improve empathy by increasing peoples’ sensitivity to others. Practice has also been advocated within the field of history education by Kohlmeier (2006). Examining the development of historical empathy in her 9th grade world history class, she observed a marked improvement in students’ development of the concept, across one semester, as they practised empathising with the lives of three very different women: a merchant’s wife in Renaissance Germany; a peasant in Stalin’s Russia; and, a teenage girl in Mao’s China.

The theory that students’ development of historical empathy is enhanced by practice needs however, some qualification. It could be argued that Kohlmeier’s students empathised most strongly with the teenage girl in Mao’s China not only because they were well-practised but also because of the three women she was the only teenager and she was from the recent rather than the remote past. Equally, Kohlmeier attributed the students’ improvement in developing historical empathy to sharing their ideas through discussion and actually developing a feeling of care towards the women. As Meier (1996) has pointed out, a further problem with asking students to get ‘into the habit of imagining’ is as children get older “flights of fancy become improper, ... [and] our capacity for empathy [is] more and more classified as frills” (1996, p. 273). Therefore, while the history teacher may find it helpful to allow such ‘flights of fancy’ to occur, they may also find themselves wanting to discourage it.

A further impediment to developing historical empathy is the tendency for students’ to make hasty judgements about the past based on their own feelings and emotions. Particularly, when studying a distressing part of history, students’ emotions may cause them to “be preoccupied with their own personal distress, and turn their attention away from the victim” (Hoffman, 2000, p.13). In this regard, the intuitive nature of emotion is pushing against what Wineburg (2001) has called the counter-intuitive and unemotional characteristic of historical thinking. Wineburg has contended that the historical thinking of experts (professional historians and doctoral students) is counter-intuitive and emotionally detached whilst novices (students and teachers) intuitively and emotionally rush to judge the past.

To follow the logic of Wineburg's theory, the way to get better at historical empathy is to suppress the affect and to practice the cognitive acts of cautious judgement exercised through the building of contextual knowledge and the handling of evidence. Based on a two year thinking-aloud research study, Wineburg (2007) has identified that doctoral students and historians share the same expertise of being able to think about historical context. In contrast history students, under-graduates and even history teachers needed a great deal of support to develop such expertise. However, the affective nature of historical empathy is not always cast as belonging to novices. As Clements (1996) reminds us, when his students made an emotional and caring connection with a survivor of the Holocaust, who had made a visit to their classroom, it heightened their cognitive understanding. This suggests that suppressing the affective dimension of historical empathy is not always desirable.

From the perspective of psychotherapy, empathy is about interpreting feelings and emotions (Colman, 2001). It positions empathy as a means of understanding the emotional and subjective world of the patient. As McWilliams (1999) has put it, "the analyst's empathy is the primary tool of investigation" (1999, p.2). She has cited Freud's ability to empathise as a way of explaining why he took seriously those patients who other physicians disregarded as timewasters. It is this 'taking seriously' of others that is a characteristic of well written history. As pointed out by Salmond (2011), an historian and anthropologist, "if you don't take it [entering the world of an historical character] that seriously, you probably won't understand all that much" (2011, p.1). Of course, in psychotherapy, the therapist-patient relationship is reciprocal and real in a way that is not the case in the student-historical character relationship. It is also important to stress that education is not therapy. However, the idea that historical empathy becomes harder when its affective characteristics are downplayed is an important counter-argument to Wineburg's mostly cognitive way of seeing historical empathy. This point is illustrated particularly well in the work of Scates (2006), a history educator and historian. He regularly visits Gallipoli and has frequently accompanied high school students who have travelled there from Australia. Collecting the thoughts of these students using a survey and diary writing exercises, he found that "feeling connected, in touch with, [and] close, was a recurrent category in all the ... [students] responses" (2006, p. 180). Going to Gallipoli was therefore an emotional and intimate experience as well as a way of gathering historical evidence.

Another barrier to developing historical empathy has been identified by Levstik (2001). In her study of history students attending four schools in New Zealand, she found that when past beliefs differed from the beliefs of the local community, it was difficult for students to empathise historically. She gave the example of Reed, a student with a Pākehā (European New Zealand) background, who did not want to understand a Māori¹⁰ perspective. This was because the Māori perspective about the past included the injustices of colonisation and was at odds with Reed's version of history which tended to see racial injustice and land confiscations as something that only happened overseas. The challenge of shifting Reed's belief that "Māori somehow gave the land away" (Levstik, 2001, p. 89) to the colonial settlers, was considerable.

One way of shifting the beliefs of students such as Reed could be to explore questions surrounding identity and culture, and how students see themselves in the world (Schen & Gilmore, 2009). In this sense, historical empathy could be used as a means of encouraging students to temporarily suspend their beliefs, so that they place themselves within historical situations or make comparisons between past and present. Typically, it would involve content with a strongly moral dimension. Similar to the aims of Sleeper and Strom's (2006) on-line history education resource *Facing History and Ourselves* (FHAO), it would aim to encourage a student to explore their "ethical responsibility to those beyond his or her immediate circle of acquaintance" (2006, p. 60). An issue with this approach however, is that it can mean that little learning of historical events takes place in the classroom. Schweber's (2004, 2006) study of the FHAO programme in a Californian high school where students were studying the Holocaust, revealed that a well-intentioned focus on prejudice, self-reflection and the role of individuals left little curriculum time to learn about the historical events of the Holocaust. Riley, Yeager, Washington and Humphries (2011), drawing on Schweber's research, have also argued that FHOA's focus on fostering moral behaviour and encouraging students' to stand up against present-day racism, tends to promote "history as therapy" (2011, p. 135). This might impede trying to teach history as a discipline which fosters critical thinking.

¹⁰ Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand. They are the tangata whenua – the people of the land. Before 1300 AD, ancestors of Māori journeyed to New Zealand from Pacific islands. The arrival of large numbers of Europeans in the 1800s had a significant impact on the way of life of Māori and began what Professor Ranginui Walker has called an "endless struggle of the Māori for social justice, equality and self-determination" (Walker, 2004, p. 10).

A possible way of addressing these concerns, Riley et al (2011) argued, was to approach ethical issues only after history teachers had provided “a historical context, select[ed] sources or evidence for examination, present[ed] multiple perspectives, and help[ed] students to construct a reasonable explanation of a particular historical event” (2011, p.135). This would mean teaching the cognitive dimension of historical empathy first. Once this had been completed then elements of the affective dimension: listening to and entertaining others point of view; and, being caring, sensitive and tolerant towards people, could be taught. In other words, the cognitive and affective dimensions of historical empathy could be taught in sequence. This was advocated by Davis (2001) in his argument that historical empathy comes after the accumulation of historical knowledge and Wineburg’s (2007) proposal that the consideration of the historical context when looking at evidence is the first step to doing history well.

Not all researchers however, agree that the cognitive dimension should be taught first. For instance, Barton and Levstik (2004) and Dulberg (2002) have positioned the affective dimension first because it may motivate students and draws them into wanting to find out about cognitive elements such as using evidence to understand the past. Gaddis (2002) has argued that historical empathy begins with historians getting to know past-lives by affectively being receptive to their ideas and beliefs. Once this closeness has been achieved, historians remove themselves from this imagined past, and begin to critically examine it from a position of cool detachment. Gaddis therefore appears to argue that historical empathy is acquired in stages, with the affective preceding the cognitive.

Another reason for teaching the affective dimension first is that potentially the cognitive dimension impedes trying to engage students in the more affective elements of historical empathy. Bardige’s (1988) research which looked at the journals of students who were studying the Holocaust, found that when students developed cognitive skills such as understanding the historical context surrounding multiple perspectives, they found it harder to hold on to their “moral sensitivities” (1988, p. 109) about the Holocaust and became more detached. This was quite different to Schweber’s (2004, 2006) research which was saying that in the context of history students learning about the Holocaust, the opposite could be true, and the affective impedes the cognitive. Clearly, Bardige’s and Schweber’s studies on learning about the Holocaust suggest that the sequence in which the affective and cognitive

dimensions of historical empathy are taught, matters. The difference between Bardige and Schweber's findings, merit further investigation into how the sequencing of historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions influences student learning.

Still, regardless of which dimension is taught first it might be that the deep-seated nature of students present day beliefs tends to negate any attempt to develop sophisticated historical empathy. Presentism is the tendency of these present day beliefs to impinge upon thinking about the past. Post-modernists such as Jenkins (1991) would argue that historical empathy is impossible because people in the present cannot escape the present. Wineburg and Fournier (1994) have described presentism as a "psychological default state that must be overcome before one achieves true historical understanding" (1994, p. 286). As already discussed, Levstik (2001) has argued, this is especially difficult to do when past beliefs are at odds with those held in the present. Furthermore, Endacott (2010) has noted, that this is compounded by the fact that students living in the present know how things turned out so it is difficult to take seriously the views of those who got it wrong in the past. For instance, it is very tempting from the vantage point of the present to ridicule Neville Chamberlain's strategy of appeasement in the late 1930s. Equally, von Borries (2000) has found that when past beliefs do not correspond with students' present-day beliefs about the moral correctness of human rights they are quickly dismissed.

Overcoming presentism therefore requires insight into how the past is seen through the beliefs that are held in the present. To foster such insight, Barton and Levstik (2004) have proposed that students attain "a sense of otherness, shared normalcy, historical contextualisation, differentiation of perspectives and contextualization of the present" (2004, pp. 209-210). This would entail, among other things, that students understand that actions and decisions made by people in the past were based upon a framework of values and experiences very different from their own. These actions and decisions were made according to the context of the time and hence considered normal by the people of that time. The problem here is that such insight would require "Herculean levels of examination of our assumptions" (VanSledright, 2002, p. 147).

To want to embark upon such a task, students would have to care enough to do so. Barton and Levstik (2004) contend that for this to be the case, historical empathy should be taught in

contexts that allow for emotional engagement and in ways that are personally relevant to the lives of students. Their research has suggested that, in the USA, students appear to care about topics that are personally relevant to them or are about the human experience of “fear, discrimination, or tragedy, or when (people have) displayed extraordinary bravery or outrageous inhumanity” (2004, p. 231). Those however who stress a cognitive approach to historical empathy, would argue that caring overrides the students’ ability to contextualise. Barton and Levstik reason that this is a good thing if historical empathy is about wanting students to respond to injustice as being unfair rather than simply understanding it. In other words, historical empathy leads students “to make changes in their own values, attitudes, beliefs, or behaviour” (2004, p. 237). However, some researchers question whether such a change is necessarily so difficult.

Lowenthal (2000) has argued that our present day values and beliefs can actually be helpful to understanding the past. For instance, he makes the point that in the present, we can know the history of the Second World War, in a way that our grand-parents could not. Similarly, our grandchildren will know our history in entirely new ways as well. For Lowenthal, interpretations of history keep changing, and each change has value.

Finally, it could be said that developing historical empathy is impeded by over-identification. Seixas (1997a) has made this point, stating that empathetic responses often describe “the other as fundamentally like (ourselves)” (1997a, p. 124). The danger of this, as Foster (2001) has highlighted, is that it might lead to students identifying with the feelings of unpleasant historical characters such as Hitler. Of course, in the ‘undesirability’ of this, he is right. However, his assumption that the empathetic student is unable to morally reject Hitler and his beliefs is questionable. Hoffman (2000) has posited that “identification isn’t a total merging with or melting into the other: genuine and mature empathy doesn’t deprive the empathetic individual of her sense of being a different person from the person she empathises with” (2000, p.14). Therefore, identification does not necessarily remove our ability to critically reject an historical character’s beliefs and actions. Indeed, McWilliams (1999) has made the point that over-identification is better than not identifying at all. The risk of the latter is greater because it means the failure to see the humanness of historical characters. While Hoffman and McWilliams’ perspective is of the philosopher and therapist respectively, their insights are relevant to historical empathy’s role in making others seem more knowable.

Having discussed impediments to historical empathy, and argued that they can largely be overcome, the chapter now explores ways of interpreting progression in historical empathy.

Climbing the Ladder of Historical Empathy?

What does student progression in historical empathy mean? This section of the literature review addresses this question by examining ideas of progression underpinning the structure of the New Zealand Curriculum's achievement objectives and the examination expectations of the New Zealand secondary school qualification system, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). It also explores models of progression devised by history education researchers that focus more narrowly on historical empathy and other discipline specific concepts (Ashby & Lee, 1987). It also acknowledges that it is history teachers who make sense of these models and have the task of defining "progression for themselves" (Counsell & the historical association secondary education committee, 1997, p. 1).

The New Zealand Curriculum, NCEA and Progression

The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) sets the direction for learning in schools. Within the curriculum's social sciences learning area, are a series of history achievement objectives at curriculum levels 6, 7 and 8¹¹ (see Table 1), that provide "broad descriptions of learning expectations" (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 18).

In terms of progression, the history achievement objectives sign-post a shift from understanding differing perspectives and the way history affects lives, to an ability to see historical events as complex, contested and being concerned with large forces across time. As Absolum, Flockton, Hattie, Hipkins and Reid (2009) have posited, they do not provide teachers and students with a rich description of what progression in history looks like because they focus on "surface coverage at the expense of in-depth learning" (2009, p. 35). For instance, they refer to the concept of 'significance' without describing what it means for the teaching and learning of history. Where such descriptions may be found are in the history achievement standards for the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA).

¹¹ Curriculum levels 6, 7 and 8 typically relate to NCEA level 1, 2 and 3, and student age groups of 16, 17 and 18 years, respectively.

Table 1

New Zealand Curriculum Achievement Objectives for History

Curriculum level	History achievement objective 1	History achievement objective 2
6	Understand how the causes and consequences of past events that are of significance to New Zealanders shape the lives of people and society	Understand how people's perspectives on past events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.
7	Understand how historical forces and movements have influenced the causes and consequences of events of significance to New Zealanders	Understand how people's interpretations of events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.
8	Understand that the causes, consequences, and explanations of historical events that are of significance to New Zealanders are complex and how and why they are contested	Understand how trends over time reflect social, economic, and political forces.

Following the publication of the New Zealand Curriculum document in 2007, achievement standards for NCEA were re-written¹² so that they reflected the intention of the curriculum's achievement objectives. At NCEA level 1, the achievement standard which most closely relates to the study of historical empathy is achievement standard 1.4: demonstrate understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders. A similar achievement standard is offered at NCEA level 2 and 3. Student attainment in each achievement standard is gauged as 'achievement', 'achievement with merit' or 'achievement with excellence' (see Table 2).

In Table 2, progression at Level 1 is described in terms of students moving towards 'in-depth' and then 'comprehensive' understanding. Progression at Level 2 and Level 3 is couched in similar terms but places the emphasis not so much on understanding but on interpretation and analysis, respectively. The explanatory notes for each achievement standard, state the importance of using supporting evidence and define 'comprehensive' as the ability to show perceptiveness. At Level 3, there is also a focus on acting like a historian, by judging the

¹² The re-alignment of NCEA history achievement standards is due to be completed by the end of 2012.

value and validity of different interpretations of contested events. However, as Absolum, et al (2009) have made clear, the achievement standards are inadequate descriptions of progression because they rely so heavily on “semantic incrementalism” (2009, p. 40). For instance, ‘understand’, ‘interpret’ and ‘analyse’ are used incrementally to signal the differences between achievement standards 1.4, 2.4 and 3.4, respectively. Absolum’s *et al* point is that to teachers and students, ‘understand’, ‘interpret’ and ‘analyse’ are likely to mean the same thing and therefore do not clarify points of progression.

Table 2

The Achievement Criteria of Achievement Standards 1.4, 2.4 and 3.4

Achievement standard	Achievement	Achievement with merit	Achievement with excellence
AS 1.4	Demonstrate understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.	Demonstrate in-depth understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.	Demonstrate comprehensive understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.
AS 2.4	Interpret different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.	Interpret in-depth different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.	Comprehensively interpret different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.
AS 3.4	Analyse different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.	Analyse, in-depth , different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.	Comprehensively analyse different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.

Given that rich and effective descriptions of progression in history are hard to find in the New Zealand Curriculum and achievement standards (for NCEA), can they be found in the history education research literature?

History Education Research Models of Historical Empathy and Progression

One way that history education researchers have thought to describe progression in historical empathy is to “pick out the main features of [that] progression” (Lee & Shemilt, 2004, p. 29) and arrange these in order of sophistication. One of the first attempts to do this was based on Ashby and Lee’s (1987) UK study of 11 to 14 year old, history students. By using video recordings of small group discussions on elements of Anglo-Saxon society, without a teacher

present, they identified five characteristics of empathetic understanding, displayed by these students. Ashby and Lee arranged these in a hierarchical typology. At the lowest level was the absence of any historical empathy. Students at this level saw the past as unknowable and felt that the people who might have inhabited it were less bright than themselves here in the present. This way of seeing the past was what historian, E.P. Thompson (1963), called “the enormous condescension of posterity” (1963, p.12); although he felt that many of his historian colleagues, supposedly at the highest level of historical thinking, also made this error. The second level was characterised by seeing historical characters as simple stereotypes. Students would explain the past actions of these historical figures based on how they thought they might behave without any regard to their historical context. At the third level, the historical empathy of students was described as: being able to imagine what it was like for people in the past but still using a present-day lens. In other words, at level two and three, students were producing only two dimensional, cut-out versions, of historical characters. At the fourth level, students understood, in specific situations, that the past was different from the present and that peoples’ values were different. Their historical empathy was therefore more attuned to the context of past lives and consequently they were able to imagine a more three dimensional version of an historical character. At the highest level of historical empathy, students could display this ability more fluently by applying it across the broader context of whole societies.

Ashby and Lee’s typology was useful because it provided history teachers with a means of gauging the degree of sophistication of their students’ historical empathy. Reflecting on Ashby and Lee’s research, Lee and Shemilt (2004) have argued that the levels in the typology act as ‘break points’. These they have described as the potential barriers which hold back students’ historical thinking. History teachers could potentially use these ‘break points’ in their planning and be alert to where and when students might come across them and need help. Implicit here, is that teachers have knowledge of what progressively more sophisticated historical empathy looks like and have knowledge of their students learning.

However, the use of a typology to characterise a growing sophistication in students understanding of historical empathy has been problematic. Ashby, Lee and Dickinson (1996) have argued that while a typology is useful because it outlines progression in general terms, it does not describe the learning trajectories of individual students. These trajectories, rather

than neatly progressing from one level to the next, tend to be unpredictable. This issue has been highlighted in the research of Counsell (2000a) and VanSledright (2001).

As Counsell (2000a) has pointed out, the reality of being a history teacher or head of department trying to use a typology can be disappointing. She has argued that typologies are too linear to adequately describe how students get better at historical empathy. Instead of neatly stepping through each level, Counsell found that the progress of her history students, in an urban secondary school in England, was far more haphazard and she felt an “overwhelming frustration with [the] inadequacies in all given models [typologies]” (2000a, p. 56). In US schools, VanSledright (2001) also found such typologies to be somewhat flawed, because he frequently identified students, who were learning history, to be at two levels at the same time. Clearly, the idea of progressing, step by step, through a typology of historical empathy therefore, was not clear cut in practice. Lee and Shemilt (2004) however, have emphasized that the ‘levels’ in their typology were not intended to be like a series of steps which individual students could climb up like the rungs on a ladder. They have acknowledged that students can move up and down levels and be at two or more levels at the same time.

Another problem with Ashby and Lee’s typology of historical empathy, alluded to by Counsell, is its narrowness. It connects empathising with the ability of students to shake off the influence of the present and more fully submerge themselves in the context of the past. But in doing this it neglects to include any description of the caring and imaginative dimensions of historical empathy and does not explore how evidence or contextual knowledge may be deployed to overcome either condescension towards, or stereotyping of, past lives.

The weakness of typologies is further expanded upon in the assessment focused research of Sadler (1989, 2007), and Marshall and Wiliam (2006). A key problem identified by Sadler (2007) is that in breaking down concepts into a series of criteria or levels, something of the concept’s meaning is lost. Sometimes referred to as atomization, Sadler called this process decomposition and he argued that “if you break something into pieces, whatever originally held it together has to be either supplied or satisfactorily substituted if the sense of the whole is to be restored” (2007, p. 390). This is reflected in the experience of Canadian history

teachers working with the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness' 'benchmark project'. They concluded that their students frequently found it difficult to make sense of criteria (Morton, 2011). In a similar way, Marshall and Wiliam (2006) have emphasised, within the context of teaching English, that in trying to establish whether or not students have mastered specific criteria, the connections between criteria are often lost. They have also found, much like Counsell, that criteria which describe the higher level characteristics of a concept or skill are far too narrow. This suggests that while historical empathy can be thought of as having a number of properties or elements, teaching these one by one will not necessarily lead to developing a sophisticated understanding of the concept.

Instead, Sadler (1989, 2009) would argue that progress will be made once students have formed an impression of what historical empathy is as a whole. To do this, he has suggested that students need to acquire what he calls 'guild knowledge'. In other words, they need to become part of the community [the guild of historians] which is able to judge what constitutes sophisticated historical empathy. This could be achieved by looking at lots of examples of historical empathy until it is possible to "recognise, judge and, to a considerable extent, explain quality (i.e. sophisticated historical empathy) when they see it" (2009, p. 822). Therefore, it is the evidence within these examples and not the explicit use of criteria which helps create the guild knowledge. In a similar vein, Vermeulen (2000), has reflected on what happened in her own Year 10 history classes in England and has likened progression in learning history to "the growth of a spider's web" (2000, p. 36). She has theorised that far from being linear, progress in history occurs across a wide range of concepts and content and increasingly students come to see the inter-connections between them. Vermeulen agrees with Counsell (2000a) and Hammond (1999) that historical skills, concepts and knowledge are all inter-dependent. They can be teased apart, as in the typologies of historical empathy described by Ashby and Lee (1987) and others, but progression, she argued, should be described in broad terms. Put simply, Vermeulen advocates students making progress in historical empathy across a wide, slow-moving front of inter-dependent concepts, skills and knowledge.

In summary, it is debatable whether progress in historical empathy is best achieved by: negotiating the different 'break points' set out in typologies; using curriculum achievement objectives and achievement standards; or, by forming an impression of what it is as a whole.

Possibly it is all of these. However, in terms of providing a theoretical frame to gauge the extent to which students' grasp of historical empathy changes over a period of instruction, typologies can be useful in setting out what the different 'break points' in a student's development of historical empathy might be. By adapting Ashby and Lee's (1987) typology and a similar one from the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986) I have set out, in Table 3, a possible framework to guide the assessment of historical empathy.

Table 3

*Five Level Typology of Historical Empathy*¹³

Level	Affective	Cognitive
1	People in the past are imagined as simple cardboard cut outs, without feeling or a willingness to entertain different points of view.	People in the past are not comprehended or at times are thought of as being stupid.
2	People in the past are imagined with some feeling so that they are more than cardboard cut outs. However, they are still quite vague and stereotypical.	People in the past are comprehended using some evidence, but they tend to be thought of as 'stereotypes'.
3	People in the past are imagined with more feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted but from the position of the present-day.	People in the past are comprehended using evidence so that an historical context is begun to be built up. This historical context is comprehended from the position of the present-day.
4	People in the past are imagined with attuned feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted from their own position in the past.	People in the past are comprehended using evidence so that an historical context is built up. This context is comprehended from peoples' position in the past.
5	People in the past are imagined with attuned feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted from their own position in the past. An attempt is also made to differentiate between individuals who lived in the past so that factors such as personality and shared experiences are considered.	People in the past are comprehended using diverse evidence so that a wider historical context is built up, giving the 'bigger picture' of their life and times. This context is comprehended from peoples' position in the past.

This framework reflects the advice of Counsell and the Historical Association Secondary Education Committee (1997) in so far as I have tried to make sense of various ideas about progression for myself. It can, as Counsell suggests, be used to design lesson plans and activities which take into account student progression. This chapter now examines the nature of the affective dimension of historical empathy in closer detail. Following this the cognitive

¹³Adapted from the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986, pp. 15, 42-43) and Ashby and Lee's (1987, pp.68-81) typologies of historical empathy.

dimension is examined and then the potential interplay between the two is discussed.

The Affective Dimension of Historical Empathy

Historical empathy has the everyday meaning of being able to sympathise with the views or situation of another person. In other words, it is about making an emotional connection with someone else's position and imagining what their feelings might be. This is something that almost everyone is able to do. A teacher asking, how an historical resource such as a photograph, makes students' feel, is therefore likely to gain a response from each one. As Card (2008) has argued, this type of question is inclusive because "everyone can produce some kind of answer about their own [affective] reactions" (2008, p. 61). Historical empathy in this sense is affective and about emotions (Bryant & Clark, 2006). For example, a teacher may want a student to imagine what it was like being a Pacific Islander coming to New Zealand in the 1970s. To do this, the teacher might have students write a first person diary entry of that individual experience. What is likely to happen is that the student projects their emotions onto the 1970's Pacific Island experience and tries to imagine what it would be like to stand in their shoes. The result could be a sympathetic account of such experiences of arriving by plane into a cold climate with no job, few family members for support and difficulties with English.

If, like Foster (2001) it is believed that thinking historically involves distancing ourselves from people in the past so that their differences are more apparent, this affective approach is not what is wanted. Foster has argued that emotional and imaginative responses, such as admiration, are not particularly helpful because they only bring us closer to the sympathetic motives that help us identify with someone. It is perhaps not surprising, that makers of historical films have commonly used this affective and emotional empathy to seduce audiences, by presenting them with "familiar behaviours ... from their own culture" (Seixas, 1997b, p. 124). For instance, the Canadian Broadcasting Company's, series, *Canada: A People's History*, which was shown between 2000 and 2002, told a story that helped create affective empathy for Europeans in early contact Canada (Bryant & Clark, 2006). This might be great for evoking sympathy but may not be what is wanted if a more critically minded type of historical empathy is to be fostered.

Riley (2001), in her research of Holocaust education, largely agreed with Foster's argument, stating that the "primary purpose of investigating the Holocaust should not begin with the aim of feeling the pain of others" (2001, p. 154). Countering this position is O'Brien, Kohlmeier and Guilfoyle's (2003) claim that students' ability to affectively identify with people from the past is "critical to their understanding of historical events" (2003, p. 271). They gave the example of students identifying with Alice Stone Blackwell, an advocate of woman's suffrage in the US, in the early twentieth century. By identifying with her struggle, students could adopt her way of seeing things and then compare this with their own present-minded choices about voting. Indeed, research has suggested that secondary school students are attracted to this sort of emotional empathy (Bryant & Clark, 2006). Of course, research has also suggested that historical empathy has a cognitive dimension.

The Cognitive Dimension of Historical Empathy

Defined cognitively, historical empathy is the understanding of the context of the past by careful use of historical evidence (Foster, 2001). It is about trying to think from someone else's standpoint rather than feeling what it would be like to be standing in their position. To return to the example of the Pacific Islander coming to 1970s New Zealand, a teacher could provide students with: extracts from the 1974 immigration policy review and its distinction between legal immigrants and so-called over-stayers; statistical evidence about the number of prosecutions for over-staying; and, newspaper reports about dawn raids on the homes of alleged over-stayers in Auckland. It is likely that students would begin to build up their contextual knowledge of Pacific Island immigration in the 1970s and draw upon evidence to show how relative tolerance shown towards people from the Pacific Islands was replaced with many examples of prejudice, as the economic conditions in New Zealand changed.

As such this cognitive dimension of historical empathy potentially offers "the possibility of understanding and appreciating why people in the past acted as they did" (Foster, 2001, p. 170). It also has the advantage, as Portal (1987) has argued, of providing explanations for peoples' behaviour in the past for whom we may not show any emotional empathy or sympathy (such as those actually ordering the carrying out of the dawn raids).

Cognitive historical empathy also involves using evidence to reconstruct the perspectives of people in the past and developing sufficient contextual knowledge to make sense of past-

lives. In other words, it demands understanding how the world was different in the past and how this strange world, to use Lowenthal's (2000) phrase, was seen through a different lens from our own. To be able to do this, Lowenthal argued that students needed to participate in historical re-enactments and use evidence from those who chronicled what life was like at the time. Other history educators have suggested that students should be exposed to a wide range of source material (Yeager & Doppen, 2001). This is because a variety of source material goes some way to building up knowledge of past beliefs and experiences that are different to those held in the present. In their study of eight high school juniors and later of eighty-eight sophomore students, Yeager and Doppen concluded that students who used a variety of source material instead of a single textbook were more able to understand multiple perspectives of the past. They went on to argue that the teacher, by providing the student with guiding questions and by encouraging discussion, improved student learning of history.

This cognitive approach to historical empathy is however, challenging. As Lee and Ashby (2001) have argued, "if it is to be given any sensible meaning in history, empathy is where you get when you have done the hard thinking" (2001, p. 25). Barton and Levstik's (2004) argument has been that students are more likely to do the hard thinking once they have been engaged with the affective dimension of historical empathy, and therefore 'care' sufficiently about an historical character or event to want to build a contextual and evidence-based understanding.

Deciding What These Dimensions Might Look Like

Drawing upon the points made in the previous two sections of this chapter, Table 4 outlines a possible description of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. Each dimension includes three elements.

The table reflects the idea that one way of envisioning historical empathy is to give equal weighting to both its affective and cognitive dimensions (Bryant & Clark, 2006). That historical empathy can be about both thinking and feeling stems from the research of psychologists such as Jones and Watts in the late 1960s and early 1970s who found that students' cognitive development included emotions and the imagination (cited in Cooper, 1994). It also placed empathy within the context of social studies. Seeing empathy as both cognitive *and* affective is similar to Symthe's (1991) view that cognition and emotion

underpinned the idea of social studies developing in New Zealand children “a sympathetic and valid understanding of their own and other people’s way of life ... by challenging their culture-centredness ... and by helping them (children) to gain a *feeling for people*” (1991, p. 6, my emphasis).

Table 4

Proposed Affective and Cognitive Dimensions of Historical Empathy

Historical empathy’s affective dimension	Historical empathy’s cognitive dimension
Using imagination to recognise appropriate feelings	Building historical contextual knowledge
Listening to and entertaining ‘others’ point of view	Being aware of the past as different from the present
Caring about and being sensitive and tolerant towards people from the past	Using evidence to understand / think about the past

More recently, Barton and Levstik (2004) have advocated that this idea of historical empathy being both affective and cognitive can be better understood if an emphasis is placed on students caring about the perspectives of people in the past and learning history for the purpose of students becoming informed citizens.

Summary

This review of the literature has identified that historical empathy is a critical component of historical thinking. It has demonstrated that both the affective and the cognitive aspects of historical empathy contribute to citizens forming values and abilities that are important in a just and caring society. What is not so clear, are the ways in which students interpret historical empathy, how they develop a sophisticated grasp of the concept and whether or not the sequence in which the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy are taught, matters. These questions are at the heart of this thesis. The next chapter describes the methodological choices I have made in order to pursue these lines of investigation. Just as importantly it describes how these choices were influenced by my practice as a history teacher in a large suburban secondary school and my identity as a teacher-researcher.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Three research questions emerged from my analysis of the literature. These were:

1. How do students interpret historical empathy?
2. How do students develop/become more sophisticated in their ability to empathise historically?
3. What influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students' development of historical empathy?

These questions drove the investigation reported in this thesis. In thinking about how to approach these questions I began with Maxwell and Loomis' (2003) interactive model of research design, which is made up of five components: research questions; purposes; conceptual framework; methods; and, validity. In my qualitative comparative case study I have used the phrase 'trustworthiness' instead of 'validity' as the latter tends to be associated with studies that are more positivist in outlook (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While any one of these components can influence another, the research questions are placed foremost because they "function as the hub or heart of the design ... [and therefore] form the component that is most directly linked to the other four" (2003, p. 246). Maxwell and Loomis have also included within their model a number of different environmental factors, of which I have included case study and ethics.

In this chapter I explain my research design and explore the issues that arose as I made each methodological decision. I begin at the heart of the model, with my research questions and then discuss in order: purposes; conceptual framework; case study; methods; trustworthiness; and, ethics.

Research Questions

My research questions emerged from reading the literature about historical empathy and, with the exception of the third question, from my teaching practice. The first and third research

questions reflected areas of debate within the literature, namely the contested meaning of historical empathy (Davis, 2001; Yilmaz, 2008; Brooks, 2009) and uncertainty about how to interpret the interplay between historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions and their sequencing (Bardige, 1988; Schweber, 2004, 2006). The second research question addressed the gap in the literature of studies which trace the development of historical empathy in students (Barton, 2008a).

The first research question: 'how do students interpret historical empathy', was derived from the contested meaning of historical empathy within the literature, as referred to above. It also emanated from my uncertainty as a classroom teacher, trying to define the concept. Having made a preliminary reading of the literature I therefore sought to clarify my interpretation of historical empathy by identifying those elements which appeared significant within this literature. These included three affective elements: using imagination to recognise appropriate feelings; listening to and entertaining other points of view; and, caring about and being sensitive and tolerant towards people, and an equal number of cognitive elements: building historical contextual knowledge; being aware of the past as different from the present; and, tying everything to evidence (see Table 4). I believed that my understanding of historical empathy however, was still relatively weak and that further exploration of its meaning would lead me to the deeper understanding required by a teacher of history and help me to relate the students' interpretations of the concept to the wider literature.

The second research question: 'how do students develop/become more sophisticated in their ability to empathise historically', also emerged from my practice and from the literature. It was about trying to make sense of what is happening as students develop historical empathy. In my practice, I was uncertain whether my attempts to foster historical empathy, through classroom learning tasks, were building progression. Within the literature I had identified a discussion about student progression (Lee & Shemilt, 2004) and the learning of history but I agreed with Barton's (2008a) claim that there was a gap in the literature around the need for research to explore the students journey as they made progress learning history. This would involve gauging, over time, the influence of my instructional intervention on the students in Class A/C and Class C/A.

The third research question: ‘what influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students’ development of historical empathy’, was about exploring the theory that it matters which sequence historical empathy’s affective and cognitive dimensions are taught. This theory had emerged from my reading rather than from my practice. It involved comparing what happened when one group of students was taught by me in an affective then cognitive sequence and another group of students was taught, again by me, in a cognitive then affective sequence. This comparative approach would allow me to judge the influence of each sequence of learning tasks on the students, at regular intervals.

Together, these three research questions reflected what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) have called the intersection between practice and theory. It is the place where my everyday experiences as a history teacher are challenged by my reading of the history education literature and by interacting with the ideas of academics and other doctoral students. It is also a place where I have carried out my research and where my practice was shaped and improved by my research study (Stenhouse, 1975; Grundy, 1987).

Purposes

My study had two purposes, which may appear different from each other, because they emanate from a practical and a theoretical way of looking at the world. One focuses on the particularity of my professional setting and the other reaches out into the public field and theoretical debates of history education research.

My first purpose as a teacher researching what happens within my classroom at Eastside School was for the students to develop a sophisticated grasp of historical empathy and for my teaching of historical empathy to improve. This intention corresponds with the idea that knowledge generated through teacher research “is intended primarily for application and use within the local context in which it is developed” (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 42).

My second purpose was to test the trustworthiness of what I had theorised in Table 4 (the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy) by exploring how students interpreted and developed historical empathy. This would also include investigating whether or not it mattered if the teaching of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical

empathy was carried out in a particular sequence, i.e. the affective first followed by the cognitive or the reverse; that is, the cognitive first followed by the affective. In this regard, I hoped to make a contribution to the field of historical empathy research. While this was not a typical goal of teacher research, there were other examples within the teacher research field, such as Grant & Gradwell's (2010), research on teaching with big ideas that tested theories in similar ways.

Conceptual Framework

The funnel is a useful metaphor for describing the writing of my conceptual framework (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The funnel's mouth represents my general interest in historical empathy as a teacher-researcher. Like the funnel, that interest narrows downward. First, I set out to define the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy and reflect on the interplay between these dimensions. I then attempted to test the robustness of this definition within my own practice. In my conceptual framework I therefore discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this definition and provide some autobiographical detail to make more intelligible my position as a teacher-researcher studying his own practice. In terms of the latter, I used Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (2009) term 'inquiry as stance' to more fully articulate my position as a teacher-researcher. I also found Herr and Anderson's (2005) idea of the 'insider' a useful way of discussing my ethical position.

Historical Empathy

The theory that historical empathy has both affective and cognitive dimensions, drawn from my reading of the literature, directed me towards exploring the interplay between these dimensions, especially how one might influence the other. This was worth pursuing because the nature of this interplay was poorly understood and definitions of historical empathy have subsequently been contested (Brooks, 2009). It has also led me to theorise that the sequence in which the dimensions are taught is potentially significant.

Currently, there is a trend towards giving more prominence to the cognitive dimension of historical empathy. Wineburg (2001), a leading history education researcher, has theorised that history is a mostly cognitive discipline. He has emphasised that historical content can be taught through concepts which involve students in historical thinking. This idea was

popularised by Wineburg's argument that learning to do history well was an 'unnatural act' which required considerable cognitive knowhow. In recent years, other leading history education researchers from different countries have defined what it means to do history in schools and colleges using this cognitive framework of 'historical thinking' (Taylor, 2005; Seixas, 2006; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, when historical empathy or perspective taking as it is sometimes referred to, is included within a framework of historical thinking it is defined as a cognitive concept. For instance, Seixas' (2006) 'benchmarks of historical thinking' are all expressed as cognitive terms: establish historical significance; use primary source evidence; identify continuity and change; analyze cause and consequence; take a historical perspective; and, understand the moral dimension of the past. His emphasis has been on cognitively 'understanding' the past. Seixas' benchmark 'take a historical perspective', included the concept of historical empathy but he defined it as the cognitive ability of understanding different perspectives. Taylor's (2005) model of historical thinking was devised for Australian secondary schools and identified not six, but twelve attributes, which together constituted what he has called historical literacy. Similar to Seixas, he placed historical empathy with other concepts which can be used to cognitively 'understand' the past. Furthermore, in the Netherlands, Van Drie & Van Boxtel (2008) placed historical empathy with so-called meta-concepts, which also emphasised understanding the cognitive process of doing history.

Arguably, the rise of the term 'historical thinking' in the last fifteen years, as a way of describing 'doing history', has led, almost imperceptibly, to empathy becoming known as historical empathy or perspective taking. This may have been welcomed by advocates of historical empathy, because it placed the concept within the framework of historical thinking. This prompts the question however, of whether historical empathy is mostly a cognitive concept. The problem with the idea that learning history in school involves solely high-level cognition, is that it tends to leave little space for the theory that historical empathy may have an important affective as well as a cognitive dimension. As Lee and Ashby (2000) have pointed out, concepts such as historical empathy represent "a complex of multi-track understandings" (2000, p. 216). Uncovering these complexities might help to explain what historical empathy is and what it is not.

That historical empathy has both affective and cognitive dimensions is perhaps an obvious point to some (Counsell, 2011). Recent reviews of the historical empathy literature by Yilmaz (2008) and Brooks (2009) would suggest that most history researchers now see the concept in this way. But what is less obvious is what counts as feeling and thinking in the context of trying to develop historical empathy in students. While my identifying of six elements that make up historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions (see Table 4) begins to offer a tentative answer to this question, an aim of my thesis was to further explore the cognitive and affective dimensions of historical empathy.

To do this I drew upon Collingwood's (1946) theory that the past can be understood by re-thinking it. Collingwood believed that critical re-enactment allowed the historian to get inside the mind of those who lived in the past. As Dray (1995) has pointed out, Collingwood was not saying that you could freely imagine what you would do in someone else's place. Collingwood however, continues to be misinterpreted by those who argue that historical empathy is an excuse for students' imaginations to run riot as they make up fanciful replies to questions such as 'imagine you are on-board the *Endeavour* and you spot land' (Phillips, 2000). Instead, Collingwood was suggesting that to 'walk in the shoes' of those who lived in the past it was important to interpret their thoughts and re-enact what was in their mind. He argued that testing out historical actions, such as Captain Cook's interactions with Māori, was done through the imagination, by critically using evidence "to see whether it can really be thought" (Dray, 1995, p. 56). Put another way, the historian is imagining an historical event from "the [historical] agent's own point of view" (Dray, 1980, p. 25) but is doing so in a disciplined way because they are building a picture of that person's life using the available evidence. Such evidence is often fragmentary and ambiguous, as Low-Beer (1989) has argued, but Collingwood felt that it was still possible to imagine what might have happened and what the possibilities were. Collingwood therefore posited that history is intellectual and imaginative. He linked the cognitive with the affective. Undoubtedly, Collingwood would have agreed with Seixas' (2006) statement that historical empathy without evidence is "historically worthless" (2006, p. 10). His theory however, suggests that since evidence is being looked at from the position of someone who lived in the past, imagination is needed to suppose what that position might have been. Therefore imagination plays an important part in how evidence is read. For instance, using imagination and evidence to describe the

experience of the 748 Polish refugee children who came from Iran to New Zealand in 1944, could include: the relief they felt on arrival in Wellington aboard the troop ship *General Randall*; the curiosity of those on the quayside; and, the joy of seeing the green grass surrounding their new home at Pahiatua.¹⁴ Imagination and evidence are both needed to interpret this story of wartime migration.

While Collingwood's theory of re-thinking the past gives weight to both imagination and evidence, the relationship between the affective and cognitive, and whether it is important to engage in one before the other, is not clear and that became the focus of my third research question: What influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students' development of historical empathy?

Sequencing the Affective and Cognitive Dimensions of Historical Empathy

To investigate the sequencing of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy, Barton (personal communication, May 25, 2009) has suggested exploring the different ways these dimensions relate (or not) to each other. First, the affective and cognitive could be explored in two separate sequences. Barton and Levstik (2004) and Dulberg (2002) propose placing the affective first, suggesting that this draws students into wanting to find out about evidence, followed by the cognitive. But others argue that the cognitive should be placed first. Wineburg (2007) describes the careful consideration of context whenever looking at evidence as being the vital first step to doing history well. He has suggested that history is about cultivating caution and discipline and avoiding a rush to judge. In other words, judge only after you have understood (Lucas, 2008). Russell (2008) says something similar, when she posits that the Holocaust should be taught as history rather than citizenship. Having interviewed ten secondary school history teachers in south-east England, she posited that teachers' approaches to the Holocaust can be placed on a continuum, ranging from the historical, at one end, to the emotional at the other. Russell was critical of those teachers at the 'emotional end', arguing that little or no historical understanding came from "oversimplistic emotive approaches to teaching the Holocaust" (Russell, 2008, p. 37). It is a position which has implied that emotions impede the study of history and that history and emotion are two separate entities.

¹⁴ In 1944, the New Zealand Government agreed to take 748 Polish refugee children, many of whom were orphans, from war torn Europe. They settled into life at what became known as 'little Poland' at Pahiatua. camp and the vast majority remained in New Zealand as adults.

Secondly, historical empathy could be explored by simultaneously combining the affective and the cognitive. Endacott's (2010) study of eighth graders trying to interpret particularly tough decisions made by four historical figures, found that the students did not do this by marshalling evidence and building up their contextual understanding, alone. They also interpreted these decisions by engaging with the feelings of those who made them. Endacott concluded that by drawing upon their own experience of coping with problems, the students were able to make better sense of the problems faced by these historical figures. While he does not describe in detail exactly when or in what order students were either making affective connections with these historical characters or approaching them cognitively, he does state that it involved a "simultaneous combination of both approaches" (Endacott, 2010, p. 6). Similarly, Dulberg (2002) describes students' endeavours to develop historical empathy as involving "a back and forth rhythm between affect and cognition" (2002, p. 11). Moving towards the affect, students used their imaginations and made connections that allowed for an emotional and moral response to what was being studied. Moving back towards the cognitive, students developed sufficient contextual knowledge to understand multiple perspectives and how historical characters saw the world differently.

Thirdly, historical empathy could be explored from the perspective that its affective dimension may impede cognitive understanding and that its cognitive dimension may blunt affective responses such as care. Schweber (2004, 2006) has argued that when a teacher places the affective first it "supplant[s] any chronology or almost any information being taught at all" (2004, p. 57). Her case-study research about teaching the Holocaust found that while an affective approach may well foster feelings of anti-racism it did not instil much Holocaust history. Similarly, Brown and Davies' (1988) interviews of sixteen religious education and history teachers in nine English secondary schools, found some teachers to be concerned that the affective might impede the cognitive when studying the Holocaust. Some of these teachers bluntly argued that if they wanted to "focus on causation and the context of particular events then pupils in tears would not help" (1988, p. 81). Bardige's (1988) study of looking at the journals of students who were learning about the Holocaust however, found that nearly the opposite could be true. As students' developed cognitive skills, such as recognising multiple perspectives, they found it harder to hold on to their "moral sensitivities and impulses" (1988, p. 109). Bardige noticed that personal action to stop wrong-doing was

replaced by a more distant cognitive approach of calling for governments to do something. LaCapra (2001) said something similar when he theorised that an affective response to viewing Holocaust survivor testimony might be impeded if one focused on thinking about the context of the interview or of the interviewer's technique.

Fourthly, it could be argued that solely the cognitive or the affective dimensions of historical empathy are correct and that the other one should be discarded. This way of conceptualising historical empathy is rarer, but Foster (2001) certainly dismissed the affective dimension when he argued that it was associated with unwanted sympathy and over-identification. Students can also believe that the affective dimension is unnecessary. Wineburg's (2000) study of fifteen students and their parents and teachers, recorded one participant saying that history was an objective subject without recourse to imagination or emotion. Whilst Wineburg acknowledged that this was an out-dated view of history he did contend that it was not an uncommon one among the participants in his study.

Conversely, events such as the Holocaust, as Landsberg (1997) has argued, may require affective experiences such as temporarily feeling vulnerable because they are "cognitively unimaginable" (1997, p. 85). In the context of studying trauma LaCapra (2001) has argued that historical empathy is an affective concept, and relates to the "rapport, or bond with the other recognised and respected as other" (2001, pp. 212-213). In this regard, Wineburg's (2000) insight that "historians are most objective [cognitive] when they are not personally connected to their subject; however, it is precisely that one's personal connection [affective] that generates interest" (2000, p. 316) tells us that historical writing which is solely cognitive or affective is likely to be either difficult to read or to lack any attempt at objectivity.

These different ways of conceptualising how the affective and cognitive go together (or not) are important when considering how to foster historical empathy in the classroom. For instance, if the affective comes first because it motivates learning, then asking students to look at the murder of Emmett Till as movingly portrayed in the documentary *Eyes on the Prize* (DeVinney, 1991) might lead them to ask the moral question 'how could anyone do that?' Hooked into wanting to find out more, students might then move in to the cognitive realm of using evidence and build up their contextual knowledge of life in 1950s Mississippi. Alternatively, the cognitive could be placed first. Students could be taught the historical

context of 1950s Mississippi before moving on to engage with the moral judgements surrounding the murder of Emmett Till. This would support Wineburg's (2007) observation that historians do not rush to judge. As Bardige (1988) points out however, carefully examining each point of view tends to dull students moral sensibilities. The students might better understand the racist views prevalent in 1950s Mississippi but be less able to reject these views on moral grounds.

The way forward is to more fully investigate these various patterns of conceptualising the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. This study therefore compared these approaches and examined how students' ability to empathise historically was influenced by the sequence in which the affective and cognitive dimensions played out. To be sure, there are times in the history classroom where the cognitive and affective are mixed up but as Lévesque (2008) posits, placing these elements into a sequence may serve "useful educational purposes" (2008, p. 164) because it helps educators to be clearer about what these elements mean.

Teacher-Researcher

The second part of my conceptual framework acknowledges that two of my research questions emanated not only from reflecting on the historical empathy literature but also from my educational practice. This reflects my belief that much of what I understand about teaching and learning has emerged from my time spent in the classroom. As Hammersley and Scarth (1993) put it, educational practice is largely shaped "by the sedimented experience of the practitioner and her or his local knowledge" (1993, p. 496). It is important then not to discount this layered know-how and to realise that teachers studying their own practice has long been recognised as an important part of educational research (Stenhouse, 1975).

When teachers reflect on their time in the classroom and ask questions such as 'how could I improve this learning experience?' they are taking on the role of teacher as researcher, or as Aitken and Sinnema (2008) put it, 'teacher inquiry'. It is a role that is enhanced when teachers are aware of the factors that have shaped their beliefs and can self critically examine how these have influenced their approach to research (Powell & Solity, 1990). I therefore, in chapter 1, set out the values and interests underpinning my educational practice so that the reader can judge their effect and see how they relate to my study's research questions. In

other words, if my research questions are “idiosyncratic to a particular context and a particular researcher [me]” (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 46) then the reader is aware of this.

To return to my research questions however, they are also influenced by my reading of the historical empathy literature and therefore contexts that are outside of my educational practice. How these experiences, from inside and outside my educational practice, are brought together, are discussed in the next sub-section.

Setting out my Ground as a Teacher-Researcher: Ethical Inquiry as insider and outsider

I occupy a position as a teacher-researcher that can be called ‘inquiry as stance’ (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). This means that inquiring about my practice is embedded in my role as a teacher. This doctoral study is therefore one part of a continuous inquiry process across my lifespan as a teacher. It has therefore been carried out in a way that takes into account my responsibility as a teacher to honour student interests whilst also questioning my on-going practice. It also means that my positionality as a teacher-researcher is that of the ‘insider’ studying an intervention set in my professional setting, and accessing the guidance of ‘outsiders’ such as my supervisors (Herr & Anderson, 2005). Outsiders have helped me with methodological issues and have critically questioned “taken for granted aspects [of my practice]” (2005, p. 30). As Herr and Anderson have argued, this outside help ebbs and flows, as need dictates, through the life of a particular study. Those who have experience in this role, such as Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2007), admit that the outside academic community can offer teacher-researchers, who may be new to the ‘systematic’ nature of research, a great deal of help but they must be mindful not to always reinforce the expectations of traditional educational research from the university.

