What do we want students to do when they are studying historical consequences? An exploratory case study based on a series of lessons taught to a Year Seven History class on the Black Death

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Abstract

This paper explores a theory-seeking case study that attempted to develop a clearer understanding of the second-order concept of historical consequences, both for teacher-researchers and pupils within the classroom. The case study investigates how a mixed-attainment class of Year Seven History students' understanding and conceptualisation of historical consequences developed over a series of lessons based around the consequences of the Black Death. Findings suggest that students place a particular value on some consequences and a criterion for judging historical consequences is imperative to effectively developing students' understanding of the second-order concept.

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Introduction

As significance was the "forgotten key element" of the 2000s (Philips, 2002, p.106), arguably historical consequence is the forgotten second-order concept of today. Despite historiography often focusing on the 'impact' or 'consequences' of historical events and a growing focus on the impact or consequences of events in GCSE examinations, there is still an absence of literature on historical consequences and particularly its use within the classroom.

During my first school placement I became increasingly puzzled about why a second-order concept outlined in the National Curriculum (2013) was so underexplored in practice. According to these guidelines, students are expected to 'understand' consequences and 'use them' in practice, yet they are arguably not adequately equipped to do so. Based on observations and reading of professional literature, I began to deduce why consequences are so rarely explicitly explored in practice. I tentatively concluded that there seemed to be three major contributing factors. First, reasoning about consequences is often absorbed into causal reasoning, whether through counter-factualism or through an explanation that each consequence 'is the cause of something else.' Second, historical consequences and significance are often conflated with one another; consequences are explored in terms of their significance in a wider narrative. Thus, it seemed that neither historical consequences nor historical significance are explored effectively. Third, historical consequences are sometimes simply regarded as change. I judged that such a focus denied the nuance of consequences as a worthwhile disciplinary focus in its own right. It seemed that the lack of clarity over what consequential reasoning actually is amongst educators resulted in many students unable to discuss and write about consequences in a truly historical sense. If we want students to reason with consequences, do we not need to provide them with the tools to do so effectively?

I decided to develop an enquiry sequence for a Year Seven group to use as the basis for a case study to theorise what it means to reason with consequences and the pedagogical goals attached to the concept. By researching pupils' thinking to analyse and characterise historical consequences, I hoped to investigate what historical consequences actually meant within the classroom and the sorts of learning goals that might be attached to it.

This paper is an account of that investigation, an exploratory case study (Bassey, 1999). It comprises a literature review, rationale for my investigation, research design, an overview of the teaching sequence, a report of my data analysis, a discussion of findings and recommendations for further research.

Literature Review

My own lack of clarity about what historical consequence is as a second-order concept —or, indeed, if it actually is a stand-alone concept rather than a subset of cause, change, or significance— left me questioning what exactly I wanted students to think and argue about and how I could best support students in grappling with the concept for themselves. Thus, I turned to the work of professional historians; if I could deduce how academic historians engaged with historical consequence as a concept, I judged I would be better able to support my students in doing the same. With a specific focus on the Black Death, I began to investigate how historians argue about its consequences and particularly how they make meaning of historical consequences.

Historians' views: How do professional historians treat historical consequences?

Professional historians theorise historical consequences in a number of different ways, ultimately revealed in the language that they used to discuss and argue about the concept. Taking Benedictow (2006) as an example, he explores the consequences of the Black Death in a variety of ways. First, Benedictow (2006, p.389) explores consequences through explicit reference to the relationship between an event and its direct and indirect consequences: "The Black Death [the event] cut down the size of the European population [direct consequence - high mortality] resulting in economic and social developments… [indirect consequences - economic and social change]". Second, he reasons with consequences in terms of colligatory generalisations (Carroll, 2016) such as "the mortality effects" (Benedictow, 2006, p.389) that effectively synthesise his argument. Benedictow combines

multiple different consequences, such as the impact on economic and social systems, into colligatory generalisations as a key part of his argumentation about the impact of the Black Death. As argued by Carroll (2016, p.21) for causal reasoning, the historian packages events into 'things', which develop and progress their argument. Third, he characterises the consequences and considers their relative importance. The language used by Hatcher (2008, p.267) also suggests a distinct focus on the consequences that "improved", "multiplied" and "transformed" the Middle Ages. Both Benedictow and Hatcher consider consequences cumulatively, with Hatcher (2008, p.267) stating "cumulatively they were the symptoms of the genesis of a universal transformation in the most important relationship in the Middle Ages, that between Lords and tenants". Through this, they seem to be making a claim about the significance of consequences, and thus about the event from which they stemmed. What seems to distinguish their arguments from arguments historians make about change is the direct focus on the consequences of a particular event, action or happening and its out-workings, rather than a broader analysis of a process of change over time.