My insider positionality has afforded me insight into daily classroom life at Eastside School and how my ideas and those of the study’s participants might be transformed as we explore historical empathy together. It has also cast me as a ‘knower’ of local practice. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2007) have used this phrase to signal that knowing about teaching and learning comes from inside as well as outside the local settings of teachers. They have also argued that the “roles [of teacher and researcher] are intentionally blurred” (2007, p. 31)

because it seems misleading to suggest otherwise. This argument is based on the premise that for a teacher studying his or her own practice it is problematic trying to meet the ethical criteria of ‘outsider’ research which frequently requires researchers to be objective and detached (Herr & Anderson, 2005). As an ‘insider’ I have not found it possible to ignore being the participants’ teacher [the insider] whilst fulfilling the traditional role of the neutral researcher [the outsider]. My concern therefore, has been to reflect on how to manage, as best I can, the ethical dilemmas that arise from being both teacher and researcher. My efforts are discussed in the following pages.

I have recognised that the students in this study might have felt pressured to take part because of the imbalance of power in our relationship. The students might also have seen their role in the study as a performance or one of trying to please me in the same way that they frequently try to please their other teachers. I attempted to resolve these concerns in a number of ways, whilst being mindful that the teacher-researcher always acts for the benefit of student learning. Before beginning the study, I discussed with the students how they perceived research and what aspects of research they were familiar with. The potential imbalance of power between teacher-researcher and students was talked over and it was explained how this might be countered by: me being attuned to their point of view, building rapport together; and, negotiating how the research process would unfold. They were also made aware of the argument that I would act in the interest of their learning, whether they were participating in the research or not. I also made it clear that I would ask a colleague to code their workbooks so that I could read them without knowing who they belonged to. I explained that at the end of each lesson these workbooks would be put in a drop-box so that the students did not have to hand them into, or collect them from me, directly. Equally, it was important for me to be transparent and acknowledge: the purpose of the study; my role as a teacher and researcher; and, what the study would entail. It also meant, as Pring (1984) has emphasised, providing for the students a right to reply and making the research data open to inspection to the students who were participating in the study. In other words, this was about being open to “cross examination by the (participant) group about the research” (1984, p. 101).

Communicating this to the students and interested parties, such as their parents, and with the principal, was an important step. Therefore, informed consent was sought from the principal of Eastside School and the students (and their parents). This was done in two ways. I began

by having a discussion with the students to try and make connections with research that they might be familiar with. It was also a chance for the student participants to find out more about me as a researcher and make their casting of me solely as the teacher less likely. Next, I gave them a ‘participants’ information sheet’ and ‘informed consent form’ (see Appendix A) that explained: the purpose of the research; and, what would be expected of the participants, especially in terms of time commitment and other obligations such as potentially being involved in two interviews. The form included a section asking for informed consent and set out a statement of ethics. Crucial here was an acknowledgement that declining to take part in the research would have no negative consequences and that students could withdraw as participants at any stage of the research process.

During the instructional intervention, I actively reflected on how the research process was unfolding and self-checked on how well I was noticing issues that arose around conflict of interest and power. Throughout this phase I encouraged the students to see themselves as part of the investigation, with the ability to give feedback about findings and to make further comments, if they wished, on material such as the interview transcripts. An issue that did emerge was trying to ensure that those students who had not been selected to be interviewed did not feel left out. I found that by explaining to all of the students that the interviewees were decided on the basis of getting a range of different responses to the entry task, helped to address this issue.

Another potential ethical matter was cultural differences. This alludes to the possibility of there being issues that arise from researching a bi-cultural and diverse research setting and being a male Pākehā (New Zealand European) researcher. Epstein (1997) has reported that in researching African American and European American students’ ideas about historical significance she asked her African American research assistant to interview the African American students and she interviewed the European American students. This sensitivity was necessary, Epstein has argued, because racial differences between the interviewers and research participants may have meant that the latter were not willing to reveal what they valued for fear that it was not what the interviewer wanted to hear. However, Levstik (2008a) has cautioned that “apparent similarities in race ... between researcher and students may not match students’ self-identifications” (2008a, p. 358). She has gone on to argue that in teaching and research “we cannot assume ... racial, gender or class matches” (2008, p. 358).

What was probably important in trying to overcome the issue that Epstein identified was the ability of the researcher to develop rapport and actively listen to students (Levstik & Barton, 2008a; VanSledright, Kelly & Meuwissen, 2006). Conscious of this point, I developed my skills of active listening and mindfulness. I also took into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi¹⁵ which reflect the idea that this study should be participant focused and collaborative. As Bishop (2005) has argued, all students participating in a study need to have made a ‘personal investment’ in the research.

It was made clear therefore, to those students taking part in the interviews that they would be given space for their questions and discussion points. They would also be able to read and amend their transcripts from these interviews. This potentially gave participants a sense of having access and control over what I had recorded. This moved away from the view that research is something which is done to you, towards a view that researcher and participant share information and rights. Walker (1985) has made the point that “it is the researcher who goes away with the data to rework it in his or her fashion, to gain satisfaction from making sense” (1985, p. 117). Contrastingly, the participants are often abandoned after the data collection process and left to pick over what they have said and done and worry that their words might be misconstrued. It seemed to me that sharing the data helped to address this issue and ensure what Radnor (1994) has called respondent validation. Finally, because the proposed research involved semi-structured group interviews it was important that participants understood that maintaining anonymity and confidentiality was everyone’s shared responsibility. While students were encouraged to do this, the informed consent process made it clear that anonymity and confidentiality could not be guaranteed.

The ethical matter of conflict of interest is about the dilemma between what may be needed for good practice in my classroom and what may need to be done to test my theory about historical empathy in my investigation (Hammersley, 1993). I began therefore, by carefully designing the instructional intervention so that it fitted the standard social studies curriculum

¹⁵ The Treaty of Waitangi is New Zealand’s founding document. It was signed on 6th February 1840 by the British Crown and about 540 Māori rangatira (chiefs). Today the Waitangi Tribunal determines the meaning of the Treaty and in its work often refers to four Treaty principles: “active protection, the tribal right to self-regulation, the right of redress for past breaches, and the duty to consult.” Retrieved from <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/principles.asp>

taught to Year 10 students at Eastside School. The participating and non-participating students followed the same learning tasks and topic as all other Year 10 social studies classes i.e. Anzac's¹⁶ and Gallipoli. In other words, the instructional intervention was not filled with atypical content and tasks that distracted from the school's social studies curriculum. This meant that those students who participated and those who did not, were treated equally and took part in the same learning and assessment tasks. Furthermore, I did not pursue the theory which proposes that historical empathy has only a cognitive dimension (Foster, 2001). This would have unfairly denied participants' in the study, the opportunity to develop an affective sense of historical empathy that other researchers, such as Barton and Levstik (2004) have argued was important. Equally, I carefully, included the cognitive dimension for the same reason that it is an important part of historical empathy. However, I did go ahead with teaching the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy in different sequences to each of the two classes involved because it was genuinely not clear in the history education literature which sequence would be the most effective. In this sense neither class was disadvantaged.

In these ways the ethical matters of cultural differences, conflict of interest and the imbalance of power between me and the students were addressed to the best of my ability. I do recognise however, as Hallowell, Lawton and Gregory (2005) note that some ethical dilemmas could not have been predicted and would only emerge as the study unfolded. This meant that I had to be able to react to events in a way that showed integrity. Hallowell et al posit that as researchers we must be "constantly aware of who we are, where we are and what we are doing" (2005, p. 151). Therefore, it was worthwhile, as Mills (2007) has suggested, developing an ethical position to ensure that when faced with unexpected ethical dilemmas I would "do the right thing" (2007, p. 114).

An example of a dilemma that I faced was when I collated the consent forms. I was surprised that a relatively large number of students decided not to participate in the study: six from one class and an equal number from the second class. My first reaction was to consider discussing the study again with them and see if I could change their minds. On reflection however, my ethical position, based upon respect for persons and doing no harm, signalled to me that this

¹⁶ Anzac is the acronym for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps which first saw action at Gallipoli in 1915.

would be inappropriate. It was likely that the students may have interpreted such a discussion as a form of pressure, and that they would have felt compelled to take part in the study, or they may have felt that the study was simply about trying to please their teacher. As a teacher-researcher I could see how important it was, not simply to use a ritualised way of doing something i.e. using my power as a teacher to persuade the students to do take part in my study. These twelve students remained as non-participants and I was pleased that I had been able to ‘think on my feet’ about the ethics of my study. I was also reassured that my stressing to students that they did not have to ‘perform’ in the study (Cunningham 2006) may have meant that they were confident to make a decision not to participate. Clearly, by not participating in the study the students were at no educational disadvantage. Abiding by Stenhouse’s (1985b) argument that a teacher-researcher acts for the “benefit of learning of ... pupils” (1985b, p. 58), there was no educational justification for trying to change the students’ minds.

My striving for transparency and student involvement in the research process was not entirely unproblematic. For instance, those students who had been interviewed did not change the interview transcripts when given the opportunity to read them and add any comments. As Smetherham (1978) has highlighted, “to what extent can there ever be any real community of interest between researcher and those being observed?” (1978, p. 67). Similarly, Waldron (2006) has cautioned that in trying to maximise participation, there is a risk of only “superficial engagement” (2006, p. 104) among the research participants. The assumption here is that the relationship between the researcher and the researched is an unequal one and therefore prone to the abuse of power. Still, as Waldron herself suggests, by giving participants the opportunity to give their opinion, examine the data and to be listened to, there are positive outcomes of developing the “self-esteem of the child [and] ... contributing to [the child’s] skills of analysis” (2006, p. 92). In this sense, the students not changing their interview transcripts may signal their satisfaction with the interview process and that they had made themselves clearly understood. There may also be the additional benefit of providing participants with insight into how they learn history.

Qualitative Comparative Case Study

I decided to investigate my research questions through a case study primarily for two reasons. First, because it was a good fit with my research questions. These required a detailed understanding of what was happening to students as they developed historical empathy within the particular context of my instructional intervention and classroom. A case study allowed for in-depth investigation and the collection of detailed information from those inside the boundary of my study. As Cohen and Manion (1989) have pointed out, case study enables researchers to “probe deeply and ... analyse intensively” (1989, p. 3). My research questions also required the case study to be comparative so that I could investigate not only the experiences of individual students but also the way in which the experiences of students in two classes differed or were the same. Furthermore, despite an extensive history education literature, little is known about how individual students navigate the journey from naïve to more sophisticated understanding of historical empathy. It made sense therefore, to use a case study to explore the experiences of students developing historical empathy and test whether my interpretation of historical empathy’s affective and cognitive dimensions (see Table 4) was trustworthy and useful. Equally, case study permits what Swanborn (2010) has referred to as a “continuous monitoring” (2010, p. 26) of the way change may occur over time. This was a significant advantage of case study, because I was trying to track the changing nature of how students grasped historical empathy.

Secondly, I decided on a case study approach, because it would enable me to collect rich data across a number of data sources. As Golby and Parrott (1999) have argued, in this way case study is similar to detective work, in that “it is wise to have a number of lines of enquiry ...[and] all informants and all kinds of evidence [are] worth considering” (1999, p. 80). They have also argued that each line of enquiry is likely to produce conflicting accounts of what happened. In this way, giving too much weight to one data source is less likely to happen. Within my case study I used a number of methods, including: interviews, visual materials; documents; entry, mid, exit and post tasks (also referred to as assessment tasks); a student feedback survey; and, a classroom response system. In this way, I was also able to avoid the problem identified by Walker (1983) of case study research relying too heavily on interviews. As Walker has pointed out, interviews are of great value however, by themselves they raise

issues about “who you select to interview, to what they [the interviewees] select to tell you, to how you select what to write” (1983, p. 160).

There were two further reasons for deciding upon case study. Reflecting on Stake’s (1995) idea of intrinsically motivated case study, I also used a case study approach because it was a good fit with my role as a full-time teacher and part-time doctoral student. I knew that investigating my Year 10 social studies classes would be relevant to improving my practice and it would be enjoyable. As Barton (2008b) has emphasised, it is often unacknowledged that there “is a need for a match between method and researcher” (2008b, p. 65).

Finally, because the culture of Eastside School supports an inquiry based approach to learning and the social studies department was already using this approach to teach historical concepts such as continuity and change, it was potentially an ideal place for the aim of my instructional intervention to be met, i.e. for students to develop a sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. Schofield (2007) has argued that this type of ideal setting is useful because it “sheds light on what could be” (2007, p. 195). If it does work there is the opportunity to explain why and if it does not, then there is a strong likelihood that this would also be the case elsewhere. In other words, my professional setting provided me with what might be an ideal case.

Context

My case study was situated within my professional setting at Eastside School. The school is a co-educational secondary school located in the suburbs of a New Zealand city. It has a strong reputation for providing students with excellent pastoral care and has a focus on raising student achievement. As a decile-8 school¹⁷, parental income is well above the New Zealand average, and its academic results in recent years have been comparable to similar decile 8-10 schools nationwide. In the last ten years the school has experienced gradual growth in its student roll and during the time I was undertaking the study, approximately two thousand

¹⁷ “A school's decile indicates the extent to which it draws its students from (...) socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students” Ministry of Education, Retrieved from <http://www.minedu.govt.nz>.

students were attending the school. The school draws the vast majority of students from the local community. Only about five per cent of students live outside of the school’s zone and have been enrolled through a competitive open ballot system.

The school-wide student population encompasses different ethnicities and backgrounds. In this sense Eastside School is representative of what Webber (2008) has called New Zealand’s “glorious diversity” (2008, p.7). The majority of students identify as Asian or Pākehā (European New Zealand), with eight per cent being Māori (see Table 5).

Table 5

Eastside School’s Student Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Total (%)
Asian	35
Māori	8
Pākehā / European NZ	34
Other	7
Other European	10
Pacific Peoples	6

It is also likely that many students would identify with more than one ethnic group.

Approximately five per cent of students have English as a second language.

At Eastside School, social studies is a compulsory subject at Year 9 and Year 10. Students in Year 10 (14 to 15 years old) receive one semester (half an academic year) of social studies and during this time do not normally participate in assessment for national qualifications or participate in any national or external testing. During the semester, three social studies modules are taught: ‘The world at risk’, ‘a history of us’, and ‘show me the money’. These modules reflect three of the conceptual strands at curriculum level five of the social sciences learning area within the New Zealand Curriculum document (Ministry of Education, 2007): ‘place and environment’, ‘continuity and change’ and ‘the economic world’, respectively.

The school’s social studies classrooms are situated in small two-storey blocks, built in the early 1960s, and in one or two newer buildings. The research took place in one of the older classrooms, Room J1. It has an attractive setting, with large windows running down one side and a whiteboard and screen for the digital projector situated at the front. An ex-science

laboratory, the workbenches and sinks around the perimeter of the classroom still remain but the displays of student work and posters clearly say that it is a social studies zone. Moulded plastic chairs and a set of thirty laminated desks are variously arranged in rows or clustered into groups depending on the requirements of the lesson.

Participant selection

My study used a purposive typical-case convenience sample of two Year 10 (14 to 15 years old) social studies classes at Eastside School. In Class A/C, where the affective learning tasks were taught first followed by the cognitive learning tasks, there were 22 participants, 7 (32 per cent) being boys and 15 (68 per cent) girls. 23 students participated in the study in Class C/A, which was taught the cognitive learning tasks first followed by the affective learning tasks. Of these students, 9 (39 per cent) were boys and 14 (61 per cent) were girls. The gender balance of each class was therefore similar. In both classes, just over 70 per cent of participants were of Asian or Pākehā (New Zealand European) ethnicity, and 8 per cent were Māori. This was broadly representative of the school-wide population's ethnicity. Twelve students (6 from each class) decided not to participate in the study. However, these students took part in the same learning tasks and assessments as those who participated in the study.

I used a purposive typical-case convenience sample for four reasons. Foremost amongst these was that my two classes were broadly typical of mixed ability social studies classes in a large co-educational suburban school in New Zealand. Because many New Zealand teachers practice in similar settings, my findings would be more likely to resonant with this audience. Secondly, my participant selection was derived from my research questions. These required depth in terms of eliciting rich information from students about the nature of historical empathy and to trace the path of their learning trajectories as they developed this conceptual understanding. The research questions also required the ability to make a comparison between two groups of students who would follow separate sequences of instruction. My sample therefore included a relatively small number of students so that I could focus on eliciting rich descriptions from individuals. It also included students from two classes (Class A/C and Class C/A) so that comparative information could be collected. Thirdly, my sampling strategy was a good fit with my role as a teacher-researcher looking at the particularity of my own practice. I did not require a larger or probability based sample as I

was not trying to generalize my findings or draw high-level statistically significant inferences from my data. Finally, for practical reasons, choosing a sample from my own professional setting made sense in terms of ease of access. Also, it did not draw upon resources, in terms of cost and time, that I could not sustain as a part-time doctoral student and full-time teacher. In this sense my sampling strategy was as “efficient as practical” (Kemper, Stringfield and Teddlie, 2003, p. 276). Nevertheless, there was a potential weakness in my sampling strategy in that by sampling 45 students from two classes I might be swamped by too much data.

To address this potential issue, at the beginning of the study I used maximal variation sampling (Creswell, 2008) to select twelve students whose responses to the instructional intervention could be explored in more detail through their participation in two interviews. The criteria used to select these students were that the groups contain an equal mix of gender and a variation of performance in the entry task activity. This would allow the data gathered from these students to be aggregated, potentially revealing differences that would otherwise remain hidden. In the entry task activity however, only one student’s response scored above Level 2 using the typology reproduced in Table 3 as a marking guide. I therefore decided to choose an equal mix of male and female students from Class A/C and Class C/A and tried to pick the greatest variation of responses within the total range of Level 1 and Level 2 scores (see Table 6).

Table 6
Entry Task Scores of Interviewees

Interviewees (pseudonyms)	Class	Gender	Entry task affective score	Entry task cognitive score
Hailey	A/C	F	2	2
Helen	A/C	F	2	2
Rachel	A/C	F	2	2
Alvin	A/C	M	2	1
Dave	A/C	M	2	2
Tim	A/C	M	2	2
Lottie	C/A	F	2	2
Michelle	C/A	F	2	2
Sarah	C/A	F	2	2
Andy	C/A	M	2	2
Rick	C/A	M	2	2
Vince	C/A	M	2	2

Towards the end of the study I noticed that the student data from the entry, mid, exit and post tasks could be divided into three categories: those students who had achieved a relatively sophisticated grasp of historical empathy; those who had made mixed progress and those who had made very little progress. I wanted to investigate these students interpretations of historical empathy more closely so I retrospectively decided on another sample of twelve students (six in Class C/A and an equal number in Class A/C) whose results fell into each one of these three categories (See Table 7).

Within this group I used a sub-group of two students: Lucy in Class A/C and Claire in Class C/A. Lucy and Claire had clearly shown progress and reached a relatively sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. By examining their workbooks I hoped to describe their progression.

Table 7

Purposive Sample of Twelve Students

Student	Class	Entry task		Mid task		Exit task		Post task	
		Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive
Lucy	A/C	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	5
Hailey	A/C	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
Eileen	A/C	2	2	4	4	4	4	2	2
Alvin	A/C	2	1	4	4	4	4	2	2
Steph	A/C	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Helen	A/C	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Claire	C/A	2	2	3	3	5	5	4	4
Vince	C/A	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4
Adam	C/A	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	2
Sarah	C/A	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3
Marsha	C/A	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	2
Rick	C/A	2	2	2	2	2	2	M	M

Note. M = missing data.

Instructional Intervention

At the heart of the case study was a 16 lesson instructional intervention. In my role as teacher-researcher, I taught all of the lessons in the intervention for both Class A/C and Class C/A. Half of the lessons focused on the affective dimension of historical empathy and the other half-focused on its cognitive dimension (see Appendices B and C for a detailed description of these lessons and resources).

The starting point for the affectively focused lessons was watching the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) that portrayed the adventures of two young Australian friends as they headed off to war and eventually found themselves fighting on the Gallipoli peninsular. This was followed by a variety of learning tasks, that included: writing found-poems based on the records of soldiers whose names' were copied from the local war memorial; exploring the students feelings through looking at a series of pictures; re-enactments inspired by wartime photographs; and, a role play based on the diary entries of a New Zealand soldier.

The cognitively focused lessons began by exploring the values and beliefs of New Zealanders at the turn of the Twentieth Century. I used evidence drawn from visual and textual sources and the documentary *Frontier of Dreams, episode 8: The price of empire* (Burke & Waru, 2005) to put Gallipoli into context. There followed a series of cognitively focused learning tasks which included: building contextual knowledge through source material; analysing a newspaper of the time period; using a rubric to explore evidence drawn from cartoons penned in 1915; watching the documentary *Gallipoli: Brothers in arms* (Denton, 2007) to compare past and present-day attitudes to Gallipoli; and, critically interpreting the different perspectives found within a series of interviews with New Zealand veterans of Gallipoli.

The instructional intervention occurred during August and September 2010. The topic was the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. The decision to use this historical content was straightforward in the sense that it was already part of the school's Year 10 social studies curriculum. All Year 10 students follow a module called 'a history of us' that explores historical concepts such as change through a case-study of Gallipoli or other similar event. Matching my intervention to this pre-existing social studies content was important because I did not want participating students to be at an educational disadvantage. The Gallipoli campaign also proved to be well chosen because it provided students with a puzzling scenario, that of young people making a decision to leave the comforts of home, to travel half way across the world, to put themselves in harm's way. The research of Yeager, Foster, Maley, Anderson and Morris III (1998) has suggested that such a conundrum fosters curiosity and this might help students to engage with historical concepts. It could be supposed however, that the genuine puzzlement of the students was somewhat eroded by their prior knowledge of the First World War. As Endacott (2010) has argued, if we already know what happened there will be a

tendency to bring this advantage of hindsight to bear, whenever we try to imagine what young men and women living in the past were actually thinking.

In my preliminary discussion about research with students' and in their entry task, they appeared to have little prior knowledge of either the story of Gallipoli or the wider history of the First World War. This is perhaps unsurprising because as Wineburg (2001) reminds us, historical content that ignores the tangible past of students is quickly forgotten. For many students, the events involving New Zealanders from almost one hundred years ago may have seemed intangible, suggesting that Endacott's anxiety about hindsight could be somewhat misplaced in the context of New Zealand secondary school students studying Gallipoli.

Methods

To investigate the research questions I used: interviews; visual materials; documents; entry, mid, exit and post tasks (also referred to as assessment tasks); a student feedback survey; and, a classroom response system. Table 8 provides a summary of when I employed these different methods and the sample-sizes used.

The purpose of these methods was to trace the changing nature of how individual students interpreted the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. It was also my intention to elicit student feedback about their engagement with historical empathy and to draw data from multiple sources and channels. Multiple methods such as described here, diminish the chances of students saying less than they know. This was important because students are not used to talking about historical empathy.

Table 8

Data Collection Schedule and Data Analysis Sample Sizes

	Date (2010)	Interviews	Visual materials	Documents	Assessment tasks	Student feedback survey	Classroom response system
Before teaching Intervention	Aug 2				A/C, $n=19$ C/A, $n=20$		
Teaching Intervention Sequence 1 (Aug 11-18, 10 lessons)	Aug 11	A/C girls $n = 3$		A/C, $n=2$ C/A, $n=2$			
	Aug 12	C/A boys $n = 3$					A/C, $n=15$ C/A, $n=17$
	Aug 16	A/C boys $n = 3$					
	Aug 17	C/A girls $n = 3$			A/C, $n=19$		
	Aug 18				C/A, $n=20$		
Teaching Intervention Sequence 2 (Aug 24- Sept 2, 9 lessons)	Aug 24						A/C, $n=13$ C/A, $n=16$
	Aug 31				A/C, $n=19$ C/A, $n=20$		
	Sept 1						A/C, $n=13$ C/A, $n=12$
	Sept 2					A/C, $n=22$ C/A, $n=23$	
After teaching intervention	Sept 3		A/C, $n=6$ C/A, $n=6$				
	Sept 8	A/C boys $n = 3$					
	Sept 9	A/C girls $n = 3$					
	Sept 10	C/A boys $n = 3$					
	Sept 14/15	C/A girls $n = 3$			A/C, $n=17$ C/A, $n=14$		

Note. Class A/C ($n=22$), was taught, by me, the affective learning tasks first followed by the cognitive learning tasks. Class C/A ($n=23$), was also taught by me using the same material but with this sequence reversed. That is, students in Class C/A were taught the cognitive learning tasks first, then the affective learning tasks.

The study's methods, data sources and participant groups are summarised in Table 9, followed by separate sections detailing the justification, administration and analysis of each of these methods.

Table 9

Summary of Data Analysis Organisation

Research questions	Methods	Data sources	Participants
1. How do students interpret historical empathy?	Interviews	Interview transcripts.	Class A/C: <i>Hailey, Helen, Rachel, Alvin, Dave & Tim.</i> Class C/A: <i>Lottie, Sarah, Michelle, Andy, Rick & Vince.</i>
	Visual materials	Students' drawings about the meaning of historical empathy.	Class A/C: <i>Hailey, Eileen, Lucy, Helen, Steph, Alvin.</i> Class C/A: <i>Sarah, Claire, Marsha, Rick, Adam & Vince.</i>
2. How do students develop/become more sophisticated in their ability to empathise historically?	Documents	Students' written responses to tasks and essays	Class A/C: <i>Lucy.</i> Class C/A: <i>Claire.</i>
	Assessment tasks	Students' scores on assessment tasks.	Class A/C: 22 students Class C/A: 23 students
3. What influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students' development of historical empathy?	Documents	Students' written responses to tasks and essays.	Class A/C: <i>Lucy.</i> Class C/A: <i>Claire.</i>
	Student feedback survey	Student responses to the feedback survey.	Class A/C: 22 students Class C/A: 23 students
	Classroom response system	Rating on 3 sets of text messages.	Class A/C: Set 1= 15, Set 2= 13 & Set 3=13 students. Class C/A: Set 1=17, Set 2= 16 & Set 3= 12 students.
	Interviews	Interview transcripts.	Class A/C: <i>Hailey, Helen, Rachel, Alvin, Dave & Tim.</i> Class C/A: <i>Lottie, Sarah, Michelle, Andy, Rick & Vince.</i>

Interviews

I used interviews primarily as a method of addressing the research questions regarding the way students interpreted and developed historical empathy. In this regard, interviews were a way of accessing, through spoken language, a 'thick description' of how the students' experienced the instructional intervention (Stenhouse, 1982). Furthermore, as MacDonald and Sanger (1982) have pointed out, by quoting students words from the interview

transcripts, I was able to maximise the accessibility of the research to the reader and allow them to better understand what was happening in the students' situation. This was particularly relevant to my research, because I was seeking to provide sufficient information for the reader to judge whether the findings resonated with their practice. Furthermore, because I needed to learn about the journey students undertook as they worked at developing historical empathy in my classes, I had to be able to hear their stories about that journey. Interviews provided a way of doing this. As Seidman (2006) has put it: "I interview because I am interested in other people's stories" (2006, p. 7). I was interested "in understanding the lived experience [being in the classroom] of other people [the students who participated in the study] and the meaning they [made] of that experience" (Seidman, 2006, p. 9).

I decided that group interviews (three students per group interview) would offer the most potential for discussions to develop (Cohen & Manion, 1989). As a group, who had shared a common series of lessons, it was likely that the three students would be used to cooperating with each other and be able to share ideas and interact within an interview setting (Creswell, 2008). I therefore rejected one-on-one interviews which would not deliver this advantage. I was mindful however, of being attuned to: different personalities within the group interview; checking for agreement about meaning; and, eliciting differing opinions. As Bell (2006) has emphasised, these are important interviewing skills when drawing students into discussion.

Interview schedule design

An interview schedule was used for both sets of interviews (see Appendix D). The first interview schedule prompted the students to: talk about what they had found easy and difficult in the entry task; how in hindsight they might have done things differently; and, what they had found interesting so far. The second interview schedule focused on: how the students interpreted historical empathy; what they thought about the sequencing of the affective and cognitive dimensions; and, how they had approached the task of drawing historical empathy.

I also decided to use a semi-structured group interview format which drew upon the questions in my interview schedule, and also from prompts drawn from what I was noticing as the interviews unfolded. My intention in doing this was to encourage the students to make a full response (Creswell, 2008). Dillon's (1981) research on questioning suggested that questions

and prompts worked best when they came from the researcher's genuine need to know. Indeed, experienced researchers, such as Levstik (2008a), have argued that if interviewers use questions that they seem to already know the answer to, interviewees are unlikely to say very much, thinking they might give the wrong answer. Therefore, as the interview unfolded, I supplemented my questions and probes with what, Dillon (1979) has called, "declarative phrasing" (1979, p. 578). In other words, I had a set of pre-determined questions to ask in the interview but I was also ready to follow-up on comments made by the students and through using their phrases, ask them to expand on their responses.

Administration and participants

I was mindful of Levstik's (2008a) advice that the aim of a good interview was "students educating the interviewers rather than having the interviewers interrogating students" (2008a, p. 363). I therefore rejected one-on-one interviews because they might make the student feel intimidated and rather timid about speaking. However, group interviews are not without problems either. Concerned that one student might dominate the discussion in a group interview, I carefully set out some simple ground rules immediately before the first interview began about students taking turns in the interview and trying their best to participate and listen to others. A few days before the interview, I also told each student who else was going to be involved and asked whether they still felt willing to express their views freely. The students responded positively to these points and were happy to proceed with participating in the interviews.

I used maximal variation sampling (Creswell, 2008) to select twelve students to participate in a series of two interviews: six students from Class A/C (three boys and three girls) and an equal number from Class C/A (also three boys and three girls). I also used the students' responses to the entry task to help ensure some variation of pre-existing understanding of historical empathy within my sample (see Table 6).

As outlined in Table 10, the students were interviewed in single-sex, same-class (i.e. they were all from Class A/C or Class C/A) groups of three. Each group took part in two, twenty minute interviews. The interviews were conducted at tutor time, which preceded morning interval and were located in the school's social science meeting room. This meant that I could conduct the interviews in a quiet space away from the busyness of the school day. The first

set of interviews took place during the opening sequence of the instructional intervention when students were learning through either the affective or cognitive dimension of historical empathy. The second set was conducted after the second sequence of the instructional intervention was taught, when students would have learnt about both the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. The students were aware from the outset that they were learning about historical empathy and the experience of the Anzacs at Gallipoli.

Table 10

Interview Times and Notation

	Class A/C (girls) Hailey, Helen & Rachel	Class A/C (boys) Alvin, Dave & Tim	Class C/A (girls) Lottie, Michelle & Sarah	Class C/A (boys) Andy, Rick & Vince
1 st set of interviews: time and notation	11 th Aug 2010 Class A/C, FIG	16 th Aug 2010 Class A/C, FIB	17 th Aug 2010 Class C/A, FIG	12 th Aug 2010 Class C/A, FIB
2 nd set of interviews: time and notation	9 th Sept 2010 Class A/C, SIG	8 th Sept 2010 Class A/C, SIB	14 th Sept 2010 Class C/A, SIG	10 th Sept 2010 Class C/A, SIB

Note. Interview notation: FI = first interview, SI = second interview, B = boys, G = girls

The day after each interview, the interviewees were given a draft copy of the interview transcript and were invited to make any comments or changes to their own statements that they wished. Once the interviewees had returned their transcripts to me, I made any necessary amendments (see Appendix E) and uploaded them to NVIVO8.

Analysis

I began my analysis of the interview data by coding the interview transcripts. I used a thematic analysis based on the six pre-existing elements drawn from my interpretation of historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions (see Table 4). The affective dimension's elements were: using imagination to recognise appropriate feelings; listening to and entertaining 'others' point of view; and caring about and, being sensitive and tolerant towards people from the past. The elements of the cognitive dimension were: building

historical contextual knowledge; being aware of the past as different from the present; and using evidence to understand / think about the past.

I discovered however, that a large part of the data in the transcripts did not easily relate to these pre-existing elements. Therefore, I began to follow a more inductive process, set out by Creswell (2008), of gradually funnelling the data into a series of labelled segments so that I was left with a small number of elements. To begin with I had over forty labelled segments that I hoped would help me describe these elements. Using an iterative technique of re-reading the transcripts and reflecting on the labelled segments, I was able to see that some of these could be conflated whilst new ones emerged and others were discarded. Finally, I also counted the frequency with which mention of these elements appeared in the interview transcripts.

Visual Materials

By visual materials I mean that I asked the students to draw pictures to represent historical empathy, thereby revealing what they thought or felt about the concept (Wagner, 2010). My decision to use a visual materials method was two-fold. Primarily, I wanted to elicit student beliefs about historical empathy that might otherwise go unsaid. After all, students are not used to talking about historical concepts and may have found it difficult to articulate all that they knew about historical empathy in the context of my interviews and written tasks.

Language limitations (VanSledright, Kelly & Meuwissen, 2006) and the difficulty of talking about war (Fussell, 1975) might also mean that my textual data only encapsulated a narrow range of what the study's participants felt about historical empathy. As Prosser (2011) has pointed out, visual methods have the advantage of eliciting a "wide[r] range of response possibilities [and] ... harness the creative abilities of ... participants" (2011, p. 488). Being asked to draw what you think or feel historical empathy means, offers different possibilities than being asked to talk or write about it. My intention was therefore to use this method as a way for students to more easily describe what they thought or felt historical empathy meant.

Secondly, I was aware that the use of visual methods to enrich information collected from other data sources was common in educational research (Wagner, 2010) and had been used in history education research by Hunter & Farthing (2008). In their research of Year 11 students (15 to 16 year olds) studying history in a New Zealand secondary school, Hunter and

Farthing had demonstrated that students can visually represent historical concepts such as change and continuity. The students' drawings were both creative and perceptive and suggested that visual materials could be an effective research method to elicit valuable insights about student understandings of historical empathy. Therefore, visual materials would give me a different vantage point from which to reflect on my findings from other data sources. In this regard, the students' drawings provided a different channel for communicating the meaning of historical empathy which, as Wagner (2010) highlights, might challenge "the taken-for-granted correspondence between some kinds of data and the phenomena to which they refer" (2010, p. 502).

Administration and participants

All students in Class A/C and Class C/A were asked to draw what they thought and felt it meant to empathise historically when studying people who had lived at the time of the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. They were also asked to add, if they wished, a brief written explanation of their drawing. Each student was given A4 white paper and coloured pencils. The drawings were completed over two sixty-minute periods, immediately after the second sequence of the instructional intervention was finished (see Table 8).

I used the drawings of the twelve participants identified in my maximal-variation sample, principally because this sub-group of students covered a range of learning trajectories. These participants were also evenly distributed by gender and evenly drawn from Class A/C and Class C/A. This approach also meant avoiding the pitfall highlighted by Creswell (2008) that making sense of large numbers of pictures or drawings can easily overwhelm the researcher.

Analysis

An issue with analysing the students' drawings, as Pink (2007) has argued, was that as "they move from one context to another, they are, in a sense, transformed, although their content remains unaltered" (2007, p. 118). In the context of being produced in the classroom the drawings were attempts at communicating what the students thought and felt historical empathy was all about. Later on however, as I tried to analyse them, they took on new meanings and I wondered if they really supported the significant inferences I was trying to make. As Pink has also pointed out, instead of trying to "translate visual evidence into verbal

knowledge [it might be worthwhile to also] explore the relationship between visual and other (including verbal) knowledge” (2007, p. 119). My analysis therefore proceeded on two fronts.

I used the elements I had elicited from the interview transcripts to provide a means of interpreting the underlying meaning of the drawings. These elements were devised from my analysis of the interview transcripts and reflected these students’ verbal descriptions / definitions of historical empathy. In many cases I also had the students’ comments about their drawing to help me interpret the meaning. Furthermore, I compared the drawings with my other data sources to see where their meanings might overlap and where the drawings might falsify what might otherwise have seemed obvious. The strength of these approaches was that I was not only relying on my interpretation of the drawings. As Ganesh (2011) has made clear, the bias of the researcher is less problematic when following such an approach because the description of the picture/drawing does not solely rest with the researcher’s abilities of visual interpretation.

Documents

During the teaching intervention students wrote in workbooks. They were asked to make all of their written responses to the various learning tasks in this workbook. In this regard, the workbooks provided a single, detailed and easily accessible written record of what they had done. As a record of the students writing over the course of the entire instructional intervention, the workbooks had “the advantage of being in the language and words of the participants” (Creswell, 2008, p. 209). This I felt gave them a depth which would enhance other data source information I was collecting (which was more focused on breadth, such as the student feedback survey and the classroom response system).

I also considered that the workbooks might be a useful running record of what was happening in the classroom and how the students were responding to the various tasks. This helped me to trace ideas that I found interesting and to raise these in my second interview with the students, at the end of the study. The workbooks also included the students’ essays which were based on the two-part question: ‘why did a huge number of young men leave New Zealand in 1915 to fight a war thousands of kilometres away? And what were the effects of this decision upon these young men up until the end of 1915?’

A shortcoming of using the workbooks was that sometimes the written tasks were incomplete because a student had been absent, or for various reasons had not completed the written task during the lesson. Therefore some workbooks did not fully reflect what the students knew or could do.

Administration

At the beginning of the study all students were provided with a workbook in which to record each of the written tasks associated with the instructional intervention. I believed that it was important for me, not to know, which workbook belonged to which student, as this might have led me to respond differentially or in a biased way to their work. Equally, I wanted to protect the students' identity during the process of the study, as outlined in my earlier discussion of ethics. I therefore decided to code the workbooks by asking a colleague to print on the cover of each workbook a coded number (these codes were shared with the students but not with me). This meant that students could identify their workbook and collect it and hand it in using a drop box in the classroom. I explained to the students before the study began that this procedure would mean that I would not know whose workbook I was reading. It would therefore help protect the anonymity of each student's workbook. It also meant that I treated the workbooks of non-participants and participants equally. In this way I hoped that the students would do the same things in their workbooks, whether or not they were participating in the study.

Analysis

I began by analysing the workbooks from all of the students who had participated in the study, following my completion of the teaching and learning sequence. I decided to sample enough workbooks to enable a rich and deep analysis, in order to provide insight into the students' individual journeys. The number of student workbooks was less important than being able to pay attention to the richness of the data within the workbooks. After the teaching intervention had concluded, I therefore decided to choose two workbooks, one from Class A/C (Lucy) and one from Class C/A (Claire) to analyse in depth. Importantly, Lucy and Claire's responses to the entry, mid, exit and post tasks suggested that they had made progress and developed a relatively sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. One part of the analysis described their individual progression and the other part attempted to draw comparisons between them.

To analyse Lucy and Claire's progression I decided to use two separate theories of progression. The first was Vermeulen's (2000) theory which proposed that student progression in studying history was like the "growth of a spider's web" (2000, p. 36). With this in mind, I anticipated that Lucy and Claire might display an increasingly broad awareness of historical empathy. Furthermore, I wondered whether Lucy and Claire's work could be described using the elements I had identified in Table 4 or would be similar to the typology I had used in Table 3. I therefore used a second theory which claimed that progression in the history classroom was more linear and hierarchical. Based on the research of Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (1996), this theory posited that student progression was rather more predictable and could be traced across a series of pre-determined steps or levels using a typology.

Entry, mid, Exit and Post Tasks (Assessment Tasks)

The entry, mid, exit and post tasks (assessment tasks) provided a series of time-points as students moved through the instructional intervention and developed their ability to empathize historically. Copies of these tasks can be found in Appendix F. Each task included a small number of sources, a short historical scenario and a question (see Table 11). The students were encouraged to use their knowledge and the sources to answer the task's question.

The tasks were used comparatively, as a means of tracing how each group of students as a whole, in Class A/C and Class C/A, developed historical empathy before, during and after the instructional intervention. They were also used to track the progress made by individual students. This was important because Barton's (2008a) review of the history education research field emphasised the lack of evidence gauging the progress made by individual students as they learnt history.

Furthermore, each task had a specific purpose. The entry task was a valuable tool to establish whether or not, before the intervention began, Class A/C and Class C/A were similar in terms of their interpretation of historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions. I used the mid task to measure how well the students had been able to empathise historically, after only participating in either the affective or cognitively focused lessons. This meant that I could gauge their progression in terms of them having only been exposed to either the affective or

cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. The exit task was designed to gauge historical empathy at the end of the instructional intervention. Lastly, the post task (the same task as at entry) was administered just over two weeks after the instructional intervention ended and was used to see how the students empathised after the direct teaching effects had passed.

In the entry and exit tasks the question asked how a mother of an Anzac soldier would feel about her son's departure for the war (entry task) and, on hearing news of his death (exit task). The mid task question asked how the son would feel about the experience of fighting at Gallipoli in the summer of 1915. Different questions and source material were used for these three tasks for two reasons. First, to minimise the risk that the students development of historical empathy was simply because they had practised the same task. There is evidence from Kohlmeier's (2006) study of her 9th grade world history class, that practising empathising across similar tasks leads to an improvement in students' grasp of the concept. Equally, Rogers (1975) and Slote (2007), from a therapeutic and moral philosophy perspective, respectively, have argued that practiced experience of the unfamiliar improves sensitivity towards others. Secondly, to avoid the problem of the students becoming ambivalent and writing less than they actually knew, because they had wearied of sitting the same task three times. However, I did decide that the post task should use the same source material and question as the entry task because a greater passage of time between these tasks would have ameliorated the drawbacks just outlined.

Table 11

A Summary of the Assessment Tasks

	Scenario	Question	Source material
Entry task	Mrs Sievers was similar to many women in New Zealand, when in August 1914 she found out her son Gerald was going off to war.	What would Mrs Sievers have felt about her son going off to war in 1914?	Sources A to D: material from modern day historians, a photo of troops leaving New Zealand and an extract from the fictional picture book <i>My Mother's eyes: The story of a boy soldier</i> (Wilson, 2009). See Appendix E.
Mid task	By the middle of 1915, Gerald Sievers found himself fighting the Turkish army on the slopes of the Gallipoli Peninsula.	What would Gerald Sievers have felt about life on the Gallipoli peninsula around the middle of 1915?	Sources A to D: material from a contemporary war artist and photographer, extracts from a New Zealand history website and an extract from <i>Scarecrow Army</i> (Davidson, 2005). See Appendix E.
Exit task	In October 1915 Mrs Sievers received news that her son Gerald, who had gone off to war in 1914, had been killed.	What would Mrs Sievers have felt about the First World War in the months following the death of her son, Gerald?	Sources A to D: material from contemporary newspapers, the cover of <i>Her Excellency's Knitting</i> book and an extract from the 1970s' magazine <i>New Zealand Heritage 'the making of a nation.'</i> See Appendix E.
Post task	A repeat of the entry task scenario, question and source material		

Administration and participants

The entry task was administered to students in Class A/C and Class C/A on the same day and before the instructional intervention had begun, on August 2nd 2010. The students were given one hour to attempt the entry task. Using the same assessment conditions, students attempted the mid task at the end of the first sequence of learning, on August 17th for Class A/C and a day later for Class C/A (i.e. once either the affective or cognitive sequence of lessons had been completed). The exit task was completed towards the end of the final teaching sequence, on August 31st for Class A/C and again a day later for Class C/A. The post task was completed just over two weeks later on September 15th.

Analysis

I assessed the students' responses to the entry, mid, exit and post tasks using the typology described in Table 3. This enabled me to broadly gauge the development of historical empathy as the students completed the four assessment tasks. Each student response was

given a mark, between 1 and 5, for the sophistication of its affective and cognitive historical empathy.

To ensure that the data from all of the tasks was reliable, I used a stratified random sample of twelve respondents (six from Class A/C and six from Class C/A) to be marked by another history teacher, referred to here as *Teacher 2*. I then used Cohen's Kappa index of interrater reliability to measure the degree of correlation between our two sets of marks.

My analysis of the students' marks involved two processes. First, to compare what was happening in Class A/C and Class C/A and then to look more closely at a smaller group of individual students. In terms of the former aim, my first step was to construct a raw data grid using 'SPSS18' computer software and to test whether there was a relationship between the students' membership of Class A/C and Class C/A and their marks in the entry, mid, exit and post tasks. I also tested whether there was a relationship between the students' gender and their marks in these tasks. Because I was using ordinal measurements and could not assume that my sample was representative, (Creswell, 2008), it was most appropriate to use the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U Test. I tested the null hypothesis that the student' marks in the entry, mid, exit, and post tasks were the same across both classes and for gender. This allowed me to detect any significant differences or similarities between Class A/C and Class C/A student responses to the assessment tasks. I also calculated the percentage of students in each class who had reached a more sophisticated interpretation of historical empathy, i.e. level 4 or 5.

My next step was to consider examining the entry, mid, exit and post tasks of individual students. To do this I looked at those students who had reached a sophisticated interpretation of historical empathy. I felt that it was more useful to focus on achievement rather than non-achievement. As Wineburg (2001) has argued, "we have spent so much time discovering ... what students *don't* know that we have neglected more useful questions ... [such as those about what they] *do* know" (2001, p. viii). I chose the workbooks of two students: Lucy from Class A/C and Claire from Class C/A. I used a descriptive approach to tell the story of what was happening in each of their learning trajectories.

Student Feedback Survey

I used a student feedback survey to gather data on the emotional and behavioral engagement

of students in Class A/C and Class C/A (see Appendix G). My intention was to measure students' engagement at the end of the teaching intervention and to compare this information with my findings from the classroom response system and the interviews.

Student feedback surveys are frequently used at Eastside School. Within the school's social studies department, teachers have the option of surveying students at the end of the academic year or semester, or upon completion of a module / topic. Teachers use survey results to help them reflect on their teaching and to inform their planning of future courses. In one sense, I used the student feedback survey in this way. I also felt that it was a manageable means of gathering information from a relatively large number of students. The student responses, except for one question, were quantifiable and I was able to make a comparison between Class A/C and Class C/A.

Instead of using one of my school's pre-existing student feedback surveys, I adapted an instrument produced by Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987) to measure student motivation / engagement. I had become familiar with this instrument whilst reading Aitken and Sinnema's (2008) *best evidence synthesis iteration* that focused on the social sciences. It appeared to have strong validity based on a deep understanding of student motivation and engagement.

In deciding to use a survey instrument I was conscious that I was using a method strongly associated with quantitative studies where survey data is frequently drawn from large randomized samples and submitted to high level statistical testing to establish inferences of statistical significance. There is a history however, of qualitative studies using surveys (Stake, 2010) and as Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have made clear, such research does invariably include numbers and amounts whenever a phrase such as 'several' is used. Perhaps Miles and Huberman (1994) have put it most succinctly, arguing that "we have to face the fact that numbers and words are both needed if we are to understand the world" (1994, p. 40). Importantly, I calculated statistics that were appropriate to my small purposive sample.

Administration and participants

Students in Class A/C ($n = 22$) and Class C/A ($n = 23$) completed the feedback survey on the same day, in the lesson directly following the conclusion of the instructional intervention. The feedback survey was based upon the Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987) motivation scale and comprised of seven questions:

- a) To what extent have you enjoyed the module?
- b) To what extent have you found the module interesting?
- c) To what extent do you feel successful at the activities in this module?
- d) To what extent have the activities allowed you to use your skills of: imagination & getting a feel for the past?
- e) To what extent have the activities allowed you to use your skills of: handling evidence & drawing on historical knowledge?
- f) To what extent have the activities in this module made you want to get involved?
- g) To what extent has the module been important to you?

Students responded using a five point ordinal scale to rank order 'the extent' of each attitude: 1: not at all; 2: small extent; 3: some extent; 4: large extent and 5: very large extent. This provided the numerical data for my low level statistical analysis.

Analysis

The student responses to questions (a) to (g) (see Appendix G) were tabulated using *SPSS18* software. Null hypotheses were established for the emotional and behavioral engagement explored in the feedback survey and the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used to check if there were any significant differences between Class A/C and Class C/A. This statistical analysis of the student feedback survey was used alongside my descriptive findings about levels of enjoyment, interest and success from my interview transcripts.

Classroom Response System – Engagement Ratings

I used mobile phone text messaging as a means of instantaneously eliciting from students how emotionally engaged (interested) they were with what they were doing in the classroom. This method of gathering student responses has been referred to as a 'classroom response system' or as a 'back channel' (Bruff, 2009). At the beginning of the study, I had explained to the students that if they wanted to participate in this part of the research then their text messages would be unidentifiable. As a participant incentive, I also arranged for a small sum of money to be given to those students who participated, to cover the cost of sending the text

messages. Furthermore, I sought the consent of the Principal to allow the students to use their mobile phones in the classroom (something which at that time was not permitted).

Classroom response systems are typically chosen when researchers are looking to gather instantaneous feedback from students (Bruff, 2009) or to find a cost-effective alternative to rather cumbersome pencil and paper experiments (Cheung, 2008). For my study, this method had two advantages. First, it allowed students to respond to a prompt about their emotional engagement with the lesson, in an anonymous way. Therefore there was an element of safety in giving an honest answer. As Bruff (2009) has pointed out, the anonymity of classroom response systems means that students avoid the influence of peer pressure or peer disapproval and also the awkwardness of sharing a minority view. This method therefore provided a safe channel for students to potentially tell me that they were not interested in what was happening in the lesson.

Secondly, it provided students with a fun and easy way to provide feedback that I hoped would increase participation. My hunch was that sending a text message may have appealed more to students than being asked to fill out a paper based feedback survey. My initial impression was that this was the case and that the students were excited about having special permission to use their mobile phones in class. However, several students did not send a text message. Reflecting on this, if I was to repeat the study I would ask students to turn on their mobile phones at the beginning of lessons and provide clearer instructions about the alternatives for those students without a working phone. Since collecting my data, the lower cost of sending text messages and the school's decision in 2011 to allow the use of digital devices in the classroom, including mobile phones, would likely off-set this issue.