Interestingly, Horrox (1994) dedicates an entire section of *The Black Death* to 'Part 3- Consequences' yet her argument seems to resemble arguments about historical change. Reflecting on primary source material and subsequent interpretations, Horrox (1994, p.229) argued the Black Death as "nothing less than a complete social revolution", a "cataclysmic change" and a "turning point" in British history. She contends that the Black Death brought about the end of the 'high' Middle Ages, rooting her argument within a broader narrative of change during the medieval period, as opposed to the consequences of the Black Death specifically.

Consequential reasoning is driven by attempts to theorise the impact of a particular event on subsequent happenings, whether social, economic, cultural or future events. Despite differences in approach, what the historiography has in common is systematic attempts to characterise, categorise and reason with the significance of consequences based on the evidential record of an event, action or happening itself and the subsequent impact.

Educators' views: What are historical consequences?

Under-theorised by theorists of history and history educators alike, it is difficult to define what historical consequences are, let alone how students should be thinking and arguing about it in practice. Theorist of History Stanford (1994) briefly acknowledged historical consequences as a stand-alone concept, reflecting on the contextual information needed to study it effectively.

However, the concept remains underexplored by the history teaching community in practice. Reflecting on his own practice, Fordham (2012) recognised the under-theorised nature of consequences and established a general pedagogy for teaching consequences, which was further developed by Worth (2017). As such, the concerns of educators are not just conceptual but also pedagogical. As pedagogy is explored and developed so too is understanding of the concept. This, in turn, creates a complex picture of what historical consequence is and what students should be doing with it.

Educators' views: Consequences as a branch of causal reasoning

Some educators have explored consequences implicitly through counter-factualism. Megill (2007) identified two types of counterfactual history: restrained, based on the real past, and exuberant, encouraging hypotheses of historical outcomes that never came to be. Megill (2007) argued that exuberant counter-factualism, or virtual history (Ferguson, 1997), leads to potentially confused and ahistorical interpretations of the past. However, restrained counter-factualism more explicitly addresses historical consequences and is therefore of more use to both the historian (and by extension) the teacher. Megill (2007) argues that this process encourages reflecting on 'cause-and-effect' within history. Such reflection can be seen in work of Chapman (2003), Woodcock (2005) and Buxton (2016) on restrained counterfactual reasoning. Their practice demonstrates an implicit consideration of consequences through their concern that students understand the effects of different causes in order to develop a sustained argument. The death of Chapman's Alphonse the Camel was the result of multiple causes, identified by the students. These causes were then matched to their consequences. Worth (2012) reflected on her own practice and argued that counterfactual reasoning could help students in analysing the consequences of a historical event. Restrained counter-factualism provides a useful starting point for exploring consequences but the primary goal of these educators in considering consequences seems to be in order to reason about relative importance of causes. As such, this could not be used as a model for teaching consequence if students' consequential reasoning is to be developed in more explicit ways.

Scott (1990, p.9) argued that causal reasoning must result in "coherence, shape and meaning" being made of the causes. This has been widely researched by theorists of education and history teachers alike, resulting in the development of a wide range of pedagogical approaches for teaching causal reasoning. Rogers (2011) sought to encourage his students to think about how the importance of

causes changed over time through diagrammatic models of causal thinking. By getting students to consider causes through causation maps, they were able to track the chronology of causes of a particular event. Such a model considers causation within a model of change over time, resulting in students judging the relative importance and significance of causes depending on the period of focus. Rogers' approach of asking students to develop their conceptual thinking through visual diagrams could be further developed in relation to historical consequences.

Educators' views: Consequences as a subset of significance

Consequences are often explored in the classroom as a subset of significance. Michael Stanford (1994, p.34) argued that the historian must be aware of the context of a historical event, whether natural, social or cultural, in order to explain historical consequences. Although explicitly referring to consequences, Stanford's focus on both the personal and disciplinary nature of consequences seems to relate more to historical significance in that the consequences are conceptualised in terms of their relation to the event and the individual studying it. Stanford's principles for consequences appear similar to Seixas (1997)'s argument regarding historical significance; students view significance subjectively (based on their personal interest in an event) or objectively (based on their understanding of an event's historical importance). As such, their understanding of significance is either, personal or disciplinary, as with Stanford for consequences. There is some debate amongst educators about what historical significance is, which further problematises how we consider consequences within this broader narrative. On the one hand, Phillips (2002) has proposed that the significance of an event is determined primarily by its relevance to, and consequences for, the present day. Phillips' conceptualisation of significance seems to be driven by a concern with changing pupils' perception of history by making them see it as relevant. He is therefore less concerned with pupils' explicitly problematizing significance as a concept. However, others such as Counsell (2004) have questioned how far an event's significance can be defined purely in terms of its consequences. Counsell's meta-analysis of studies on historical significance led her to argue that significance is ascribed and thus ultimately concerned with meaning. Reflecting on both Phillips (2002) and Counsell (2004), Bradshaw (2006) noted that reductive thinking about consequences within arguments about significance could result in insufficient historical thinking. Bradshaw was seeking to develop a model of progression based on his own practice that had as its overall goal students making their own judgements regarding significance. In Bradshaw's model students would consider the consequences of an event as part of their formation of a judgement.

Educators' views: Consequences as a subset of change

A fundamental challenge that arises from the literature is that educators sometimes treat questions about consequences as though they are questions about change. When assessing the significance of Brown vs. Board during a change enquiry, for example, Foster (2013) used a card sort that encouraged students to identify the significance of Brown in four different ways: positive and negative results, long term and short term change, symbolic and practical change, and latent and manifest change. Whilst Foster's enquiry was clearly focused on change seen by African Americans from 1945 to 1955, evidenced in (i) the enquiry question, (ii) use of metaphor, and (iii) the vocabulary students were encouraged to utilise, this activity arguably engaged students in consequential reasoning; students were focused on the out-workings of a specific case, not a process of change over time.

Educators' views: Consequence as a second-order concept

Some educators have sought to characterise historical consequences and develop pedagogical approaches to support students in reasoning with it effectively. Fordham (2012) explicitly addressed the absence of educational research on historical consequences when asking 'but have you not thought about the consequences?'. Beginning to theorise a pedagogy for teaching consequences, Fordham recommended getting students to consider (1) categorising consequences by type, (2) ranking of consequences in order of importance, (3) making links between an event and its consequences, (4) identifying direct and indirect consequences and (5) characterising the consequences of an event. Worth (2017) reflected on Fordham's types of consequences and invited her students to consider both the language for categorising types of consequences and the scale of historical consequences using the visual metaphor of sizes and shapes. Asking students to draw a shape to represent the scale of consequences, Worth's diagrammatical representation of consequence enabled students to progress their understanding of the scale of consequences, developing the principles outlined by Rogers (2011) with a specific conceptual focus. Educators have begun to consider what analysis of historical consequences is and how pedagogy can be developed to support consequential thinking.

Rationale for the investigation

Nature of the investigation

Reflecting on the literature, both that written by educators and professional historians, I began to question how exactly consequential reasoning should be defined and reasoned with in practice. If there is a language of causal reasoning (Woodcock, 2005) and if we are to take academic historians as the model for classroom practice (Ward, 2006; Carroll, 2017) then why are we not supporting students to develop a language of consequential reasoning? I wanted to better understand what this might look like within the classroom and therefore sought to uncover and characterise patterns of thinking amongst my students. I wanted to assess how students would analyse consequences and what they would argue about in order to better theorise what consequences do and should look like in practice. Given the focus on students' thinking, my investigation was exploratory in nature.