Administration and participants

I collected mobile phone text messages from the students in both Class A/C and Class C/A at three different points during the instructional intervention: 12th August (first sequence of affective or cognitively focused lessons) 24th August (the second sequence) and 1st September 2010 (at the end of the two sequences), (see Table 12). At the middle point of each lesson, I asked the students in both classes to send their text message to my mobile phone. This involved writing on the whiteboard my mobile phone number and the following prompt: 'At this moment I am very interested in what I am learning.' The students were asked to respond

to this prompt by texting me one of five responses: (5 = I strongly agree; 4 = I agree; 3 = I am unsure; 2 = I disagree; 1 = I strongly disagree). Immediately following the lesson I recorded the texts in a *Microsoft Excel* document for later analysis.

Table 12

Number of Students who Sent a Text Message

Date (2010)	Participants in Class A/C	Participants in class C/A
August 12 th	15	17
August 24 th	13	16
September 1 st	13	12

I was surprised to find that not all of the students who participated in the study decided to send a text message. Only between twelve to seventeen students took part in each of the occasions when asked to text their response. Each time I was quietly told by one or two of the students who did not participate, that they either did not have their mobile phone in school, or more commonly, that their phone's pre-paid account was empty and they could therefore not send a text. I had not anticipated this problem. Although I had covered the cost of the text messages this did not mean that the students had loaded more credit onto their phone's account. My intention of providing a spare mobile phone for these students to use, worked to some extent, but students were reluctant to use it. As a result, only half to two-thirds of participants took part in this data collection method. Therefore the widespread ownership of mobile phones among students at Eastside School did not ensure that students would necessarily use them in the context of my study. Most students, nevertheless, did send text messages and used this so-called 'back channel' of communication.

Analysis

The numerical data that I collected from the students' mobile phone text messages was tabulated in a Microsoft 'Excel' spread sheet. I then calculated the mean and compared these between Class AC and Class C/A.

Trustworthiness

In this section I have explored the trustworthiness of my study. This involved looking at the procedures I used to help ensure that the inferences drawn from my findings were competent warrants. It has also involved examining whether my findings could be useful in other contexts. I begin however, with exploring the strategies of triangulation, member checking and peer collaboration. As part of the latter strategy I have considered the threat to trustworthiness of researcher bias. Finally in this section, I have examined the matter of transferability.

Triangulation

The idea of the researcher using triangulation is likened by Denzin and Lincoln (2011) to the film editor constructing a montage. Simultaneously placing multiple methods alongside each other or over-lapping images is “an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (2011, p. 5). I have found this a useful metaphor because as a teacher-researcher it challenges my tendency to see things from the single perspective of the insider studying his own practice. I have therefore used multiple methods to help enhance my understanding of what took place in my study (see Table 13).

Table 13

Methods and Data Sources

Methods	Data sources
Interviews	Interview transcripts
Visual materials	Drawings about the meaning of historical empathy
Documents	Written responses to learning tasks
Assessment tasks	Numerical data from assessment tasks
Student feedback survey	Responses to the feedback survey
Classroom response system	Engagement ratings from 3 sets of text messages

These multiple methods provided a sense of depth, in so far as the interviews, visual materials and documents, allowed me to accumulate rich information about individual students and their experiences. They also provided a breadth of understanding in terms of using the student feedback survey and the classroom response system to elicit how many students in Class A/C and Class C/A felt engaged when developing historical empathy. The

assessment tasks intersected these aims and provided both depth, in terms of an individual student's writing and breadth, through quantifying the written information provided by students in both classes. I was therefore able to identify what was happening in my classes from more than one vantage point.

Furthermore, my data sources were mined for information at different times during the study. The first set of interviews took place during the first part of the study when the students in Class A/C were involved in tasks to do with historical empathy's affective dimension and in Class C/A when the students were exploring its cognitive dimension. The second set of interviews took place later in the sequence of learning tasks when each class had shifted to either the cognitive (Class A/C) or affective (Class C/A) dimension. This allowed me to see if what the students said in the interviews changed as they moved from one dimension of historical empathy to the other. As Stake (1995) has posited, "data source triangulation is an effort to see if what we are observing ... carries the same meaning when found under different circumstances" (1995, p. 113). I followed this approach in my classroom response system and assessment tasks methods as well, so that once again I could see if things changed or stayed as they were, across the sequences of teaching affective and cognitive historical empathy.

Within my case-study design I also tried to include the possibility of looking at multiple theories relating to the interplay between the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. I was able to look at what happened to students' development of historical empathy if only affective or cognitive tasks were taught, or if both the affective and cognitive were taught, but in difference sequences. This provided a means of checking one approach to teaching historical empathy with another.

Member Checking

Member checking is a strategy where research participants can provide the researcher with feedback after being given a draft copy of the study's findings to read (Herr & Anderson, 2005). As an 'insider' researching my own practice, member checking was particularly important because it was a channel for the students who participated in the study to have a voice. Herr and Anderson have proposed that this process of seeking feedback could be

called *democratic validity* because the “multiple perspectives [of the research participants are] ... taken into account” (2005, p. 56).

I used member checking on two occasions during the course of completing my study. Those students who took part in the interviews were given copies of the transcripts and asked to check whether they had said everything they wanted and whether they felt that their meaning was clear. This process led to only minor changes to the transcripts, with the addition of one or two words to clarify a point or to correct the odd spelling mistake. In this instance, the additional checking had helped to confirm that the students felt that the meaning in the transcripts was correct. Students who participated in the study were also given a copy of my draft findings to comment on their plausibility. This was an opportunity to investigate the students’ alternative interpretations of my findings as much as it was for me to confirm the plausibility of my findings.

Researcher Bias and Peer Collaboration

It is perhaps ironic that one of the most significant threats to the trustworthiness of my study was my own bias. As a teacher-researcher I was aware of the argument that studying one’s own professional setting had “a bias towards verification” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 309). I have an imaginative view of the past and a natural inclination or tendency towards seeing the merits of historical empathy’s affective dimension. Also, my initial reading of the historical empathy literature partly reinforced this preconceived position. This bias might have led me to interpret my findings solely using my preconceived beliefs. I agree with Stake’s (2010) observation therefore, that the first step in addressing this bias is to be explicit about what the bias is and what has been done to minimize it.

Having identified my bias I felt that it could best be minimized by testing how open-minded I was to information which falsified my belief in the merits of affective historical empathy. As Schofield (2007) has emphasised, it is important that there “is an openness to having one’s expectations about the phenomena disconfirmed” (2007, p. 197). To do this, I found it useful to spend some time each day during the study, reflecting on what was happening from my point of view as a teacher-researcher. As Neuman (2003) has pointed out, there is merit in getting “inside the meaning system of members and then go[ing] back to an outside or research point of view” (2003, p. 368). In addition to cultivating open-mindedness, I also

followed Yin's (2009) recommendation of asking colleagues to offer up alternative ways of interpreting a study's findings. In this regard, discussions with colleagues at Eastside School and, with education doctorate peers and supervisors at The University of Auckland was particularly useful.

Another area that I felt leaned itself to peer corroboration was the marking of the assessment tasks. These marks would provide valuable information about to what extent the students in Class A/C and Class C/A were developing historical empathy. As such, I was aware of the need to check the accuracy of my marking. To do this, I used a stratified random sample of twelve students (six from Class A/C and six from Class C/A) to be marked by another history teacher, referred to in my study as *Teacher 2*. I then used Cohen's Kappa index of interrater reliability to measure the degree of correlation between our two sets of marks. The interrater agreement between myself and *Teacher 2* was 0.603492. To use Wood's (2007) phrase, it was "good enough" (2007, p. 6) to demonstrate the reliability of my marking.

Transferability

Are the findings of my study transferable to the wider community of social studies and history teachers? One way to answer this question is to say that it depends on the degree of similarity between my setting and those teachers who read the study. I believe there is a 'good fit', to use Guba and Lincoln's (1981) phrase, between my setting and those of other social studies and history teachers who are in large coeducational and multi-cultural secondary schools. Of course, regardless of similarities in the setting, I am studying my particular students, doing particular things at a particular time and place. Bassey (1995) has argued that while the findings of this type of research are within the boundary of the researcher's particular setting, the reader of the research, may find that they relate to their situation "outside of the boundary" (1995, p. 111). It will be the reader who ultimately decides whether my study's findings can be transferred to their practice (Walker, 1985). Put simply, I have made no claim that my study's findings can be extrapolated or generalised to a bigger population or offer surety that what is found here will work elsewhere. Rather, in considering the transferability of this study to their own practice, I hope it may "stimulate worthwhile thinking" (Bassey, 1995, p. 111) in readers. The task of readers to reach such a

decision is easier if the study is described in sufficiently thick detail; something I have purposefully pursued through-out the writing of my study.

It is also important to ask whether my study is of use to those readers who are history education researchers. As an example of case study, I would argue that it can contribute to the accumulation of particularities which may help to develop a shared understanding of historical empathy within history education research. Leading researchers within the historical empathy field such as Kohlmeier (2006) and VanSledright (2002) have published case study based research which does this. Furthermore, because of the intensive nature of case study, it can be the particular example that falsifies a general theory. As Flyvbjerg (2011) points out, it can provide Karl Popper with his single black swan.

In the next three chapters I examine the findings that emerged from the data sources outlined here in the methodology. Chapter 4 explores what I found out about how the students interpreted historical empathy and how these interpretations related to my own understanding of historical empathy (as outlined initially in Table 4). Chapter 5 describes the learning trajectories of students as they progressed towards a more sophisticated grasp of historical empathy during the course of the instruction intervention. It connects these trajectories with the wider literature on progression within history education. Chapter 6 reports on the extent to which the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks mattered.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: STUDENTS' INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORICAL EMPATHY

Overview

The findings in this chapter address my first research question: How do students interpret historical empathy? They emerged from my analysis of eight interview transcripts (four each from Class A/C and Class C/A) and twelve of the students' drawings of historical empathy (six each from Class A/C and Class C/A). In the findings I identify a number of elements to historical empathy. These elements are related to the literature in my discussion, and in the final section of the chapter I have proposed an historical empathy pathway. The pathway utilises Gaddis' (2002) idea about entering into and exiting the past, and sets out how these elements can be arranged in sequence.

Findings: Students Talking About How They Interpret Historical Empathy

Twelve students (two groups of three from Class A/C and a further two groups of three from Class C/A) were interviewed, each on two separate occasions. Firstly they were interviewed in August 2010 and then the same groups of students were interviewed a second time, three to four weeks later.

Seven elements emerged from the interviewees' description of historical empathy (see Table 14). With the exception of 'feeling care', 'multiple perspectives' and 'open mindedness' these elements were present in the descriptions of all four interview groups. I also found that the students interviewed in Class A/C and Class C/A held similar ideas about historical empathy. In the following sections the interviewee descriptions of historical empathy are explored in more detail.

Table 14

Students Description of Historical Empathy

Descriptive elements	Example	Class C/A girls	Class C/A boys	Class A/C girls	Class A/C boys	Total	Frequency rating
1. Feeling care	“It does make you feel sad” (Helen, Class A/C, FIG ¹⁸ , line 116)	(1)	(0)	(3)	(0)	(4)	5=
2. Evidence	“The more sources you use means that you are more able to take a step closer” (Vince, Class C/A, FIB, lines 34-35).	(2)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(9)	2
3. Imagination	“Instead of just imagining being yourself as you are, you would imagine yourself as they were then ... we need to imagine ourselves to be there as other people” (Rick, Class C/A, SIB, lines 33 & 85).	(2)	(4)	(4)	(2)	(12)	1
4. Multiple perspectives	“Like getting the point of view of all of the people so that you can get all of the sides of the story” (Dave, Class A/C, SIB, lines 22/3).	(1)	(0)	(1)	(3)	(5)	4
5. Contextual knowledge	“Things like the Boer War ¹⁹ and that, they thought they were going to get away unscathed” (Rick, Class C/A, FIB, lines 31-32).	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(4)	5=
6. Open mindedness	“I think I got better at being open-minded and being empathetic when there was more to it, like when there was another point of view” (Hailey, Class, A/C, SIG, lines 77-78).	(0)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(3)	7
7. It is difficult to do well	“What was difficult is why they would feel like that? Why it was so different then than now?” (Hailey, Class A/C, FIG, lines 19-20).	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(8)	3

Note. Numbers in parenthesis refer to the number of interviewees who identified each element.

¹⁸ Interview transcript notation: FI = first interview, SI = second interview, B = boys, G = girls.

¹⁹ As King (2003) has pointed out, in the Boer War, 1899-1902, relatively few New Zealanders, 59 from a total force of 6500 men, died while fighting. For civilians it was therefore possible in 1914, to see war as something you had a very good chance of surviving. Rick’s comment signals that he has sufficient contextual knowledge of the period to realise that this belief influenced the thinking of those heading to Europe in 1914.

Feeling Care

Historical empathy was described by four of the students as showing care for people who lived in the past. When discussing the writing of their found poems, based on a soldier's name from the local war memorial, it was clear that the girls in Class A/C had been affected by trying to imagine the life of this young soldier, who had lived locally and who had been killed in the First World War:

Hailey: Yeah by like knowing, by the name we got

Helen: Yeah like 'oh my god', like this person actually went and did this.

Hailey: Yeah.

Rachel: Yeah, like it's scary.

Hailey: Yeah and how they looked as well. This was a real person...

Helen: it made you feel that, oh my god, that's a real person. Look what they do (Class A/C, FIG²⁰, lines 67-71, 96).

The reference to being 'scared' and how it made the girls 'feel' that the historical characters had once been very much alive, signals they were strongly emotionally affected. Alvin, also in Class A/C, described how working with the names of soldiers from the local war memorial also helped him realise that these individuals from the past "were just from next door or something, they really weren't that far away" (Class A/C, FIB, lines 39-40). Using the local war memorial appeared to make the lives of soldiers seem more personal and relevant to the students. For Hailey, this feeling also emerged from watching the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981): "even for me in the movie ...they were actual people" (Class A/C, FIG, line 101). She recognised that in caring about soldiers you "have to kind of just feel it [their experiences in the past]" (Class A/C, FIG, line 24). In a similar way, Michelle, in Class C/A spoke about the impact of studying the Gallipoli campaign and the experiences of soldiers: "Well, reading the diaries is really emotional I reckon" (Class C/A, SIG, line 13). This emotional engagement with the past meant that some of the girls identified with the predicaments of soldiers: "you could feel the emotion and you could picture what they were going through and you were like, oh my God, what would I feel like if I went through that?" (Helen, Class A/C, SIG, lines 44-45).

²⁰ Interview notation: FI = first interview, SI = second interview, B = boys, G = girls.

Evidence

Historical empathy was described by nine of the students as a concept which involved the use of evidence. Once you had entered into the past, Vince in Class C/A felt that the next step was about the ability to marshal a wide range of evidence.

Vince argued that “the more sources you use means that you are more able to take a step closer” (Class C/A, FIB, lines 34-35). In other words, Vince was aware that there was more to historical empathy than putting yourself in to the past. You also had to find and use evidence. Equally, Alvin and Tim (Class A/C) as they reflected on how they might improve their response to the entry task, pointed out that they would use more of the evidence from the source material. As Tim stressed, at the beginning of the study, he had relied on a hunch, as he imagined how a mother would feel as she said goodbye to her son as he marched off to war: “I just guessed that she would be scared” (Class A/C, FIB, line 16). He then recognised that he needed to test this hunch by checking it against the available evidence. This is not to say however, that the purpose of evidence is only to rein in guess-work. Michelle, in Class C/A, when looking at the wartime diary of Anzac signaller Bill Leadley, described the emotional punch that such evidence often has: “well, reading the diaries is really emotional I reckon. And then the words they pick - you can really feel that sense of what they are trying to speak out to you” (Class C/A, SIG, lines 13-14).

For several other students it was important that historical empathy began with evidence. Michelle felt that evidence came first: “... there was one letter, the bit about a mother writing about her son, so we kind of like used that as an overall image and then based our thoughts on top of it” (Class C/A, FIG, lines 13-14). Likewise, for Rick the evidence provided a type of scaffold around which you developed a picture of the past:

yes you read the evidence and then build from outside in. You read what they wrote about them and then you take that and you sort of infer things and build as much as you can from what you have (Class C/A, SIB, lines 47-49).

Similarly, Andy felt that “we have to begin by reading evidence” (Class C/A, SIB, line 46). Lottie also argued that the first step involved going to the evidence because it allowed her to think in new ways about the past. For instance, she had no idea that in 1914/15 people might have thought that the war was going to be an adventure until she looked at the evidence.

Contrastingly, Rachel talked about evidence supporting her own thoughts of what Gallipoli was like. Having watched the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) she found that the “evidence is backing up what the movie is saying” (Class A/C, SIG, line 62). Hailey (Class A/C) agreed, and felt that if she had worked with the evidence first then she would not have been so engaged later on:

I don't know if I would have done as well if we had done it in that order (*evidence placed first*). If we had done it first I would have been like ‘I can't do it’ and I don't think I would have been so interested in it and gone off it (Class A/C, SIG, lines 88-90).

Similarly, Michelle, who in the first interview had said that she had placed her thoughts ‘on top of’ the evidence now felt that the handling of evidence should come after an attempt to imaginatively engage with the past and the building of historical knowledge. Otherwise she felt that, in terms of evidence, “I don't know how to apply this yet” (Class C/A, SIG, lines 54-5).

Imagination

All of the students who were interviewed felt that imagination was an element of historical empathy. Rick, in Class C/A, provided a sophisticated interpretation of what he meant by imagination within the context of historical empathy:

Instead of just imagining being yourself as you are, you would imagine yourself as they were then ... we need to think about being there. Not just imagining other people being there and what they felt like. We need to imagine ourselves to be there as other people (Class C/A, SIB, lines 33-34 & 85-86).

According to Rick it was not a case of making-up fictional characters and imagining what they might feel about the past. Instead, he believed that contextual knowledge and evidence would provide the imagination with the material it needed to see into the past. He cautioned therefore, that “instead of making up friends and relatives we need to think what we have here [the evidence] and how they would respond” (Class C/A, SIB, lines 52-53). Hailey in Class A/C agreed that historical empathy meant having to “imagine being that person [and]

... think about the way they would think” (Class A/C, SIG, lines 21-22). The comments of Rick and Hailey suggested that imagining and thinking are not, in their minds, that far apart.

For several of the students the exercising of the imagination involved projecting themselves into the lives of people who lived in the past. This might involve vicariously walking in someone else’s shoes. Vince, Alvin, Helen, Hailey, Sarah, and Rick all saw historical empathy as this type of imaginative journey from the present into the past. In my interpretation of historical empathy I had described this as an awareness of the past being different from the present. Vince described it as the imaginative process of “actually being able to step into someone else’s shoes, and getting into their head and being able to judge what was right and wrong” (Class C/A, SIB, lines 23-24). Similarly, Alvin claimed that historical empathy was best described as imaginatively “walking in someone else’s shoes” (Class A/C, SIB, line 9). Helen expressed the idea of imaginative projection as: “physically putting ourselves into issues” (Class A/C, SIG, line 30). Hailey, also in Class A/C, felt that imaginative projection was necessary because done well historical empathy was about “[putting] yourself in the same environment and time-frame [as the historical character]” (Class A/C, SIG, line 36). When watching the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981), she shouted out ‘no don’t do it’ as Archy, one of the film’s main characters, was about to leave his front-line trench and go over the top. As Rachel reminded Hailey during their first interview: “like, you felt that you could stop it happening” (Class A/C, FIG, line 109). Making a similar point, Sarah, in Class C/A, noted, when talking about the experience of Mrs Sievers, that “you ... put yourself in the shoes of the mother [Mrs Sievers]” (Class C/A, FIG, lines 18-19). Rick, also in Class C/A, went further, suggesting that imaginatively projecting oneself into a past-life was about “becoming them [that person]” (Class C/A, SIB, line 30).

Akin to the idea of imaginatively projecting oneself into the past, was the notion that historical empathy involved making up a picture or image of the past. Andy in Class C/A felt that historical empathy required a capacity to imaginatively ‘see’ the past: “with empathy you need to picture their [historical characters’] thoughts and feelings” (Class C/A, SIB, line 44). For some students, historical empathy also seemed to become easier, if the past could be seen through the images created by film-makers. Discussing the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981), Helen in Class A/C, felt that it had been “good to visualise it [what had happened at Gallipoli]. You can actually see what they [were] doing and you can explain it” (Class A/C,

SIG, line 47). Similarly, Alvin pointed out that the film “sort of gave you a visual, like pictures of what it was like. This does help” (Class A/C, FIB, line 45).

Sarah found the diary of Anzac signaller Bill Leadley could also be helpful because she could imaginatively visualise thoughts that otherwise seemed to remain hidden: “definitely the diary entries and stuff. And like seeing what they thought, seeing thoughts going through their heads and reading newspaper articles” (Class C/A, SIG, line 16). Sarah’s comments suggest that imaginatively visualising the past does not necessarily require the kind of visual re-enactment found in films or television documentaries and can also be evoked through the use of written source material.

Multiple Perspectives

For five students historical empathy was also about multiple perspectives. To these students, this meant empathising with past lives from different angles and appreciating that depending on their values and beliefs, people could interpret the same event quite differently. Dave, in Class A/C felt that historical empathy was “like getting the point of view of all of the people so that you can get all of the sides of the story” (Class A/C, SIB, lines 22-23). He realised that during the instructional intervention his interpretation of historical empathy had shifted: “I think before like a month ago I would think of empathy as just another person, understanding their sorrow or happiness but now you have to get more into it and look at more people” (Class A/C, SIB, lines 41-42).

Tim, also in Class A/C, was critical of the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) for not including Turkish perspectives on events. Hailey, in Class A/C, similarly recognised that historical empathy was about including different points of view and understanding that historical characters could have more than one emotion or outlook:

Maybe when I was watching the documentaries, because it is wherever there was more than just one side to it. I think I got better at being open minded and being empathetic when there was more to it, like when there was another point of view (Class, A/C, SIG, lines 76-78).

Lottie, in Class C/A, describing how she envisioned historical empathy, said it was “like a broken story and that there were two sides to the story” (Class C/A, SIG, line 86). Potentially,

by finding out about these two different sides or points of view, a more complete version of the story would emerge. Certainly, Dave, Alvin and Tim made the connection between empathy and multiple perspectives when asked which parts of the instructional intervention had been the most important:

Dave: I also think in the evidence it had some bits of what the Turks were thinking but in the movie [*Gallipoli*] it had more of only just the Anzacs.

Alvin: The most useful part of the course was probably reading the soldiers letters. It gave the soldiers point of view of how everything was.

Tim: The simulator activity²¹ because it showed the Turkish side of things (Class A/C, SIB, lines 74-79)

Contextual Knowledge

A fifth element of historical empathy was contextual knowledge. Four of the students, one in each interview group, felt that it enabled them to build a more rounded picture of the past. For instance, Rick, in Class C/A, was able to interpret the feelings of Mrs Sievers, whose son had just gone off to war, because he knew something of the historical context of the period: “things like the Boer War and that, they thought they were going to get away unscathed” (Class C/A, FIB, lines 31-32). Rick therefore most likely knew that the vast majority of New Zealanders who went to fight in the Boer War, just over ten years earlier, had not only come home again, but had won a reputation for fine soldiery and heroism. Rick had supposed that Mrs Sievers would have been aware of this and therefore would not have been wrong to hope that there was every chance of her son surviving. Rick was not thinking about the calamity to come in the years following 1914 but was instead considering how Mrs Sievers would have seen things at the time. Rick’s contextual knowledge enabled him to avoid the pitfall of hindsight colouring his interpretation of how historical characters saw events at the time.

Similarly, Michelle, also in Class C/A, was aware that 1914 was in many ways a time of national euphoria and cheering men off to war. It was not unreasonable, said Michelle, to think that war “sounded like an adventure; it sounded great” (Class C/A, FIG, line 31).

Likewise, Rachel in Class A/C was mindful of historical context when she said “Mrs Sievers

²¹ This activity utilised the Australian War Memorial website [<http://www.awm.gov.au/innovation/gallipoli/>], which includes Anzac and Turkish perspectives on the Gallipoli campaign.

might have felt pride because it was considered the loyal thing to do” (Class A/C, FIG, line 3). Rick, Michelle and Rachel also avoided the presentism of simply attributing to Mrs Sievers’ the largely anti-war values of today. Rick’s response about context was however, the most convincing because it was grounded in detailed evidence.

Finally, Alvin’s comments about the history of his own family signalled that contextual knowledge can come from sources beyond the classroom. Speaking about his grandfather who had fought in the Second World War, Alvin commented that “he [his grandfather] would say stuff about how hard it was, not really the fighting but just sort of living where he would have been camping and all of that” (Class A/C, FIB, lines 64-65). Whilst applying the experiences of the Second World War to the First World War might seem unwise, Alvin’s point about the ‘hard-living’ of soldiers in the field probably holds true for all wars.

Open-Mindedness

Rachel and Hailey in Class A/C felt that having an open-mind was important to developing historical empathy. Rachel talked about having “an open-mind, otherwise ...you can’t really feel what the person was thinking” (Class A/C, SIG, lines 5-6). Hailey felt that open-mindedness was an attribute that she began to acquire as the course progressed:

I wasn’t really open-minded at the start of the course. I was kind of just thinking like in my own mind but then when we were working our way through it you learn how to really empathise not just give your own opinion (Class A/C, SIG, lines 21-22).

In Class C/A, Rick felt that being too quick to judge the past (a lack of open-mindedness) was counter-productive.

If you are putting yourself into their shoes you are making judgements and you are holding on to your personal beliefs and what you know ‘happens’, so like, I think, many of us did with the first survey [entry task] with Mrs Sievers. We used what we knew happened to judge and change what we thought they would have felt instead of actually writing what they would have felt (Class C/A, SIB, lines 36-39).

It is Difficult to Do Well

Finally, the majority of students who were interviewed felt that historical empathy was difficult to do well. This is not as definitional as some of the other elements but it was an important aspect of how many of the students chose to interpret historical empathy. This was reflected in Helen's comment that "at the start I was like 'I don't know how she is feeling, how do you expect me to know that?'" (Class A/C, SIG, line 53). Similarly, Rachel, felt that entering into the mind of an historical character, such as Mrs Sievers, was difficult because she had very different life experiences:

I think the difficult part might have been to like feel what she was feeling because obviously I have never had a son, and never had to go to war and stuff, so getting into her mind frame [was difficult] (Class A/C, FIG, lines 8-9).

Likewise, Rick, in Class C/A, felt that it was difficult to empathise "because none of us were parents and didn't know the love that parents have for their children and it is difficult to imagine that sort of thing" (Class C/A, FIB, lines 16-17). Hailey also agreed that historical empathy was difficult. She felt that trying to decipher the motivations of historical characters would be challenging because of the strangeness of the past: "what was difficult is why they would feel like that. Why it was so different then than now" (reference: Class A/C, FIG, lines 19-20). When completing the entry task, Tim in Class A/C found it difficult to imagine what Mrs Sievers would have been feeling about her son heading off to war because he had not experienced such a situation and therefore he felt that he had to rely on guesswork:

Tim: Some parts of being Mrs Sievers were really difficult.

Mr Davison: Can you explain why it was difficult?

Tim: Because I've never experienced it.

Mr Davison: Right, but how did you manage to make your response?

Tim: I just guessed that she would be scared

(Class A/C, FIB, lines 12-16).

Alvin, talking about the different tasks he had responded to, believed that historical empathy was 'sort of' possible but he did not underestimate its challenges, pointing out that: "you probably would have to understand what death means in that situation because death was

happening all of the time” (Alvin, Class A/C, SIB, lines 33-34). Similarly, Sarah alluded to the difficulty of knowing precisely what past lives were like: “you can understand to a certain extent. Like you can understand and know what they are feeling but not to the same extent as them” (Class C/A, SIG, lines 34-35). Whilst watching the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981), Michelle felt that developing historical empathy was challenging: “unless you are actually the actors themselves doing all of that, it is really hard being in their shoes” (Class C/A, SIG, line 40).

Findings: Students Visual Interpretations of Historical Empathy

My analysis of visual materials was based on the data generated by asking the students in Class A/C and Class C/A to draw a picture of historical empathy and the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. The drawings were made in early September 2010, shortly after the teaching intervention had been completed.

Class A/C's Drawings of Historical Empathy

I found that students in Class A/C depicted historical empathy as something that was linked to the suffering caused by the First World War (see Figures 1 to 6). Five of the six drawings focused either on grave-stones and inscriptions or on the death of soldiers. Four drawings included characters crying and who appeared to be mourning the loss of loved ones. Steph, Lucy and Helen (see Figures 1, 2 and 6 respectively) focused on the idea of a grieving relative; and Eileen (see Figure 4) showed the emotional impact of the war on a present-day student. These responses were similar to the ‘feeling care’ element that emerged from my analysis of the interview transcripts. They also suggested that for these students historical empathy was about forming a judgement of the past; in this case that the First World War was overwhelmingly about enormous loss and heartache.

I also found that for some of these students in Class A/C, historical empathy meant looking deeply into the past lives of historical characters. Hailey’s picture (see Figure 3) suggested that empathising with an historical character required looking inside a person to reveal feelings that might otherwise remain hidden. Alvin’s picture (see Figure 5) was presented to the viewer through the glasses of a soldier. It might be inferred from this picture that we are looking at the past from the perspective of a soldier; seeing what he sees. Earlier on in my

analysis I linked these two pictures to multiple perspectives but on reflection they were perhaps more accurately seen as comments on historical empathy's capacity to uncover past lives and to look at the past through a different lens.

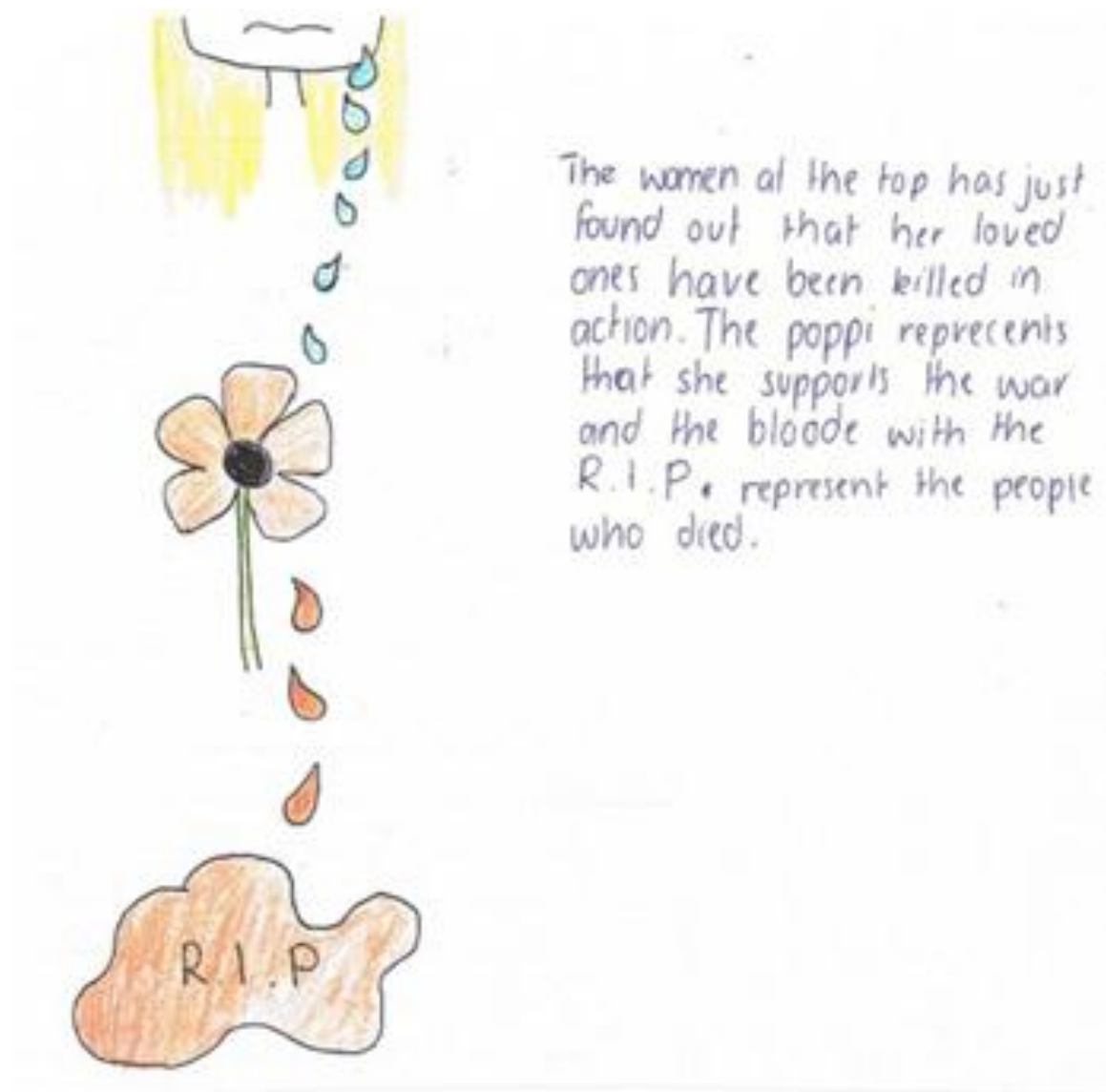


Figure 1 Steph's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

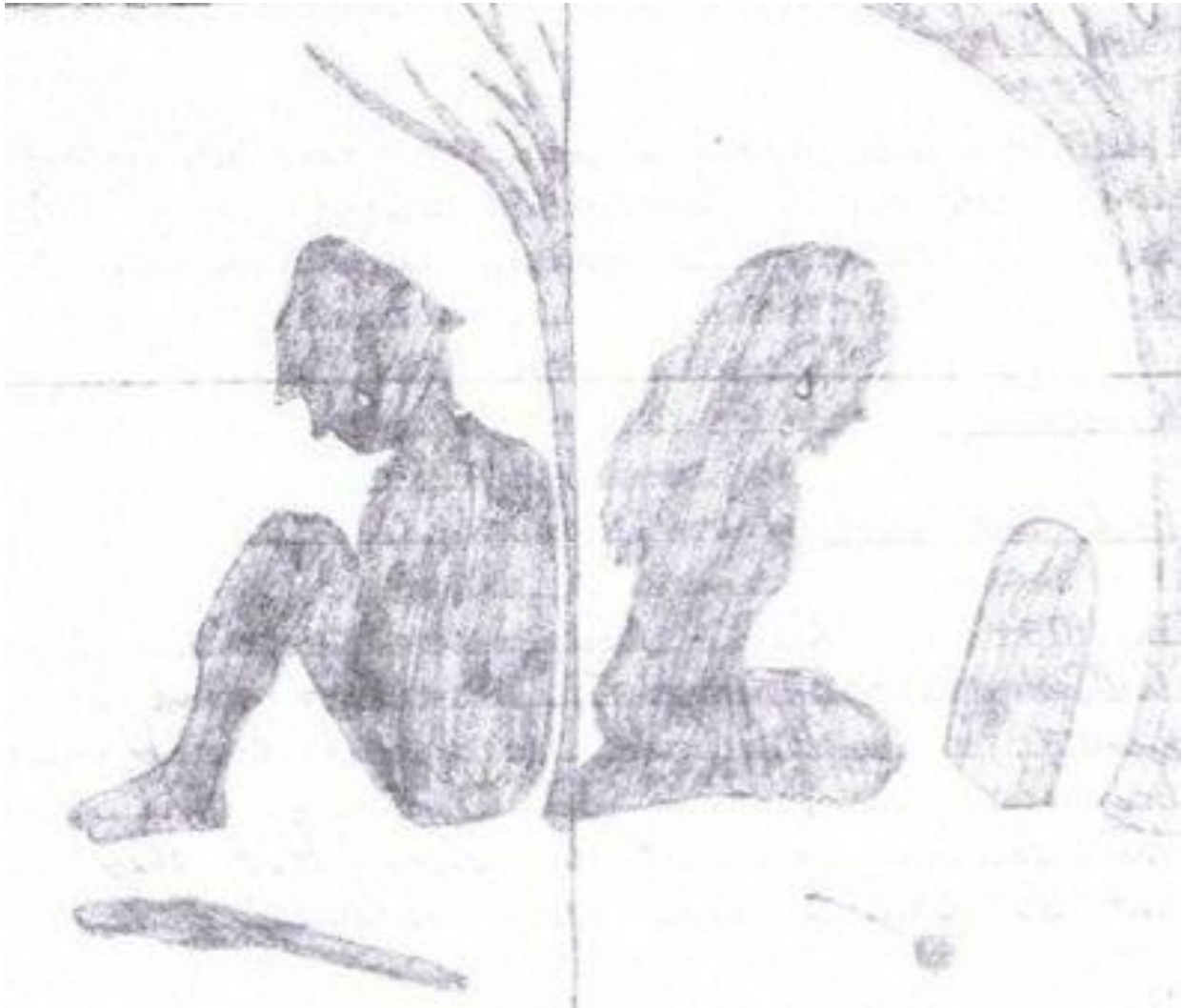


Figure 2 Lucy's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

What Empathy about People in War at Gallipoli LOOKS like...

This is a soldier from
NZ and he's happy
and proud. The redness is
shown through the
cape and the purple
represents that he
feels loyal because
he's being loyal.
However the 2nd eye
shows he is anxious
and that there is
not just happiness
there is sadness
hidden under the cape
because he may not
stay alive. This shows
that empathy can be
more than one feeling.



Figure 3 Hailey's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

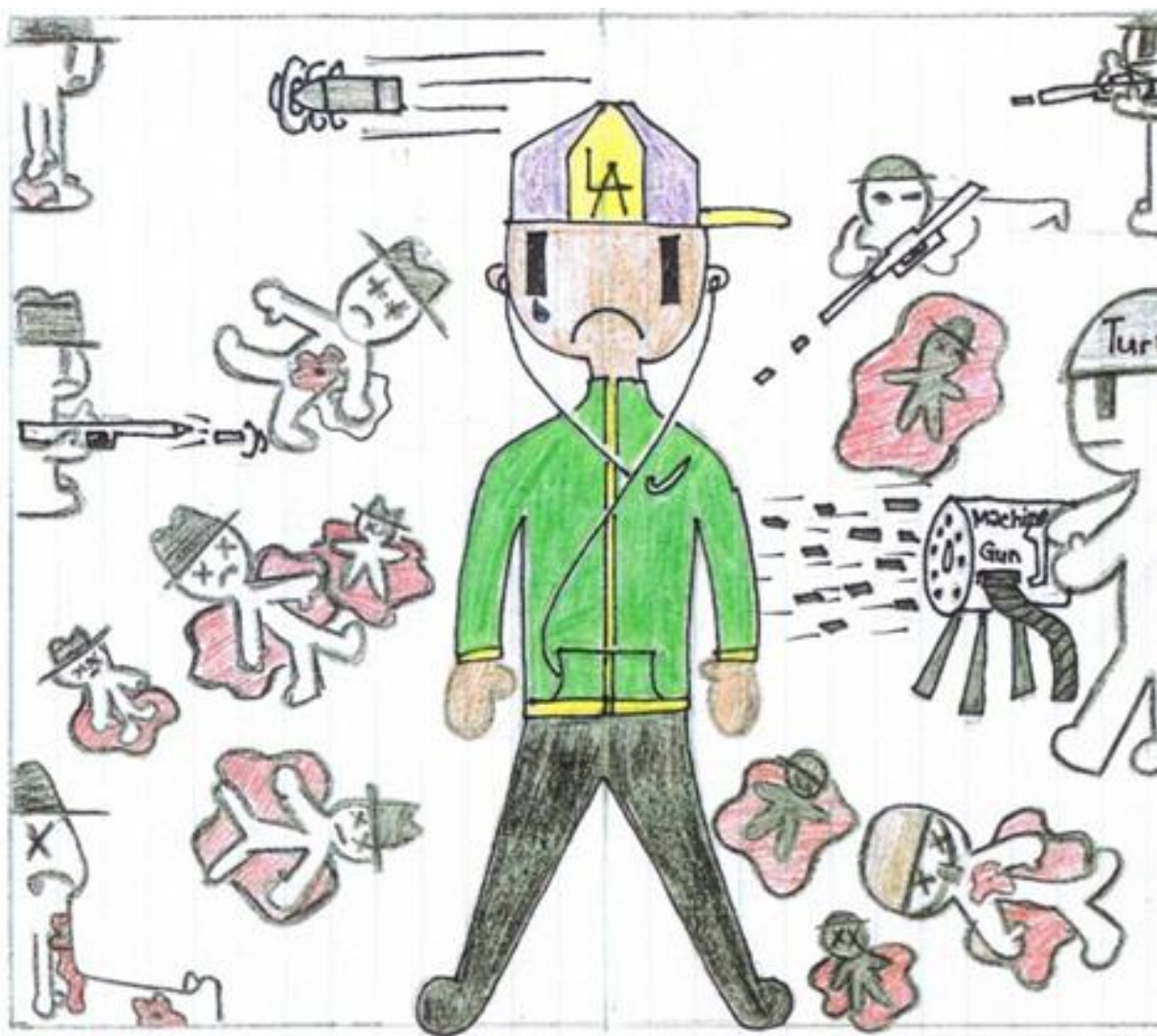


Figure 4 Eileen's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

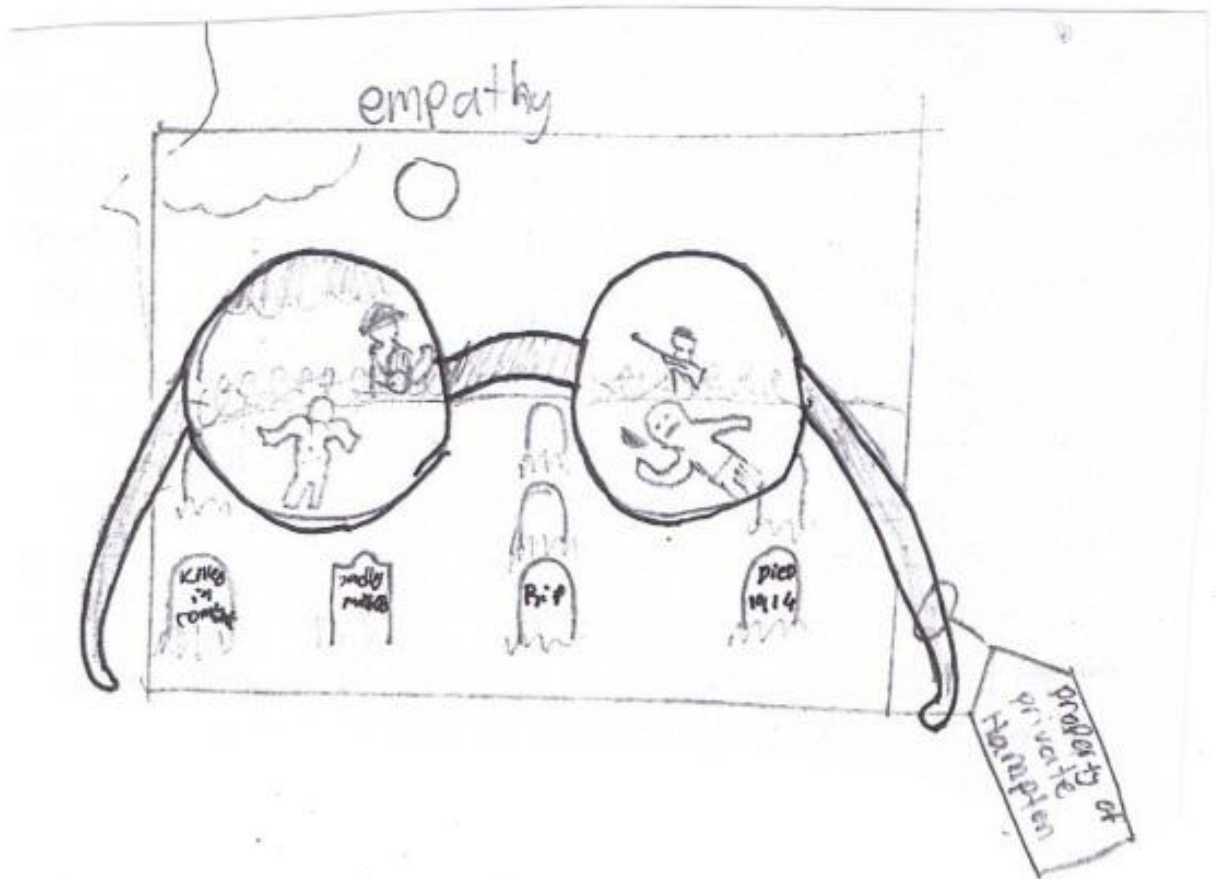


Figure 5 Alvin's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

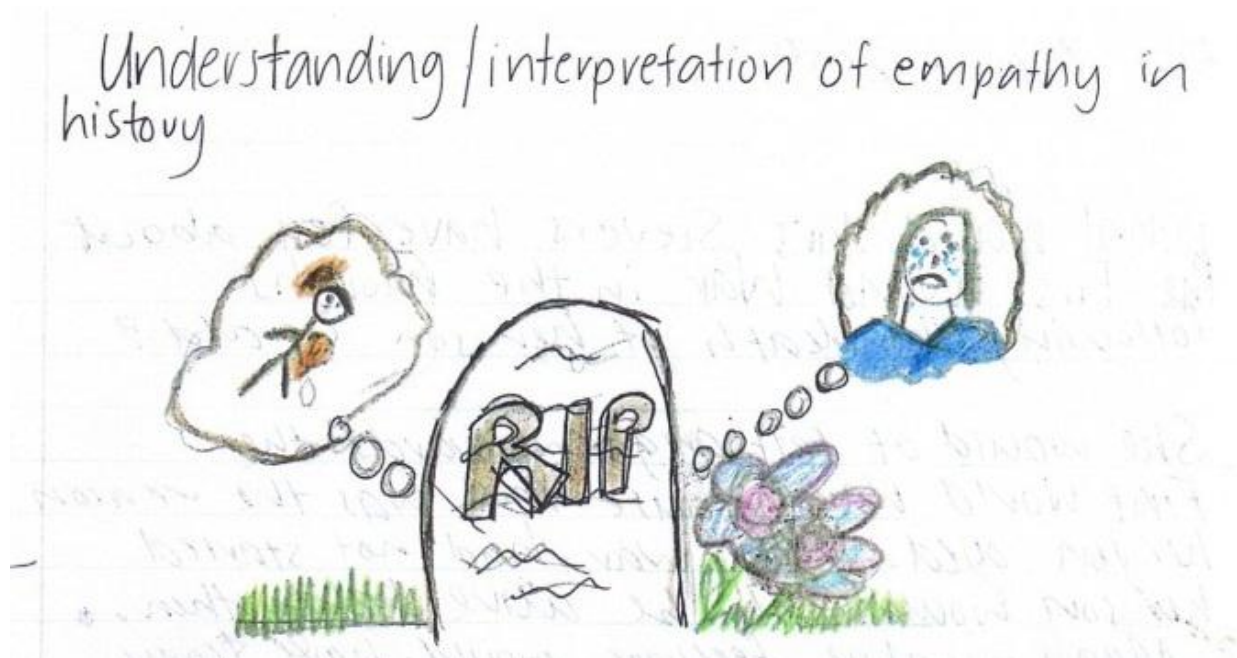


Figure 6 Helen's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class A/C

Class C/A's Drawings of Historical Empathy

The drawings by the students in Class C/A reflected a number of different interpretations of historical empathy (see Figures 7 to 12). These students whilst also focusing, in some cases, on the loss associated with the First World War, also described the 'process' of empathising with historical characters. Marsha's drawing (see Figure 7) alluded to an image used in the exit task of a woman knitting garments for soldiers' at the front line. Her picture can be linked with the element of finding historical empathy difficult to do well as the woman's thoughts remain as question marks. Rick's image of a school boy included a written explanation of what is meant by historical empathy: "being someone else, somewhere else, but yourself as well, at the same time" (see Figure 8). This was similar to what Rick had said

in his second interview when he stated that historical empathy involved ourselves imagining being in the past as someone else.

In contrast, Vince described his drawing of historical empathy (see Figure 9) as being about the idea that history is sometimes written from only one perspective. Here, the winning army gets to write in the large history book on the lectern. Sarah's drawing (see Figure 10) included three different aspects of the First World War: the large amount of people involved in the war; the equally large number of weapons used and finally the enormous loss of life. Adam's drawing (see Figure 11) showed two different figures, one a present day school boy and the other a soldier from 1914. The picture implied that both figures were the same person, separated by time. In Claire's drawing (see Figure 12) historical empathy was described as something that engaged all of the senses: the eyes for seeing the past; ears for hearing the past; a mouth for tasting the past; a heart for feeling the past; and a nose for smelling the past. Claire wrote at the bottom of her picture that by using each of these senses we come to "know things in the past [and] ...feel how they [people in the past] feel".

Overall the drawings from Class C/A illustrated a relatively diverse range of factors, unlike the sample of drawings from Class A/C which focused mostly on the morality of war and conveying a sense of loss. This connection between historical empathy and the forming of moral judgements is not nearly so evident elsewhere in my study. This may relate to Walker's (1986) suggestion, that visual materials in educational research capture the 'vernacular' of school life and makes more accessible our visual imagination which usually remains undisclosed. Equally, it may be connected to Ganesh's (2011) observation that children's drawings "permit expression of feeling" (2011, p. 238) which I would argue was difficult to elicit using other methods.