Context of the investigation

Given that the investigation was exploratory and to be conducted within a classroom setting, I decided to focus on a single class. The class was mixed attainment and consisted of 30 Year 7 students. The students were studying medieval England from 1066 to c.1500 and had just completed an enquiry focused on the nature of similarities and differences within the medieval peasantry. Students had not explicitly studied historical consequences as a second-order concept before, which meant I could explore their thinking about the concept without any prior taught views invalidating my analysis.

Purpose of investigation

I wanted to help pupils get better at consequential reasoning early into their school careers in order to ensure they are well-equipped to think and argue about consequences as they begin Key Stage Four. As I began my investigation, I had three main goals. First, I needed to theorise how consequences were different to other second-order concepts such as change or significance. Second, I wanted to find out what students were drawing upon in order to analyse consequences, for example their topic-knowledge or prior conceptual reasoning, and what they were actually arguing about. Third, I wanted to explore how students' thinking about consequences manifested itself in their verbal and written work. If I could deduce what consequences meant to students in comparison

to the professional historian, I would be better able to support students in developing their consequential reasoning.

With these purposes in mind I focused my attention on four research questions (RQs):

RQ1: What counts as analysis of historical consequences?

RQ2: What did pupils draw upon in their arguments about historical consequences?

RQ3: What qualities in pupils' thinking about historical consequences might help us theorise new learning goals concerning historical consequences?

RQ4: What were pupils arguing about?

Research Design

Upon beginning my investigation, my first goal was to define what sort of research I was doing. Given that my research was naturalistic, focused on social phenomenon, and seeking to characterise patterns of thinking, not objective reality (Koshy 2005), my research questions required the collection of qualitative rather than quantitative data. It was therefore clear that the positivist research paradigm described by Bassey (1999, p.42) would be inappropriate, given the focus on social, as opposed to physical, phenomenon. My research was interpretive in its focus as I sought to engage my own subjectivity in order to interpret meaning of students' knowledge and understanding (ibid., p.43). As such, a focus on rich, qualitative data combined with a process of data analysis that centralised the social context of the participants was necessary if I was to truly gauge my students' thinking.

Stake (1995) argued that qualitative studies seek patterns of both unanticipated and expected relationships. I expected that introducing students to various pedagogies to understand and analyse historical consequences would impact upon their conceptual reasoning in some way. These pre-conceptions had to be considered as I planned my lessons.

This research took the form of a theory-seeking or exploratory case study (Yin 1993 c.f. Bassey 1999, p.29) given that I anticipated the study would help to define questions and hypotheses for subsequent investigations on historical consequences within the classroom. The case study was investigating a general issue— consequences as a conceptual focus — with the aim of building

'fuzzy propositions' (more tentative) and 'fuzzy generalisations' (less tentative) (Bassey, 1999, p.62). Furthermore, given the under-theorised nature of historical consequences as a stand-alone second-order concept the investigation also sought to help theorise what analysis of historical consequences actually means within the classroom (RQ1).

As I sought to interpret the meaning of students' arguments and thinking regarding consequences in a natural setting, ensuring my research remained interpretive and truly rooted in its social context, as opposed to an experimental design under laboratory conditions (Yin, 1994, p.14 c.f. Bassey, 1999, p.26), was a priority. My aim was to ensure that the results of this study were 'strong in reality' and reflected the use of historical consequences by students within the classroom, rather than in an artificial laboratory style environment (Bassey 1999, p.23). As such, I planned to gather a wide range of data types across a large sample of the class to base my conclusions on.

In designing my research, it was imperative to consider the ethics of my investigation. I completed the Faculty Ethics Form and checklist for this assignment, which considered any issues that might arise during the investigation, with my subject lecturer and school mentor. I therefore ensured that I had worked within BERA Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2018) and, reflecting the assertion that children have a right to express themselves freely in matters affecting them, ensured that students were aware of the investigation so that they could provide fully informed consent (p.9). Bassey (1999) discusses research ethics under three headings: Respect for Democracy, Respect for Truth and Respect for Persons. According to Bassey, researchers have a democratic right to investigate and publish their findings, on the condition that they have ensured Respect for Truth and Persons alongside this. My investigation demonstrated Respect for Persons given that all students have been anonymised to ensure their dignity and privacy. I have tried to ensure Respect for Truth and to ascertain the trustworthiness of my findings by using a method of data analysis that allowed me to establish a transparent 'trail' between the data collected and my subsequent findings. This process of establishing Respect for Truth is outlined below.