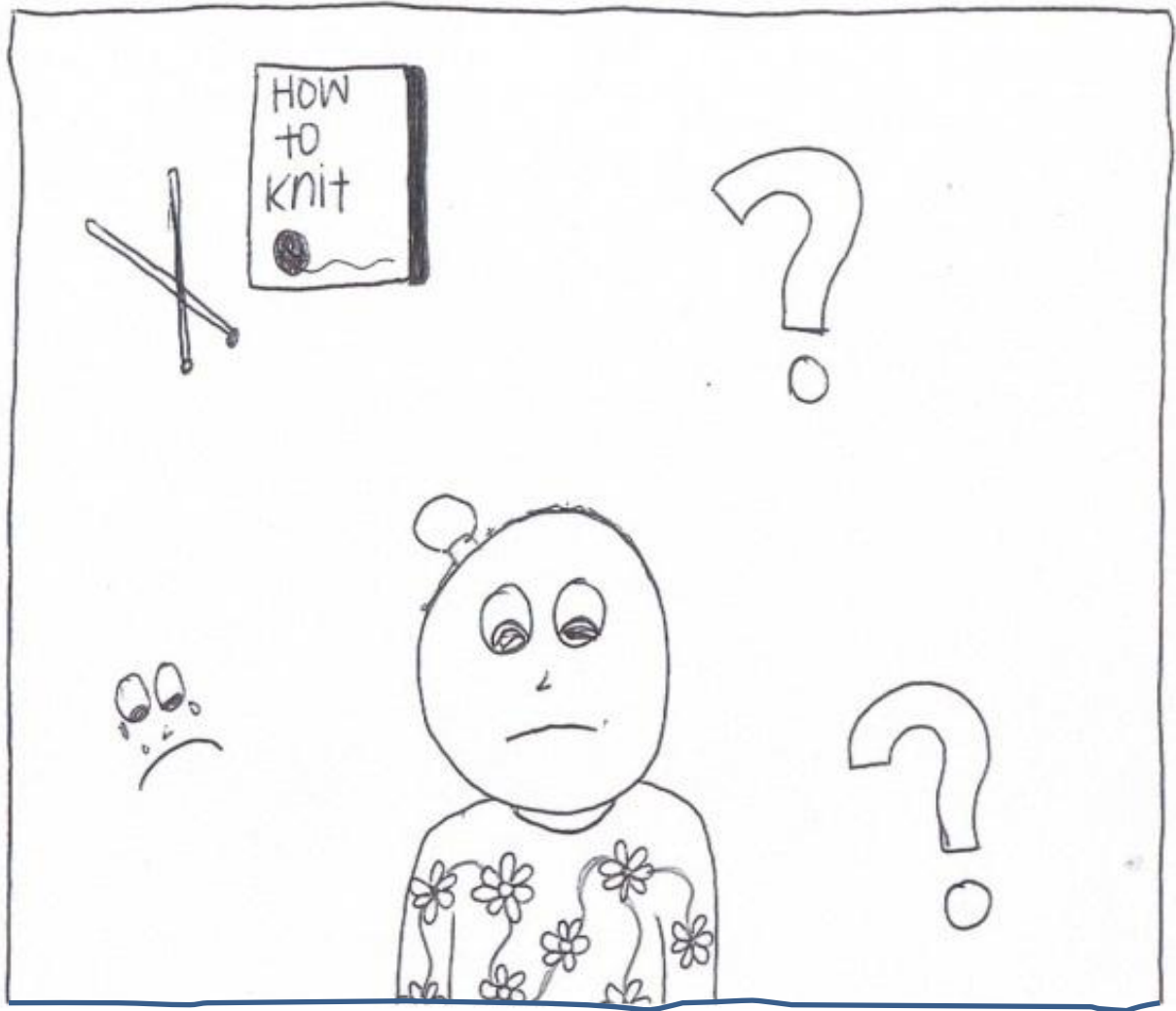


Figure 7 Marsha's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A



This image is meant to look like a famous image from WWII. However I replaced the crying woman with a student. This is meant to say that to be empathetic you have to be someone else somewhere else but yourself as well, at the same time.

Figure 8 Rick's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A

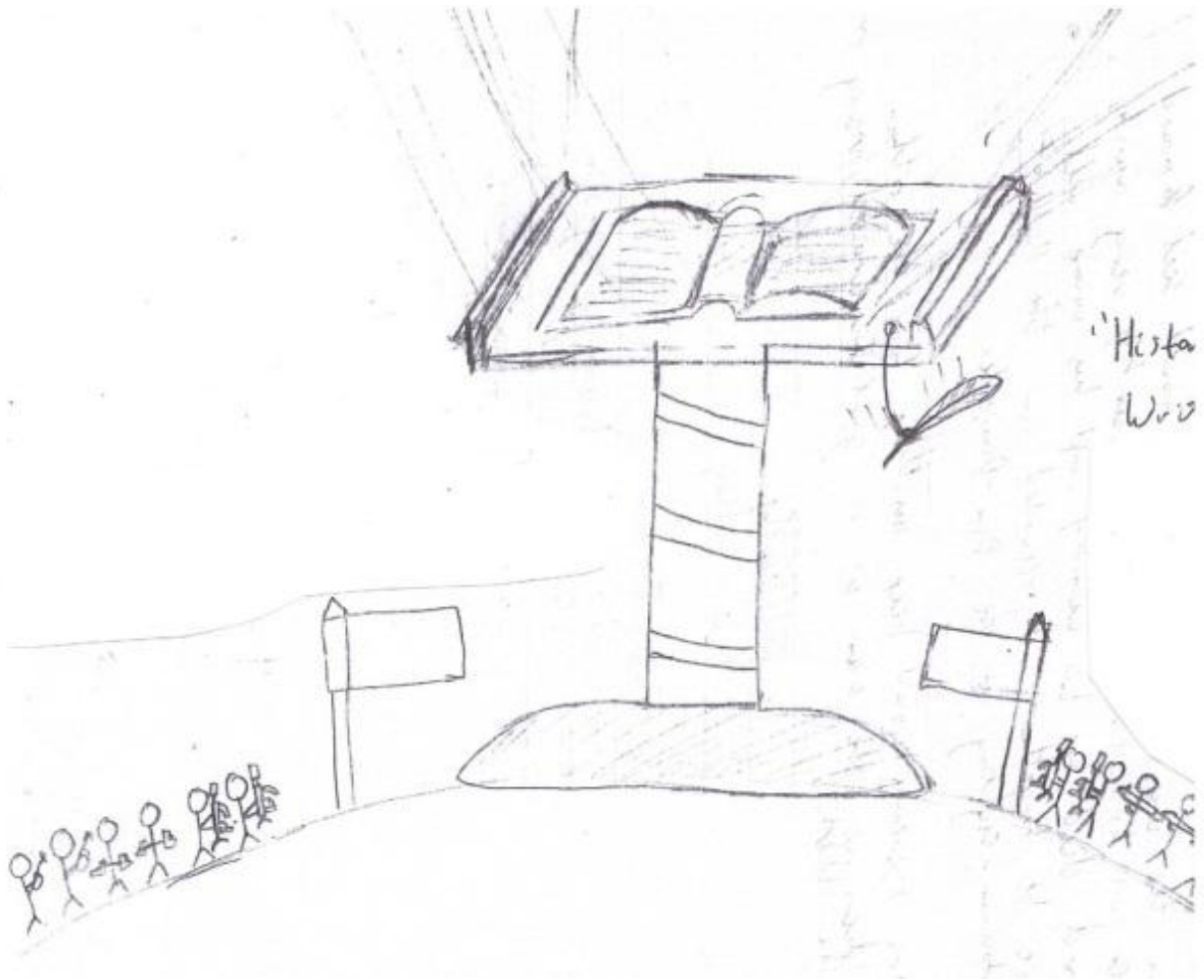


Figure 9 Vince's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A

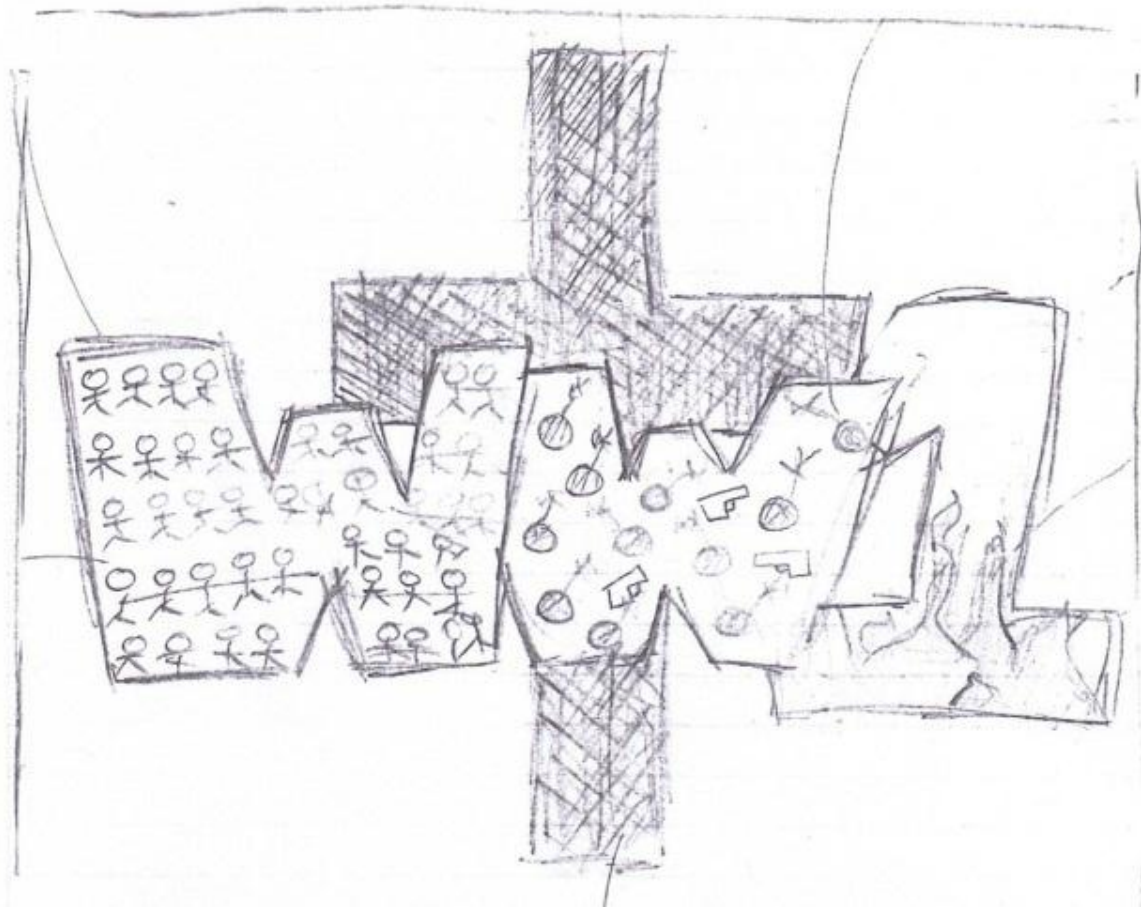


Figure 10 Sarah's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A

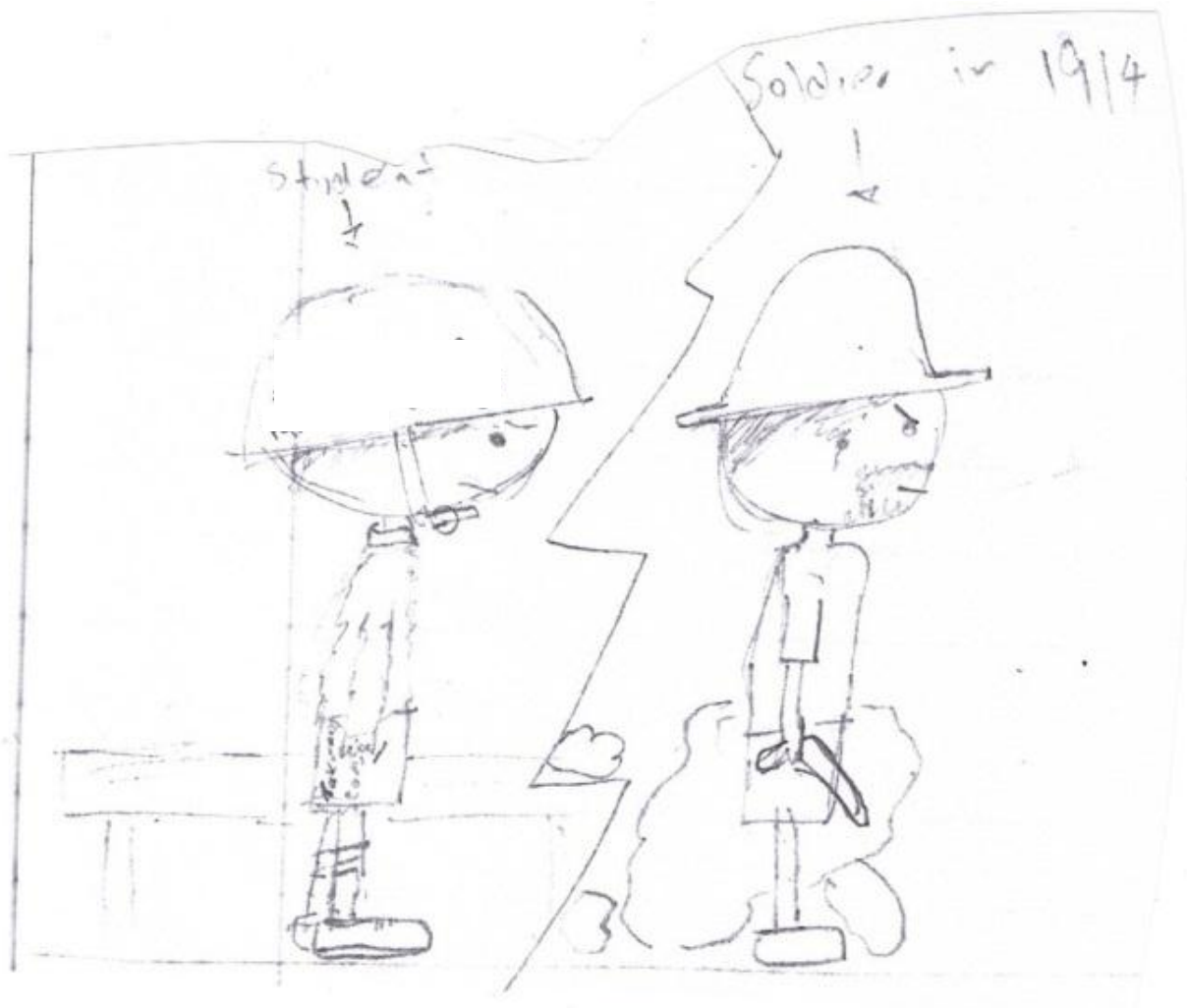


Figure 11 Adam's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A

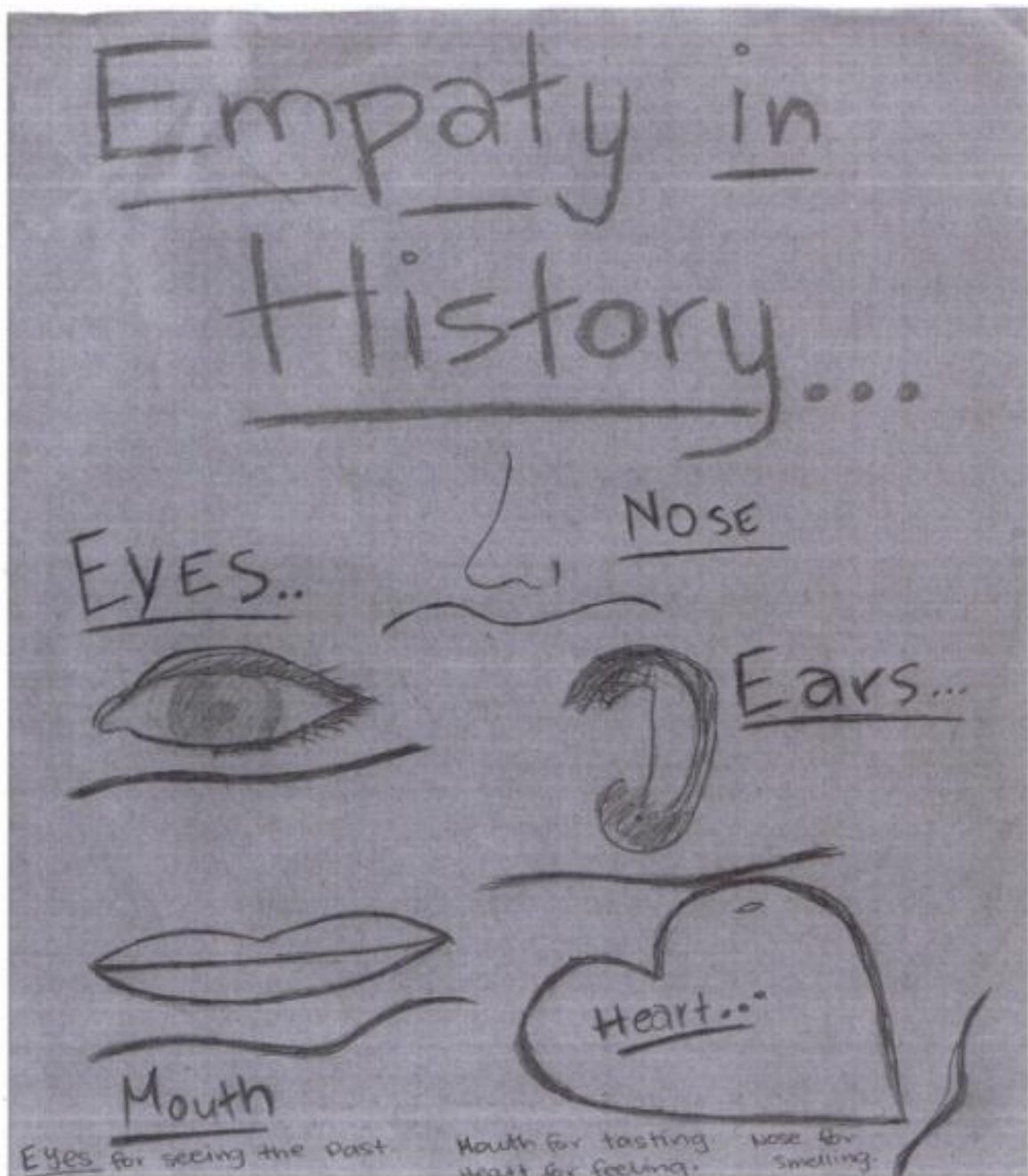


Figure 12 Claire's Drawing of Historical Empathy, Class C/A

Discussion

In this chapter I have outlined how students' interpretations of historical empathy consisted of several elements. How these elements relate to the wider context of the history education literature is the focus of this final part of the chapter. I begin by discussing the eight elements which emerged from my findings (seven from the interview transcripts and one from the students' drawings) with my reading of the literature. I conclude my discussion by proposing an historical empathy pathway (see Figure 13) which brings together the interpretations of the students in Class A/C and Class C/A and those found within the literature, especially Gaddis' (2002) interpretation of historical empathy.

Feeling Care

The element of 'feeling care' was discussed by some students when they had reflected on the affective and cognitive tasks of writing a found poem and reading wartime diaries, respectively. Hailey, Helen and Rachel in Class A/C felt that the young soldiers of the First World War came to life, as they began to write the found poems. These students became attuned to the idea that these were 'real' past-lives. To Helen it came as a revelation that "yeah like 'oh my god', like this person actually went and did this" (Class A/C, FIG, lines 68). Michelle in Class C/A was similarly affected by the evidence contained in soldiers' diaries: "well, reading the diaries is really emotional I reckon" (Class C/A, SIG, line 13).

I would argue that the affective element of feeling care helped these students imagine the young men who served at Gallipoli as real people. This was reflected in Hailey's comment about her drawing of historical empathy, that underneath the soldier's cape were a hidden set of attributes. The uncovering of these, the digging deeper, revealed more of that person's private world.

The fostering of 'feeling care' also encouraged the students in Class A/C and Class C/A to question their beliefs. This has been identified by Barton and Levstik (2004) as one of the principal aims of history education: "students ... must be willing, based on what they have learned, to make changes in their own values, attitudes, beliefs, or behaviour" (2004, p. 237). In Helen's emotional response to the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) there was a sense that she was beginning this process of questioning her beliefs: "you could feel the emotion and you

could picture what they were going through and you were like, oh my God, what would I feel like if I went through that?" (Helen, Class A/C, SIG, lines 44-45). Helen was also making sense of the past by expressing the feeling that she could have been there. As Seixas (1993) has highlighted, without this ability "students cannot see themselves as operating in the same realm as the historical figures whom they are studying, and thus cannot make meaning of history" (1993, p. 303).

Evidence

The element of 'evidence' was interpreted by the students in three different ways: as a checking device to test out hunches about the past; as a means of building historical knowledge; and, as a way of stimulating an emotional interest in the past. To some extent history education researchers also make sense of evidence in broadly similar ways. However, while they see the first two interpretations as integral to historical thinking they are sceptical about the usefulness of evidence activating an emotional response to the past.

Gosselin's (2011) definition of evidence as a "set of proofs to build a claim" (2011, p. 250) is much the same thing as saying that evidence is a 'checking device'. Seixas and Peck (2004) and Wineburg (2007) have written extensively about evidence underpinning historical knowledge and the role of the historian sifting through the many different evidential traces of the past. Indeed, the emphasis in most history education research is justifiably on critically exploring the reliability of evidence and fostering in students a more sophisticated grasp of the warrants that may or may not be supported by evidence (Lee & Shemilt, 2004).

History education researchers however, tend to see little benefit in evidence activating an emotional response to the past. Wineburg (2007), in his study of how professional historians approach evidence, argued that cognitive expert historical thinking switches off the activation of making an emotional response to the past. Therefore, when students' activated an emotional response to evidence it marked them out as novices. In other words, mature historical thinking is characterised by a degree of cool detachment when handling evidence and therefore an emotional response should be discouraged or switched off.

Information from the interview transcripts suggested that students frequently kept this emotional response 'turned on'. While this might signal their novice-like thinking, I would

argue that it should not be immediately inhibited because it was signalling that the evidence the students were handling was emotionally engaging. Both Helen (Class A/C) and Michelle (Class C/A) were clear that without such engagement, handling evidence could be demotivating.

Imagination

Several of the students who I interviewed, commented that it had been helpful to imagine what the past might have looked like in 1914/15. They felt that the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) had enabled them to do this, albeit through the eyes of the film's main characters, Archy and Frank. For instance, the film helped the students imagine: the look of a train station in 1915; seeing the sights in Cairo; rowing the barges bringing soldiers ashore; and, the sound of the guns. They saw what life was like for Archy and Frank before going to war and then later, what it was like during the fighting at Gallipoli. This is perhaps not surprising, because as Marcus (2007) has pointed out, when he explored the pedagogy of two teachers from Connecticut high schools', film is a very good way of helping students to imagine the past.

It may also be the case that film provides a convenient means for students to imagine extended periods of time. For instance, *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) provided students with a fictional narrative of: events in Australia around the period when men were considering whether or not to join up; of preparations in Egypt; and, of the fighting on the Gallipoli peninsula. As LaCapra (2001) has posited, it is difficult to see how other methods could recreate this "plausible 'feel' for experience and emotion" (2001, p.13) across a period of time. Still, there may be a need to be cautious in using film to develop imagination.

Seixas and Peck (2004) have suggested that the story-telling of film-makers, is designed to "sweep their audiences into an apparent past [so that they have] a direct window into what the past looked like, felt like, and what it meant" (2004, p. 109). While the idea of being 'swept along' by a film can be a positive one, if the aim is to "promote viewers empathic identification with others' lives [especially with common experiences such as loss]" (Hoffman, 2000, p. 24), this is not something Seixas and Peck promote. They have argued that being 'swept along' is quite the opposite of what classroom history is supposed to do. Instead, school history "should provide students with the ability to approach historical

narratives critically – precisely not to be swept in” (2004, p. 109). History students therefore, should keep a cool and detached distance from the past. In a similar way, Seixas, (2007) discussing the reactions of 10th grade students to watching the film *dances with wolves* in a social studies lesson, noted that the students simply took the film at face value. The film’s effectiveness says Seixas “was based on its being ‘realistic,’ not on its being accurate” (2007, p. 113). Indeed, the scenes in *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) depicting Anzac Cove were actually filmed just north of Melbourne, Australia in the mid-1980s but seemed real i.e. they looked like the Turkish shoreline of Anzac Cove in 1915. Treating the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) as a primary source could perhaps exemplify this issue of what is realistic being confused with what is accurate. One way of assisting students to become more critical in viewing this film would be for them to analyse: Peter Weir’s, the director of *Gallipoli*, perceived anti-British bias in the story-line; the film’s inaccuracies about the fighting at Lone Pine; and, the film’s place within the context of the ‘New Wave’ of 1980s Australian cinema.

However a key point here is that once students have finished watching a film like ‘Gallipoli’, they will be sufficiently engaged to critically explore, with their teacher, the historical context of the film and its content, and bring other evidence to bear on matters of interpretation and historical accuracy. Like Seixas and Peck and, Marcus, I agree that the cognitive dimensions of historical empathy need to be taught if students are to avoid the pitfall of seeing films uncritically. Stoddard’s (2007) case study of how students in a Midwestern high school were taught historical empathy using film also supports this view. Teachers, he recommended, should “focus students viewing on understanding” (2007, p. 212) otherwise they are apt to forget that films are an interpretation of the past and should be treated like any other source, with caution. Zinn (2007) has put this particularly well, reminding readers that when a film takes its audience into the past they must be careful not to be deceived; not to be literally taken in.

Multiple Perspectives

Many students in Class A/C and Class C/A were able to make a distinction between the various perspectives held by those who were at Gallipoli in 1915. For instance, Gallipoli can be explored from the position of combatants and non-combatants, the former being Anzac, British, French or Turkish soldiers. Alvin, Dave, Tim, Hailey (Class A/C) and Lottie (Class

C/A), all thought of multiple perspectives as a helpful means of avoiding the potential one-sidedness of historical narratives. For Dave and Tim it meant including the Turkish perspective in the story of Gallipoli and for Dave it was clear that historical empathy required looking not at a few, but at “more people” (Class A/C, SIB, line 42).

These students’ grasp of multiple perspectives was in a sense not surprising. After all, being able to identify multiple perspectives is often associated with history classrooms where students are able to sometimes cast aside the textbook and are allowed to sift through large quantities of source material (Yeager & Doppen, 2001). This is exactly what the students in Class A/C and Class C/A were able to do.

However, other research would suggest that the affective learning tasks in my instructional intervention might have inhibited these students ability to identify multiple perspectives. The research of Schweber (2004, 2006) has found that an emphasis upon taking an affective moral Christian stance against prejudice can supplant the teaching of information about Judaism and the Holocaust. By focusing on the affective and cognitive, my instructional intervention seemed to avoid this issue. This is a relief, because there is a consensus among researchers who advocate the nurturing of ‘historical thinking’ as an objective for school history (Seixas & Peck, 2005; Taylor, 2005) that being able to identify multiple perspectives is a good thing. This is because it casts a critical light on single-perspective accounts of the past which can exclude and / or marginalise other perspectives. What I have found is that by using a number / range of both affective and cognitive learning tasks, I do not seem to have inhibited students in Class A/C and Class C/A from acquiring multiple perspectives.

Contextual Knowledge

Several students in Class A/C and Class C/A recognised that contextual knowledge helped them develop a more rounded picture of the past. It also became easier to make sense of the behaviour of historical characters once something of the context of their lives was known. For instance, Rick in Class C/A interpreted Mrs Sievers hopes for her son’s safe return from the First World War as entirely reasonable in the context of what happened to soldiers in previous wars within living memory. Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) describe the placing of material into its context as a sophisticated task. It involves understanding how evidence “relates to the society that produced it [and students developing] a sense of period” (2005, p.

167). Seixas and Colyer (2012) have similarly described contextual knowledge as reflecting a student's ability to interpret the 'worldview' of historical characters through the reading of evidence.

To recognise the world-view of a soldier at Gallipoli is a sophisticated task in so far as it requires from students a depth of understanding about that soldier's surroundings (Shemilt, 1980) and the ability to make connections across a range of historical material (Wineburg, 2001). Shemilt's evaluation of the United Kingdom's Schools History Council found that its in-depth studies were successful in providing students with sufficient time to create contextual knowledge that went beyond the surface features of the past. In trying to identify the contextual thinking of pre-service teachers, as they read aloud a series of documents about Abraham Lincoln, Wineburg (2001) argued that those teachers who could make connections between documents were most able to reconstruct "the climate of opinion in which Lincoln dwelled" (2001, p. 108). Therefore, in providing students who were studying Gallipoli with plenty of time and access to a range of sources, the evidence from my students indicates that I was nurturing their development of contextual knowledge.

Open-Mindedness

The element of open-mindedness casts historical empathy as not so much walking in someone else's shoes but being receptive to past experiences. Noddings (2005) has argued that receptiveness is a more passive and feminine way of looking at empathy, and she has tended to call it 'engrossment'. It might be argued from a history education perspective, that an issue here is that such engrossment can lead to an over-identification with past lives. This was perhaps reflected in Rick's comment that historical empathy was about "becoming them [that person]" (Class C/A, SIB, line 30). Foster (2001) would argue that this indeed, is over-identification. He would be concerned that without sufficient detachment students do not develop a critical comprehension of history and therefore fail to see the strangeness of the past.

The counter argument would be that we share common human attributes with historical characters, which transcend time, and make past-lives more understandable if we are willing to be receptive to them (Lévesque, 2011). In this sense, over-identification is a less of a problem than not identifying at all. 'Standing back' too far suggests not making any

connection with the past. In this position, students might find an historical character so distant that they lack in any human qualities and that they are therefore incomprehensible.

Furthermore, empathetic identification does not have to lead to over-identification and the implication that students simply 'agree with' historical characters or events (Shea, 1998). As Slote (2010) has made clear, a mother can empathise with her child's dislike of the dentist but she still takes them. In other words, a student can identify with an historical character whilst not agreeing with them.

Open-mindedness was seen by some students as a means of overcoming the problem of presentism. For instance, Rick in Class C/A, felt that at the beginning of the instructional intervention he had based his judgements on how historical characters might behave on 'hindsight' i.e. his prior knowledge of the First World War and its costly outcomes. Later on he felt that he had become more open-minded and had been able to write "what they [historical characters] would have felt" (Class C/A, SIB, line 39). By being receptive to different outcomes and what people were feeling at the time we are less likely to rush to judgement based on what we know eventually happened.

Still, in some situations developing open-mindedness is not easy. In Barton and McCully's (2005) research with students in Northern Ireland, some students possessed such a strong sense of identity and a fixed set of pre-existing beliefs about what had happened in the past that it hindered the fostering of open-mindedness. As VanSledright (2002) has pointed out, the cultivation of historical empathy requires a determined effort to want to undertake an "examination of our assumptions" (2002, p. 147).

One approach to meeting this challenge is to replicate the type of teaching intervention described in this study, which focused on the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. As Hailey in Class A/C, described in her second interview, as the intervention progressed she was more able to suspend making too hasty judgements about historical events and characters. Looking back Hailey was able to see that she had come a long way and recognised that she "wasn't really open-minded at the start of the course" (Class A/C, SIG, line 21). The affective and then cognitive sequence of tasks had appeared to assist Hailey to become more open-minded. The potential drawback however of this approach is that such an insight only comes towards the end of the teaching intervention. Furthermore, only three

(Rick, Rachel and Hailey) of the twelve students I interviewed identified open-mindedness as being important. It may be interesting therefore to research whether this open-mindedness could be accelerated so that it occurred earlier on in a course of study. Certainly, within the medical and therapeutic field, the research of Shapiro, Schwartz and Bonner (1998) has found that qualities such as open-mindedness can be taught to students before a practical experience with clients and that in turn this leads to a greater capacity to empathise. Likewise, it may be feasible for history teachers to teach about ‘open-mindedness’ at the beginning of a course of study. Drawing upon Barton and Levstik’s (2004) research, this might include the idea of fostering an ability to be open to at least ‘temporarily’ taking seriously different perspectives.

It is Difficult to Do Well

The students who described historical empathy as being difficult felt that this was because they were looking at an ‘adult’ past of which they had no experience. For Tim this meant guessing what that past might be like or in the case of Helen, at the start of the instructional intervention, it meant a sense of bewilderment: ‘I don’t know how she [the historical character Mrs Sievers] is feeling, how do you expect me to know that?’ (Class A/C, SIG, line 53). The danger here is that students, not comprehending the past, either write a let’s pretend version of it or, just as problematically, write nothing at all. However, during the course of the instructional intervention Tim and Helen overcame these difficulties and both developed a strong grasp of historical empathy.

What was significant in Tim and Helen’s comments was that historical empathy was a challenge. To begin with neither student felt that they could grasp the concept of historical empathy. Both needed to be sufficiently engaged to persevere with the task of exploring historical empathy through the context of Gallipoli. Chapter 5 addresses this wider question of describing students’ development of historical empathy and in chapter 6 the nature of this engagement and how it might be linked to teaching the affective dimension of historical empathy before the cognitive dimension, is explained, in more depth.

Making Judgements

Looking at the twelve drawings of historical empathy (see Figures 1 to 12) it was clear, especially among those from Class A/C, that about half of the drawings included making a

moral judgement about Gallipoli. Most of these were drawn by girls in the Class A/C sample, perhaps reflecting the findings of Jaffee and Hyde's (2000) meta-analysis of gender differences in moral reasoning, which found in females a slightly higher tendency than males to show a morality of care that focused on a compassion for others. They might also reflect Barton and Levstik's (2004) argument that students displaying a caring morality tend to be studying contexts that allow for emotional engagement through categories such as human tragedy and bravery. Because, for so many New Zealanders, Gallipoli was about sacrifice and heroism (Phillips, 1996, Fischer, 2012), it makes sense that students have a caring morality about it. This would indicate that the choice of context is potentially important to fostering a moral response to the past. Also, because the over-whelming majority of drawings which were making moral judgements were from Class A/C, foregrounding the affective dimension of historical empathy may also enhance students' ability to display a morality of care.

Two further issues that arose from the student's drawings were whether or not they reflected the distinction between sympathy and historical empathy, and if they were influenced by present day morality or a moral code grounded in the context of one hundred years ago. The drawings of Steph, Lucy, Eileen, Alvin, Helen in Class A/C and Rick in Class C/A all contained a sense of sorrow. This could be an expression of sympathy, which has been defined as consisting of "feelings of sorrow or concern for the other" (Eisenberg, 2002, p. 133). Alternatively, it may be interpreted as an empathetic attempt to understand "the predicaments or points of view of other people in the past" (Department of Education and Science, 1985, p. 3). For social studies educators this blurring of emotional sympathy and historical empathy is unproblematic because, as Symthe (1991) has contended, social studies aims to develop in children "a sympathetic and valid understanding of their own and other people's way of life" (1991, p. 6). This, as Eisner (1998) has pointed out, is good for society because it steers students towards helping others. For many history educators however, sympathy is unwanted, because, as discussed earlier, it can lead to over-identification and clouds critical thinking (Foster, 2001). Still, my study found no such over-identification and many students appeared aware that sympathy did not necessarily hinder their ability to view the past critically.

Whether the students' moral judgements reflected present day concerns or were grounded in a contextual understanding of the First World War was uncertain. On the one hand, the moral

judgement that the First World War was wasteful and abhorrent because it caused terrible losses and suffering fits contemporary moral beliefs which largely condemn war. Several of the students' pictures displayed this idea that the war led only to suffering. On the other hand, the moral landscape of New Zealand society during the war and later in the 1920s also seemed to have included a sense of being appalled at the cost of the war, but rather than condemn the war it commemorated the self-sacrifice and courage of its soldier heroes (Phillips, 1996, Fischer, 2012). Many of the students' pictures similarly focused on ideas of sacrifice and commemoration through focusing on grieving relatives and gravestones.

It is difficult therefore, to decide whether the students' moral judgements are present-minded or contextualised in the past. Arguably, the latter requires a sophisticated moral reasoning that theorists such as Kohlberg (1986) would claim is not typically present among Year 10 students (14 to 15 years old). Understanding that war in the context of codes of conduct in New Zealand in 1915, which focused on Christian beliefs, self-sacrifice and men's martial heroism and sense of duty, could be morally right, requires high level cognition and sophisticated moral role-taking.

It seems very likely, that just like today's historians, these students cannot help but be influenced by present day morality in their attempt to view the past (Lévesque, 2011). Lévesque has argued that bringing the morality of the present and past together requires students "to develop a sense of 'prudential judgement' (2011, p. 133). Being prudent entails measuring past actions by present-day moral standards and understanding that these actions took place in a different moral climate. As Lévesque has also pointed out, while this is a sophisticated and challenging thing to do in the history classroom, it is nonetheless worthwhile. This is because without such an attempt, students are likely to unfairly judge the morality of historical characters or perhaps worse: to remain neutral and not make moral judgements even though they are patently needed. What is clear however, is that even prudential judgement might turn out to be wrong-headed. For instance, Winter (2011) has reminded us that it was the moral repugnance at the trauma and loss of the First World War, which motivated the disastrous policy of appeasement which led to a Second World War. This suggests that moral judgements should balance a morality of care, based on compassion for each other, with a cognitively framed morality based on critical inquiry (Pettersen, 2011).



The students in my study do seem to have gathered sufficient knowledge of past lives at the time of the Gallipoli campaign to be able to appreciate that it was an era when people held different moral codes and beliefs. In a sense, the students' drawings were like conduits along which flow past and present morals. They were showing an ability to be empathic and to understand the motives and beliefs of those in the past while also being able to understand and live competently with and within present day discourses.

Historical Empathy Pathway

To accommodate the ways in which the students' interpretations of historical empathy have influenced my thinking, I have developed an historical empathy pathway (see Figure 13). The Pathway brings together the elements from the analysis of the students' interpretation of historical empathy, as well as drawing from the existing literature to propose a guiding sequence that could inform teaching. It does not include the less definitional element of historical empathy being 'difficult to do well'. This is because this element lends itself to an interpretation of how students might develop or get better at historical empathy and it is therefore discussed in chapter 5.

The pathway shows that as students empathise historically they affectively strive to enter into the past. They then cognitively work with multiple sources of evidence (the record of the past) and finally they exit from the past and reflect on their learning (both affective and cognitive) about the past in the context of the present. These can be thought of as three stages/phases, each with their specific elements that together make up historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions. This acknowledges the idea that historical empathy is a dynamic process (this is explored further in chapter 7) and retains evidence from the history education literature. In particular, the pathway retains Gaddis' (2002) notion of a sequence of learning: entering into the past, then working with the record of the past; and, finally exiting from it. I have stopped short of calling this pathway a model because I agree with Stake's (2004) argument that models suppose a "recipe or ideal" (2004, p. 29).

Nonetheless, the affective and cognitive elements outlined in the historical empathy pathway are critical components in the sense that if either those belonging to the affective or cognitive dimension were omitted the learning experience would be far poorer. Chapter 6 explores whether the sequencing of these dimensions is also critical.

Stages of historical empathy	Historical empathy elements	Teaching purposes
Entering into the past	Open-mindedness	To identify and foster awareness of students' beliefs and prior knowledge about historical event(s) and/or character(s) and a willingness to listen to and entertain other views.
	Feeling care	To model the attributes of being caring, sensitive and tolerant towards people.
	Imagination	To help students imagine the past, use resources such as films, photographs and first-hand accounts.
		
Working with the record of the past	Exploring evidence	To develop a willingness to: search across a wide field of evidence; check theories about the past against evidence; build historical knowledge by critically weighing-up the reliability and usefulness of evidence and; use evidence to encourage further engagement with the past.
	Building contextual knowledge	To build knowledge of the wider setting so that an historical character or event is not set apart from the beliefs and codes of behaviour which were common to society of that time.
	Finding multiple perspectives	To encourage students to interpret the past from multiple perspectives.
	Aware that past and present day beliefs are often different	To encourage students to interpret past beliefs as best they can whilst acknowledging that their present day beliefs are inescapable.
		
Exiting the past	Making judgements	To enable students to make judgements (sometimes these may be moral or critical) about past events / historical characters, for instance in the format of an essay.

Note: = affective = cognitive = affective and cognitive

Figure 13 Historical Empathy Pathway

However, notwithstanding this, it has long been understood that any given student “is capable of using many different pathways, and tasks, to gain his (sic) measure of skill” (Stake, 1975, p. 16). What I hope to do is to persuade the reader that the pathway described in Figure 13 offers clear benefits to how students develop historical empathy. Much like the wider aim of my case-study research design, I also hope that the pathway is useful in developing knowledge about learning and teaching historical empathy among history education researchers and teachers.

Summary

The findings from the interviews suggested that students interpreted historical empathy as a relatively complex concept made up of seven elements. Five of these elements were similar to those found in the history education literature: use of evidence; use of imagination; building of contextual knowledge; inclusion of multiple perspectives; and, feeling care. The sixth element of open-mindedness however, was rather different in so far as it signalled a more therapeutic approach to historical empathy that emphasises receptivity. A final, seventh aspect, describing historical empathy as ‘difficult’ was less about trying to define historical empathy and more about acknowledging the hard work which was required to develop it.

In analysing the students’ drawings of historical empathy I found that many students in Class A/C and a few in Class C/A, saw historical empathy as involving moral judgments and uncovering peoples’ motives.

A comparison of my initial interpretation of historical empathy’s affective and cognitive dimensions (see Table 4) with the students’ interview responses revealed that:

- a. like my interpretation, drawn from the literature, students saw historical empathy as a concept with both affective and cognitive dimensions;
- b. compared to my interpretation, students gave more emphasis to using imagination and grounding interpretations of the past in evidence and;
- c. in addition to the elements in my interpretation, students more broadly described historical empathy as involving judgements and open mindedness.

Building upon these findings and bringing evidence from Gaddis (2002), I have developed an historical empathy pathway (Figure 13). In particular, this draws from the eight elements in

my findings and develops Gaddis' idea that historical empathy can be thought of as a series of stages/phases through which students work as they encounter new historical contexts.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: DEVELOPING SOPHISTICATED HISTORICAL EMPATHY

Overview

This chapter explores my second research question: ‘How do students develop/become more sophisticated in their ability to empathise historically?’ It is about finding out how individual students in both classes progressed from naïve to more sophisticated understandings of historical empathy. In this way, the chapter uses the evidence from my study to propose a progression in learning historical empathy.

The first section of the chapter begins by describing the development of historical empathy from the perspectives of two students, Lucy (Class A/C) and Claire (Class C/A). The girls’ essays and responses to the learning tasks, and the assessment tasks (the entry, mid, exit and post tasks) are used to build a picture of what developing historical empathy looks like. This section also goes on to describe the development of historical empathy from the broader perspective of all of the participants in Class A/C and Class C/A. To do this, it uses information from the assessment tasks and the student feedback survey. The second section of the chapter considers these findings in terms of planning for progression and seeking to develop historical empathising. These findings and their implications are then discussed in the context of the history education research literature about progression.

Findings Based on Lucy and Claire’s Workbooks

In this first section of the chapter, I explore Lucy and Claire’s development of historical empathy, by comparing how they approached a series of affective and cognitive learning tasks (these were recorded in their workbooks). The findings from the affective learning tasks are presented first, followed by the findings from the cognitive learning tasks.

Affective Learning Tasks

In the first affective learning task, students were asked to write down their feelings about a range of characters in the film *Gallipoli*, (Weir, 1981) including the two friends, Frank and

Archy, Frank's mates, his father, and Archy's uncle. They were also prompted to consider how these characters might react to volunteering to go to fight. Furthermore, the students were asked to describe how listening to the music in the film made them feel, especially regarding Giovanni Albinoni's *adagio for organ and strings*, played as the soldiers were about to land at what became known as Anzac Cove, for the first time. Table 15 provides an outline of the responses to this activity from Lucy and Claire.

Table 15

Lucy and Claire's Responses to the First Affective Learning Task

Characters / music	Lucy (Class A/C)	Claire (Class C/A)
Frank	'Not his war', doesn't want to die, realist, wants to impress the girls.	Doesn't want to go, it's an English war, it's got nothing to do with us, Archy is a better man than him, thinks young ladies seem to have eyes for Archy, Frank is broke.
Archy	Wants to be useful, be a hero, wants to fight for his country, because he's an athlete, he should go, wants to see the world, dreamer.	To fight for his country, king, country and empire, 'if we don't fight, Turkey will come here', 'you've just got to be in it', determined, brave, adventurous, outgoing, honour / passion.
Archy's uncle	Wants Archy to make a good living, Doesn't seem to mind [him joining up], thinks' he is too young, doesn't want him to go.	Claire did not make a response about this character.
Frank's father	Doesn't want son to help the British because they murdered his [Frank's] granddad, Irish, against it.	Anti-English, Irish, father had been killed by the English, Ireland wanted to rule itself and England preventing it
Frank's mates	Only a coward wouldn't go, glory, want to impress girls, happy go lucky, uniform.	Adventure, leave jobs.
The music	It makes you sad, lonely, that they've gone off to Gallipoli and that they may die, intensity, memories, reflection.	Mysterious, quick-music, sorrowful music, makes you want to cry.

Both Lucy and Claire provided many reasons why each character was willing to go and fight. They were able to describe multiple points of view and record the different beliefs of Archy, Frank and the other characters. One of the more ambiguous characters in the film was Archy's uncle. While he felt that Archy was too young to go to war, he also recognized that

there was little he could do to stop him from joining up. Indeed, he seemed to quietly admire Archy’s youthful idealism. Lucy’s answer hinted at this ambiguity by pointing out Archy’s uncle’s mixed feelings.

Both students felt that the music was sad. Lucy referred to its foreboding nature and reflected on the idea that some of the men might have died. Claire mentioned a wide range of emotions and alluded to the tearful nature of the music. Lucy and Claire were both able to recognize the appropriate feeling that this music was designed to evoke. They were moved by it.

In the second affective learning task the students were asked to look up the service record of one of the men named on the local community’s war memorial. They were then asked to write down any fifty words from this service record that they felt were interesting. Finally, they re-ordered these fifty words so that they were transformed into a found poem (see Table 16). As well as encouraging care and sensitivity this activity also involved handling evidence.

Table 16

Lucy and Claire's Responses to the Second Affective Learning Task

Lucy (Class A/C)	Claire (Class C/A)
The Anzac advance But Turkey dominates ...? Stephen A. Bell Landed in Gallipoli 1915 ...? The assault reinforced A second attack A breakthrough ...? Buried on the battlefield The forts become graves	His name was Joseph Dunn, He died in World War One. Son of A.J. and Mary E. Dunnoff, IV I 66 Grave memorial reference. Died at the age of 23 Date of death: 30/9/1916 Private rank. J.A. initials. A for Alexander The regiment is his service He is from New Zealand.

Both Lucy and Claire were able to successfully locate the service records of their respective soldier’s and used these records in an engaging way by writing a poem. Lucy’s poem told the story of what happened to Stephen A. Bell. Claire described where Joseph Dunn was buried and recorded his rank and next of kin. In Lucy’s poem there was an attempt to make sense of Bell’s death and to begin to put it into context. The poem exhibited care and sensitivity in the way that Lucy pondered Bell’s death against the backdrop of a failed attack. ‘The forts

become graves' was a thoughtful stitching together of words to make a telling point about the price of war. In Claire's poem, the service record of the soldier was more prominent. In its focus on the next of kin it also showed aspects of care and sensitivity.

In the third affective learning task the students were divided into groups and given the opportunity to choose from two sets of four photographs; one based on the experiences of nurses and the other on the lives of soldiers. The students were asked to imagine being inside the photographs and then to recreate each scene. Once they felt that they had done this, they held their pose in a 'freeze-frame' just long enough for the other students to see. The groups were given five minutes to rehearse each 'freeze-frame' and then they presented these to the class. In the last ten minutes of the lesson they were asked to write down three or four key words that they felt summed up the feelings being evoked in each photograph (see Table 17).

In Lucy's class there was a great deal of engagement in this activity. The students organized themselves quickly and seemed to take very seriously the business of working out the poses. They were methodical, quiet and engrossed in recreating each scene. When it came to performing these to the class there was a sense of curiosity about each other's work. The students were at times somber, proud and/or anxious, as befitted each photograph. In the last few minutes of the lesson, Lucy wrote down a short series of key words next to each photograph (see Table 17). In Claire's class the task caused a lot of laughter and while the students did attempt it, they found it hard to take seriously. As a result there were only two presentations to the class and most of the students, including Claire, did not manage to record their impressions about each photograph.

Table 17
Lucy's Response to the Third Affective Learning Task

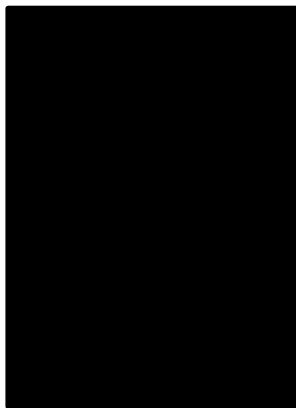
Photograph 1: expectant, proud and static.



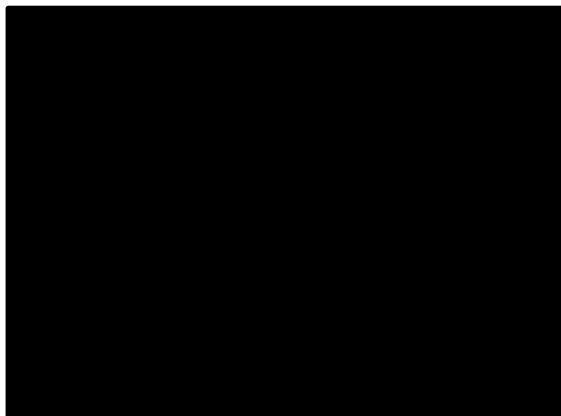
Photograph 2: idealistic and hopeful, friends,
doing something good.



Photograph 3: worried, surprised,
empathy, over-whelmed.



Photograph 4: happy to help.



Note. Photographs 1, 3 and 4 in Rees (2008) and photograph 2 in Donovan (2005).

Cognitive Learning Tasks

The first cognitive learning task was designed to build the students contextual knowledge of the First World War so that they were more aware of Gallipoli's historical setting. They watched the first fifteen minutes of episode 8: *The price of empire* of the television series *frontier of dreams* (Burke & Waru, 2005) and were asked to complete two sentence starters: So far I have learnt? [and] a question I would like to ask? Their responses are recorded in Table 18.

Table 18

Lucy and Claire's Responses to the First Cognitive Learning Task

	Lucy	Claire
So far I have learnt ...	Māori at first were not allowed to join-up. 14000 men volunteered in the first week of the war. Discrimination against anyone with a German name.	There was a lot of military training; the lemon squeezer hat and Malone; Malone was tough, disciplined, family man, independent; New Zealand decided to stand with Britain; Britain was at war with Germany and Turkey; wool, lamb and butter; 1905 Invincibles; biggest overseas group ever; Māori people have to go; people didn't think of death; in the last war nearly all of the men came home; white peoples' war; rush / popular adventure; not everyone thought that; some Māori were not going to fight a British war; Germany started it; Samoa.
A question I would like to ask ...	Why was the lemon squeezer hat designed in the shape of Mt Taranaki?	Why did you have to go? Who won the war?

While Lucy only managed three points about her learning, Claire commented on ten separate categories from the documentary. Claire's comments provided a wide coverage of several important contextual points such as: New Zealand's close relationship with Britain before 1914; a popular expectation that the war would be over quickly; and, the much admired qualities of Malone. Lucy's comments were narrower, regarding discrimination against Māori and those New Zealanders with a German name, and the rush to enlist.

Arguably Lucy's comments were focused on the moral dimensions of the war. Her question was therefore rather unexpected. The shape of the Lemon squeezer hat appeared a poor question because it seemed trivial. Claire's first question about why men fought was more worthwhile because it addressed a significant problem about the motivation of those who fought. Her second question about who won the First World War might seem surprisingly naïve but it reinforces Wineburg's (2001) observation, that only the tangible past is remembered by students.

In the second cognitive learning task (see Table 19) the students were asked to look at a collection of short-notice, adverts and news articles from an April 1915 copy of *The Waikato Times*. The aim of the activity was for the students to select evidence from the newspaper and to critically weigh-up its reliability and usefulness. A3 copies of the newspaper were given to

students (working in twos) and each pair was asked to explore different sections of the newspaper and to see what it said about life in New Zealand during the First World War. There was also a short discussion about the limitations of newspapers as historical sources as well as their strengths. After twenty minutes reading time, students wrote up their thoughts and reported back to the whole class.

Both Lucy and Claire were aware that some caution must be used when they interpreted the newspaper's content. For instance, they highlighted: the negative nature of material about Germany; the lack of detailed information about what was happening in the war; and, the way company's such as 'Lipton tea' portrayed themselves' in a patriotic light. They also picked up points such as everyday life in New Zealand was going on much as it had before the war.

Table 19


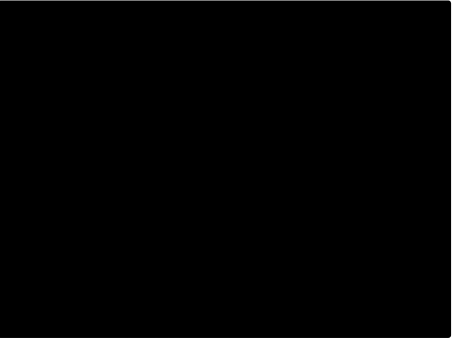
Lucy and Claire's Responses to the Second Cognitive Learning Task

Newspaper	Lucy	Claire
Adverts	The advertisements supported the war, buy it, be patriotic. Lipton and Creamoata.	Life was going on, people were buying things, war might seem a long way off. The Lipton tea advertisement 'drink our tea support the war' ½ pay, soldiers jobs kept open, very British.
News	The war is not really discussed in detail, nothing negative, Germany – negative (children were forced to work in hospitals however, this is not true). Everyday news, life went on, the war must seem far away.	Call for more men, making the enemy look bad (children working in [German] hospitals, stories about heroes, even an injured man has joined up. Also everyday news – lightning strike, railways. Newspaper has a limit – censorship.

The third cognitive learning task involved the students using a rubric to analyse pieces of evidence, in this case three cartoons published during the First World War. The rubric included four questions: Where is the piece of evidence from? What can I see? What doesn't it tell me? And what questions does it raise? The students discussed one of the cartoons, as a whole class, and asked questions about it. The students were then asked to choose one of the two remaining cartoons and carry out their own analysis, using the rubric (see Table 20).

Table 20

Lucy and Claire's Responses to the Third Cognitive Learning Task

Rubric	Lucy, cartoon 2  (Walasek, 2008, p. 58)	Claire, cartoon 1  (Walasek, 2008, p. 62)
Where is the piece of evidence from?	Frank Reynolds cartoon – ‘the slacker’ 1915, Punch.	It is a George Loraine Stampa cartoon, 1914 (Punch).
What can I see?	Men marching off to the army annoyed with the man going the other way, cyclist, wife, 5-7 children, man.	Newspaper, lady, house / door, man, old-fashioned clothes, lady (mad looking), man (shocked).
What questions does it raise?	Is this about pressuring people to join up? Are the men in the army better? Why don't they respect the man's prior commitments? What would the 'slacker' be thinking?	Is it England or New Zealand? Did the war start yet? Why is the wife so willing to give her husband to the war?

Lucy was able to identify the provenance of her cartoon. While she identified the objects in the cartoon, she also placed them in a short narrative of men marching off to war, who seemed to be looking on critically, as they passed a man with his family ‘going the other way’. Lucy’s questions showed she was interested in two perspectives: the soldiers and the civilian. The question: ‘Is this about pressuring people to join up?’ suggested some contextual knowledge. Lucy may have wanted to know more about the thoughts of the so-called ‘slacker’ and why the soldiers did not respect him. Claire correctly identified the cartoonist. She was interested in whether or not the war had broken out, and if the scene was at home or in England. Claire described the objects that she could see e.g. ‘door’ and ‘man’. She assumed that the man and woman were husband and wife although it may be that Sampson is in fact a servant. Claire was puzzled however, by why the woman was ‘so willing’ to volunteer him for war service. She raised this question as a problem; something that historians also do.

The fourth cognitive learning task was about comparing the Gallipoli peninsula of 1915 with what it is like today. The students watched a DVD called *Gallipoli: brothers in arms* (Denton, 2007) which explored these differences and focused on present day Australians returning to Gallipoli for the annual commemoration services on April 25th (see Table 21).

Table 21

Lucy and Claire's Responses to the Fourth Cognitive Learning Task

	Lucy	Claire
Who was at Gallipoli? (1915)	Same amount of people, the young.	Australians and New Zealanders (ANZAC), British, French, Turks, Boyden and Thompson brothers, 19/20 years.
Who is at Gallipoli today?	16-20,000 Tourists, backpackers, young people (overseas experience).	Tourists, pilgrims, religious journey, backpackers, Turkish national day.
How did they feel about it in 1915?	Scared, nervous, shocked, a chance of glory, to be heroes, excited.	Angry, afraid, sad, no purpose.
How do they feel about it today?	Honoured, respectful, angry, wanting to understand.	[Claire did not make a response to this question]
The landscape then	Rugged, dry, muddy.	Gullies, difficult ridges, snipers, cliffs, shrubs, thicket, people get lost
The landscape now	Beautiful green, unbelievably small.	[Claire did not make a response to this question]
The dead in 1915	Unpleasant, a bad smell.	Quickly buried, some people were never really found.
How we think about those who died at Gallipoli today	Special, almost like a church, beautiful, well-kept [graves].	Beautifully kept [graves].
The conditions then	[Lucy did not make a response to this question]	Apricot jam, bully beef, biscuits, food was bad.

Both Lucy and Claire demonstrated an awareness of what had changed on the Gallipoli peninsula. Lucy did this more frequently (four times compared to Claire's twice) and had written with more insight about the motivations of those who had returned to Gallipoli in the present day. However, Claire provided more accurate contextual information about who was at Gallipoli in 1915, what the landscape looked like and what the conditions were like.

Findings Based on Lucy and Claire's Assessment Tasks

As set out in my methodology (Chapter 3) I marked the student responses to the entry, mid, exit and post tasks using my typology of affective and cognitive historical empathy (see Table 3). This allowed me to broadly assess the development of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy as the students completed each of the four assessment tasks. (Lucy and Claire's marks are recorded in Table 22).

In the entry task, Lucy demonstrated that she was able to use source material in a limited way to imagine what Mrs Sievers might be feeling as her son Gerald left for the war in Europe. For instance, Lucy noted that the worried expressions on the quay side in Source C (see Appendix F) could have reflected private fears that men might not return. Lucy however, also used the source material to largely support the assumption that she had made at the beginning of her response: that Mrs Sievers would have been extremely anxious and likely to have had a "nervous breakdown" (Lucy, entry task, line 2, Appendix H). Lucy did not refer to the evidence in Source B that would challenge such an assumption. She seemed to have missed the 'cheering crowds' and the hopes that men would soon return home. Nevertheless, by imagining that Mrs Sievers might be proud of her son, Lucy had made an attempt to see things from the historical character's point of view. I marked her entry task as Level 3 for both the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy.

In the mid task, each source was described, in turn, by Lucy. She then used the sources to draw a set of inferences which suggested that Gerald's [Mrs Sievers' soldier son] experience at Gallipoli would have been filled with feelings of being "worried, scared and paranoid [and] he would have been sickly, and in desperate need of decent food and water. He would have been missing his family and his home" (Lucy mid-task, lines 28-30, Appendix H). Therefore, Lucy had tied Gerald's feelings of fear and sickliness, with the source material. However, she went beyond the evidence when she imagined him missing the comforts of home. Other evidence such as food being 'plentiful but unvaried' (see Appendix H) was excluded from her response. I marked this response at Level 4 for both dimensions of historical empathy.

Table 22

Stratified Random Sample of Assessment Tasks Marked by Me and 'Teacher 2'

Student	Class	Entry task mark		Mid task mark		Exit task mark		Post task mark	
		Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive	Affect	Cognitive
Lucy	A/C	3 (3)	3 (3)	4 (4)	4 (4)	5(5)	5 (5)	5 (5)	5 (5)
Eileen	A/C	2 (2)	2 (2)	4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Steph	A/C	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Hailey	A/C	2 (3)	2 (3)	4 (3)	4 (3)	4 (3)	4 (3)	4 (3)	4 (3)
Helen	A/C	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (3)	2 (3)
Alvin	A/C	2 (2)	1 (1)	4 (4)	4 (4)	2 (2)	2 (2)	4 (2)	4 (2)
Rick	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	Missing	Missing	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Adam	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	4 (3)	4 (3)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Vince	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (3)	4 (3)	4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)
Sarah	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (3)
Marsha	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	4 (3)	4 (3)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Claire	C/A	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (4)	3 (4)	5 (5)	5 (5)	4 (3)	4 (3)

In the exit task, Lucy's response differentiated what Mrs Sievers might be feeling as she heard of her son's death. She could, Lucy suggested: be motivated to keep busy by helping the war effort; become hardened and un-empathetic; be over-whelmed by grief; or come to hate the war. Lucy argued that "it depends completely on what Mrs Sievers was like as a person" (Lucy exit task, lines 7-8, Appendix H). This matched a sophisticated interpretation of historical empathy that imagines individual variations within past lives that depend on factors such as personality. Lucy had also used the source material to support these points about what Mrs Sievers might have felt. For instance, she drew from Source D (see Appendix F) that financial hardship would likely follow the death of a son or husband and that Mrs Sievers might "need to work hard to support herself" (Lucy, exit task, line 18, Appendix H). Lucy also judged that because we cannot say for certain what Mrs Sievers felt "we probably won't be able to understand what it was like for her after Gerald's death" (Lucy, exit task, lines 8-9, Appendix H). Although describing Mrs Sievers as potentially unknowable, Lucy does try to interpret how she might have felt as a mother living in 1915. I marked this response as Level 5 for both the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy.

In the post task it became clearer that Lucy had made a great deal of progress in historical empathy. In the entry task Lucy had described Mrs Sievers as neurotic. In the post task she still saw Mrs Sievers as anxious but now drew upon the source material to explain why she might also be seen as patriotic. Lucy identified in Source A (see Appendix F) the point that going off to fight was considered "quite a noble thing to do at the time" (Lucy, post-task, line 5, Appendix H). There was also, below the surface, the feeling that some men were pressured to go. Furthermore, she emphasized the idea that Mrs Sievers, like Mrs Knight in Source B (see Appendix F), would be hopeful and would pray that her son came back a hero. Lucy's response concluded with a line from a popular song of the era, in Source B: "We don't want to lose you, but we think you ought to go, for your King and your country, both need you so" (Lucy, post-task, lines 13-14, Appendix H). Once again the answer was differentiated as Mrs Sievers was described as having at least two different emotions. In imagining Mrs Sievers feelings, Lucy handled the source material carefully and accurately. I also marked this response as Level 5 for both dimensions of historical empathy.

In summary, the assessment tasks showed Lucy's growing sophistication in using evidence selected from source material and her ability to differentiate between the feelings of different

historical characters. While Lucy used a greater range of evidence as the tasks unfolded, in the mid task she still excluded those pieces of evidence that challenged her preconceived image of a wretched Gerald dreaming of home. In the post task however, she was able to unpick her image of the neurotic Mrs Sievers and see her beliefs fitting into the wider context of patriotic pride. Lucy developed more sophisticated historical empathy once she began to overcome her tendency to impose her own beliefs on the past and to see the potential variations within the experiences of historical characters. Cognitively, Lucy became more adept at using a range of source material and began to pay more attention to the wider historical context of the period. There was also the sense that Lucy comprehended differences between past and present. However, she was still to fully develop the ability to read source material sufficiently closely and critically to pick up on nuanced points such as, the soldier's food, whilst being monotonous and sometimes unpalatable, was nonetheless also plentiful.

Claire's response to the entry task was that Mrs Sievers' would feel anxious about her son going to war but she would also understand that he had to go because "it was his duty to serve his country" (Claire, entry task, line 2, Appendix H). Therefore, Claire had made an attempt to interpret the past from the point of view of Mrs Sievers. She had not referred to the sources but had identified the idea of 'duty' that was implied in Source B (see Appendix F). It was difficult to ascribe a level to Claire's response to the entry task because on the one hand, it was based on generalized content, which made no allusion to the time period or the First World War, and was typical of Level 2. On the other hand, its implicit use of evidence began to fit a Level 3 response. On balance, I marked Claire's response to the entry task as a Level 2 for both the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy.

Claire's response to the mid task similarly implied that she had identified ideas within the source material without explicitly indicating which source she was using. For instance, she briefly referred to the hot weather and soldiers' being constantly shot at, but did not say how she had arrived at this observation. Her response was generalized in the sense that what she had described could have been true of many wartime situations. There was nothing that connected it to Gallipoli in 1915, although this was implied when she talked about the heat and Gerald constantly being under fire. Furthermore, Claire described Gerald as being "lonely and miserable" (Claire, mid-task, line 1, Appendix H) without explaining why, other than to say he was being shot at. Again Claire's response was difficult to mark. This time

however, her references to the heat and constantly being under-fire were statements that were clearly supported in the source material, helping Gerald to appear more three-dimensional, so I marked it as a Level 3 response for both dimensions of historical empathy.

Claire's response to the exit task was far more sophisticated than either her entry or mid task response. She recognised that Mrs Sievers may have experienced a number of emotions on hearing of her son's death, such as a feeling of mourning and grief and pride in learning of his sacrifice and heroism. Claire also mentioned that she may have been trying to deflect the heart-break of such news by busying herself in the war effort. In doing this, Claire displayed a sophisticated interpretation of historical empathy because she was imagining the possibility of variation and inconsistencies within the experience of an historical character. Also, Claire's response referred specifically to Sources' A, B and C (see Appendix F) and explicitly selected evidence from them to support her interpretation of Mrs Sievers' feelings. Therefore, the exit task signaled a significant shift in Claire's grasp of historical empathy in terms of her: handling of evidence; and, imagining individual variations within past lives. Also, by interpreting Mrs Sievers 'mixed feelings' she was tentatively beginning to look at the bigger picture. I marked this task as Level 5 for both dimensions of historical empathy.

In the post task Claire made much greater use of the source material than she did in the entry task; specifically referring to Source A and B to support her feelings about Mrs Sievers. Furthermore she was able to provide some explanation for Mrs Sievers' actions. For instance, Claire imagined Mrs Sievers reading the newspaper, and how she might have been influenced by the sort of material included in Source A. Similar to her response in the exit task, Claire also acknowledged that Mrs Sievers might have experienced more than one emotion. Mrs Sievers, Claire tells us, is worried about her son but realised that he must go and "do his duty" (Claire, post-task, lines 5-6, Appendix H). I felt however, that this answer had not been quite as strong as the previous task, and marked it at level 4 for both the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy.

Reflecting on Claire's responses to the four tasks, it is her response to the exit task where she made a leap forward in terms of her grasp of historical empathy. This was because she was far more precise and explicit in supporting her ideas with evidence and had begun to write about the different possibilities and variations that an historical character might experience.

Therefore, in Claire's response to the exit task, Mrs Sievers was a more completely drawn figure than the one she described in the entry task. In terms of the cognitive dimension of historical empathy, Claire had become confident marshaling evidence. However, her ability to closely and critically read source material so that she could detect where sources' might give conflicting accounts of the same event was still being developed. From the perspective of historical empathy's affective dimension, Claire increasingly appeared able to imagine how a person who lived in the past might have felt about things and how there could be some variation in their thoughts and experiences.

Findings Based on Lucy and Claire's Essays about Gallipoli

In this section of the chapter I explore how essays might be used to exemplify what a student's grasp of historical empathy looks like at different points during their learning pathway. To do this I used Lucy and Claire's essays (see Appendix I) about why young New Zealanders went to fight in the First World War and what the experience of Gallipoli was like. These essays were the final learning task in my instructional intervention and in many ways represented the culmination of what had been learnt in the preceding lessons. By reproducing annotated extracts from the essays I have built up a picture of what Lucy and Claire did as they developed historical empathy. I have also added to my earlier discussion of the potential differences between students in Class A/C and Class C/A by comparing Lucy and Claire's essays and drawing some conclusions about how these essays reflect possible differences and similarities between the two classes.

Lucy's Essay

Lucy argued that the 'hope of adventure' was the principal reason why young men went off to a war being fought on the other side of the world. To support this claim she made the point that New Zealand in 1914 felt like an "isolated island." Next, Lucy used the interviews with New Zealand veterans of the First World War, which she had looked at earlier on in the study. She included Vic Nicholson's comment that he hoped for high adventure. Lucy then discussed the pressure to join up. She supposed that posters were put up labelling men not in uniform as slackers; something she described as a type of blackmail, and that these men were also threatened with a prison sentence. Here Lucy drew from the character of Frank in the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981). Next, Lucy turned back to the interviews with the veterans of the

First World War, and highlighted the idea that a sense of duty motivated many men to join up. She included in her essay, Vic Nicholson's comment that it was 'the thing to do at the time'. Lucy also emphasised Joe Gasparich's argument that he was motivated by joining up with his mates. In coming to her last reason Lucy concluded: 'the final, but not the only reason, as it varies with different people, is because they [New Zealand young men] were patriotic and loved their country'. Again she used the words of veterans to support this claim. Therefore, Lucy had shown that she could identify multiple reasons why New Zealand's young men went off to fight. She also supported these reasons with evidence. Lucy also acknowledged that people could have very different reasons for joining up. Arguably, Lucy had reached a relatively sophisticated level of historical empathy as she seemed to recognise that people had made choices for different reasons and that we can differentiate between the motives of young men as they set off to fight in the First World War.

In the second part of her essay, Lucy began by pointing out that Gallipoli was not what soldiers would have expected. She argued that to find out about the experience of war you can use the diary of Bill Leadley who fought at Gallipoli. She described how Leadley suffered from dysentery and after spells in hospital he confided in his diary "I wish I could get well." Lucy also talked about the thousands of young men who died and the failure of the Gallipoli campaign, despite the successful evacuation at the end. She made the point that most who survived travelled to the Western Front where things were worse and that 'the survivors from Gallipoli died there during the next two years'. In her conclusion, Lucy returned to the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) and Archy's remonstrance that "you just had to be a part of it." She highlighted the sacrifice of 'brave' soldiers and that we [New Zealanders] will remember them. Rather poignantly, she concluded "lest we forget." Lucy's ending is profoundly felt I think and shows an engagement with the idea of remembrance. Equally, the second part of her essay showed that she can approach the question of what affect the fighting had on New Zealanders, by drawing on a range of evidence.

Claire's Essay

In Claire's essay her explanation of why young men left New Zealand to fight in the war began by saying that "everyone wants an adventure!" She saw this as the men's principal motivation for going to war and imagined that heading off to another country would have

been “quite appealing”. To support this explanation Claire argued that a documentary she had watched had said the same thing. She then moved on to identify several other reasons why men joined up. These included: being ‘forced to go’; patriotism; and, because many of them had been Boy Scouts or cadets, they thought of themselves as being ready to go. By referring to contextual points such as the Boy Scouts movement, Claire was very effectively drawing upon the material she had learnt in the first cognitive learning task. She also drew upon the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981), and acknowledged Archy’s feeling that “you just gotta be in it” and referred to Frank’s mates appearing to go along “with the crowd”. Not following the crowd in 1914/15, as Claire pointed out, could result in being seen as a coward. Using the cartoon that she had analysed earlier in the study, Claire described such men as having their head down, while others mocked them. At this point Claire introduced the idea that for some men, joining up was an economic decision. From the perspective of a low paid job the army might seem attractive. Again using the film *Gallipoli*, Claire recalled Frank’s decision to earn some money in the army and come back from the war an officer.

The second part of the essay was not explored in depth by Claire. However, she did acknowledge that the whole of New Zealand was affected by the war and that families would have experienced the war differently. She also pointed out that soldiers’ either died or lived, but did not expand on this point.

In summary, Claire gave a wide range of reasons why a young man might decide to go and fight in the First World War. In doing so she drew upon several pieces of evidence and wrote fluently and logically about each one in turn. She displayed a sophisticated understanding of the motives of these young men. However, her answer to the second part of the essay question was very short.

Comparing Lucy and Claire’s essays’

In terms of what Lucy and Claire did well, both demonstrated that they could tie their arguments to a wide range of evidence. Furthermore, they showed some awareness of historical context. Claire was particularly good at describing the context of life at home, in the sense that there were pressures on young men to volunteer, whilst Lucy emphasised the wider context of men who survived Gallipoli and how they found themselves on the Western Front where life was even more hellish. These examples illustrated that both students had

developed their own sense of historical empathy. However, Claire and Lucy's writing also reflected their largely uncritical approach to using evidence. For instance, they did not differentiate between using fictional characters in a film, interviews with veterans from Gallipoli, or with a Gallipoli diary that was written on or near the front line. There were no words of caution about using the film or why one piece of evidence might be more reliable than another.

There were also a number of differences between the two essays. Lucy's conclusion demonstrated a sentimental approach to the past that linked the past with the present. Lucy was keen for what happened in the First World War to be remembered in the present, and she emphasised the idea that the soldiers' expectation of glory was replaced with the realisation that many of them would die. This seemed to glue together the other points in Lucy's essay. In comparison Claire's essay was more detached. Its rationale was arguably to provide a balanced and accurate account of why young men from New Zealand went off to fight. That is not to say that Claire's writing was without feeling because she demonstrated the affective dimension of historical empathy when she described the often miserable lot of the many men who stayed at home.

Another difference in the essays was that Lucy explicitly made the point that men fought for a variety of reasons. This point was only implicit in Claire's essay. Arguably, Lucy was more aware of historical agency in so far as she was able to identify that people in the past did make their own decisions. Another difference in the two essays was coverage. Lucy completed both parts of the essay question whilst Claire essentially only did the first half. There might be many reasons for this, most of which are beyond the scope of this study to investigate. However, it may correspond to the evidence drawn from the students' feedback survey and classroom response system that those students in Class A/C, like Lucy, showed greater levels of interest than those students like Claire, in Class C/A.

These similarities and differences can be summarised in the table overleaf:

Table 23

Similarities and Differences between Claire and Lucy's Essays

Similarities	Differences
Multiple explanations	Sentimentality
Linked explanations to evidence	Awareness of historical agency
Some contextual awareness	Linking past with the present
Did not critically examine evidence	Coverage

***Findings Based on the Assessment Tasks for Class A/C and Class C/A
and the Student Feedback Survey***

In analysing the data from the entry, mid, exit and post tasks, I wanted to ensure that it was as trustworthy as possible. I therefore asked another history teacher, referred to here as *Teacher 2*, to mark the responses of twelve students using the criteria in the five level typology of historical empathy displayed in Table 3. I selected these twelve students using a stratified random sample, six students were from Class A/C and six were from Class C/A, (see Table 22). It was stratified so that the sample included students whose responses to the assessment tasks were at different levels.

Next, I calculated Cohen's Kappa index of interrater reliability to measure the degree of correlation between our two sets of marks.²² Wood (2007) has stated that there is a consensus that Cohen's Kappa Index should be at least 0.6 or 0.7 to confidently say there is interrater reliability. The interrater agreement between *Teacher 2* and me was 0.603492. To use Wood's threshold, this was "good enough" (2007, p. 6) to show interrater reliability in my marking of the tasks.

Once I had tabulated the entry task responses of the students (see Tables 24 and 25) I wanted to establish whether or not there was a significant difference between the responses of students in Class A/C compared to those in Class C/A. To do this I used *SPSS 18* to run a non-parametric test (Mann-Whitney U Test). The test found no relationship between the mean scores of students and their membership of either Class A/C or Class C/A. This meant that there was no statistically significant difference between Class A/C and Class C/A in

²² I calculated Cohen's Kappa Index as: 0.736 (observed percentage of agree) - 0.334187 (expected percentage of agreement) divided by $1 - 0.334187$ (expected percentage of agreement) = 0.603492 .

terms of cognitive and affective performance prior to the intervention, as determined by the results of the entry task. Therefore, at the beginning of the instructional intervention both classes were performing similarly in terms of the students' ability to demonstrate affective and cognitive historical empathy.

Table 24

Tabulated Marks of the Assessment Tasks for Class A/C

Students	Entry	Mid	Exit	Post	Entry	Mid	Exit	Post
	task	task	task	task	task	task	task	task
	affect	affect	affect	affect	cognitive	cognitive	cognitive	cognitive
Lucy	3	4	5	5	3	4	5	5
Hailey	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	4
Eileen	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	2
Alvin	2	2	4	4	1	4	2	4
Steph	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Helen	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gayle	2	3	4	2	2	4	3	2
Tony	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Rachel	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Andrea	2	4	4	M	2	4	4	M
Nancy	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	2
Graeme	2	2	4	4	2	4	4	4
Steve	2	4	3	2	2	3	4	2
Karen	2	2	3	5	2	3	2	4
Dave	2	3	4	4	2	4	4	4
Toni	2	3	2	M	2	2	3	M
Katie	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	2
Tim	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	2
Martin	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Lucille	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ant	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Penny	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

Note. M = missing data. = affective marks, = cognitive marks

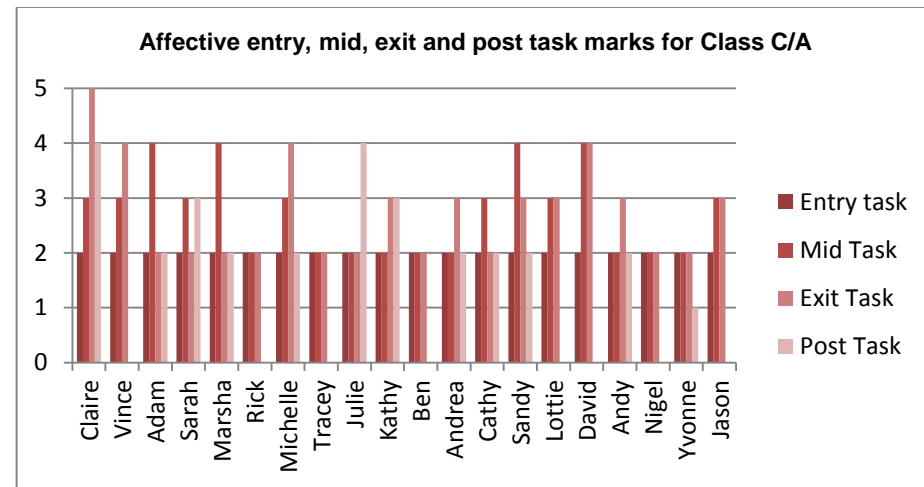
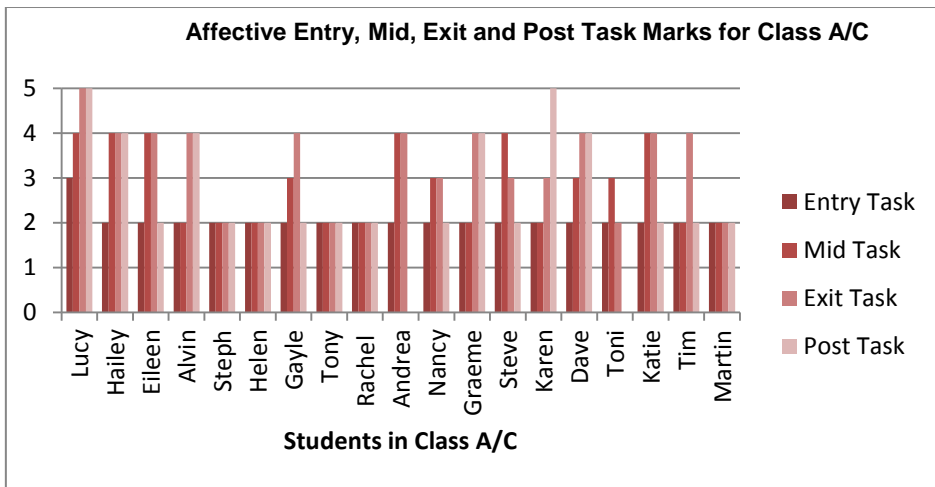
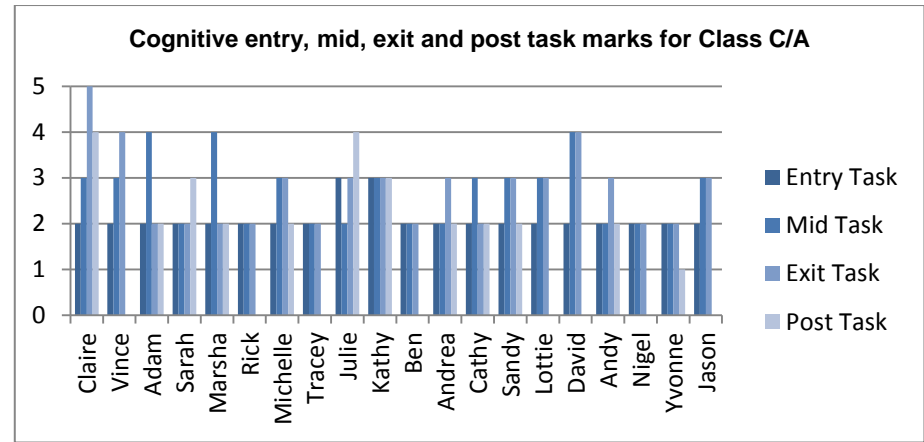
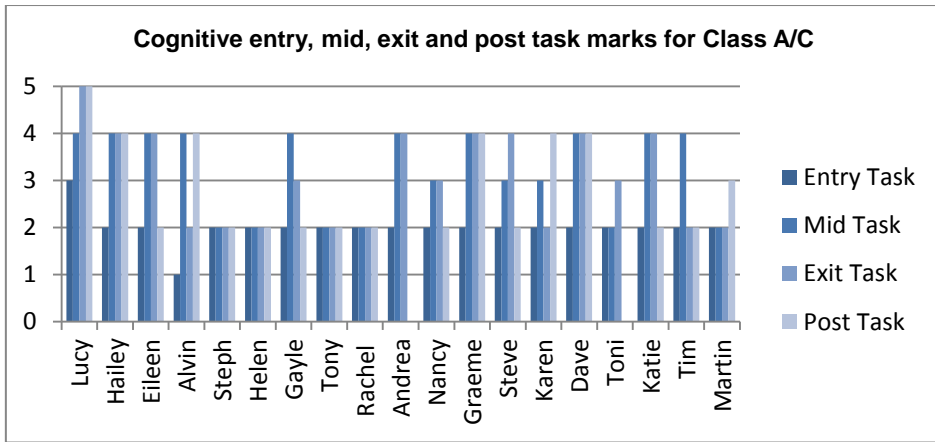
Looking at the affective and cognitive marks for the entry, mid, exit and post tasks, for most students in Class A/C, there was a general upward trend (see Table 24). 67 per cent of

students in Class A/C, who completed three or more assessment tasks, reached the higher levels of historical empathy (i.e. Levels 4 and 5 as signalled in the typology in Table 3). In comparison, in Class C/A the trend was still upward, but at 44 per cent, the percentage of students reaching the higher levels of historical empathy was lower (see Table 25). Furthermore, looking at the range of students' marks it is clear that progress was not uniform (See Figure 14 for a graphical representation of this data).

Table 25
Tabulated Marks of the Assessment Tasks for Class C/A

Students	Entry	Mid	Exit	Post	Entry	Mid	Exit	Post
	task	task	task	task	task	task	task	task
	affect	affect	affect	affect	cognitive	cognitive	cognitive	cognitive
Claire	2	3	5	4	2	3	5	4
Vince	2	3	4	M	2	3	4	M
Adam	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2
Sarah	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	3
Marsha	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2
Rick	2	2	2	M	2	2	2	M
Michelle	2	3	4	2	2	3	3	2
Tracey	2	2	2	M	2	2	2	M
Julie	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	4
Kathy	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Ben	2	2	2	M	2	2	2	M
Andrea	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2
Cathy	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2
Sandy	2	4	3	2	2	3	3	2
Lottie	2	3	3	M	2	3	3	M
David	2	4	4	M	2	4	4	M
Andy	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2
Nigel	2	2	2	M	2	2	2	M
Yvonne	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1
Jason	2	3	3	M	2	3	3	M
Kyle	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Colleen	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Jack	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

Note. M = missing data. = affective marks, = cognitive marks

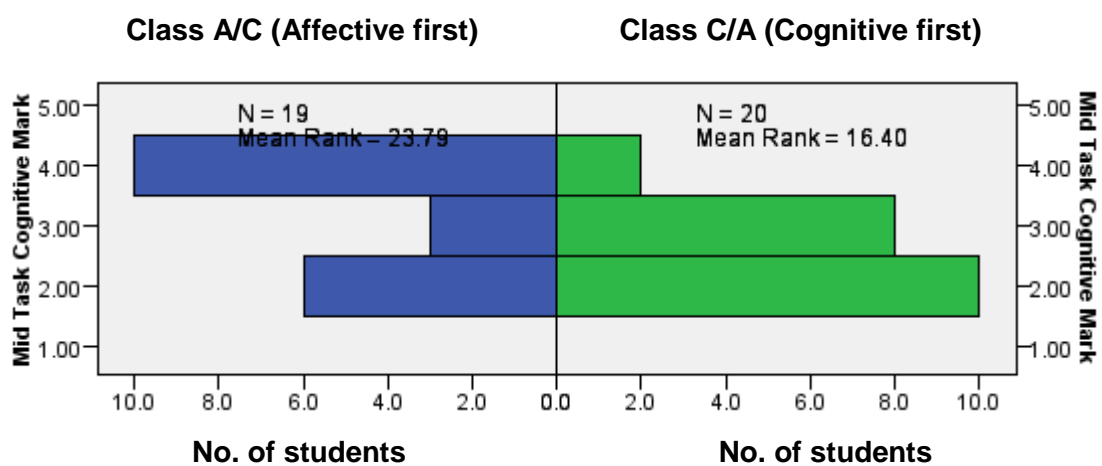


Note. x axis = students names, y axis = students' marks (1 to 5) using the marking scheme.

Figure 14 Affective and Cognitive, Assessment Tasks' Marks for Class A/C and Class C/A

Figure 14 reveals that while the development of historical empathy shows a general upward trend in both classes, student responses to the post task, over two weeks after the instructional intervention was completed, were not as strong as those for the exit task.

My analysis of the assessment tasks data found that the only statistically significant difference between Class A/C and Class C/A was in the mid-task cognitive marks, where students in Class A/C achieved at a higher level than those in Class C/A (see Figure 15). This may suggest that engaging these students with the affective dimension of historical empathy before the cognitive dimension leads to some gain in achievement early on and this is then reflected in the mid task. However, there was no statistical difference in the achievement of both classes in the exit and post task.

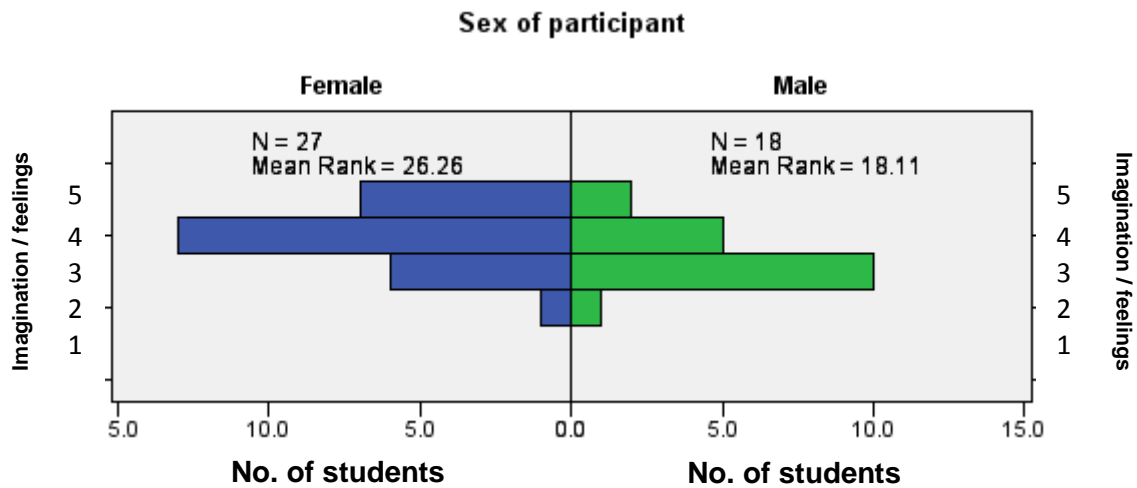


Cognitive marks (1 = novice-like or poor understanding to 5 = sophisticated understanding)

Mann-Whitney U Test showed significance beyond the .05 level: $p = .031$

Figure 15 Mid Task Cognitive Marks for Class A/C and Class C/A

My analysis of the assessment task results also found no statistically significant link between gender and the extent to which students developed historical empathy. This was contrary to evidence from the student feedback survey which suggested that the girls in Class A/C and Class C/A felt that the instructional intervention had allowed them to use their imaginations and get a feel for the past to a far greater extent than the boys (see Figure 16).



Student use of imagination / feelings: 1 = very low to 5 = very high
Mann-Whitney U Test showed significance beyond the .05 level: p = .030.

Figure 16 Student Use of Imagination / Feelings During the Instructional Intervention

In other words, the students responses from the feedback survey show that the girls appeared far more conscious, than the boys, of engaging imaginatively with what had happened at Gallipoli and why so many young men had left home to fight in a far off war.

Discussion

In this section of the chapter, I begin by exploring the progression of Lucy and Claire using Vermeulen’s (2000) theory of progression and my historical empathy pathway. Next, I look at how this might relate to ideas of progression found within: the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC); the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA); and, history education research typologies of progression. Finally, I briefly explore how gender might influence progression, before proposing how developing historical empathy might best be approached.

Progression and My Instructional Intervention

What has emerged from reading Lucy and Claire’s essays and responses to the affective and cognitive learning tasks and the assessment tasks, is a rich understanding of the progress they have made in developing relatively sophisticated historical empathy. As a teacher-researcher this has helped me to reflect on how the students and I might plan for progression and how

the findings in this chapter relate to the literature. In terms of the development of historical empathy, Lucy's tendency in the mid-task to transfer present-day behaviours onto past lives (she had argued that Gerald, fighting on the Gallipoli peninsula in 1915, would be homesick when there was no evidence for this) was potentially an example of what Foster (2001) has called the great weakness of affective empathy: the tendency to produce a let's pretend version of the past. However, looking at Lucy's writing as a whole in the mid-task, she did use a great deal of evidence to support her judgments about past lives. It would be an exaggeration to say that Lucy's imaginative reconstruction of Gerald's experiences were a flight of fancy or that it was unlimited by evidence. This is clear in Lucy's response to the exit-task, perhaps because by then she had completed the instructional intervention's cognitively focused tasks. However, even in the entry-task Lucy had demonstrated that she could use evidence drawn from source material. Therefore, Foster's warning about the perils of affective historical empathy, seem overblown, especially if both dimensions of historical empathy are taught. Perhaps the key point is that students and their history teachers are aware of this issue and recognize it when it occurs. To do this, Morton (2011) has suggested that information about progression needs to be manageable and communicated in a way that students and teachers can easily interpret. This suggestion is based on Morton's experience of coaching a number of history teachers in Vancouver, who like him were introducing historical thinking into their teaching. He and several of these teachers found it difficult moving students towards (progression) greater understanding of historical concepts.

One way to address Morton's point, is to combine the elements outlined in my historical empathy pathway (see Figure 13) with Vermeulen's (2000) metaphor of progression as the "growth of a spider's web" (2000, p. 36). To think in a less linear way about progression, I have used this method to display graphically Lucy and Claire's progress at four moments during the instructional intervention (see Figures 17 and 18). The points on each spider-web diagram come from interpreting how well Lucy and Claire responded to the assessment tasks and then plotting these against the elements used in the historical empathy pathway. It is important that the elements are displayed in the same order for each spider-web diagram so that meaningful comparisons can be made between two or more spider-web diagrams. I applied a five-point ordinal scale to order 'the extent' to which Lucy and Claire were displaying each element: 1: not at all; 2: small extent; 3: some extent; 4: large extent and 5:

very large extent. In this sense it is similar to a star-plot diagram which displays variables as a series of rays; each ray being proportional to the size of the variable (Chambers, Cleveland, Kleiner & Tukey, 1983). An important difference however is that each point is based on student/teacher judgements rather than a high level statistical test.

Making use of this approach, I have charted Lucy and Claire's progress in a way which made its outward growth and its unevenness more visible. In doing so I have graphically signalled that developing historical empathy is not a simple linear process. Lucy and Claire are both making progress but they are not following a single pathway. The inference to draw from this is that at the mid-point in the intervention, Lucy needed to focus on the idea that past and present were different and Claire needed to focus on a wide range of elements, including using imagination and finding multiple perspectives. In this regard, the spider-web diagrams provided a means for the student and teacher to plan for the student's next steps in learning. Furthermore, the teacher could use the spider-web diagrams to look for patterns across a whole class. The research of Smith, Smaill and Allan (2012), comparing students' performance in eight reading tasks, has shown that this type of graphical approach can be read "holistically to get a sense of overall [student/group] strengths and weaknesses, or ... [to] look at performance a task [or element] at a time" (2012, p.5).

A potential weakness however, of using spider-web diagrams, is that they are rather static and therefore do not incorporate the different stages of progression highlighted in Gaddis' (2002) theory of students entering and exiting the past. One means of addressing this weakness would be to overlay the spider-web diagrams onto a graphical representation of my historical empathy pathway. This would show that at various stages of a student's trajectory towards developing historical empathy there would be a focus on different elements.

How this might look is displayed in Figure 19. When 'entering into the past' the student is engaging with the affective dimension of historical empathy. At this moment the student and teacher could, using a spider-web diagram, gauge progress in terms of the former's open-mindedness, sensitivity and imagination. Once the student had, so to speak, entered into the past, a similar spider-web diagram could be used to show their success (or otherwise) in engaging with the cognitive elements of historical empathy during their time 'working with the record of the past'. It follows, that these steps could be repeated once more, when the

student had ‘exited the past’, and a record could be made on a spider-web diagram of how well they had grasped the affective and cognitive elements of historical empathy. This would provide a visual display of the students’ particular journey towards acquiring historical empathy. Where this might show weaknesses with a specific element of historical empathy, the student and teacher could discuss what might be done to address this. In this sense Figure 19 would become a tool for learning and helping students to navigate their own trajectory or pathway towards sophisticated historical empathy.

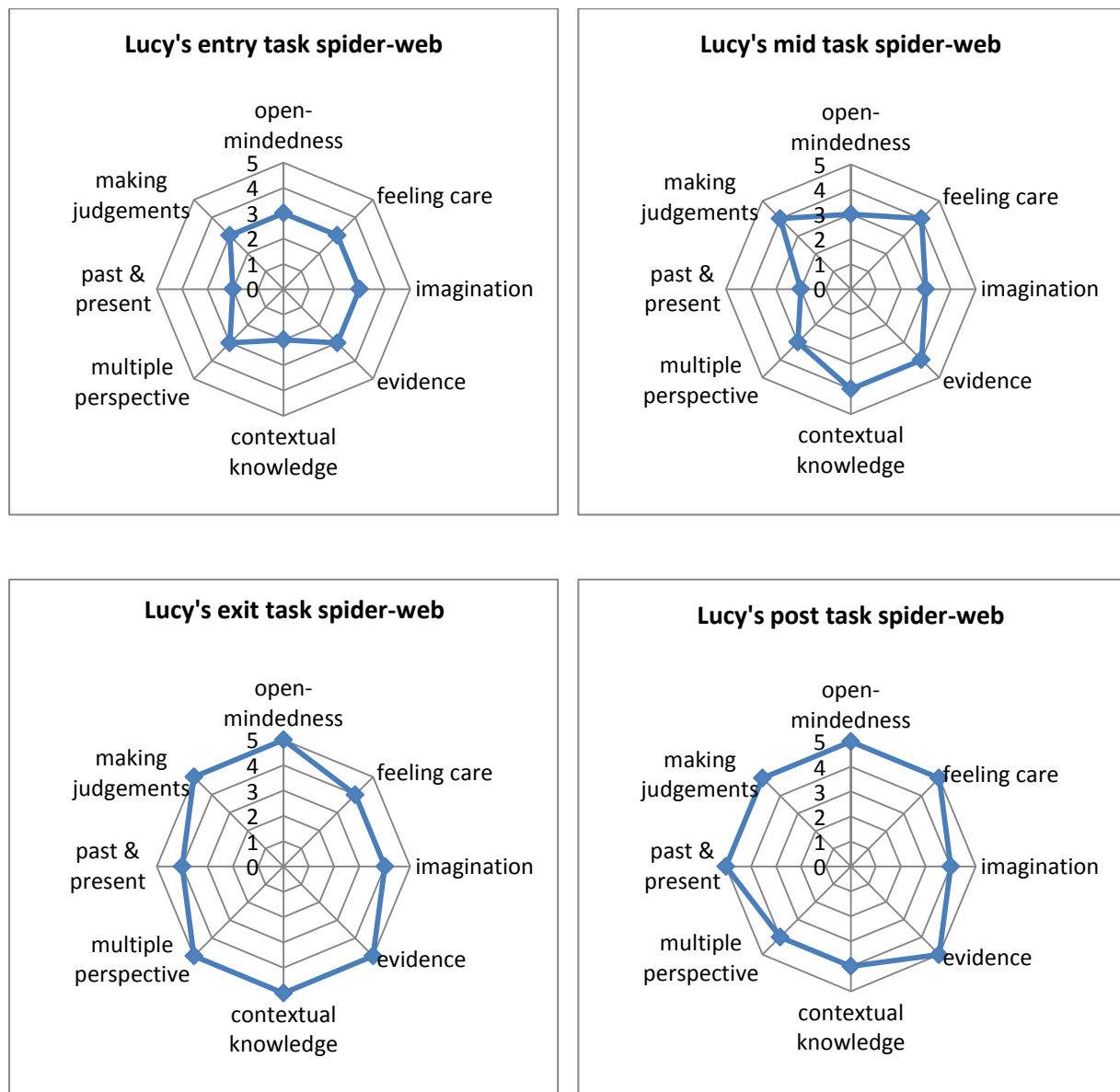


Figure 17: Spider-Web Diagrams of Lucy’s Assessment Task Responses

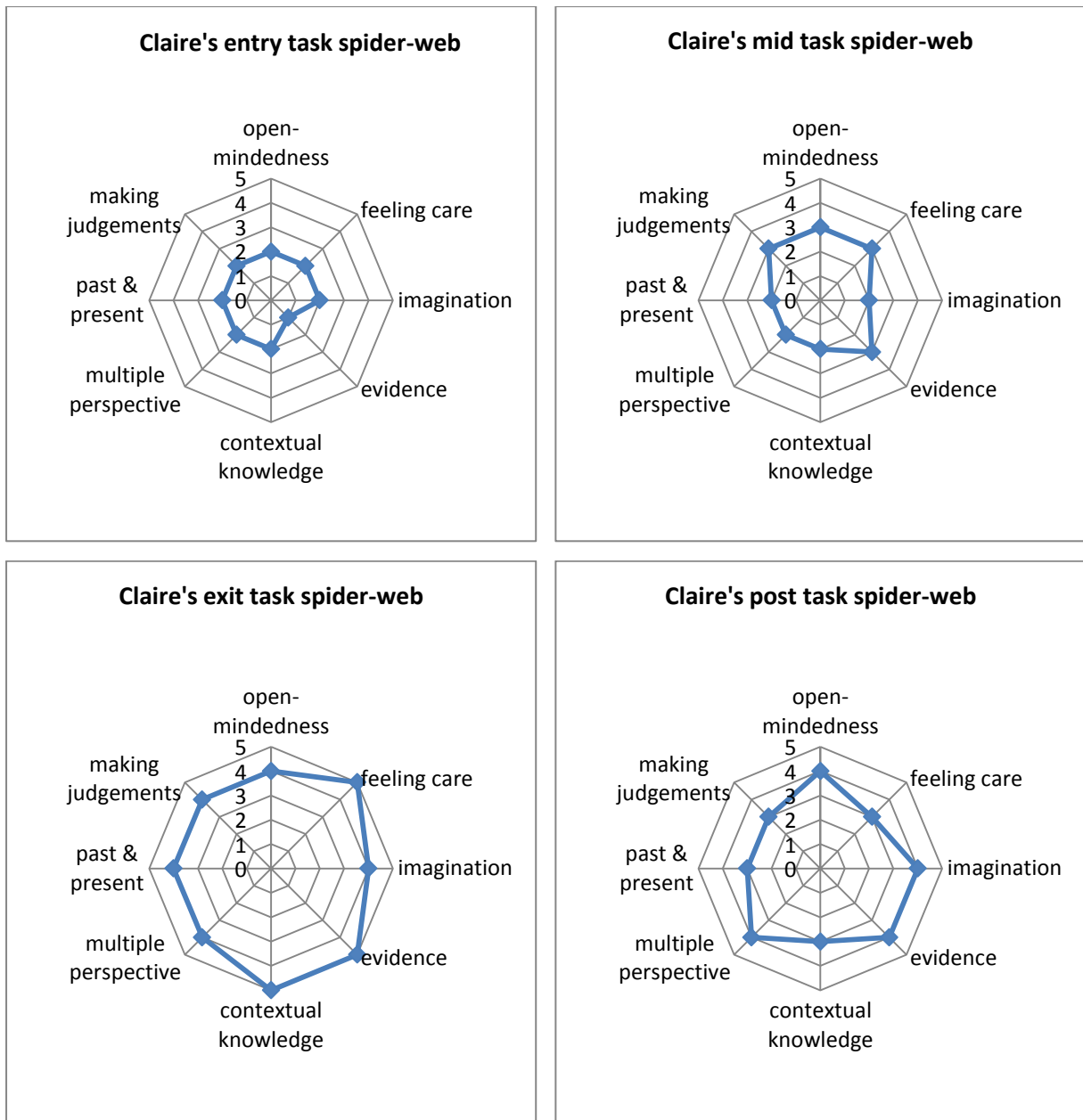


Figure 18: Spider-Web Diagrams of Claire's Assessment Task Responses

Lucy and Claire’s spider-web diagrams could be placed on this graphic, providing them (and the teacher) with a sense of their degree of progress and their position on the pathway of entering into the past, working with the record of the past and then exiting the past.