Data collection

The type of research I had decided to undertake, as well as the data needed to answer my research questions effectively, guided the methods of data collection that I used. Following Bassey's (1999, p.81) outline of three major methods of collecting data: asking questions, observing events and reading documents, I chose to focus on students' thinking and argumentation through focus groups,

lesson observations by my mentor and students' written work. I sought to generate themes from various data sources before establishing common themes across the data.

The most straightforward type of data to collect would be students' written work. In many activities, consequences would be addressed explicitly, although some activities implicitly reflected on historical consequences. To capture whole class discussion, my mentor conducted systematic observation (ibid., p.82) to provide qualitative feedback on student responses during group and individual work.

These systematic observations were useful in answering the research questions given that they provided qualitative data on how the students behaved individually and collectively within the natural social context of the classroom. As such, these observations provided rich evidence of how students argued and thought about consequences within their history lessons.

However, there are drawbacks to using observations as a form of data. First, there is an element of researcher bias involved in the collection of data. Second, the method relies on the interpretation of the observer, which, in turn, relies on their knowledge and experience of the particular research topic (ibid., p.83). Third, the observer can only collect information based on the actions they see and hear. As such, students' thinking that is not expressed cannot be included in the data process. Fourth, the observer has no control over extraneous factors influencing the participant; therefore, it is difficult to establish cause-and-effect between the method used and the results observed.

The use of focus groups also provided useful qualitative data in support of the research questions. I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews with two groups of six to ten students, including pre-planned questions and potential prompts throughout (see Appendix 1). As stated by Drever (2003, p.7), the use of semi-structured interviews provides a flexible technique for gathering information in small-scale research. Drever has argued that classroom expectations can impact on students' responses and therefore holding interviews away from the classroom setting can support students' in providing more accurate reflections of their thinking and, consequently, more reliable data. Semi-structured interviews within the focus group provided a fairly open framework, which allowed for a more conversational communication between the participants, as well as between participants and myself. Thus, broad and general questions or topics could be explored (Arksey & Knight, 1999, p.5), whilst also allowing freedom for other issues to be discussed should it arise.

Although providing highly valuable data, there are some drawbacks to using focus groups. For example, other members of the group could influence students' answers and questions asked by the researcher could potentially be leading, if the researcher does not prepare effectively (Drever, 2003). Nevertheless, both systematic observation (Bassey, 1999) and focus groups provided key qualitative data to answer the research questions.

Table 1 outlines the types of data collected:

Research Question	Types of data collected
RQ1: What counts as analysis of historical consequences?	• Students' questions and answers in class. • Students' written classwork and homework. • Students' essays completed at the end of the lesson sequence. • Lesson observations completed by my mentor. • Focus group discussion completed half way through lesson sequence. • Focus group discussion completed at the end of the lesson sequence.
RQ2: What did pupils draw upon in their arguments about historical consequences?	• Students' questions and answers in class. • Students' written classwork and homework. • Students' essays completed at the end of the lesson sequence. • Lesson observations completed by my mentor. • Lesson evaluations. • Focus group discussion completed half way through lesson sequence. • Focus group discussion completed at the end of the lesson sequence.
RQ3: What qualities in pupils' thinking about historical consequences might help us theorise new learning goals concerning historical consequences?	• Students' questions and answers in class. • Students' written classwork and homework. • Students' essays completed at the end of the lesson sequence. • Lesson observations completed by my mentor. • Lesson evaluations. • Focus group discussion completed half way through lesson sequence. • Focus group discussion completed at the end of the lesson sequence.
RQ4: What were pupils arguing about?	• Students' questions and answers in class. • Students' written classwork and homework. • Students' essays completed at the end of the lesson sequence. • Lesson observations completed by my mentor. • Lesson evaluations. • Focus group discussion completed half way through lesson sequence. • Focus group discussion completed at the end of the lesson sequence.

Table 1: Research Questions and Data Collected

Data analysis method

As my research was exploratory in nature and I was unsure of what exactly I was hoping for students to write about in their essays in relation to my research questions, I decided to conduct

inductive data analysis and establish data categories after collecting my research data (Taber, 2013). Through this method, I would avoid distorting data by attempting to fit it into pre-determined categories (Drever, 2003).