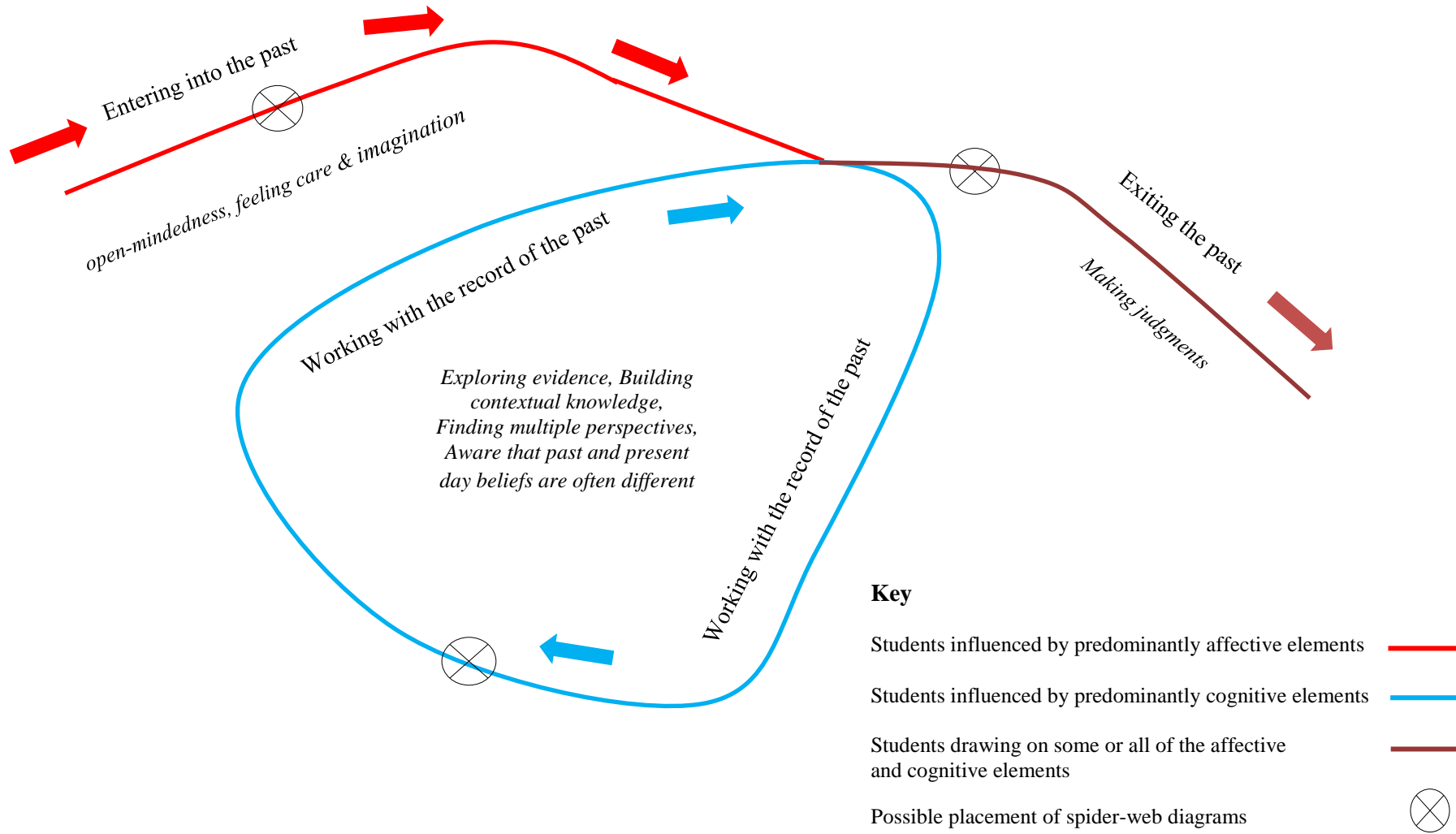


Figure 19: A Dynamic Graphic of the Historical Empathy Pathway

In addition to the approach described in Figure 19, it might also be worthwhile to draw upon the students' essay to make judgements about progression. Lucy and Claire's essays could be used as a means of exemplifying what progression looks like. By choosing essays at various degrees of sophistication it would be possible to exemplify novice and sophisticated historical empathy. It might also provide, within the same piece of writing, examples of how students' had grasped the different elements of historical empathy. For instance, a student could write with some naivety about a character's historical context whilst showing a more sophisticated grasp of multiple perspectives.

In Table 26 and Table 27 I have used excerpts from Lucy's and Claire's essays to exemplify the elements of historical empathy outlined in the historical empathy pathway (I have omitted 'open-mindedness' as it was not easily identifiable in either essay). Students and teachers could read exemplars such as this to clarify what the various elements of historical empathy might look like in student writing. With practice therefore, it might be possible for them to become adept at recognising sophisticated historical empathy. This is important because as Sadler (2007, 2009) has argued, it is this ability to judge quality, which identifies those who are able to recognise a subject's guild knowledge – in this case, the knowledge of what is meant by sophisticated historical empathy. Sadler would also promote the value of reading essay exemplars in terms of being able to view the whole. It is possible, as I have outlined in Table 26 and 27, to identify 'elements' within exemplary essays, but it is also worthwhile reading them as a 'whole'. Sadler (2007) argued that "if you break something into pieces [in this context, elements], whatever originally held it together has to be either supplied or satisfactorily substituted if the sense of the whole is to be restored" (2007, p. 390). Essays are one way of providing that 'sense of the whole' to students and teachers who might be otherwise struggling to picture more than one element of historical empathy at a time.

Table 26

Lucy's Essay: Exemplifying Elements of Historical Empathy

Elements of historical empathy	Examples from Lucy's essay	My comments
Feeling care	<i>"1915 is the year we will always remember as the year so many soldiers lost their lives, bravely fighting for what they believed in ... Lest we forget"</i>	Lucy sensitively refers to the importance of remembering what happened at Gallipoli. However, she does not discuss why using the words of a fictional character such as 'Archy' are problematic.
	<i>The result of this decision [to join up] was not the glory that they had expected but the death of many young soldiers"</i>	Lucy is aware that at the time men would not have known about the carnage that awaited them.
Imagination	<i>"Leadley describes the constant sound of war, the lack of hygiene and the bad food and the dirty water."</i>	Lucy uses Leadley's diary to help her visualise what Gallipoli was like.
Evidence	<i>"Joining the war was 'the thing to do at the time' (Vic Nicolson). Soldiers joined up because it was popular"</i> .	Lucy frequently uses veterans' reflections at face-value, but does conclude that there were many reasons why men joined up.
Contextual knowledge	<i>"Most of the men settled in New Zealand during the time of the First World War had grown up on the isolated islands, and so the thought of adventure appealed."</i>	Lucy's grasp of context could be developed further so that she could provide a broader picture of why soldiers held thoughts of adventure.
Multiple perspectives	<i>"The final, but not the only other reason, as it varies with different people, is because they were patriotic and loved their country."</i>	Lucy understands that soldiers reasons for fighting can be viewed from multiple perspectives.
Judgements	<i>"1915 is the year we will always remember as the year so many soldiers lost their lives, bravely fighting for what they believed in."</i>	Lucy makes a judgement about the significance of Gallipoli from a present day perspective.

Table 27

Claire's Essay: Exemplifying Elements of Historical Empathy

Elements of historical empathy	Examples from Claire's essay	My comments
Feeling care	<i>"Pressure is a very big deal at that time [those who did not fight were] mocked ... they [men joining up] didn't know what would happen when their time came to fight."</i>	Claire is sensitive to the plight of those young men who were cast as 'slackers' and cowards for not fighting. She is also aware that men in 1915 would not share our hindsight about the terrible nature of fighting in the First World War.
Imagination	<i>"[men not joining up] got a bad reputation. They often got called coward ... a cartoon made from that time explained or portrayed what it was like. A man walking with his head down."</i>	Claire uses a cartoon about so-called 'slackers' to visualise what it was like for young men who did not volunteer to fight.
Evidence	<i>"There was a documentary that stated that it was 'for the adventure'."</i>	Claire uses evidence from the documentary 'Brothers in arms' (Denton, 2007) although she is vague about the provenance of the documentary.
Contextual knowledge	<i>"men joined the cadets and did training."</i>	Claire displays background knowledge about military training being a part of pre-war New Zealand society.
Multiple perspectives	<i>"Other soldiers did it to be popular."</i>	Claire understands that there are multiple perspectives to explaining why men fought.
Judgements	<i>"The whole of New Zealand was devastated when they found out that many soldiers had died."</i>	Claire is able to arrive at a judgement about Gallipoli. It tends however to be quite generalised and is not explicitly supported by evidence.

My descriptions of Lucy and Claire's progress by means of firstly spider-web diagrams and then essay exemplars, have closely followed the elements identified within my historical empathy pathway. How might this approach relate to ideas of progression found within the

New Zealand Curriculum (NZC), the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) and history education research constructed typologies?

Progression and the New Zealand Curriculum

The New Zealand Curriculum (NZC), (Ministry of Education, 2007) is relevant to the study of historical empathy from two standpoints. Firstly, in the front part of the curriculum document, one of five overarching key competencies, *relating to others*, focuses on understanding the lives of others and recognising different perspectives. *Relating to others* is about:

...interacting effectively with a diverse range of people in a variety of contexts. This competency includes the ability to listen actively, recognise different points of view, negotiate, and share ideas. Students who relate well to others are open to new learning and able to take different roles in different situations. (2007, p. 12)

This focus on an affective empathy for others is similar to the affective dimension of historical empathy described earlier on in this study and illustrated in Table 4. The New Zealand Curriculum does not however, set out a model of progression that describes how students might develop in the key competency of ‘relating to others’.

The second standpoint, where the NZC is pertinent to historical empathy is its focus, in the latter part of the curriculum document, on the social sciences learning area. Here, as discussed in chapter 2, the NZC sets out a series of achievement objectives for history, across curriculum levels 6, 7 and 8 (see Table 1, which is repeated overleaf).

These achievement objectives briefly describe progression in terms of history becoming increasing complex, contested and being about large forces over time. However, as Absolum, Flockton, Hattie, Hipkins and Reid (2009) have pointed out, they do not ‘richly describe’ what progression in history looks like because they focus on “surface coverage at the expense of in-depth learning” (2009, p. 35). For instance, at curriculum level 6 the second achievement objective signals that the general direction of study should be about understanding perspectives and how they differ. However, it leaves history teachers to decide for themselves ways of gauging how students become better at this or of making sense of what ‘perspectives’ means when students are learning history.

Table 1

New Zealand Curriculum Achievement Objectives for History

Curriculum level	History achievement objective 1	History achievement objective 2
6	Understand how the causes and consequences of past events that are of significance to New Zealanders shape the lives of people and society	Understand how people's perspectives on past events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.
7	Understand how historical forces and movements have influenced the causes and consequences of events of significance to New Zealanders	Understand how people's interpretations of events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.
8	Understand that the causes, consequences, and explanations of historical events that are of significance to New Zealanders are complex and how and why they are contested	Understand how trends over time reflect social, economic, and political forces.

In summary, the NZC may guide history teachers towards engaging with historical empathy but it says relatively little about the process of progressing in, or getting better at, historical empathy. To do that, history teachers might look towards assessment tools, namely the National Certificate of Educational Achievement's (NCEA) achievement standards.

Progression and the National Certificate of Educational Achievement

The NCEA achievement standards for history describe progression mostly in terms of students moving towards 'in-depth' and then 'comprehensive' understanding, interpretation or analysis (see Table 2, repeated overleaf, for an outline of the criteria for achievement standards 1.4, 2.4 and 3.4).

Table 2

The Achievement Criteria of Achievement Standards 1.4, 2.4 and 3.4

Achievement standard	Achievement	Achievement with merit	Achievement with excellence
AS 1.4	Demonstrate understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.	Demonstrate in-depth understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.	Demonstrate comprehensive understanding of different perspectives of people in an historical event of significance to New Zealanders.
AS 2.4	Interpret different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.	Interpret in-depth different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.	Comprehensively interpret different perspectives of people in an historical event that is of significance to New Zealanders.
AS 3.4	Analyse different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.	Analyse, in depth, different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.	Comprehensively analyse different perspectives of a contested event of significance to New Zealanders.

As Absolum *et al* (2009) have made clear, these are inadequate descriptions of progression because they rely so heavily on “semantic incrementalism” (2009, p. 40). Absolum’s *et al* point is that to teachers and students, ‘understand’, ‘interpret’ and ‘analyse’ are likely to mean the same thing and therefore do not clarify points of progression.

Given that, like the NZC, the NCEA achievement standards provide relatively vague descriptions of progression, do typologies of progression, derived from history education research provide greater depth?

Progression and History Education Research

The mapping of progression in historical empathy by history education researchers has generally consisted of setting out a sequence of levels or stages (Ashby & Lee, 1987; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lee & Shemilt, 2003, 2004). Referred to as typologies, they have been described by Lee and Shemilt as a means of predicting the range of responses a student is likely to make as they attempt to develop historical empathy. Lee and Shemilt have called these levels or stages “break points” (2004, p. 29). These signal when a student’s grasp of historical empathy shifts. I have made extensive use of a typology in this study (see Table 3, repeated on the next page). It is adapted from the typology’s of the Southern Regional

Examinations Board (1986, pp. 15, 42-43) and Ashby and Lee (1987, pp.68-81), and attempts to predict a range of student responses to the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. I used it to assist my marking of the students' responses to the entry, mid, exit and post tasks. It also gave me a framework for thinking about historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions and what to look out for as students first began grappling with historical empathy and later on how they got better at it.

Table 3

Five Level Typology of Historical Empathy

Level	Affective	Cognitive
1	People in the past are imagined as simple cardboard cut outs, without feeling or a willingness to entertain different points of view.	People in the past are not comprehended or at times are thought of as being stupid.
2	People in the past are imagined with some feeling so that they are more than cardboard cut outs. However, they are still quite vague and stereotypical.	People in the past are comprehended using some evidence, but they tend to be thought of as 'stereotypes'.
3	People in the past are imagined with more feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted but from the position of the present-day.	People in the past are comprehended using evidence so that an historical context is begun to be built up. This historical context is comprehended from the position of the present-day.
4	People in the past are imagined with attuned feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted from their own position in the past.	People in the past are comprehended using evidence so that an historical context is built up. This context is comprehended from peoples' position in the past.
5	People in the past are imagined with attuned feeling and care so that their lives are more fully interpreted from their own position in the past. An attempt is also made to differentiate between individuals who lived in the past so that factors such as personality and shared experiences are considered.	People in the past are comprehended using diverse evidence so that a wider historical context is built up, giving the 'bigger picture' of their life and times. This context is comprehended from peoples' position in the past.

I acknowledge however, that using a typology is problematic because it does not take into account the different ways that students might come to grasp historical concepts. As VanSledright (2001) has pointed out students can appear to be at different levels at the same time, or to be haphazardly moving between them. This point might be missed if teachers pay too much attention to the typology and not enough attention to what is happening in the classroom. Counsell has therefore argued that teachers must devise models of progression for

themselves, based on their practical experience, and that simply relying on research-based typologies can “deprofessionalise teachers” (Counsell & the Historical Association Secondary Education Committee, 1997, p. 12). Furthermore, even Lee and Shemilt (2003) who have promoted typologies, admit that they should be employed with caution, and principally as a means of ‘scaffolding’ teaching and learning.

Still as Taylor (2012) has emphasised, this does not mean that the attempt to describe levels or stages of progression should be abandoned. While acknowledging the problems of typologies, he has nevertheless argued that “it is possible to map progress in fairly general terms to show how many students respond ... at successive stages” (2012, p. 192). This is reflected in the recently devised Australian Curriculum history framework²³, which uses a sequence of stages to broadly describe progression in empathising. However, as Taylor’s comment alludes to, for ‘some’ students the use of typologies to gauge progression is too prescriptive because their experience does not match the descriptions laid out in a sequence of levels/stages.

To describe the individual learning trajectories of students, as they attempt to get better at historical empathy, I have proposed creating, as discussed earlier, a series of spider-web diagrams. These display student learning at different points in the instructional intervention (see Figures 17 and 18). Potentially, teachers and students could use this approach to firstly identify how much progress the latter had made across each element within the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy and then to plan next steps. For instance, looking at Lucy’s spider-web diagram at the mid-point of the instructional intervention, I would focus my help on building her capacity to differentiate between past and present-day beliefs. Claire, in contrast, at the same point, would need support across a broader number of elements.

VanSledright (2011) has also framed student progression in terms of building student capacity. He has described an imaginary but nonetheless exemplary history teacher, Thomas Becker, slowly building up the capability of students by aligning classroom tasks with various goals, including the development of concepts such as historical empathy. To do this, VanSledright does not use the term ‘typology’ but he does refer to students using “criteria-

²³ The Australian Curriculum framework for history takes a broadly interpretative approach to history in secondary schools, and aims to develop in students, among other attributes, an understanding of historical empathy. Retrieved from <http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/History/Aims>

laden tools (e.g., use of evidence ...) ... to decide poorer from better accounts [of the past]" (2011, p. 66). Throughout, VanSledright has stressed the need to repeatedly share, model and discuss the criteria historians use to make judgments about the past, largely because these criteria are unfamiliar to secondary-school age students. This is similar to Sadler's (2007, 2009) insight, that it is the ability to judge quality which identifies those who understand a subject's guild knowledge. However, Sadler also cautioned that in breaking down a subject's guild knowledge into different criteria, a sense of the whole might be lost. One of the great advantages of using the spider-web diagrams and the historical empathy pathway is that it contains the various 'elements' of historical empathy within the 'whole'.

Having discussed a range of ways of thinking about progression, I realize that describing the progression of individual students is something that teachers do within the context of their classroom. That said, they might gain a general sense of what to look for, from reading the NZC and NCEA achievement standards. To find out more, they might focus on the typologies and criteria-based tools described by history education researchers. Potentially, a contribution of this study is that they could also look to use the elements within my historical empathy pathway to create, with their students, a series of spider-web diagrams, to describe students' progression.

Progression and Gender

Finally, in trying to describe students' development of historical empathy it could be asked whether gender is a relevant factor. As outlined in chapter 2, Hodkinson (2009) discounts gender as a determinant of understanding the concept of historical time and from the perspective of neuroscience, Baron-Cohen (2011) has discounted large differences in the ways that girls and boys empathise. However, Fournier and Wineburg's (1997) have argued that gender does influence how students interpret the past. They asked fifth and eighth-grade boys and girls, in two suburban schools in Washington State, to project themselves into the past lives of different American characters, namely Hippies, Western settlers and Pilgrims. They found "different response patterns for girls and boys" (1997, p. 177). The boys had pictured the American past as overwhelmingly male whilst the girls had peopled this past with families and images of men, women and children. As briefly discussed in chapter 2, this

raises the question whether gender not only influences the way students interpret historical characters but also how they develop historical empathy.

In the student feedback survey, the majority of girls in Class A/C and Class C/A felt to a 'very large' or 'large' extent that the instructional intervention had allowed them to use their imagination and to get a feel for the past. The boys in these classes were far more ambivalent about the extent to which the course had done this. This implied that the girls in the study had a greater sense of awareness or openness to the affective dimension of historical empathy. For teachers this might mean making clearer signals to boys when the affective dimension of historical empathy is being taught or encouraging boys to participate more in this dimension of the concept. However, it is important to stress that there was no significant difference between the girls and boys in Class A/C and Class C/A in terms of developing historical empathy; as measured in the entry, mid, exit and post tasks.

Summary

The findings in this chapter are three-fold. First, the students, irrespective of whether they encountered the affective or cognitive tasks first, did demonstrate changes in their ability to empathise historically and the trend was 'upwards', though not uniformly so. Secondly, Lucy and Claire, who demonstrated the most obvious 'growth', certainly did shift in their ability to communicate their historical empathising in relation to the elements within my historical empathy pathway. Thirdly, girls may be more aware than boys of using their feelings and imagination when engaging with what took place at Gallipoli in 1915. My discussion of these findings focused on how to make sense of progression and how to display it in such a way that it makes sense to students and teachers. Drawing upon my historical empathy pathway and the research of Vermeulen (2000), Sadler (2007, 2009) and Gaddis (2002) I devised a dynamic graphic (see Figure 19) describing how students and teachers could navigate their own path towards developing sophisticated historical empathy. On 'entering into the past', then 'working with the record of the past' and finally 'exiting the past', the student and/or teacher logs, as points on a spider-web diagram, the extent to which they have grasped the eight elements of historical empathy, identified in Figure 13. Students and teachers alike can, by reading the spider-diagrams, gauge progression and plan their next steps.

Given that in chapter 2, it was signalled that there was a dearth of such models of progression in the New Zealand Curriculum and NCEA achievement standards (Absolum, Flockton, Hattie, Hipkins & Reid, 2009) and that history education research typologies are problematic in terms of describing individual students progression, this is a potentially significant contribution to teaching and learning history. This is because, as Flockton (2012) points out, such rich descriptions of progression provide teachers and students with valuable information about where learning is heading and what needs to be done to improve.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: SEQUENCING AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Overview

In this chapter, I focus on my third research question: ‘what influence, if any, does the sequence of affective and cognitive learning tasks in teaching history have on students’ development of historical empathy?’ In particular, I explore whether, in terms of student enjoyment, interest and achievement, my sequencing of affective and cognitive tasks in Class A/C and Class C/A mattered. Based on my analysis of the interview transcripts, student feedback survey, classroom response system and student workbooks, I found that there was a significantly higher degree of enjoyment and interest among students in Class A/C compared to those in Class C/A, suggesting that in these areas the sequencing did matter.

Findings Based on the Interview Transcripts

In the first set of interviews the students were asked ‘what have you been finding most interesting about the lessons?’ At this point in the instructional intervention the students in Class A/C had been taking part solely in affective learning tasks’ and students in Class C/A had only been participating in the cognitive learning tasks.

I found that the girls in Class A/C, Hailey, Helen and Rachel, were very animated about the affective learning tasks they had experienced in the instructional intervention and were keen to find out more about Gallipoli. Early on in the interview they had expressed that they were interested in what they had been studying:

Hailey: I’m really interested, like in the difference now and then, like what it was like then.

Helen: Yeah, the same.

Rachel: Yeah.

Helen: Because it was so different back then. You can see that from like what we have watched and everything and learnt.

Rachel: Yes it would be really interesting to see like, see all that stuff happening now, all that blood-shed, people would have a totally different reaction now than they would back then (Class A/C, FIG, lines 43-49).

A little later on in the same interview I asked the girls directly about their interest in the affective learning tasks in the instructional intervention:

Rachel: I think it's really interesting, I would like to, um, it would be cool to research the people you're kind of feeling, what it was like but without having to really do it.

Hailey: I think it's really interesting too. I think it would be good also to expand on the history, kind of like in pieces, so that it is like a mystery.

Helen: Yeah, I think it's really interesting. It's not boring in any way. Or anything like that (Class A/C, FIG, lines 82-86).

In the second interview, following the affective and cognitive lessons the girls had the opportunity to reflect once more on their 'interest' and how this had been potentially shaped by both affective and cognitive learning tasks. They felt that if they had focused on the cognitive tasks first, before the affective, then their interest would not have been so strong:

Hailey: I think, if we had watched the documentaries [part of the cognitive activities] first then they wouldn't have really been effective.

Rachel: It wouldn't have really been relevant.

Helen: I don't know if I would have done as well if we had done it in that order. If we had done it at first I would have been like "er I can't do it" and I don't think I would have been so interested in it and gone off it ... and I would have been like at the start of the topic: "I don't like this topic and I'm not going to do anything." Whereas, if you start with something quite interesting then you are interested in the topic (Class A/C. SIG, lines 85-92).

I asked the boys from Class A/C, Alvin, Dave and Tim, the same question about student interest after they had participated in just the affective learning tasks. I received a response similar to the girls in Class A/C who I had interviewed:

Alvin: I would probably say the thing we did in the library [the second affective task] because we got to learn about just one person. We could learn about where they were

from. I'm not quite sure how to say, they were just from next door or something, they really weren't that far away.

Tim: The same.

Dave: The film [the first affective task] and the library. You get a clear point of how an actual person is and how people tried to be (Class A/C, FIB, lines 38-43).

In the second interview, Tim and Dave, felt that the sequence of being taught the affective followed by the cognitive learning tasks was more useful and easier than potentially reversing the sequence and starting with the cognitive learning tasks and then moving on to the affective. Alvin however, felt that the cognitive learning task based on analysing the letters of soldiers had been 'the most useful part of the course':

Tim: It would be harder because there would be no moving pictures to look at.

Dave: You would have all of the facts just words, perhaps a cartoon or two. But with the movie [*Gallipoli*] you actually saw them doing it, moving around, getting ashore...

Alvin: The most useful part of the course was probably reading the soldiers letters [part of the cognitive learning tasks]. It gave the soldiers point of view of how everything was (Class A/C, SIB, lines 63-64, 77-78).

In my first interview with the girls from Class C/A, Lottie, Michelle and Sarah talked about having mixed feelings about the cognitive tasks they had taken part in prior to the interview:

Sarah: Well definitely there are moments when it is interesting and then there are moments when it isn't. I like the videos and more practical things.

Lottie: I think it has been pretty good because I have always had a slight interest in war and that sort of thing but never really learnt about it.

Mr Davison: Michelle how about you?

Michelle: Probably a bit low, probably because – when I heard that we were going to be studying about war I was like ... and back in intermediate and primary and stuff we have gone through that quite a lot but I do find it interesting looking back into the past and diaries and stuff – these were interesting (Class C/A, FIG, lines 64-74).

Lottie and Michelle's thoughts about the instructional intervention were shaped by pre-existing interests and encounters with history at primary and intermediate school. In the second interview, only Lottie and Sarah spoke about either the usefulness of, or their interest in, the instructional intervention. Lottie felt that the affective tasks at the end of the intervention were something that she looked forward to:

in terms of interest, if people do the imaginary stuff at the end then they can sort of look forward to it. I was looking forward to watching the movie [*Gallipoli*] at the end having done all of this stuff' (Class C/A, SIG, lines 58-60). Sarah agreed with this point and felt that "it was better to do the evidence first because you have a background [to help interpret the affective activities (Class C/A, SIG, lines 50-51).

In the first interview, the boys in Class C/A, Andy, Rick and Vince, were interested in acquiring more historical knowledge and wanted to know more historical 'detail' and 'when things happened':

Andy: I find the lessons interesting but I don't really know that much about Gallipoli so I don't find that too interesting.

Vince: It is actually quite interesting because I have read a lot of books about World War Two and One. I would also like to find out whether there was any strategic planning behind how formations should move because currently all I am able to see is ten thousand men charging forwards, up the mountain [the cliffs on the Gallipoli peninsula] seeing who gets up there alive.

Rick: Yes I am finding it really interesting. I think I would find it even more interesting to be honest if we spent more time looking at the dates, and the battles and when things happened and where the positions were (Class C/A, FIB, lines 38-50).

In the second interview, the boys reflected on the sequencing of the lessons. Andy felt that: "when we watched the movie [*Gallipoli*] we knew what was going to happen. This was not really helpful. If we had watched the movie at the start it would have challenged the mind" (Class C/A, SIB, lines 65-67). Vince, felt that the affective tasks taught in the second part of the intervention had been enjoyable: "I actually liked the second bit. The bit about diaries and stuff actually made sense" (Class C/A, SIB, line 63). Rick spoke about having enjoyed the cognitive tasks more: "I think the first bit was better because from the first bit we can model

the sort of feelings they might have seen or heard or felt rather than making that sort of stuff up as we went along” (Class C/A, SIB, 61-62).

Findings Based on the Student Feedback Survey Data

In analyzing the student feedback survey, using a Mann-Whitney U test, I found that there were three statistically significant differences between the responses from Class A/C and Class C/A. These differences are shown in Table 28 as ‘rejected null hypotheses’.

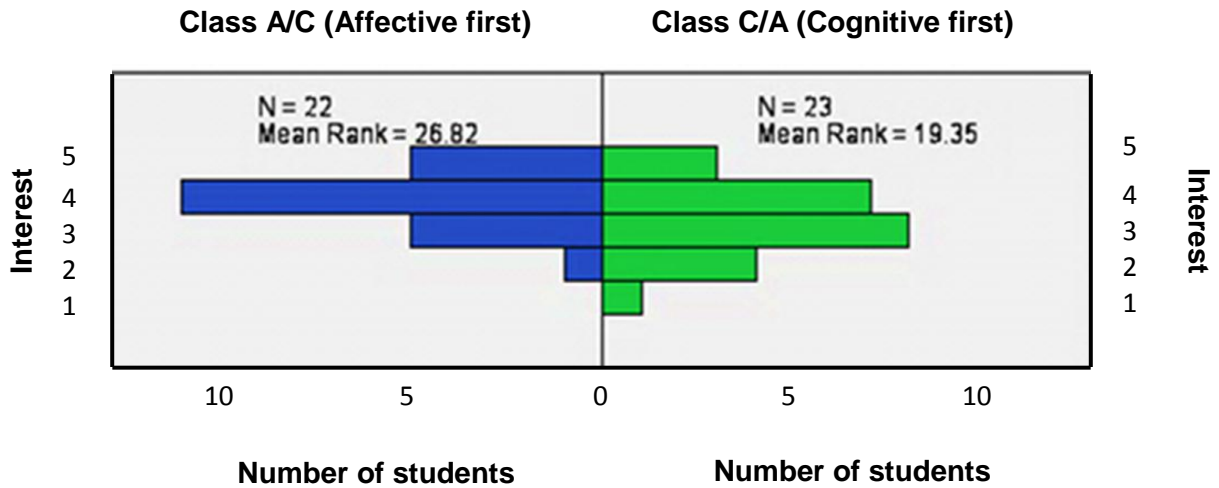
Table 28

A Summary of Rejected Null Hypotheses

Null hypothesis	Sig.	Decision
The distribution of interest is the same across the category of class	.045	reject the null hypothesis
The distribution of enjoyment is the same across the category of class	.017	reject the null hypothesis
The distribution of using imagination and feeling is the same across the category of sex of participant	.030	reject the null hypothesis

The distribution of interest and enjoyment was found to be different in Class A/C and Class C/A. The students in Class A/C had a higher level of interest and enjoyment than those students in Class C/A (see Figures 20 and 21). Figure 20 shows that the majority of students in Class A/C felt that to a ‘large extent’ they had found the instructional intervention interesting²⁴. In contrast, the majority of students in Class C/A had found that only to ‘some extent’ had they found the instructional intervention interesting.

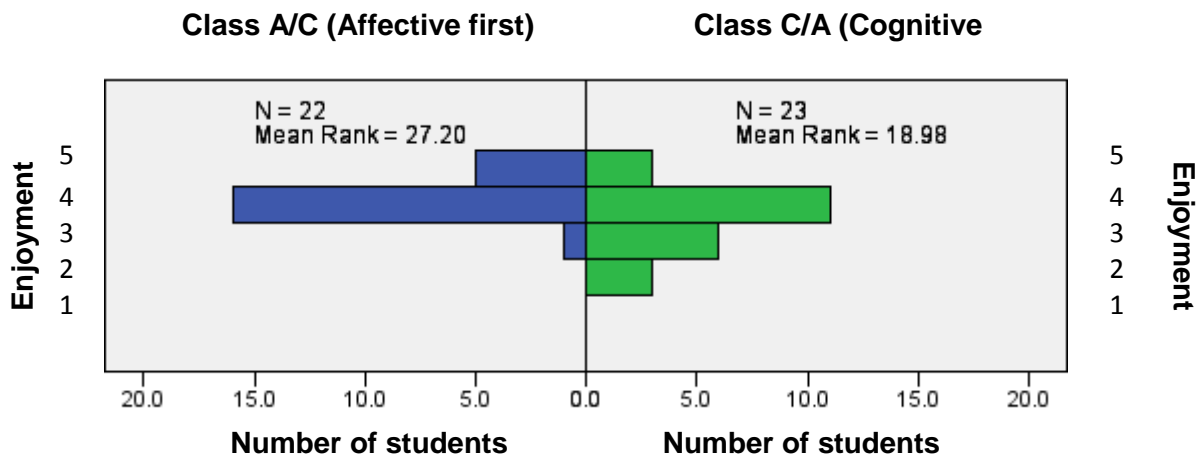
²⁴ To read the questions asked of students in the student feedback survey see Appendix G.



Student interest in the instructional intervention measured using a 5 point ordinal scale: 1 = not at all, 2 = small extent, 3 = some extent, 4 = large extent, 5 = very large extent
Mann-Whitney U Test showed significance beyond the .05 level: $p = .045$.

Figure 20 Distribution of Student Interest Across Class A/C and Class C/A

Figure 21 shows that most students in Class A/C and Class C/A felt that to a ‘large extent’ they had found the instructional intervention enjoyable. However, higher numbers of students in Class C/A, when compared to Class A/C, felt that the intervention had been enjoyable only to ‘some’ or to ‘a small extent’.



Student enjoyment of the instructional intervention was measured using a 5 point ordinal: 1 = not at all, 2 = small extent, 3 = some extent, 4 = large extent, 5 = very large extent
Mann-Whitney U Test showed significance beyond the .05 level: $p = .017$.

Figure 21 Distribution of Student Enjoyment Across Class A/C and Class C/A

Findings Based on the Classroom Response System

During the instructional intervention, students in Class A/C and Class C/A were asked on three occasions to use their mobile phones to text a response to the following statement: at this moment I am very interested in what I am learning. They were asked to use one of five numbers in their response: (5 = I strongly agree; 4 = I agree; 3 = I am unsure; 2 = I disagree; 1 = I strongly disagree). On each occasion, the mean score of the texted responses from students in Class A/C was higher than those in Class C/A, suggesting higher levels of interest in Class A/C (see Table 29).

Table 29

Classroom Response System, Mean Scores from Class A/C and Class C/A

Date	Class A/C mean score	Class C/A mean score
12/8/10	3.66 (<i>n</i> = 15)	2.58 (<i>n</i> = 17)
24/8/10	4.00 (<i>n</i> = 13)	3.40 (<i>n</i> = 16)
01/9/10	3.09 (<i>n</i> = 13)	2.92 (<i>n</i> = 12)

Findings Based on Completion of Affective and Cognitive Learning Tasks

Using the workbooks of students from Class A/C and Class C/A, I counted how many of the affective and cognitive tasks had been completed by the students. In Class A/C, 72 per cent of the cognitive learning tasks and 97 per cent of the affective learning tasks had been completed. In Class C/A, 99 per cent of the cognitive learning tasks, and only 47 per cent of the affective learning tasks had been completed.

Discussion

Why did the students in Class A/C appear to find the instructional intervention more interesting and enjoyable than students in Class C/A? It might be asserted that it was because the sequence in which historical empathy's cognitive and affective dimensions were taught mattered. I would argue that this assertion is warranted because it is based on findings drawn not only from the students' interview transcripts and reflections at the end of the instructional

intervention in the student feedback survey, but also, in the case of gauging ‘student interest’, at three different points during the intervention (elicited from the classroom response system).

Potentially, the emotional appeal of the affective learning tasks taught ahead of the cognitive learning tasks provided a strong sense of engagement for students in Class A/C. As Cullen (2009) has put it, “as any psychologist will tell you, emotions lie at the heart of any rational response to the world” (2009, p. 66). This suggests that by deliberately evoking the students’ emotions through the affective learning tasks, they became aware that they had strong feelings about the topic of Gallipoli and that this led to a sense of interest and enjoyment. Also, as Card (2008) has similarly argued in the context of students looking at visual sources, all of the students were able to ‘feel’ something about Gallipoli and in this way the focus on historical empathy’s affective dimension was inclusive.

Perhaps unsurprisingly a film like *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981), with its focus on the lives of young men during a time of emotional intensity, used in the affective sequence of the teaching intervention, was particularly effective at provoking interest and enjoyment. This was also borne out in Marcus, Metzger, Paxton and Stoddard’s (2010) exploration of using the American Civil War film *Glory*, in a Connecticut Middle School, and their finding that by engaging the imagination the film motivated the students to want to find out more about the American Civil War. As Damasio (1999) has posited, “fine human emotion is even triggered by cheap music and cheap movies, the power of which should never be underestimated” (1999, p. 36). What is being said here is that students find ‘emotion’ engaging and sufficiently motivating to go on to cognitively question and analyse the feelings which this emotion has evoked. This is important because without this emotional pointer it may be that students will not be as interested in pursuing cognitive learning tasks. This idea was signalled by Helen in Class A/C, who felt strongly that beginning with the affective dimension had made the task of historically empathising easier:

“I don’t know if I would have done as well if we had done it in that order [the cognitive first, followed by the affective]. If we had done it at first I would have been like ‘I can’t do it’ and I don’t think I would have been so interested in it and gone off

it, and I would have been like at the start of the topic: ‘I don’t like this topic and I’m not going to do anything’ (Class A/C, SIG, lines 88-91).

Here Helen is touching upon the same point as the one made by Wineburg (2007), when he argued that historical thinking is so challenging that even history under-graduates and history teachers struggle to do it particularly well. It is easy to see that without the motivation to engage and care about historical characters, Helen may have found cognitive acts, such as building contextual knowledge about the Gallipoli campaign, too difficult.

It could be argued however, that if Helen had been sufficiently determined she would have persevered with developing her grasp of historical empathy regardless of whether the affective or cognitive dimensions of the concept were taught first. Indeed, Boekaerts’ (2002) exploration of the psychology of motivation, has suggested that a high level of student self-determination signals an ability to persist with difficult tasks. Therefore it might be reasonable to say that students who are intrinsically determined to succeed are likely to remain motivated as they attempt tasks aimed at practicing the cognitive dimensions of historical empathy. Yet, as Boekaert has also conceded, because many students lack this self-determination, learning often depends upon the teacher’s ability to “make tasks and activities meaningful ... [to students and to] hold their interest” (2002, p. 11). While she has argued that this involves reacting to the needs of students and negotiating tasks with them, I would add that, within the context of teaching historical empathy, beginning with tasks which emphasize the affective dimensions of the concept is helpful in holding student interest.

Still, it would be naïve to believe that simply by beginning with learning tasks which were drawn from the affective dimension of historical empathy that a teacher would be guaranteed to engage student interest. As Aitken and Sinnema (2008) have stressed, in their best evidence synthesis iteration of effective pedagogy in social sciences, designing learning tasks to enhance student interest requires several elements. Building on Csikszentmihalyi and Larson’s (1987) research about the connection between engagement and achievement, they have suggested that these elements are: the careful planning of a variety of tasks; tuning into students’ different motivations to learn; and, aligning tasks to valued learning outcomes. Other research (Marks, 2000) has also emphasised that for learning tasks to be engaging they need to contain the elements of authenticity and challenge.

These elements were present in my instructional intervention in the sense that there was a great deal of deliberate planning to ensure a variety of tasks. I carefully aligned the tasks with the student's Year 10 curriculum goals and I chose the topic of Gallipoli as a genuine and valid part of exploring New Zealanders shared past. I also focused with the students on the challenge of doing something difficult. That is, trying to develop in students sophisticated historical empathy. Therefore, it might have been expected that student interest and enjoyment would have been similarly high in both Class A/C and Class C/A. Because it was so much higher in the former, I believe that my findings support the conclusion that student interest and enjoyment is enhanced by teaching the affective dimension of historical empathy before the cognitive dimension. What I am not saying however, is that this is the only requirement necessary to foster and enhance student interest in, and enjoyment of, historical empathy.

It might be supposed that one of the consequences of students enjoying and being interested in Gallipoli would be that they would complete many, if not all of the learning tasks included within the instructional intervention. Early on in the instructional intervention, students in Class A/C and Class C/A had very high levels of work completion: 99 and 97 per cent respectively. These high levels fell in both classes as the teaching of instructional intervention progressed. However, the completion of work fell more markedly in Class C/A than in Class A/C: 47 and 72 per cent respectively. This meant that the steepest decline in student engagement occurred when students in Class C/A were working on the affective tasks. This may be because, as Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris (2004) have pointed out, engagement can "vary in intensity and duration; it can be short term and situation specific or long term and stable" (2004, p. 61). In many instances, short term engagement might be desirable because it is all that is required. For example, the students in Class C/A may have believed that they had done the hard cognitive work and that completing the affective sequence was not so important for their learning. The historical empathy pathway (see Figure 13) would support this view, because it proposes that the affective elements of historical empathy are important when 'entering into' the past and come before the cognitive task of working with the record of the past.

Finally, can it be argued that there was a relationship between student enjoyment and interest, and the development of sophisticated historical empathy? This was difficult to determine

because it meant trying to untangle the different factors that were associated with the students' achievement. Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris (2004) have acknowledged this problem but nonetheless have concluded that “there is evidence from a variety of studies to suggest that engagement positively influences achievement” (2004, p. 71). My analysis of the entry, mid, exit and post tasks, using the Mann-Whitney U test, showed that only the mid task cognitive marks were significantly different between Class A/C and Class C/A (see Figure 14). In this mid-task, the cognitive marks for students in Class A/C were significantly higher than for those students in Class C/A. This appeared paradoxical in so far as students in Class A/C, without any instruction about the cognitive dimension of historical empathy, were able to demonstrate a higher level of cognitive historical empathy than those students in Class C/A, who had already received such instruction. This may be because the students in Class A/C, following the first sequence of instruction, were more engaged and therefore more motivated to do well in the mid task. Nevertheless great caution is needed in interpreting the Mann-Whitney U Test in this way because it may ignore a wide range of other factors. In all of the other assessment tasks there was no significant difference between Class A/C and Class C/A. As Aitken and Sinnema (2008) have emphasised to those educators reading their research, tasks which foster student interest and enjoyment are “necessary but not sufficient” (2008, p. 217) for achievement. They have argued that teachers also need to align tasks to valued learning outcomes. I would argue that the development of historical empathy is a valued outcome when teachers and students reasons for studying the past include: thinking historically; caring about historical characters; and, fostering citizenship.

Summary

The information from the interviews, classroom response system, student workbooks and the student feedback survey, suggested that students in Class A/C found the instructional intervention more interesting and enjoyable than those students in Class C/A.

I have argued that this finding illustrates the idea that the affective tasks provided an ‘emotional pointer’ for the students in Class A/C. Potentially, without such a pointer, these students would not have shown the same high levels of engagement and enjoyment as they undertook the cognitive learning tasks. This is significant because learning history is often challenging (Wineburg, 2007) and students do not always have the intrinsic motivation and

self-determination (Boekaerts, 2002) necessary to do the hard cognitive work of thinking historically. Without completing this cognitive work, a student's grasp of historical empathy will be poor because it would not be based in evidence and contextual knowledge.

Drawing primarily upon the research of Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987) and Aitken and Sinnema (2008), I have cautioned that the 'sequencing' of affective learning tasks ahead of cognitive learning tasks, is only one of several other elements, including the meeting of valued outcomes, which are necessary to building student engagement and achievement. Still, that the sequencing of the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy is but one of several other elements does not diminish its importance.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Overview

This chapter begins by discussing three assertions drawn from the findings of this study. These are: that historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions are underpinned by a series of elements; that secondary school history students can develop a relatively sophisticated grasp of historical empathy; and, that student interest and enjoyment is enhanced when the affective dimension of historical empathy is an integral part of teaching and learning. Next, the chapter outlines a number of limitations of the study, before discussing its contribution to my practice and the wider history education community. Finally, it examines the study's implications for further research.

Three assertions

Bringing together the findings from preceding chapters, three assertions can be made about the meaning, development and teaching of historical empathy. First, that the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy are underpinned by a series of elements. The affective elements of open-mindedness, feeling care and imagination play an important role as students attempt, so to speak, to enter into the past.

Open-mindedness allows students to be receptive to past experiences and makes it more likely that they will begin to take seriously, at least temporarily, values and beliefs that are different to their own (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Noddings, 2005). Receptivity, may lead to identification with historical characters, as Foster (2001) warns, but evidence from psychotherapy shows that empathetic individuals can identify with others whilst not agreeing with them (McWilliams, 2004). This is because they can perceive the thoughts of another person while retaining their own viewpoint (Shea, 1998). Without an open-mind, as Rachel in Class A/C, pointed out in this study, "you can't really feel what the person was thinking" (Class A/C, SIG, lines 5-6). However, it was also apparent in this study that students did not begin looking at a new historical topic with an open-mind and that therefore the uptake of this element would be more likely if it was pre-taught.

Feeling care fosters in students a sense that past-lives mattered and of wanting to find out more by entering into that past. In this study, the element of ‘feeling care’ was evoked when students felt close to historical characters. For instance, Alvin in Class A/C, felt care towards the soldiers of the First World War when he said that they could have been “just from next door or something, they really weren’t that far away” (Class A/C, FIB, lines 39-40). For Hailey, a feeling of care emerged as she watched the film, *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981): “even for me in the movie ...they were actual people” (Class A/C, FIG, line 101). When after watching *Gallipoli*, Helen asked “what would I feel like if I went through that?” (Helen, Class A/C, SIG, lines 44-45), there was a clear sense that she had entered into the past and was now pondering what she would have done, had she been there. While Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that feeling care helps students to explore and potentially change their beliefs, my focus has been on its capacity to help students enter into the past.

Imagination is about being projected into the past. For Rick, in Class C/A, it meant the ability “to imagine ourselves to be there [in the past] as other people” (Class C/A, SIB, lines 33-34 & 85-86). One way of doing this is to watch a film like *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981). As Seixas and Peck (2004) have posited, film is designed to “sweep their audiences into an apparent past [so that they have] a direct window into what the past looked like, felt like, and what it meant” (2004, p. 109). They caution however, that being ‘swept along’ into an imagined past is not what is wanted if learning history is about critical thinking. I would argue that being swept along is desirable if the teaching goal is for students to enter into the past. What is also desirable, and here I agree with Seixas and Peck, is that attention is paid to historical empathy’s cognitive dimension.

Historical empathy’s cognitive elements of: exploring evidence; building contextual knowledge; finding multiple perspectives; and, being aware that past and present are different, become important once students have, so to speak, entered into the past and begun working with the record of the past.

Evidence was thought of by the students in this study as: a checking device to test out hunches about the past; as a means of building historical knowledge; and, as a way of stimulating an emotional interest in the past. The first point reflects the almost universally held view that the claims of historians are only warranted if they are underpinned by evidence

(Gosselin, 2011). The second is particularly relevant to empathising with an historical character because it implies sifting through the record of the past to try and find relevant source material that may help to contextualise their life. The third however, would be seen by Wineburg (2007) as a novice-like approach to evidence, far removed from the world of historians, who he argues, handle evidence with cool detachment. Still, in terms of engaging with historical empathy, evidence that activates an emotional interest in the past is useful in that it may foster student interest. In this study, both Helen (Class A/C) and Michelle (Class C/A) were clear that without such engagement, handling evidence could be demotivating.

Building contextual knowledge enabled the students in the study to develop a more rounded picture of historical characters. As they learnt about the context of soldiers' lives and New Zealand and Australian society in 1915 so they were able to make better sense of what it might have been like for these soldiers to serve at Gallipoli. Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) have described this acquisition of contextual knowledge as developing "a sense of period" (2005, p. 167).

Finding multiple perspectives also enables students to realise that historical characters are rounded people who are likely to have more than one emotion or outlook. Hailey in Class A/C found that she "got better at ... being empathetic when there was more to it, like when there was another point of view" (Class, A/C, SIG, lines 76-78). By identifying multiple perspectives students are also ensuring that they empathise with not only a single-perspective account of the past, but also with the stories of others (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Taylor, 2005).

Recognising that the past and present are different is an element of historical empathy that is likely to emerge from cognitively working with the record of the past. As contextual knowledge grows students are able to distinguish past beliefs and values from those they hold here in the present.

Once this work on the record of the past is complete, students exit the past. From this point, they are trying to form judgements about their experience of the past, and are drawing upon some or all of the affective and cognitive elements that they have encountered. This interpretation of historical empathy draws upon insights from the students who took part in the study, my reading of the history education literature and especially the ideas of Gaddis (2002).

My second claim is that secondary school history students can develop a relatively sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. This was demonstrated in both classes in this study though not by every student. Progression was most clearly displayed in the workbooks of Lucy (Class A/C) and Claire (Class C/A). Three strategies for the tracing of progression were employed to follow Lucy and Claire's development of historical empathy, the latter two of which used the historical empathy pathway displayed in Figure 13. The first progression strategy used a typology (see Table 3) developed from the work of the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986) and Ashby and Lee (1987), to predict, at five different levels of sophistication on the typology, how students might approach each affective and cognitive element. This progression strategy was used to gauge students' affective and cognitive responses to the entry, mid, exit and post tasks. I do acknowledge that it is linear and, as Counsell (2000b) has highlighted, students do not necessarily sequentially progress through different 'levels'. However, I found it a useful starting point and a means of setting out what I considered the development of affective and cognitive historical empathy might look like. In this regard, it formed the basis upon which my study initially predicted student growth in historical empathising (Lee & Shemilt, 2003).

The second strategy developed to trace the development of historical empathy was a spider-web diagram that could display an individual student's progression, at different time-points, across each of the elements described in the historical empathy pathway (see Figures 17 and 18). This strategy drew upon Vermeulen's (2000) metaphor of progression unfolding across a broad-front rather like a spider-web's and from the need to gauge how students in the study were developing their grasp of each of the affective and cognitive elements outlined in the historical empathy pathway. The spider-web diagram provided a visual means of displaying the unevenness of progression, where for example, Lucy or Claire might make strong progress in one element but appear not to be progressing in another.

Finally, this thesis demonstrated how essays can exemplify a student's grasp of historical empathy as a whole. It is possible to identify within essays different degrees of sophistication within a single piece of extended writing. Annotated copies of Lucy and Claire's essays (see Table 26 and 27) provide a means of displaying their degree of progress. One of the advantages of this strategy and with the use of spider-web diagrams is that the various elements of historical empathy are contained within the whole. As Sadler (2007, 2009) has

posited, a sense of what a subject's knowledge looks like, is often more readily grasped as a whole rather than trying to find it within a set of different criteria.

Following these progression strategies, my dynamic graphic of the historical empathy pathway (see Figure 19, page 154) could then be used, as a mega-cognitive tool, as demonstrated for Lucy and Claire's progression, to plan next steps. While this approach to progression and historical empathy draws on the research of the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986), Ashby and Lee (1987), Vermeulen (2000), Counsell (2000b) and Sadler (2007), principally it emerged from studying the journeys of the students in this study as they grappled with developing historical empathy during the course of my instructional intervention.

My third claim regards the debate about how affective aspects of historical empathy are important to teaching and learning history. This thesis demonstrates that student interest and enjoyment is enhanced when the affective dimension of historical empathy is an integral part of teaching and learning. The affective dimension acted like an 'emotional pointer' enhancing the engagement of students in Class A/C. This, heightened engagement makes the completion of cognitive learning tasks more likely. This is because the students in my study described historical empathy as a difficult concept to interpret and therefore high levels of engagement explain why they were willing to persist in completing cognitively demanding learning tasks. As Helen put it:

"I don't know if I would have done as well if we had done it in that order [the cognitive first, followed by the affective]. If we had done it at first I would have been like 'I can't do it' and I don't think I would have been so interested in it and gone off it, and I would have been like at the start of the topic: 'I don't like this topic and I'm not going to do anything'" (Class A/C, SIG, lines 88-91).

This view reflected Wineburg (2001, 2007) and VanSledright's (2002) findings that learning history's cognitive elements requires considerable effort. While the evidence in this study supports engaging in the affective aspects first before introducing the cognitive elements, this assertion does not discount students developing a sophisticated grasp of historical empathy when the teaching of the affective and cognitive elements are combined rather than being taught in sequence. In this study and in much of the literature (Yilmaz, 2008; Brooks, 2009)

historical empathy is defined as having an affective and cognitive dimension. It is important that teaching time is devoted to both. Neglecting the affective elements of historical empathy would lead to problems engaging with historical characters and imagining what they felt. Equally, without its cognitive dimension, historical empathy would not be anchored in the context of past-times or underpinned by evidence.

Limitations of the Study

As in any study, limitations exist. I discuss the limitations of my study in four sections: affective and cognitive sequencing; methodological choices, the notion of fallibility and debate about historical content. Each is considered in the following pages.

Affective and Cognitive Sequencing

My instructional intervention entailed teaching one class (Class A/C) the affective dimension of historical empathy first, followed by its cognitive dimension, and teaching another class (Class C/A) in the reverse order, that is, the cognitive dimension first, followed by the affective. However, the question of whether the affective and cognitive can ever be distinguished for a long period is valid. In this study that distinction was made, by devising several affective learning activities and an equal number of cognitive learning activities, and then teaching these in a carefully planned sequence. Teachers however, might find it more practicable and desirable to combine the affective and cognitive elements in lessons. Keeping the two dimensions separate helped me to be clearer about what these dimensions might mean and avoided the messiness of data where they were mixed up. But such an objective is unlikely to be shared by other teachers.

Reflecting on my findings however, I am not saying that the affective and cognitive have to be separated over a long period. Rather, I am saying that student interest and enjoyment is enhanced by teaching the affective dimension first. I am also saying that the elements of open-mindedness, feeling care, and imagination are being engaged at the moment when they are most needed – as the student tries to enter into the past. Following this, a focus on the cognitive is crucial as it enables the student to make sense of the record of the past. Eventually these affective and cognitive experiences will be drawn upon as the student exits the past and begins to form judgements. At different times the affective and cognitive will be

present together and learning activities might involve both. What matters is that the teacher is aware of when to predominantly engage with the affective and when and how to change over to the cognitive.

Methodological Choices

My instructional intervention and data collection took place over a relatively long period of time between 2nd August and 15th September 2010. I have used a case study design to describe what happened during this time, and a range of methods and strategies to help establish (maintain) the trustworthiness of my findings (see chapter 3). However, a limitation might be that I have presented only a slice of what was going on during this time and not the whole. As VanSledright, Kelly and Meuwissen (2006) have pointed out, when discussing intervention based research, it is hard to disentangle the effect of the specific intervention on student learning and the effect of everything else that is beyond the intervention. This might raise doubt as to whether my findings, such as the upward trend in the students capacity to empathise historically was because of my intervention or because of something else. To offset this limitation I had used an entry task to establish the students grasp of historical empathy and then tested the same thing, during and following the intervention, to profile the nature of the change that had occurred.

Nevertheless, as a single teacher-researcher I have not been able to describe everything that went on during the five weeks of my practice in August/September 2010. Although I collected a great deal of information during that time, I found that this was weightier than I had anticipated. For instance, while I analysed the workbooks of Lucy and Claire, because they were the two students who showed the most obvious growth in historical empathy, I would have struggled to analyse all 45 workbooks that were completed by the students in Class A/C and Class C/A. Admittedly, this was addressed by my using other data sources such as the interviews and assessment tasks, which provided more analytical breadth. However, the idea of working in collaboration with other teacher-researchers and/or university based researchers to bring a greater resource to the data analysis stage of the study is something I would consider in future research.

Pathways, Typologies and Models

My exploration of the study's first research question: 'how do students interpret historical empathy?' culminated in me devising an historical empathy pathway. This pathway became an important tool that threaded its way through my thesis, as a potential means of interpreting and developing historical empathy. However, I have stopped short calling the pathway a 'model', a term, as pointed out earlier, that Stake (2004) supposed implied a "recipe or ideal" (2004, p. 29). In a similar way I adapted the typologies of Ashby and Lee (1987) and the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986) to create my own typology of historical empathy. Again it was not a 'model' but one way of thinking about progression and historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions. Therefore, a limitation of my pathway and typology, and more broadly speaking my study, is that they do not offer a universal approach to interpreting and developing historical empathy. It cannot be said that for every student my pathway and typology will reflect how they might grow in their development of historical empathy. As Lee and Shemilt (2003) have put it, "the progress of some pupils may be best described in terms of the ways in which they depart from a standard model [or in my case, pathway and typology]" (2003, p. 22). In other words, my historical empathy pathway and typology are fallible.

As Lee and Shemilt (2003) have also argued, a failure to see the limits to typologies [and by implication my pathway] will likely result in teachers using them too prescriptively and narrowly. Still, this is not to say that they are without value. They form the basis upon which teachers may predict student growth in historical empathising and should provide teachers with clearer trajectories of progression than the incremental descriptions in curricula and qualification frameworks can because they are evidentially based. They also identify the key elements that help students and teachers interpret historical empathy. In this regard, they provide a guide to developing historical empathy.

Historical Content

My study explored historical empathy through a single historical topic: the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. A potential limitation of this approach is that the findings are particular to studying the 1915 Gallipoli campaign and may not be transferable to other historical topics. This view appears to be partly supported by those who take a moral and psychological slant

in their study of empathy, such as Slote (2007). He has argued that empathy is more difficult when people are unfamiliar and at a distance. It is likely then, that historical empathy is also more difficult when the choice of topic appears to students to be very remote or unfamiliar. In other words, it might be easier to empathise with a New Zealand soldier fighting at Gallipoli in 1915, than with a Roman legionary fighting Goths in the 4th century AD. Furthermore, as Levstik's (2001) research has demonstrated, historical topics that challenge a student's beliefs, might also be difficult to empathise with as they are unsettling and confronting.

However, while the Gallipoli campaign might appear to be familiar to New Zealand secondary school students, and therefore easier to empathise with, my study demonstrated that this assumption can be questioned. As Claire's response to the first cognitive learning task showed, the First World War was not part of a tangible past where students such as Claire even knew who won the war (see Table 18). It could be argued that all history is unfamiliar and distant from the present and that consequently the study's findings are transferrable to other historical content. By following the instructional intervention, students might empathise with the Roman legionary in much the same way as they did with the soldier of the First World War. Further studies could well use my tools to explore the development of historical empathy with different historical topics.

Summary

Despite these limitations, the study that is reported in this thesis has made a useful contribution to my practice and the wider history community. It has done this by clearly interpreting the meaning of historical empathy, identifying students' growth in developing historical empathy through the use of progression strategies and, by exploring how learning can be influenced by the sequence in which historical empathy's affective and cognitive dimensions are taught.

The Contribution of this Study to My Practice

In the introductory chapter of this study I identified my puzzlement about the meaning and development of historical empathy. After carrying out this systematic study, within the setting of my social studies classroom, I have been able to identify a number of actions which will help students develop historical empathy (Grundy, 1987).

Before my study I did not have such a systematic method of teaching historical empathy, largely because I was unsure of its meaning. Also, I had little understanding of how to gauge students' progress as they got better at empathising historically. My teaching therefore was rather haphazard and focused more on developing detailed historical content knowledge than on achieving a sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. My sequencing of lessons followed the chronology of the topic and progression was gauged only by how well students acquired detailed knowledge of the topic. As a result, developing historical empathy was not an overarching objective in my teaching but rather something which might be found within individual tasks and lessons. This study has led me towards thinking about the development of historical empathy more systematically. The weakness of my previous approach was that it left to chance students developing both the cognitive 'and' affective dimensions of historical empathy. It also tended to lead to, what Counsell (2000b) has described as providing students with occasionally exciting tasks and activities but without giving much thought to how these follow on from each other to build progression. Now, I have a much clearer focus on teaching the elements of historical empathy. Knowing about progression in historical empathy, will now enable me to notice, recognise and respond to students regarding elements of historical empathy to provide more focused feedback targeted to meet their needs. Furthermore, by using spider-web diagrams, I can share with students where they seem to be in their efforts to empathise, and with the typology and historical empathy pathway, where next steps could be made. These insights have come from being a teacher-researcher and following Stenhouse's (1975) advice that teachers need to study their own practice. Reflecting further on the contribution this study has made to my practice I am struck by how I am now part of a community that casts the teacher as a "knowledge generator and agent for change" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 118).

Using my new knowledge about and understanding of historical empathy I intend to undertake another cycle of research reusing the instructional intervention, that is beginning my history unit with the affective learning tasks and then moving on to those with a cognitive focus. By placing the affective learning tasks first, I will be aiming to increase students' interest and enjoyment. At the beginning of the intervention I will administer an entry task and use the progression typology and historical empathy pathway to provide information about the students existing understanding of historical empathy and thereby identify their

“starting points” (Lee & Shemilt, 2003, p. 23). As the intervention unfolds I and the students will use the spider-web diagrams and exemplary essays with the historical empathy pathway to trace progress. In this way, the students and I will be alert to their progression and how I might support them in making their next steps towards developing sophisticated historical empathy. How we continue to track this progress will likely be through looking at the students’ written work and participation in class. I will also use student essays from Class A/C and Class C/A as exemplars to assist students in interpreting what increasingly sophisticated historical empathy looks like.

I am also mindful that as a teacher-researcher studying my practice, I have taken on the role of the insider exploring what is taking place inside my classroom. To work critically within this setting, and look more intently at the values I hold, I have found it useful to be part of a university community. I found the role of my supervisors and fellow students in the Education Doctorate (EdD) cohort, particularly helpful in confronting the reasoning behind my research design decisions and preliminary findings. This is perhaps because they bring a different perspective and a capacity to challenge my taken for granted assumptions. By this I mean that they often played the role of checking whether or not I had thought about alternative ways to approach and interpret my research design and/or findings. This has revealed how deep seated my beliefs about historical empathy were. I now realise that prior to this study I had not fully grasped the importance of historical empathy’s cognitive dimension or indeed the complexity of trying to gauge progression in historical empathy. This insight is perhaps unsurprising, because detailed case study, typical of teacher research, frequently leads researchers to reconsider their preconceived viewpoints (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Paradoxically, it has also meant learning to defend my subjectivity and to see, as Stake (2010) has pointed out, that biases can sometimes be desirable. For instance, my belief that the affect is important in developing historical empathy has led me to question the ideas of those researchers who see history as having a predominantly cognitive structure, such as Foster (2001) and Wineburg (2001).

I am also aware that students are an integral part of my practice. Some time on from the data collection stage of my study, I am again teaching many of those students who were members of Class A/C and Class C/A. For my students the spider-web diagrams, exemplary essays and historical empathy pathway are a means of plotting progress and thinking about how to

develop the elements of historical empathy identified in this study. Much as VanSledright (2011) has theorised, providing ways for students to build their understanding of historical concepts, fosters more involvement in their own learning trajectories. The spider-web diagrams, exemplary essays and historical empathy pathway might therefore be thought of as meta-cognitive tools, displaying to students the elements of historical empathy and revealing their progress.

The Contribution of this Study Beyond Eastside School

This study has proposed that historical empathy is best interpreted as having both affective and cognitive dimensions. My historical empathy pathway (see figure 13) was an attempt to lucidly communicate what the elements within these dimensions look like and how they potentially unfold in sequence. In combination with the five-level typology outlined in Table 3, it is anticipated that history education researchers, teachers and students could use this pathway to plan instruction, trace progress during teaching and learning and to clarify what engaging with historical empathy entails.

My intention is to make the historical empathy pathway available for the history education community to use. The pathway begins by emphasising the notion of students ‘entering into the past’ through open-mindedness, feeling care and imagination. This might be prompted by using film, images and/or first-hand accounts of events. These prompts are important because historical characters are often distant from the present-day lives of students and as Slote (2007) has posited, empathising is much easier when people are close to us or are like us. Once students have made the metaphorical leap into a past event or character then they can begin interpreting it/them through the use of evidence and the development of contextual knowledge (stage two of the pathway). In doing so, they begin to interpret this event or character from multiple perspectives. In this stage it is accepted that while students will never completely escape the present, or completely know the past, they practise understanding that the past and present are different. In the third stage, the students ‘exit the past’ and arrive at a judgement about it. These judgements will draw upon all or some of the affective and cognitive elements encountered by students as they entered and then worked with the record of the past.

A further step would be to bring together the historical empathy pathway and a typology in a single ‘framework’ (see Figure 22). This framework of historical empathy describes student progression from a less to more sophisticated grasp of the concept for each of the eight elements of historical empathy identified in this thesis. It also uses examples from the students’ essays and interview transcripts to demonstrate what relatively sophisticated historical empathy might look like. In doing so, it helps teachers follow likely student progressions in detail so that they “can be more responsive to the diversity they encounter in their classroom day by day” (Hill & Cowie, 2012, p. 5). For instance, in the first stage of entering into the past the teacher can plan learning activities around the elements of imagination, feeling care and open-mindedness, and trace students’ progression as they develop their understanding of these elements. Where evidence from these learning activities suggests that students have not developed a relatively sophisticated grasp of the concept in regard to entering into the past, the teacher can respond by scaffolding learning towards fostering greater imagination, feeling care and open-mindedness.

In previous models of historical empathy such as those devised by Ashby and Lee (1987) and the Southern Regional Examinations Board (1986) the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy are not clearly differentiated and there is no reference to an affective / cognitive sequence. Equally, Lee and Ashby (2001) and also Foster (2001) have tended to value the cognitive more than the affective, whereas in my pathway and framework they are both seen as necessary. After all, much might be missed by following a pathway that assumes historical empathy is ‘either’ a predominantly affective ‘or’ cognitive concept.

My thesis has proposed that the affective dimension of historical empathy helps students engage with the past and that the cognitive dimension is crucial to students making sense of that past. In this regard, history teachers might reflect on:

- whether they also interpret historical empathy as a concept with affective and cognitive dimensions;
- where the key moments will be in their teaching, when students are ‘entering into’, ‘working on the record of’ and ‘exiting’ the past;
- and, selecting learning activities which focus on the different elements signalled in the framework of historical empathy.

Stages	Elements	Shifting from a less to a more sophisticated grasp of historical empathy	
Stage 1: entering into the past (affective)	Imagination	Less sophisticated: people in the past are imagined with some feeling of care and open-mindedness.	➔ More sophisticated: people in the past are imagined with a well-developed feeling of care and open-mindedness.
	Feeling care	Demonstrating entering into the past: “Instead of just imagining being yourself as you are, you would imagine yourself as they were then ... we need to imagine ourselves to be there as other people” (Rick, Class C/A, SIB, lines 33, 85-86). “You could feel the emotion and you could picture what they were going through and you were like, oh my God, what would I feel like if I went through that?” Helen, Class A/C, SIG, lines 44-45.	
	Open-mindedness		
Stage 2: working with the record of the past (cognitive)	Exploring evidence	Less sophisticated: people in the past are beginning to be comprehended using evidence at face value. Contextual knowledge is limited and therefore people are thought of as cardboard cut outs. There is some attempt to find multiple perspectives and some awareness that past and present day beliefs are often different.	➔ More sophisticated: people in the past are mostly comprehended using a range of evidence that is critically examined. Contextual knowledge is well developed and therefore people are thought of as three-dimensional characters. Multiple perspectives have been found and there is a strong awareness that past and present day beliefs are often different.
	Building contextual knowledge	Demonstrating working with the record of the past: “From a modern perspective going to war for adventure is quite ridiculous. However, circumstances were very different in 1915. After the monumental success of New Zealand during the Boer War, men were not expecting to be killed. This is because of the 6500 men who went to fight in the Boer War only 238 had died. Expecting this new war to be similar, many New Zealanders thought the war would be over in a matter of weeks ... Soldiers [also] joined up because it was popular, and most of their friends were doing it. “I knew my mates would ...” (Joe Gasparich, ex-Anzac soldier) ... the final, but not only other reason, as it varies with different people, is because they were patriotic ... “We were very much for the British Empire. When the call came we went” (Bill East, ex-Anzac soldier) Extracts from the essays of Lucy, Class A/C and Rick, Class C/A.	
	Finding multiple perspectives		
Stage 3: exiting the past (affective/ cognitive)	Aware that past and present day beliefs are often different	Demonstrating exiting the past: “Feelings and thoughts [of women who had lost loved ones in the First World War] can be shown through the many interviews historians use to capture the women’s thoughts. These thoughts are a good indication of the devastating affect it had on the country ... 1915 is the year we will always remember as the year so many soldiers lost their lives, bravely fighting for what they believed in.” Extracts from the essays of Lucy, Class A/C and Sarah, Class C/A.	
	Making judgements		
		Less sophisticated: making judgements but only including affective or cognitive elements.	➔ More sophisticated: making judgements that include both affective and cognitive elements.

Figure 22: A framework of historical empathy

The current trend in teaching history is to encourage students to ‘do history’ for themselves, by mastering the concepts and skills which professional historians use to interpret the past. This approach is at the heart of several models of history education proposed in Australia (Taylor, 2005), Canada (Lévesque, 2008; Seixas, 2006), the Netherlands (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008), the United Kingdom (Ashby, Lee, & Shemilt, 2005) and the United States (Wineburg, 2001). All foreground the importance of teaching historical concepts and have used the language of historical thinking. As discussed in chapter 2 however, they predominantly focus on the cognitive dimension of history and how students can learn to think about the past. My study has emphasised that both the affective and cognitive dimensions of learning to empathise are important if students are to develop a sophisticated grasp of historical empathy. I therefore propose that models of historical thinking that contain historical empathy include its affective and cognitive elements.

Implications for Further Research

In conducting this study, new questions have emerged that could be pursued in further research. These questions relate to tracing student progress, methodological choices and alternative avenues of investigation.

As discussed in chapters 2 and 5, the curriculum and achievement levels outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum document (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) respectively, do not adequately describe progression in the teaching and learning of history. The curriculum’s achievement objectives for history, across curriculum levels 6, 7 and 8 only briefly refer to history becoming increasingly more complex and contestable. They do not describe in any depth what progression in history looks like (Absolum, Flockton, Hattie, Hipkins and Reid, 2009). NCEA achievement standards for history use a “semantic incrementalism” (2009, p. 40) to describe progression mostly in terms of students developing ‘in-depth’ and then ‘comprehensive’ understanding, interpretation or analysis of the past. Further research might explore adjusting these levels and standards in light of the evidence of progression proposed in this study.

In terms of methodological choices, it might be advantageous to more closely track the progress of students as they develop historical empathy. As discussed in chapter 6, a classroom response system is one way of doing this, but the students’ willingness to use their

mobile phones, as a means of texting messages to me, was not as great as I had anticipated. Still, there is potential to use a classroom responses system such as text messaging in a way that promotes interaction in the history classroom and provides teachers with greater continuous feedback from students. In university lecture theatre settings, text messaging and personal response systems called ‘clickers’ are already popular channels of communication, valued by students and lecturers alike (Scornavacca & Marshall, 2007). At a secondary school level, relatively small class-sizes make other methods of communication such as raising-hands more feasible, but the idea of having an additional less public channel of communication is worthy of more investigation. Furthermore, evidence suggesting that clickers enhance students learning of science concepts by promoting feedback, revealing misconceptions and encouraging peer discussions (Hicks, 2010) suggests that further investigation would be warranted in how they might improve understanding of concepts in history education.

A further avenue of investigation would be to use a different approach to the sequencing and/or selection of another historical topic. In terms of the former, the affective and cognitive dimensions rather than being kept separate could be brought together in single learning tasks. Regarding the latter, I could replace Gallipoli with another event in New Zealand history, such as the 1930s economic depression or the 1975 Land March. It might also be worthwhile testing out Barton and Levstik’s (2004) theory that student engagement can be enhanced when historical content invites a moral response such as the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. This might be especially pertinent in New Zealand where the curriculum provides teachers with a large amount of autonomy in selecting historical content.

Finally, further studies could be undertaken to test the usefulness of: the historical empathy pathway; the five-level typology of historical empathy; the spider-web diagrams; exemplary essays; and the framework of historical empathy. This would mean exploring the impact of these progression strategies on a larger number of students and / or students learning in (dis)similar contexts to those at Eastside School. By doing so it may foster the development of historical empathy in students, enabling them to engage with the past, interpret its meaning and to discover what it is like to walk in someone else’s shoes.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Copy of the Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form for Students



Participant Information Sheet for Students

Please retain this sheet for your information

Project Title: Investigating the historical empathy of students at one New Zealand secondary school: In what ways does teaching make a difference?

Name of Researcher: Mr Davison (part-time student, Faculty of Education)

Introduction: I'm your social studies teacher but I'm also a student. I'm studying how to help you connect with history, to look at someone's life in the past and to think and feel what it would be like to walk in someone else's shoes. I call this historical empathy. This approach means you can see different points of view, even if you disagree with them.

About the research

This semester, between March 8th and April 6th, all Year 10 social studies classes will be learning about Gallipoli and the meaning of Anzac. The course material and learning activities will be the same across each class. The first part of the course will focus on imagining past lives. By doing this you may find you are more sensitive and tolerant towards people in the past. The second part will focus on thinking about past lives, using evidence such as letters and diaries, and building up your knowledge of the wider context to that person's life. By doing this you may find that you are more able to see the differences and similarities between the past and the present.

In two classes, one of which is yours, I will be researching how student understanding of historical empathy develops over the period of the course.

How will the research work?

This is how I'll track student progress (this is not a lot of extra work for the students)

1. They will fill out three short surveys during the course which look at how they think and feel about Gallipoli and World War I.
2. I'll look at the activities they've completed in their workbook.
3. This is the fun bit – they get to use their mobile phone in class. They'll text me about how engaging they find the lessons (they'll be given some money for texting).

4. I'll be interviewing twelve students in small groups to find out what they think about the research. This will be about 30 minutes in school time (most likely tutor time). You can appreciate that in a group situation, it is not entirely confidential. However, students will share responsibility to protect each others' confidentiality. The group interviews will be recorded but the recorder can be turned off at anytime. I'll be transcribing these recordings and students can amend these if they wish.

Research invitation

I would like to invite you take part. Please be assured it will not affect your learning or assessment if you decide not to participate in this research.

1. Please discuss this invitation with your parent(s) / caregiver(s).
2. Feel free to ask questions about the research before making a decision to take part.
3. If you would like to take part, sign the attached Consent Form
4. Return it in the box beside the College's reception desk.
5. You will also need to return your parent/caregiver Consent Form to the reception desk.
6. You can withdraw from the research at any point in time without giving a reason.
7. You can withdraw your data from the research before April 6th 2010.

Use of Data

All collected information will be stored in a locked cabinet on the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland campus for six years. After this time it will be destroyed. Workbooks will be returned to students.

Students will be able to comment on the draft research findings if they wish. Once finalised, the research will be in the public arena.

I will make every effort to ensure confidentiality but it is not possible to guarantee this. By using pseudonyms, students cannot be identified but the school may be identified due to the fact that I am known in New Zealand as a history teacher at Eastside School.

Contact details

If you have any questions you may contact the following:

Researcher	Researcher's Supervisor	Head of the School of Critical Studies in Education
Martyn Davison Eastside School.	Associate Professor Graeme Aitken Dean of Education University of Auckland Private Bag 92601 Symonds St Auckland, 1150. email: g.aitken@auckland.ac.nz telephone: 623 8899 extn. 48821	Dr Airini ,Head of School, School of Critical Studies in Education (Faculty of Education) University of Auckland Private Bag 92601 Symonds St, Auckland, 1150. email: airini@auckland.ac.nz telephone: 623 8899 extn. 48826

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, 1142. Telephone 093737599 extn. 83711. Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on for (3) years, Reference Number /



THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

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Consent Form for Students

This form will be stored in a locked cabinet separated from other data, on University premises, under my supervisor's and my control, for a period of 6 years

Project Title: Investigating the historical empathy of students at one New Zealand secondary school: In what ways does teaching make a difference?

Name of Researcher: Mr Davison (part-time student, Faculty of Education)

I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I understand the nature of the research and why I have been invited to participate in the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I also understand that my participation is voluntary.

- I agree to taking part in this research.
- I understand that the research will take place between August 2nd and 27th 2010, and participants and non participants will take part in the same learning activities and assessments.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw, without a reason, at any time during the research between August 2nd and 27th 2010 and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to August 27th 2010.
- I understand that if I am selected for two group interviews, involving a total of three participants, these will be approximately 30 minutes each and carried out in school hours, most likely at tutor time.
- I agree to my voice being recorded if I am selected to take part in these two group interviews.
- I understand that should I wish I can ask at anytime during the group interviews for the recorder to be turned off, without giving a reason.
- I understand that I will be given a transcript of the recordings from the group interviews and be given the opportunity to make further comments.

- I understand that should I be randomly selected to participate in the group interviews, I have agreed not to disclose anything discussed in the interviews that may identify other participants or their views.
- I understand that I will be given \$1 to cover the cost of sending Mr Davison four texts from my mobile phone.
- I understand that the findings of the research will be communicated in clear and appropriate language to relevant research communities, groups and individuals.
- I am aware that the information collected from participants will be in a public forum and that every effort will be made to ensure student anonymity but it is not possible to guarantee this. By using pseudonyms, students' names will be unidentifiable but the school may be identified due to the fact that Mr Davison is known in New Zealand as a history teacher at Eastside School.
- I understand that the data gathered in the research, including *Word* documents, sound files, and scanned images from workbooks will be transferred to CD and stored at Mr Davison's home and then in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland campus for six years, after which the CD will be destroyed.
- I wish / do not wish (please delete one) to receive a copy of the draft research findings.

Name: Signature:

Date:

Approved by The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on for (3) years,
Reference Number /

Appendix B

Instructional Intervention Lessons

Lesson 1 (cognitive): I began by describing what a mother in 1914 (Mrs Sievers) might have felt as she said goodbye to her son (Gerald Sievers). The whole class briefly discussed some of the key emotions a mother might have felt as her son went off to war in 1914. I then outlined the aim of this first lesson, to better understand the feelings of historical characters by placing them in context. To do this the class: looked at the beliefs of society at in 1914; at Mrs Sievers surroundings; and at what was happening in the wider world. I made use of a twenty minute extract from the *TV One* documentary: *Frontier of Dreams, episode 8: the price of empire* (Burke & Waru, 2005) to support this aim. I also gave the students a graphic organiser and a short written extract from the documentary commentary to help them make notes on what they saw in the documentary.

Lesson 2 (cognitive): I began with an introductory plenary and briefly reviewed with the students' their graphic organisers. Students shared with one another what they had discovered about society's beliefs of 1914 and what this might have meant to Mrs Sievers. Next, I outlined the aim of this lesson, to explore some of the larger forces working in society that helped to explain people's attitudes and beliefs on the eve of the First World War. In particular, the students looked at New Zealand's role within the British Empire and the idea of preparing for war. I used a mapping activity to look at the size of the empire and its trading routes. The students also examined source material about the Boy Scouts movement and cadet military training. The final activity used a picture of *HMS New Zealand's* visit to Wellington in 1913, and relevant comments from King's *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (King, 2003) to promote a discussion of New Zealand's part in the British Empire and its attempts to prepare for war.

Lesson 3 (cognitive): In this lesson I continued to use source material to help the students build their contextual knowledge of society in 1914. The students were split into small groups and given a collection of short-notice, adverts and news articles from a 1914/15 copy of the *Waikato Times* newspaper. Each group looked at a specific part of the newspaper. After twenty minutes of reading time, the students reported back to the whole class and described what they had learnt. These comments were recorded on the whiteboard. The second part of the lesson focused on that day's copy of the *New Zealand Herald*. Each group was asked to compare the way that the two newspapers' reported the news. This led to a discussion about the strengths and weaknesses of newspapers as sources.

Lesson 4 (cognitive): This lesson aimed to use the recollections of veterans to draw some conclusions about why men went to war. Working in pairs, the students were given a small selection of interviews to read, after which they drew up a table identifying the main reason why each veteran had joined up.

Once completed, students wrote this information on the whiteboard and were prompted to discuss the usefulness of the sources and the idea of the 'weight of evidence'.

Lesson 5 (cognitive): The aim of this lesson was to encourage the students to explore a range of source material about Gallipoli. Students visited the Australian War Memorial interactive website: <http://www.abc.net.au/innovation/gallipoli/>, which draws upon a huge array of source material and multiple perspectives on what happened on the first day of the Gallipoli campaign. The students were asked to find specific sources within the website, as a means of guiding them through the website.

Lesson 6 (cognitive): The aim of this lesson was to explore the idea of the past being different from the present and to help the students avoid the pitfall of presentism. The students watched the ABC documentary: *Gallipoli: Brothers in arms* (Denton, 2007) which followed a group of present day Australians visiting the beaches of Gallipoli. It also investigated what people in 1915 might have felt about the Gallipoli campaign, as well as making links between the two through the stories of two families which spanned several generations. The students were given two graphic organisers to help them draw out these differences and possible similarities.

Lesson 7 (cognitive): The aim of this lesson was on closely linking the students' interpretations of Gallipoli to the available evidence. A series of statistics, largely about the cost of the Gallipoli campaign, was displayed on the whiteboard. Students were asked to respond to the question: *how do statistics like this help us understand Gallipoli?* Next, they listened to historian Peter Pederson, talk about conditions on Gallipoli. Finally, the students discussed a graphic showing the broad aims of the Gallipoli campaign, and why the armies of Britain, France, New Zealand and Australia were there fighting the Turks.

Lesson 8 (cognitive): This lesson aimed to introduce to the students a rubric which could be used to analyse evidence. The students then practised using the rubric by analysing three cartoons published during the First World War. I also modelled how an historian would approach these cartoons using the rubric. Working with the whole class I compared the latter with the students approach to the cartoons.

Lesson 9 (cognitive): The aim of this lesson was to check to see if the students could describe the main sequence of events associated with the Gallipoli campaign. A picture dictation activity was used to provide some basic information about the campaign and the students were encouraged to expand on this using their own knowledge.

Lesson 1-3 (affective): The aim of these lessons was for the students to watch Peter Weir's 1981 film *Gallipoli* and to identify the feelings and motivations of the film's fictional characters. In this first lesson, the students watched the film up until Archy and Frank arrive in Egypt. In the second lesson they explored the soldiers' experiences in Egypt. The students used simple spider diagrams to record their thoughts. In the third lesson the students watched the final part of the film about the fighting at the Nek and at Lone Pine. The students were asked to write down their feelings of the music used in

the film (Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni's, *Adagio for organ and strings*). The lesson concluded with a Socratic seminar. For this activity they sat in a large circle and I set out a series of quotes from the film, in the middle of the circle to act as a way of promoting conversation. Before the lesson came to an end each student was given the name of a soldier or nurse (taken from a 'wax-crayon rubbing' of the names on the local war memorial).

Lesson 4/5 (affective): The aim of these lessons was for the students to begin to care about the soldier or nurse named on the local war memorial. The students used the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's website to find out more about the person whose name they had been given. Once they had recorded the person's military information they were given a set of instructions about how to write a 'found poem'. By re-ordering about fifty or so words from the military record they crafted their poems and in the fifth lesson read them aloud to the class.

Lesson 6 (affective): The aim of this lesson was to explore the students' emotions and feelings about Gallipoli by asking them to respond to two sets of six A2 size colour posters (Cormack, 2009) about Gallipoli. The posters were placed around the classroom and the students visited each one in turn. Using a template they recorded their impressions of each of the posters.

Lesson 7 (affective): This lesson was adapted from a teaching activity published on the *Facing History* website: <http://www.facinghistory.org>. It involved bringing to life what was portrayed in a series of photographs about the Gallipoli campaign. Students were given the choice of using photographs about the experience of nurses or soldiers. In small groups the students were asked to re-enact what was in each of the photographs. This involved students physically moving into a role and imagined the changing experience of the people in the photographs. Each group was asked to get into the same positions as the people in the picture, paying attention to their expressions and posture. They then held this position, rather like a "freeze frame," for about 10 seconds and presented these to the rest of the class. At the end, I gave feedback on each performance and led a whole class discussion about what type of emotions and feelings the photographs had evoked.

Lesson 8/9 (affective): The aim of this lesson was to use a role play to help the students imagine and re-enact past thoughts. The diary of Bill Leadley, a soldier who fought at Gallipoli, was used in this activity. Six of Bill's diary entries were selected, covering the summer of 1915. Each student was given two entries and asked to learn some of the details before acting out the role. Students were then asked questions such as: What are the conditions like? and what do you miss about New Zealand? This acting out stage was followed by a discussion about what the students' had learnt.

Appendix C

Resources Used in the Instructional Intervention

Resources used in the cognitive lessons

Student Resource 1:

A definition of historical context: “the circumstances in which an event occurs” (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 2002).

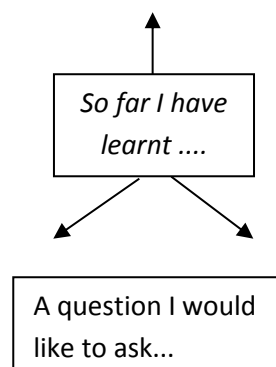
Student Resource 2:

DVD *Frontier of Dreams, episode 8: The price of empire* (Burke & Waru, 2005).

Student Resource 3:

Worksheet used as a scaffold to help students make notes as they watched student resource 2.

In 1914, New Zealand was a loyal member of the British Empire. National pride and racial superiority were tied to victory on the rugby field. A few years earlier, New Zealanders went to fight, as part of the British Empire, in South Africa and had come home heroes. Of 6500 serving men, only 238 had died and in Britain it was said that we were "on average the best mounted troops in South Africa." Victory confirmed our view that we were 'better Britons'.



Student resource 4:

A map of the British empire in 1900; a photograph of uniformed school cadets from the Marist Brothers School at Wanganui, shortly after the passage of the new Defence Act in 1910; and, a photograph of HMS *New Zealand* arriving in Wellington on 12 April 1913, as part of a ten-week tour during which an estimated 500,000 New Zealanders inspected their gift to Mother England. These

Student Resource 5:

A series of short excerpts from interviews with New Zealand veterans of the First World War. The excerpts were selected from Boyack and Tolerton (1990) Shadbolt (1988).

Student resource 6:

Student instructions to support using the Australian War Memorial's website on the Gallipoli landings.

Today we are going to look at events on April 25th 1915 – the day Australian and New Zealand troops landed at Gallipoli. To explore what it might have been like to be there we are going to use the interactive website produced by the Australian War Memorial: <http://www.abc.net.au/innovation/gallipoli/> You will spend quite a bit of time using this website – as you move through it, trying different things and see if you can build up your knowledge, especially from the perspective of different people.

Student resource 7:

DVD *Gallipoli: Brothers in arms* (Denton, 2007)

Student resource 8:

A student graphic organiser to support watching the DVD *Gallipoli: Brothers in arms* (Denton, 2007).

	April-December 1915	The Present Day
Who was at Gallipoli?		
How do they feel about it?		
The physical terrain / landscape		
The Dead		

In the DVD there were also stories about Gallipoli which spanned several generations. The students were encouraged to make notes using three headings: 'then', 'connecting together' and 'now'.

Student resource 9:

A series of statistics retrieved from <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz> about the numbers of men and women from New Zealand involved in the First World War, including casualties.

Student resource 10:

Analysing First World War Cartoons (Walasek, 2008). The students were asked a series of questions to help scaffold their response to the cartoons: Where is the piece of evidence from? What can I see? What doesn't it tell me? What questions does it raise?

Student resource 11:

Picture dictation task: Mark out a nine-squared grid in your book. Make a drawing for each of the following:

1. British and French battleships attack the Dardanelles. But fail due to mines and Turkish guns from coastal forts sinking and badly damaging several ships (February 1915).
2. Turks now warned – they make every effort to strengthen their defences.
3. Britain decided to send an army to attack the Gallipoli peninsula and knock out the forts. ANZACS train in Egypt and get ready for the campaign.
4. Landings do not go to plan – the shoreline cliffs are far steeper than thought and with lots of unseen gullies, there is confusion, old maps and the loss of officers make matters worse.
5. At the end of the first day (April 25th 1915) the Turks are still in charge of the high ground.
6. The ANZACs were forced to dig in and hold on as best they could.
7. Miserable conditions and fighting over the next 9 months.
8. Back in New Zealand lists of casualties gradually began appearing in the newspapers.
9. By the end of 1915 the Gallipoli campaign had ended in defeat and an evacuation was successfully carried out.

Resources used in the affective lessons**Student resource 1:**

DVD *Gallipoli*, Peter Weir, 1981

Student resource 2:

Student instructions to help scaffold the making of notes whilst watching the film: In the *First part of the film*: Write down what you feel are each of these characters' views about the war: Archy, Archy's uncle, Frank, Frank's mates and Frank's father. In the *Second part of the film*: Join groups of three or four. Each group will have a large piece of paper to write down thoughts and feelings about what is happening in the film. As you listen to the music as the men land at Gallipoli, (*Adagio For Organ And Strings* by Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni), write down your feelings. *Immediately after watching the film*: The notes from the previous lessons should be copied into your workbook.

Student resource 3:

A special feature from the *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981) DVD, called *Call to Adventure* (7.08 minutes) consisting of an interview with the director, Peter Weir and members of the cast.

Student resource 4:

Quotations from the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981):

Archy: But you got to be in it. **Frank's mate Billy**: Oh be in it. The girls go wild over a uniform.

Frank's mates: I would be ashamed of myself if I didn't fight.

Frank: it is not our bloody war, it's an English war it's got nothing to do with us.

Archie talking to Frank: You know what you are, you're a bloody coward.

Woman: You talk about doing business in Perth "while the Germans are crucifying kitchen on church doors in Belgium. **Girl**: I do love the light horse uniforms.

Man: If I'd had a son, he'd have joined too. Let's drink a toast to our brave young friend.

Camel Driver: [*talking about the war*] How did it start?

Archy: I'm not exactly sure, but it was the German's fault. **Uncle Jack**: What are your legs?

Archy: Springs. Steel springs. **Uncle Jack**: What are they going to do?

Archy: Hurl me down the track. **Uncle Jack**: How fast can you run?

Archy: As fast as a leopard. **Uncle Jack**: How fast are you going to run?

Archy: As fast as a leopard. **Uncle Jack**: Then let's see you do it.

Student resource 5:

Student instructions to scaffold their search for the person they chose from the local war memorial.

August 10th Lesson 5, In today's lesson we will aim to find out about the person you chose at the end of yesterday's lesson. We will use this information in class on Wednesday.

1. Begin by going to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's website:
<http://www.cwgc.org/>
2. Click on 'search our records' and enter the name you have into the search-fields.
It may take a few attempts – there are useful hints alongside each search-field.
3. You may be able to click on the cemetery and this will provide you with further information.
4. You may also find further information about your person at the Museum's cenotaph database:
<http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/cenotaph/locations.aspx>

Using your book, copy down the table of information about your person.

Lastly, choose 50 separate words from any part of this information and write them into your book. We will use these 50 words tomorrow.

Student resource 6:

Six A2 size colour posters (Cormack, 2009) and graphic organiser:

Gallipoli Today Poster What would this area have looked like in 1915? Why do you think thousands of New Zealanders come to Gallipoli each year on Anzac Day?	Life for the Anzacs What do these photographs tell you about life for soldiers and nurses?
Dawn Service Poster How would an ex-soldier feel during the dawn service?	Gallipoli Poster What does the map tell us about the distance between New Zealand and Gallipoli?
Anzac Battles Poster Look at the photo of the cemetery graves. Describe the setting.	Simpson and his donkey Poster What emotions would have Simpson felt when he was moving the injured soldiers to safety?

Student resource 7: Two sets of photographs about Gallipoli.

Photo Set One: Graduating nurses Nurses on board ship on their way to the war Wounded soldiers being evacuated from the Gallipoli peninsula Tending a patient in a hospital, (Rees, 2008).	Photo Set Two: Embarkation, soldiers setting off from New Zealand Soldiers drinking and eating Soldiers sitting as a group on the eve of an attack Soldiers charging at the enemy Donovan (2005).
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Student resource 8:

Student instructions for the 'freeze-frame photograph' activity:

1. Explore each photograph and consider what would have been happening in each picture, where it might have been taken and what were the people in the image feeling.
2. As a group try to get into the same positions as the people in the picture. Pay particular attention to their expressions and posture. Then hold this position, rather like a "freeze frame," for about 10 seconds. Repeat this for each of the four photographs.
3. Finally, practise these freeze frames and try to make the transition between each one as smooth as possible. The photographs are given to you in a chronological (date order) sequence but you may change this if you wish.
4. Students present their work to the class. The teacher can give feedback and at the end lead the whole class in deciding what type of emotions and feelings the photographs express and how did the students feel when re-enacting them.

Activity adapted from: <http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/strategies/living-images-bringing-histor>

Student resource 9:

Students were given a series of excerpts from the diary of Bill Leadley, a signaller at Gallipoli in 1915 (Chamberlain, 2008). They were then asked to:

Read through the diary entries of Bill Leadley, a New Zealand soldier at Gallipoli for your particular month: April, June or October. You will be asked questions after about 10 minutes and you will answer in role. Suggested questions: What are the conditions like at Gallipoli?, What do you miss about New Zealand? How are you feeling?, What is one of the most difficult things about being at Gallipoli? and How do you keep your spirits up?

Appendix D:

Interview schedules

Interview Schedule for the first set of group interviews

Question 1: Please describe what you found easy and difficult about writing from the viewpoint of Mrs Sievers in the entry task?

Question 2: If you were going to do this task again what would do differently?

Question 3: What have you been finding most interesting about the lessons?

Interview schedule for the second set of group interviews

Question 1: How would you describe historical empathy to a friend?

Question 2: Looking back, did you prefer the sequence of lessons we followed or would you have liked to reverse the order and begun where we finished off?

Question 3: Can you describe how you approached drawing a picture of historical empathy?

In both sets of interviews, further questions may be asked based upon the students' responses and when prompting them to expand upon points or to follow conversations.

Appendix E:

An Example of an Interview Transcript

First Interview Girls Class A/C, Wednesday 11th August, 2010.

Mr Davison: The first question is - could you describe how you got on trying to imagine being Mrs 1 Sievers? Rachel, could you just read out for us what you wrote, it will be really interesting.

Rachel: Mrs Sievers might have felt pride because it was considered the loyal thing to do for the country and maybe closer to the time when her son was leaving she might be anxious and scared because she didn't want her son to get hurt. But, like mostly proud because it was for the country. 5

Mr Davison: that's very good Rachel. When you were doing that can you remember why it might have felt quite difficult or easy , remember you had those four sources.

Rachel: I think the difficult part might have been to like feel what she was feeling because obviously I have never had a son, and never had to go to war and stuff, so getting into her mind frame. The easy thing was like, all the shows you've watched on war and the books you've read and stuff it's 10 always considered 'loyal' and stuff.

Mr Davison: I know you've now watched Gallipoli but before that can you think of anything that stood out and helps?

Rachel: I still watch Mash.

Mr Davison: Isn't that interesting, that's great. Hailey can you remember what was hard and easy 15 about the exercise.

Hailey: I think what was easy was, because like the same as Rachel, when you've got something you've watched before and other resources it kind of comes into your mind how they would have felt, but I think what was difficult is why they would feel like that. Why it was so different then than now. 20

Mr Davison: Can you think of anything that was different or the same?

Hailey: I think back then, the mums would be proud and it would be more accepting. It wouldn't be a shock. But now if someone turned up and said 'o hey mum I'm going into the army' it would be quite different.

Mr Davison: I'm sure your right. Is that a hunch or evidence? Do you know that deep down or is 25 it based on evidence?

Hailey: Books. Right, I can't remember what it was but I've seen movies or shows or stories.

Mr Davison: Right, we might come back to that because you and Rachel have mentioned movies. Now Helen what did you find difficult or easy about being Mrs Sievers.

Helen: It was difficult to understand like how she was actually feeling because obviously you 30 can't physically but yourself in her shoes because you are not going through what she is going through but yeah you kind of have to put yourself in her shoes and try and figure out how you would feel if that was happening to you.

Mr Davison: Now, if you were to have another go at being Mrs Sievers would you do anything 35 differently? We've watched 'Gallipoli', we've looked at the people from the war memorial and written the poems, so if we sat down and did it tomorrow would you do anything differently?

Hailey: Maybe add like how, to the answer why did they think like that, because life then at that time was different. It was more like, if you didn't have a job then it would be pretty much go to the army. So I would want to find out more about life then. 40

Mr Davison: that's good. Is there anything that has made you want to find out more?

Hailey: I don't know but I find history interesting, Helen: Yeah, the same, Rachel: Yeah.

Hailey: I like to know, I'm really interested like in the difference now and then, like what it was 45 like then.

Helen: Because it was so different back then. You can see that from like what we have watched and everything and learnt.

Rachel: Yes it would be really interesting to see like, see all that stuff happening now, all that blood shed, people would have a totally different reaction now than they would back then.

Hailey: Sometimes I think like it would have been really cool back then but then other times I think it would be really hard. 50

Rachel: Like if I was her, I would be like I think now you would be more cautious, because you know all these things.

Helen: Yeah exactly, it is kind of normal practise to be like four sons go off to war, whereas nowadays it's not common at all.

Mr Davison: Yes, you've really picked up on the idea of innocence. Now, tell me a little bit about 55 your motivation, did it come from watching Archy and Frank or did it come through the other exercises.

Helen: the movie.

Mr Davison: The movie for you Helen.

Hailey: I think for me all together, everything put together because it is like little pieces of the 60 puzzle making the big picture.

Mr Davison: And you're nodding as well Helen.

Helen: Yeah the movie was a big part because it actually physically showed you like what some of them went through and all that and then you did a little bit on ...

Hailey: Yeah by like knowing, by the name we got [the soldier's name on the local war memorial] 65

Helen: Yeah like all my god like this person actually went and did this.

Hailey: Yeah, Rachel: Yeah, like it's scary.

Hailey: Yeah and how they looked as well. This was a real person, it's not just I'm learning. If I have to research a random person when you see it in, see the story and see the picture it's more like this was a person. 70

Rachel: Their parents and stuff. What they would have been like. They actually told you what their person was like. It was real freaky.

Hailey: And it was all around us ,Helen and Rachael: Yeah

Mr Davison: That's very interesting. Now we have moved on to this last question. About how interesting you have found the lessons so far. I know this is difficult because I am your teacher 75 as well as a researcher. Rachel how interesting do you think it's been so far?

Rachel: I think it's really interesting, I like to, It would be cool to research the people you're kind of feeling, what it was like but without having to really do it.

Hailey: I think it's really interesting too. I think it would be good also to expand on the history, kind of like in pieces, so that it is more like a mystery. 80

Helen: Yeah I think it is really interesting. It is not boring in any way. Or anything like that.

Rachel: Because when you think of history it's like it never changes. So it's just like it is history. It is just one thing. You can't expand on it.

Helen: We've learnt about change, yeah like it is obviously different to how it is now.

Mr Davison: Yeah, good. That's interesting. So Hailey did I hear you right, that it is almost as if 85 we haven't done the history bit.

Hailey: No, no, no. We've done the history bit but more like into how they would feel, like as if you were actually there, like more of that. I think.

Mr Davison: Yes, ok, and from what you've said it sounds like you do quite care. That seemed to come across when you were writing the poems today. 90

Helen: Yes it made you feel that, oh my god, that's a real person. Look what they do.

Rachel: Yeah, like with the movie, yeah it is kind of like they are actors, and someone who is famous now, it's like ok he was just acting, he is still alive.

Helen: Yes, exactly. But then you are like oh my god this person actually did that. And then you find out so much information about them. What they did. 95

Hailey: Even for me in the movie, for me was like, they were actual people

Rachel: Yeah, you were like "no don't do it"

Mr Davison: Yes Hailey I was going to ask you about that. It was quite a moment. You are the first person to do that. What did you shout out: "no don't do that"?

Hailey: Yeah, it was just like, when you see someone dying for their country, it is like although 100 in a way you are helping, it is like if those people didn't die then the world would be different.

Helen: Yeah, it kind of makes you feel the emotions that they might go through.

Hailey: Like I'm quite sensitive, Rachel: Like, you felt that you could stop it happening.

Helen: But it does put you in their shoes. He was so young Mr Davison: how do you think it does 105 that Helen?

Helen: Just through like showing what they did back then. What they were willing to do for their country. Like these days people would be saying 'I'm not doing that'. But back then it was like I want to do it. Helen: it does make you feel sad.

Rachel: Like because they were acting actual people. It was like that actually happened. Helen: 110 Well it did actually happen. Mr Davison: You've answered really well, is there anything you wanted to add? No – interview end.

Appendix F

Entry, Mid, Exit and Post Tasks (Assessment Tasks)

Entry (and post) task

Mrs Sievers was similar to many women in New Zealand, when in August 1914 she found out her son Gerald was joining the army and going off to war.

Use the evidence in Sources A to D and your own knowledge to answer this question:

What would Mrs Sievers have felt about her son going off to war in 1914?

Sources used in this entry task:

Source A

An extract from Nicholas Brasch's history book, *Gallipoli: Reckless valour*
Published in 2009, Australia.

Source B

3 extracts from Chris Pugsley's history book, *Scars on the heart*
Published in 1996, New Zealand.

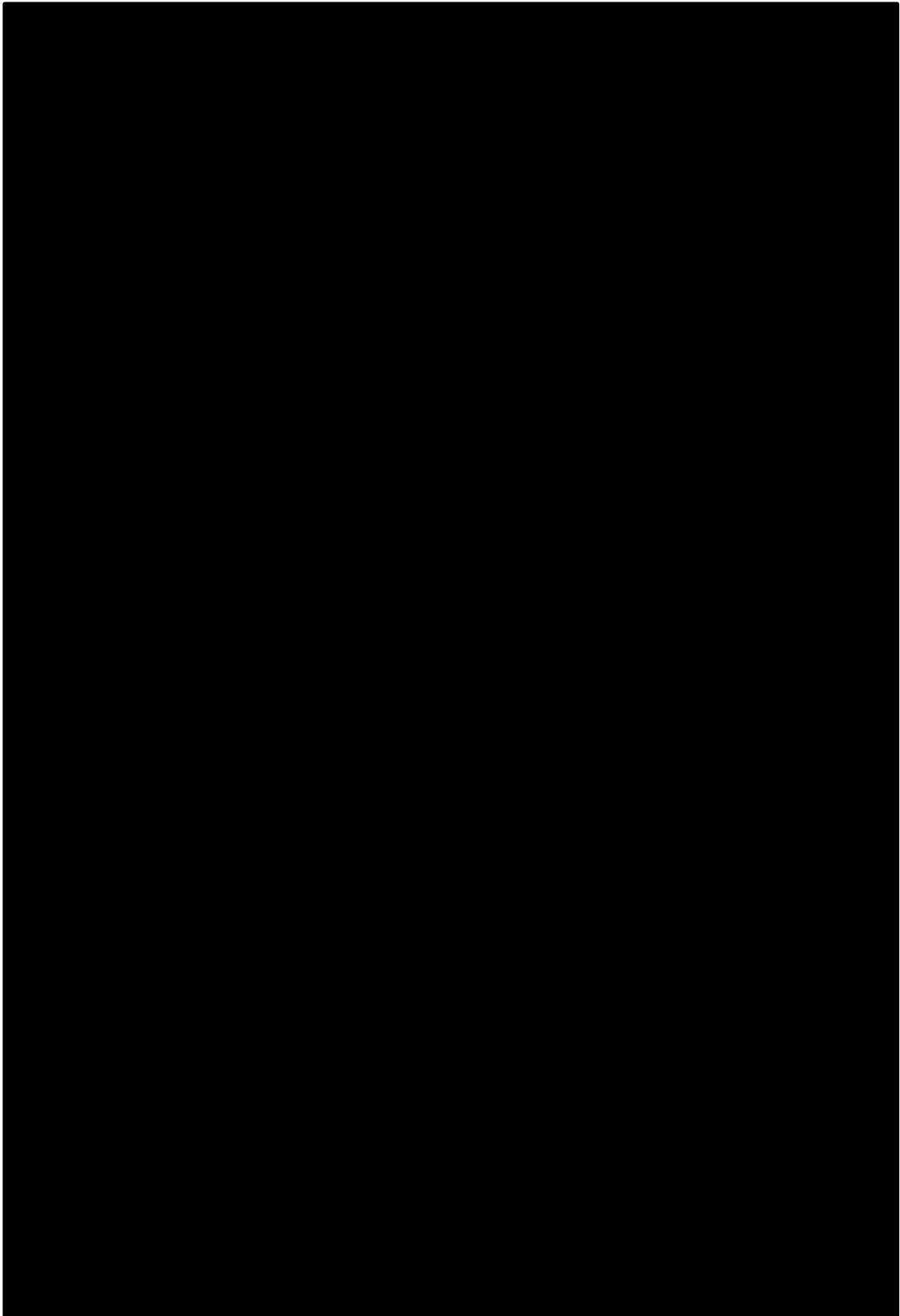
Source C

Photograph (close up) of civilians saying goodbye to troops, probably at Lyttelton docks
Unknown date and photographer. <http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/>

Source D

An extract from Mark Wilson's fictional picture book *My Mother's eyes: The story of a boy soldier*. Published in 2009, Australia.

Source A



Source B

3 brothers from the Knight family all went to fight. Here, their mother writes to one of them about her thoughts on them going.

Monday, [1914]

My Dear Georgie,

I tried to write last night to tell Dad, I could not face it alone. I had a good blub and feel better; of course I knew we could not hope to keep you out of it, nor did I want to as I told the others if you were needed and you felt you ought to go; it will be very hard to part with any of you and I dare say it will mean the three, but I am ready to do my duty always as you are to do yours... The land won't be much use to us if you boys are not there to work it but please God you may not be wanted or if you are you will be spared to come back heroes and take up your work again...

With much love from your ever loving Mother."

The memories of Laura Mary Hardy in Onehunga, as told to her daughter.

"Then suddenly the First World War was upon us ... At first it all seemed rather remote ... We all felt quite pleasantly excited, and we went around assuring ourselves and everyone else that it wasn't likely to last longer than three weeks ... we all became terribly [very] patriotic ... we attended innumerable [many] patriotic concerts where somewhat elderly women sang:

We don't want to lose you, But we think you ought to go

For your King and your country; Both need you so!

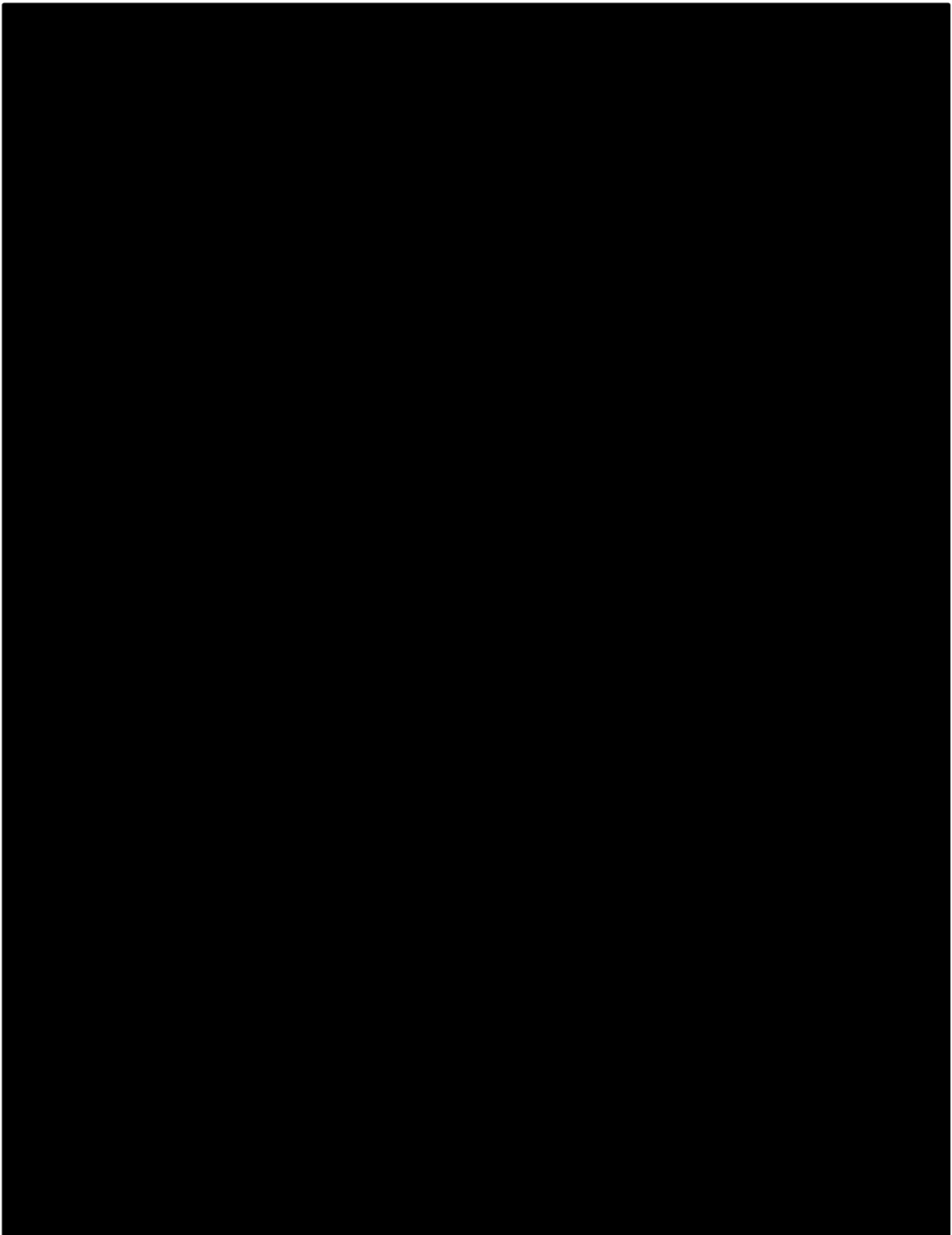
We shall want you and miss you, But with all our might and main,

We will cheer you, thank you, kiss you, When you come home again!"

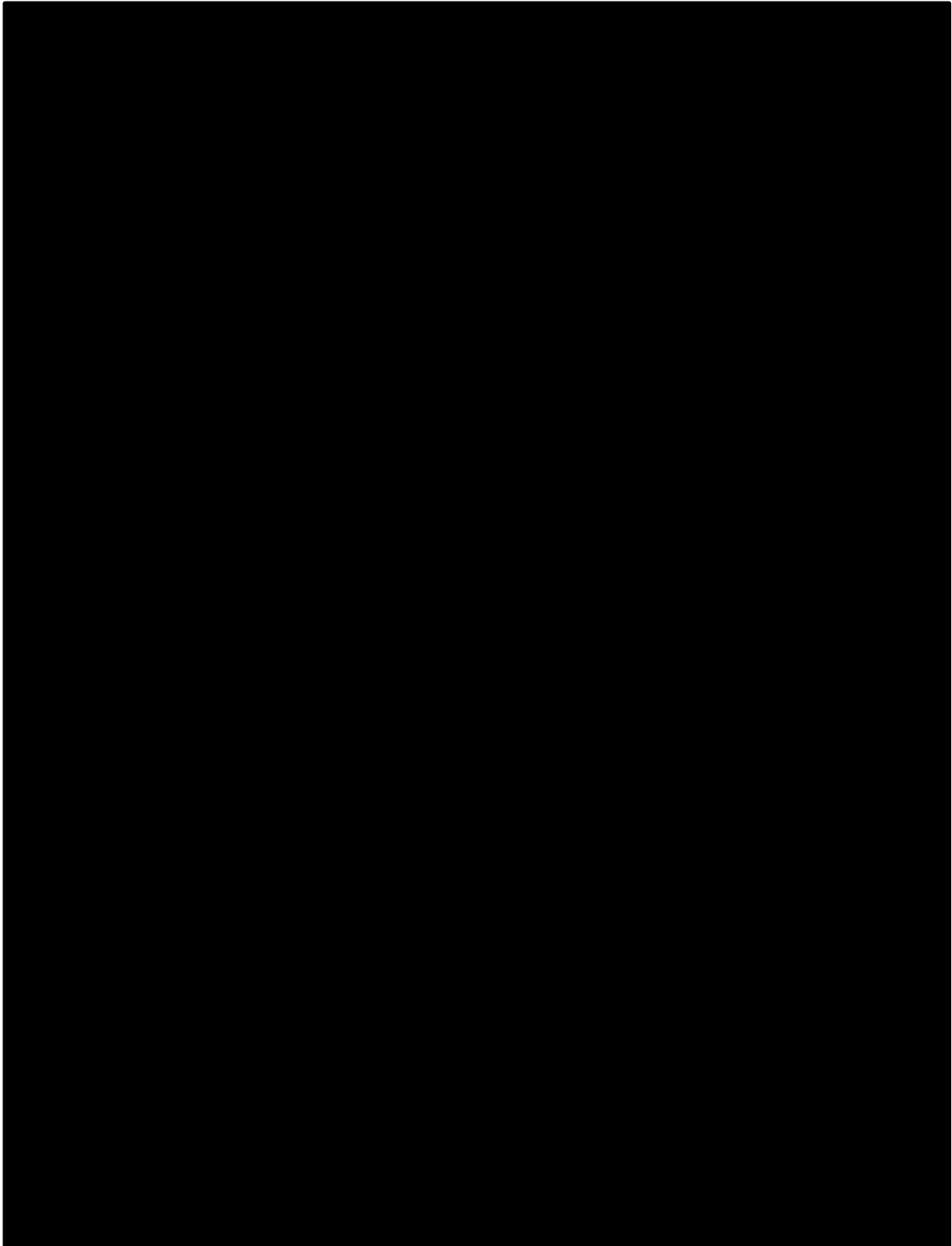
Historian Chris Pugsley on the outbreak of war.

"The outbreak of war in August 1914 was greeted with cheering and parades throughout New Zealand. Men swamped the local recruiting halls and anxious mothers and proud fathers suppressed their fears ... War was seen as a job for men. The women's role was to accept their loved one's enlistment [joining up], cheer them on their way, write them letters, look after the home and cheer them back again."

Source C



Source D



Mid task

By the middle of 1915, Gerald Sievers found himself fighting the Turkish army on the slopes of the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Use the evidence in Sources A to D and your own knowledge to answer this question:

What would Gerald Sievers have felt about life on the Gallipoli peninsula around the middle of 1915?

Sources used in the mid task:

Source A

An oil painting by Charles Dixon called *The landing at Anzac, April 25, 1915*, giving an artists' impression of the landing at Anzac Cove.

<http://warart.archives.govt.nz/node/1085>

Source B

An extract from the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage website *NZ History* describing conditions on Gallipoli. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/the-gallipoli-campaign/conditions>

Source C

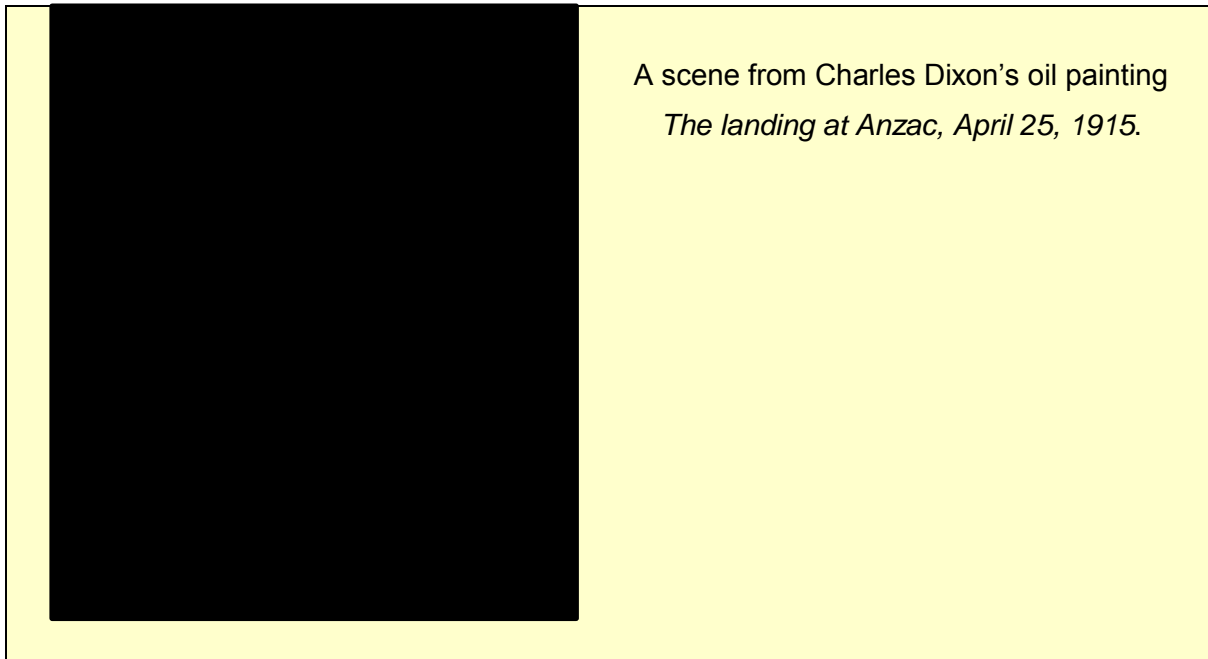
Soldiers, probably of the Wellington Mounted Rifles, 1 New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Gallipoli, 1915. Photograph by James Cornelius Read.

<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/soldiers-waiting-in-trench-at-gallipoli>

Source D

An extract from the novel *Scarecrow Army* (pages 74-76) by New Zealand author Leon Davidson. Published in 2005 by Black dog books, Australia.

Source A



Source B

The Gallipoli peninsula is a spectacular place: steep valleys ... and high cliffs towering above long, narrow beaches. It can be searingly [burning] hot in summer and bone chillingly cold in winter. For most of 1915.... it was home to thousands of young men; many of whom, like the New Zealanders, were far from home. Conditions were tough in this harsh terrain. The weather took its toll – heat, cold, rain. Water was scarce for a lot of the time; troops sank wells and grabbed water bottles off dead bodies. Food was plentiful, if unvaried. For the New Zealanders there was tinned meat, jam, tea, and biscuits so hard 'it was like chewing a rock', according to Russell Weir, who served on Gallipoli. Vegetables and fresh food were in short supply, although some were brought in with reinforcements. Flies swarmed everywhere...

Rubbish was thrown into no man's land, that unsafe ... space between the ... lines. That was also the place of the dead; bodies were often left there until they could be buried elsewhere... It was no wonder that men fell ill. Disease, especially dysentery [severe diarrhoea], flourished among men already weakened by weeks of inadequate food... The psychological [about the mind] effects on the soldier were enormous. No place was safe from artillery fire. With the Turks overlooking them, snipers were a constant danger. All men lived with the fear.

An extract from the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage website NZ History describing conditions on Gallipoli. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/the-gallipoli-campaign/conditions>

Source C



Soldiers, probably of the Wellington Mounted Rifles, 1 New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Gallipoli, 1915.

Source D

Gerald Sievers was a New Zealand soldier who fought at Gallipoli in 1915. Here author Leon Davidson imagines what he might have felt about the conditions on the Gallipoli peninsula.

"This damn dirt. I need a knife to scrape it off my body ... if only mum and dad could see me like this. Mum would boil all our drinking water for a bath and dad would just laugh and tell me to clean my act up... any place would be better than here. Most of the time it's like watching grass grow but no matter how bored and tired you get, you're not allowed a second's sleep ... moments I enjoy, sitting with friends, more or less not talking and re-reading the last three letters I got from home ..."

Exit Task

In October 1915 Mrs Sievers received news that her son Gerald, who had gone off to war in 1914, had been killed.

Use the evidence in Sources A to D and your own knowledge to answer this question:

What would Mrs Sievers have felt about the First World War in the months following the death of her son, Gerald?

Sources used in this exit task:

Source A

Extract from *The Evening Post*, Tuesday May 4th, 1915.

The Evening Post was a daily newspaper in Wellington.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>

Source B

Women fundraising for Belgium, First World War, unknown date.

<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/>

Why we are fighting, *Weekly Press* newspaper, September 18th, 1915.

Source C

The cover photograph "*the casualty list*", *The Auckland Weekly News* 27th July 1916

<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/>

Source D

Her Excellency's Knitting Book <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz>

Extract from the magazine *New Zealand Heritage: the making of a nation*, published in 1971, New Zealand.

ROLL OF HONOUR

FIGHTING IN THE DARDANELLES

NEW ZEALAND CASUALTIES

TEN OFFICERS KILLED.

The following list of casualties in the fighting in the Dardanelles has been received by the Defence Department:—

OFFICERS.

Killed	8
Died of wounds	2
Wounded	10.

MEN.

Wounded	107
----------------	-----

OFFICERS

AUCKLAND INFANTRY BAT.

Killed in Action.

Second-Lieutenant Frederic Hugh Dodson, 6th (Hauraki) Company. Next of kin (father), Mr. A. F. Dodson, Takapuna.

Second-Lieutenant William Evelyn Francis di Salle-Flower, 6th (Hauraki) Company. Next of kin (wife), Mrs. Margaret Isabel Flower, Gray-street, Shortland, Thames.

Died of Wounds.

Lieutenant Herbert George Richardson, 3rd (Auckland) Company. Next of kin (father), Mr. George J. Richardson, A.M.P. Buildings, Auckland.

Second-Lieutenant Harold Gordon Allen, 16th (Waikato) Company. Next of kin, Mr. George Allen, Warrington-road, Remuera.

WELLINGTON INFANTRY BAT.

Killed in Action.

"THE FIRST REAL BLOW."

SYMPATHY OF THE CITY.

Speaking for the citizens to-day, the Mayor (Mr. J. P. Luke) said the receipt of the casualty-lists was the first real blow of the war that New Zealand has felt. "Up to the present," he continued, "we have been buoyed up by the interest shown in the enthusiasm and interest shown in the preparations for the war and by the recognition of the splendid spirit shown by our boys in the sacrifices they have made and are making to go to the front in the greatest campaign in which Britain has ever been engaged—the greatest war of the world's history. I regard our boys as being as much at the front in the Dardanelles as if they were in the trenches in Flanders. The casualty-lists show that the fighting there is, and is likely to be, as fierce as in France and Belgium. The tremendous responsibilities arising out of the war cannot now be entirely appropriated by Great Britain. We in New Zealand are being made to feel our burden likewise.

"It is only now that the individual loss and suffering are coming home to us, that we are beginning to realise the depletion of the flower of our manhood by war. As a community we deeply sympathise with all who are bereaved by the war. Our hearts go out to the parents and friends of those who have fallen on the field of honour, and of those who have been wounded. But we know that it will be recognised that the sacrifices, great as they are, have been made in the furtherance of the British desire for world-peace and world-freedom.

"I feel sure many an heroic deed has been done at the Dardanelles that will be enshrined for ever in the hearts of our people, and such will remain a lasting memorial to the bravery of the men we have sent.

"To the women of New Zealand we owe more than we can pay. They have helped to equip our men now at the front, and we mourn with them. They, too, have played a noble part in this war, and we can be quite sure that they will not relax their efforts, no matter how deep may be their grief."

The roll of honour, page 7, Evening Post, 4th May 1915, reproduced from paperspast.natlib.govt.nz by kind permission of the National Library of New Zealand.

Source B



One of many Otago Women's Patriotic Association fund-raising events between 1914-1918. Reproduced by kind permission of the Collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum.

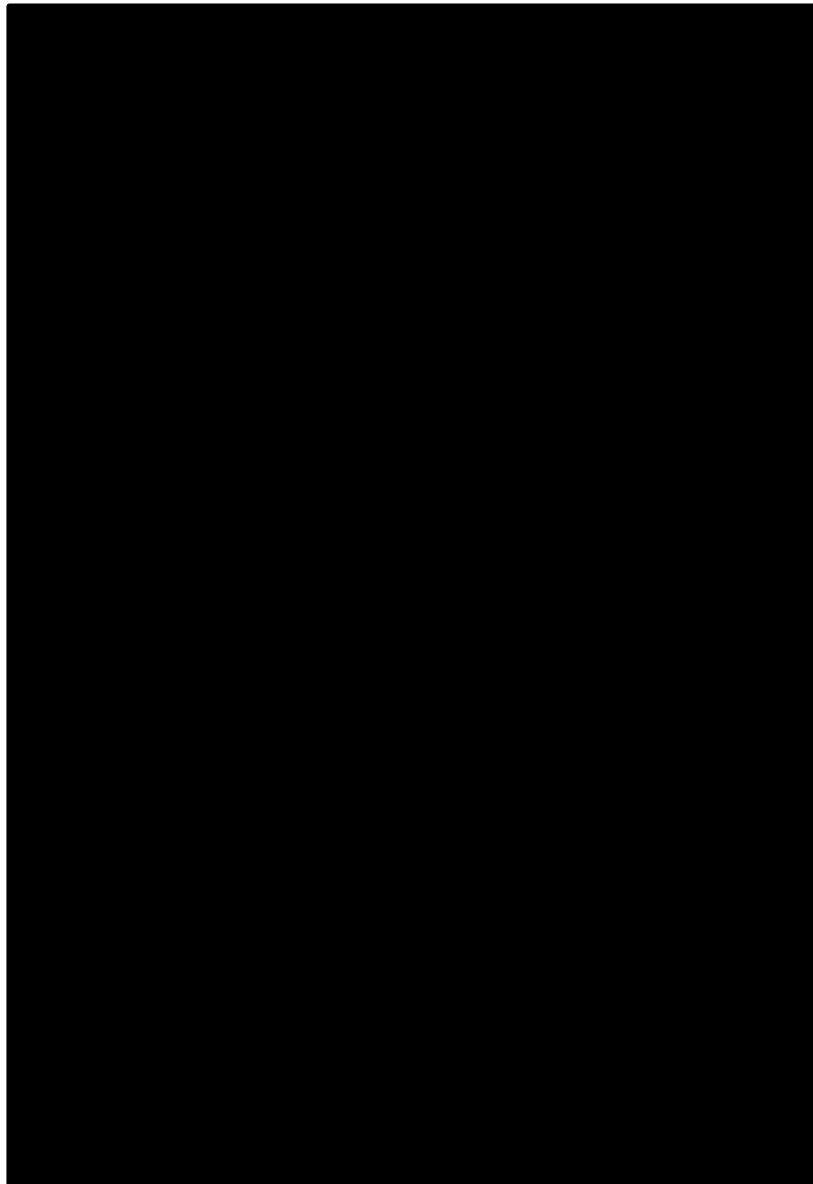
More than 900 women's patriotic organisations operated during the war. Women made a huge contribution to the war effort through these groups, and they took a lead role in supplying aid to people in war-torn Belgium and France. Women's groups had raised nearly £5 million by War's end.

WEEKLY PRESS NEWSPAPER, September 18th, 1915

WHY WE ARE FIGHTING.

We are fighting vigorously and enthusiastically, because we see plainly that Germany threatens our liberty, and Wordsworth spoke a true word of his countrymen when he said "we must be free or die." This it is which more than anything else reconciles (helps to put to right) New Zealand women in their sufferings and sacrifices, and would, if occasion arose, cause them to appear in the trenches beside their menfolk, content to suffer ... death, but not to suffer loss of liberty.

Source C



27 July 1916 the *Auckland Weekly News* front page

The publication of death notices in local newspapers, often with heavy black lines around the entry and a banner reading 'For the Empire's Cause' told people of a family's loss. Newspapers also published the Roll of Honour, widening the feeling of loss to the whole country.

Source D

Women in the war: War conditions brought big changes in the role of women in many parts of the world; but in New Zealand, where women had already won the vote, there was no dramatic change.

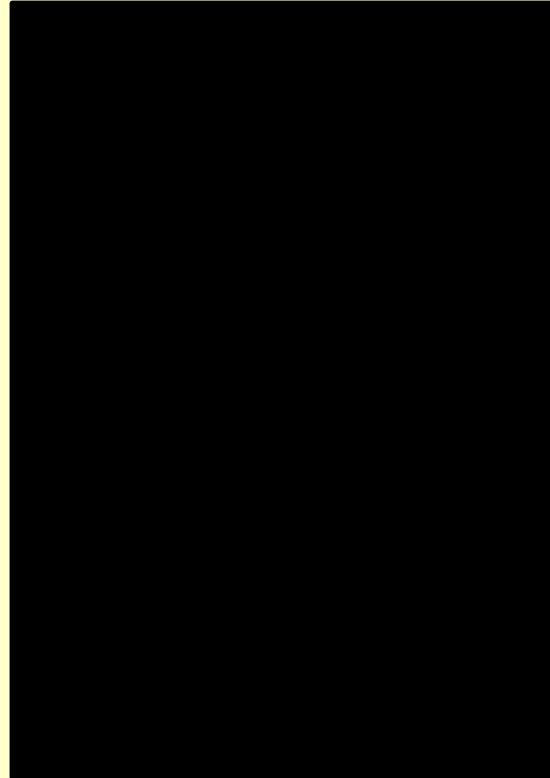
The women of 1914 found themselves without men ... new efforts were demanded of them. To most the knitting of socks and balaclavas came easily.

New Zealand women had always knitted, but the craft took on a new meaning during the war.

'Sock day' was held in May 1915 after soldiers reported that a pair of socks only lasted a fortnight when the wearer was at war.

Her Excellency's knitting book appeared in August 1915. This 193-page book contained patterns for socks, balaclavas and gloves.

Others helped with war-effort societies and there were those who filled jobs left vacant by soldiers overseas.



'Knitting for Empire' image: Alexander Turnbull Library
Ref: BK 810-Cover, National Library of New Zealand

During the war money could be short. In Robin Hyde's novel *The Godwits Fly*, Augusta has to bring up three children alone on the pay of a private [regular] soldier. Money was not the most important thing in Augusta's life, but since she had had the children, it had become the most pressing and worrying one. There was no family benefit [income support]. Few labour-saving devices reached New Zealand. Domestic help was badly paid and hard to get. Those women already in employment at the outbreak of war were mostly in domestic work, nursing or in factories. Only a small proportion of these were married. By the end of the war, women were still largely occupied in the same areas of employment.

A few new doors had been opened but not many. Women made their greatest gains on the domestic front ... the poverty experienced by women left alone between 1914 and 1918, turned public and political attention towards improving the lot of the housewife.

Appendix G

Student Feedback Survey and Table of Results

Post-intervention student feedback survey questions:

- a) To what extent have you enjoyed the module?
- b) To what extent have you found the module interesting?
- c) To what extent do you feel successful at the activities in this module?
- d) To what extent have the activities allowed you to use your skills of: imagination and getting a 'feel' for the past?
- e) To what extent have the activities allowed you to use your skills of: handling evidence and drawing on historical knowledge?
- f) To what extent have the activities in this module made you want to get involved?
- g) To what extent has the module been important to you?

Answer using the following codes:

1 = not at all, 2 = small extent, 3 = some extent, 4 = large extent, 5 = very large extent

Student feedback survey results for Class A/C

Name	Gender	Class	Responses to questions						
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Lucy	Female	A/C	5	5	5	5	5	4	3
Lucille	Female	A/C	4	4	4	4	4	3	5
Eileen	Female	A/C	4	4	3	4	3	3	4
Gayle	Female	A/C	4	5	3	4	3	3	3
Tony	Male	A/C	5	4	3	4	3	3	3
Rachel	Female	A/C	5	5	5	5	4	4	5
Steph	Female	A/C	4	4	4	5	5	5	4
Andrea	Female	A/C	4	3	4	3	4	4	4
Nancy	Female	A/C	4	4	3	3	3	3	5
Graeme	Male	A/C	4	2	4	3	4	5	2
Hailey	Female	A/C	4	4	5	5	5	5	4
Helen	Female	A/C	5	4	5	5	3	5	5
Steve	Male	A/C	4	5	3	4	2	4	3
Penny	Female	A/C	4	4	3	2	3	3	4
Ant	Male	A/C	5	5	4	5	5	4	5
Karen	Female	A/C	3	3	4	3	4	4	3
Dave	Male	A/C	4	4	3	3	4	4	3
Toni	Female	A/C	4	3	3	4	3	2	3
Katie	Female	A/C	4	3	5	4	4	4	5
Alvin	Male	A/C	4	4	4	3	4	3	4
Tim	Male	A/C	4	3	4	3	4	4	2
Martin	Male	A/C	4	4	3	3	4	4	3

Student feedback survey results for Class C/A

Responses to questions:

Name	Gender	Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Ben	Male	C/A	3	1	5	4	4	1	2
Sandy	Female	C/A	4	4	4	3	4	3	4
Lottie	Female	C/A	2	3	3	4	1	1	5
Marsha	Female	C/A	5	4	4	4	4	4	4
Kyle	Male	C/A	3	2	3	2	3	3	2
Claire	Female	C/A	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Vince	Male	C/A	3	4	3	3	4	3	5
Michelle	Female	C/A	4	3	3	4	3	5	4
Andrea	Female	C/A	4	3	3	4	3	4	4
Sarah	Female	C/A	3	4	4	4	3	4	2
Cathy	Female	C/A	4	3	4	4	3	4	4
Tracey	Female	C/A	3	4	3	4	4	2	2
Nigel	Male	C/A	4	4	4	3	4	3	4
Rick	Male	C/A	4	5	4	4	3	4	3
David	Male	C/A	5	5	4	5	5	5	5
Yvonne	Female	C/A	4	3	3	5	3	3	2
Colleen	Female	C/A	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Julie	Female	C/A	3	2	4	3	3	3	4
Jack	Male	C/A	4	3	3	4	5	3	3
Andy	Male	C/A	2	3	4	3	5	1	2
Jason	Male	C/A	4	3	2	3	3	4	3
Adam	Male	C/A	2	2	3	3	3	3	2
Kathy	Female	C/A	4	2	3	5	5	2	1

Appendix H

Claire and Lucy's Responses to the Entry, Mid, Exit and Post Tasks

Lucy's response to the entry task

I believe Mrs Sievers would have been extremely anxious about her son's wellbeing as most **1** mothers would be. She probably had a small nervous breakdown, because there was a very high chance of her son never returning. In Source B there are two accounts from people living in 1914, and an essay written by an historian of his thoughts about how the news of the war would have effected things. These writings show how worried, but also proud, parents were when their sons were called **5** to fight. Source C is a photograph of men dressed for war leaving a crowded port, waving goodbye to family members. In the close up of the photo, it focuses on a woman dressed in old fashioned clothing with an expression on her face which appears to be unhappy and anxious. The other people in the photo have similar expressions. This photo shows the fear that many of the women in 1914 would have been feeling. The last source, Source D, is a photocopied page from a children's novel, **10** saying when he came to dinner his mother had tears in her eyes. She hugged him tightly without speaking. This also shows how a mother would be feeling in this time, if their loved ones never returned.

Lucy's response to the mid-task

In source A is an oil painting by Charles Dixon titled 'the landing at Anzac, April 25th '15 featuring **1** a scene of how the artist believed it would have been like. It shows many soldiers racing across the beach after leaving the boats, trying to get to the safer cliffs from where they would prepare the attack on the Turks. But bombs are falling from the sky and a few dead and dying soldiers are lying on the sand. The other soldiers are running for their lives. This shows that the soldiers at Gallipoli in 1915 **5** would have been feeling unsafe because of the large possibility of death. They would have been grieving for the men who had already lost their lives, possibly friends or relatives of some of the other soldiers. In the painting there is a smoky grey sky. This symbolises sadness and gloom. The red/orange lighting of the beach and the soldiers helps show the desperate pain of the soldiers and draws attention to the action going on in the painting. Source B is an extract from the website nz history, **10** describing conditions in Gallipoli. 'Water was scarce for a lot of the time, troops sank wells and grabbed water bottles off dead bodies.' This shows how desperate they were for water, so the soldiers were probably very thirsty. It shows that the soldiers were willing to do anything for water. If there was no shortage of water then they wouldn't be taking water bottles off dead soldiers. It seems unhygienic and disrespectful to the dead. 'Vegetables and fresh food were in short supply'. This **15** shows that the soldiers were probably suffering from malnutrition due to the lack of vitamins in what they were eating. 'Flies swarm everywhere' is again hinting at the lack of hygiene. 'Bodies were often left there until they could be buried elsewhere...' It was no wonder that men fell ill.' 'The psychological effects on the soldiers were enormous.' This shows how sick the soldiers would have been mentally as well as physically. They were probably suffering from paranoia, because it was always possible **20** that they could die. Seeing all their friends die would probably cause a major problem and would probably have scared them for the rest of their lives. Source C shows a photo of ;soldiers in a trench sitting with grim looks on their faces. This shows how anxious and nerve-racking the experience would be for the soldiers, worrying about how long they still have to live, and never seeing their family again. Source D is another extract, this time from the novel by L. Davidson. It **25** shows what he believes the conditions would have been like from a soldiers perspective. Any place would be better than here. This shows that soldiers were wishing that they were somewhere else.

This collection of evidence shows that Gerald Shievers would probably have felt worried, scared and paranoid. He would have been sickly, and in desperate need of decent food and water. He would have been missing his family and his home. **30**

Lucy's response to the exit task

I think that Mrs Sievers would have been extremely upset like most mothers would be but I think it **1** would of given her more of a reason to help the men in the war. The loss of her son may of made her work harder, to prevent other mothers from feeling the same pain by supporting the army as much as possible. Or it could of hardened her, making her feel no empathy towards others who had lost loved ones. Perhaps she would feel like they should suffer as much as herself, out of selfishness and self **5** pity. It might of caused her so much grief that she might have become depressed, and it might of made her start hating everything about the war for it taking her son away. It depends completely on what Mrs Sievers was like as a person and because we don't know her we probably won't be able to understand what it was like for her after Gerald's death.

I believe that most women would probably continue supporting the soldiers. In an extract from the **10** Evening Post, dated Tuesday 4th May 1915, it states: 'and we can be quite sure that they (referring to women) will not relax their efforts no matter how deep may be their grief'. We can assume that when the women, this article was aimed at, read it, the majority would continue knitting socks, etc. for the soldiers at war. Mrs Sievers may have just gotten over her grief and continued supporting the army.

If Mrs Sievers had had other children apart from Gerald, then she would be forced to just accept it **15** so that she can focus on the others that still may need her. During the war money could be short (from an extract from the magazine 'New Zealand Heritage: the making of a nation). This shows that Mrs Sievers would need to work hard to support herself and possibly any other children she might have had. If she didn't get over her son's death she probably wouldn't work very hard and therefore others would probably suffer. **20**

Lucy's response to the post-task

In August 1914, Mrs Sievers found out her son Gerald was going to join the army. Using different **1** sources, I believe that Mrs Sievers would have been feeling proud, worried, patriotic, anxious and scared. Mrs Sievers could have been feeling proud because her son was going to fight for their country. "God bless daddy" (Nicholas Brasch's book) shows that the men were being greatly encouraged to join the army and that it was quite a noble thing to do at the time. This particular **5** quote from a poster from 1914 was mainly aimed at fathers, but it is clear that all men would have been feeling almost pressured to go to war. When Mrs Sievers found out that her son would be being part of this, she was probably feeling proud because it would have been considered a great thing to do. Mrs Sievers was probably also feeling worried, because Gerald was going to war and she knew there was the chance he wouldn't be coming back ... 'but please God you may not be needed or if **10** you are you will be spared to come back heroes and take up your work again ' (Letter to the Knight brothers from their mother). The knowledge that her son was going to war, and that war was approaching, would probably make Mrs Sievers feel quite patriotic. "We don't want to lose you, but we think you ought to go, for your King and your country, both need you so'.

Claire's response to the entry task

I think Mrs Sievers would feel scared and happy. She wouldn't want to lose her son but it was his **1** duty to serve for his country so instead she's happy and approves of her son going. She will welcome him when he is back, while anxiously waiting for him to come back.

Claire's response to the mid-task

I think that Gerald would have felt lonely and miserable since it's very hot. He would be scared and **1** fearing for his life. He would be thinking about his family and how he misses them. There would be

bombs and guns every minute he would hear shouts and shots and people are dying every second. He probably thinks that he might be next.

Claire's response to the exit task

I think Mrs Sievers would have felt sad and mourning about Gerald. Grief would always be there. **1** Source C has a picture of a young lady holding a casualty list newspaper. She looks devastated. Mrs Sievers would have felt like this too. But in this grief she would have felt proud for her son, because her son was a hero. Source A mentions the roll of honour which Gerald's name would have been on. Gerald sacrificed his life in the world war which Mrs Sievers would be proud and glad since Gerald **5** sacrificed for his country's liberty. She could have been part of the Otago's Woman's Patriotic Association who supported the war by fundraising. This could have taken her mind off Gerald dying. She might have felt that this is all she could do for son who died in the war (source B). She could have practiced knitting and did it for the soldiers who can help New Zealand win the war. Overall she would feel a lot of mixed feelings for her son's death and the war. **10**

Claire's response to the post-task

Mrs Sievers would have felt happy that her son is going to war and is serving his country while on **1** the other hand she is feeling sorrow that she might lose her son in the war. In source A the newspaper is looking for new recruits and they are talking about going to war for their country. I think from this source Mrs Sievers would be willing to agree and make her son go to war. Source B, the people in source B seem to be willing to give their son to war reason being they want them to 'do his duty'. **5** Source C the women in this picture seem to support war and I think so would Mrs Sievers. But as a mother she would feel worried that her son is going to war. But she will be proud at the same time.

Appendix I

Claire and Lucy's Essays

Essay question: *Why did a huge number of young men leave New Zealand in 1915 to fight a war thousands of kilometers away? And what were the effects of this decision upon these young men up until the end of 1915?*

Lucy's essay

In 1915, over 120,000 New Zealanders travelled by sea to Gallipoli, Turkey. They went to **1** stand for their country, to see the world, to support their friends, and because they felt it was their duty. The result of this decision was not the glory that they had expected but the death of many young soldiers.

The most common reason for soldiers to join the army was the hope of adventure. Most of **5** the men settled in New Zealand during the time of the First World War had grown up on the isolated islands [New Zealand], and so the thought of adventure appealed to them. "It was more high adventure than anything else" (Vic Nicholson, ex-Anzac soldier). Soldiers felt it was their duty. Posters were put up which shunned the idea of not joining the army, calling those people 'slackers'. Eventually, most of those people who didn't think it as being their **10** duty thought it "wasn't their war" (Frank's character in the 1981 film *Gallipoli*) were blackmailed into either joining up or being sent to prison, when the need came for more soldiers. "I joined up because it was my duty" (Russell Weir, ex-Anzac soldier). Joining the war was "the thing to do at the time" (Vic Nicholson) Soldiers joined up because it was popular, and most of their friends were doing it. "I knew my mates would" (J. Gasparich, **15** ex-Anzac soldier). They thought it would be fun to join up together. The final, but not only other reason, as it varies with different people, is because they were patriotic and loved their country. "We were very much for the British Empire. When the call came we went" (Bill East, ex-Anzac soldier). The soldiers wanted to fight for their country and its rights, believing they would return to New Zealand as heroes. "I don't think you could find a more patriotic **20** volunteer than myself" (Joe Gasparich).

When the soldiers finally landed in Gallipoli after their long sea voyage, they found it was not as they expected. With gathered evidence from the diary of a young soldier, Bill Leadley, who was wounded at Gallipoli, we can understand the conditions that the soldiers were living in during the war. Bill Leadley describes the constant sound of war, the lack of hygiene **25** and the bad food and the dirty water. The heat was above thirty-five degrees Celsius, and the men had bad sunburn. The heat was attracting flies which added to the unhygienic conditions. Many of the soldiers were getting sick and in June, Leadley got dysentery which got worse in September. He was also wounded in September, and states in his diary "I wish I could get well". **30**

By the end of 1915, thousands of men had died, having lost their lives on the battlefield, or from infected injuries and illnesses for which they didn't have the necessary medication to properly treat. When the Anzacs realised that there was no chance of possibly winning the battle against Turkey, with so many dead, they made a quick and successful evacuation. However, those lucky soldiers who had survived then travelled to the Western Front, **35**

located from the Belgian coast to the Switzerland border. The Western Front was in a worse state than in Gallipoli and most of the survivors from Gallipoli died there during the next two years.

1915 is the year we will always remember as the year so many soldiers lost their lives, bravely fighting for what they believed in. As stated by the main character, Archy, in **40** the 1981 film *Gallipoli* "You just had to be a part of it". Lest we forget.

Claire's essay

What happened in Gallipoli? Why did people from our country go and sacrifice their life? **1** Was it for adventure or their love of their country? On 1915 everyone from our country, father or son and brother had to go to war. Young teenagers have to practice and train to become soldiers. So why did they go? I am going to explain why we went to war in 1915.

Everyone wants an adventure! This is why most boys and men went to World War One. **5** The thought of going to another country is quite appealing. There was a documentary that stated that it was "for the adventure." Some people in our country were also forced to go or there would be a downside if they did not go.

Patriotism! The love for your country can be greater than anything. Another reason why soldiers all over New Zealand went and fought in the war. Men joined the cadets and did **10** training. Boy Scouts started at a very young age. Everyone knew about it and they were ready to go and sacrifice all they've got for their people, and their country. "You've just gotta be in it!" A quote from the movie Gallipoli. Some soldiers decided to join just because they gotta be in it. While others just went in with the crowd. Like a sheep lost in a big herd.

Pressure is a very big deal at that time. People who did not go often got a bad reputation. **15** They often get called coward and people were mean and very judgemental about it. A cartoon made from that time explained or portrayed what it was like. A man walking with his family his head down while others with their heads up mocked and gave him weird looks.

Money would be another big reason why soldiers went. Some people would be bored of their jobs which didn't earn them much, unlike being a soldier that could give you lots of **20** money. In the movie Gallipoli one character went to war just because of the money. He wanted to come home as an officer. These are all the reasons why most men went to war; money, pressure, patriotism, adventure and you just gotta be in it.

What were the effects of Gallipoli? There would be a lot of effects on a soldier's life. They could either die or live. Their families would have been affected in different ways. The **25** whole of New Zealand was devastated when they found out that many soldiers had died.

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