In analysing students' essays, I used Van Manen's (1997) 'selective or highlighting approach' to analyse the students' work in order to extract a number of themes. Through analysing students' work with a view of picking out particularly revealing phrases (Van Manen, 1997) I developed a number of themes that I felt answered my research questions. I then derived analytic statements (Bassey, 1999) across all the data sets to answer my research questions (see Appendix 2).

Having derived these analytic statements (AS), I then considered a series of explanatory hypotheses (EH) based on the findings of the research that might explain why students' arguments developed in a particular way, or the approaches that they took in establishing their arguments. Following the completion of the study, I labelled each piece of student work (SW) to ensure that it was anonymised and also easy to categorise into the AS and EH I had developed. Appendices 2 to 5 present the results of this process, with the number system used to increase ease of reference throughout the findings. AS100 as an analytic statement for example would subdivide into EH101, EH102 and so on, with samples of student work referenced as SW1 or SW101 based on the piece providing an example of each statement or hypothesis.

Overview of the teaching sequence

I developed a six-lesson enquiry, which required students to consider the historical consequences of the Black Death on the medieval peasantry. I wanted to investigate students' thinking around historical consequences and specifically what students were drawing upon in their arguments and what they were arguing about.

A challenge I faced as I began the enquiry was that I could find no clear definition of what historical consequences is in the curricular sense. As such, I decided to focus on linguistic notions of consequences based on historical scholarship, exploring the nature, scale and the relative importance of historical consequences.

The teaching sequence

Lesson One: How did the peasants of medieval Cambridgeshire experience the Black Death?

Students had no taught prior knowledge of the Black Death or the concept so the first lesson was designed to provide the contextual knowledge needed in order to explore its consequences in detail throughout the rest of the enquiry. Adapted from Hatcher (2008) and Zeigler (2010), students were read an account of the rumours, arrival, experience and immediate consequences of the Black Death in a medieval village. Students were asked to choose words to describe the position of the peasantry at each point in the account. Students drew pictures and considered key words based on the account, primary sources, and subsequent interpretations in order to build topic-specific knowledge. Students were beginning to question the consequences of the Black Death (RQ2 and RQ4) but not yet in substantial detail.

Lesson Two: How were the peasants who survived the Black Death privileged?

Addressing RQ2 and RQ4 regarding students' arguments, after building topic-knowledge, students were asked why the Black Death might have been a blessing for the peasantry. Beginning to assess all the research questions, students were introduced to some words to describe the nature of historical consequences on the medieval peasantry (RQ1), adapted from Fordham's (2012) 'types' of consequence and a reflection on the language used by professional historians. Students selected a word they would use to characterise the type of consequence on the peasantry before completing a paragraph explaining why.

Lesson Three: How did the peasants rise up after the Black Death?

The third lesson focused on the social and economic consequences of the Black Death (RQ1). Reflecting on Worth (2017), students were given a series of cards representing different sizes and shapes as a visual metaphor for the scale of historical consequences. The students decided on what sizes and shapes they judged to best represent the consequences of the Black Death, in order to address RQ1, 2 and 4. Students explored the Ordinance of Labourers before being asked to reconsider their sizes and shapes. I judged that this would support students in understanding how historians change their arguments based on new evidence. Students ended the lesson by drawing and labelling their shapes to represent the scale of historical consequence. I hoped to gain an insight

into students' analysis of historical consequences and what they drew upon in their arguments (RQ1 and RQ2).

Lesson Four: How did the peasants become the powerful?

In this lesson, students considered the relative importance of each general consequence. To address RQ4, the students explored primary sources such as John Ball's speech to the peasants before the Peasants' Revolt and the Ordinance and Statute of Labourers. They were asked to consider why the peasants might have supported John Ball in light of the consequences of the Black Death (RQ1, RQ2, RQ4). To address these research questions further students completed a paragraph explaining what they thought the most important consequence was and why. They were encouraged to use the terms related to nature and scale. This would enable me to explore how students analysed the consequences for themselves and what they might draw upon in their arguments and argue about (RQ1, 2 and 4.). I held a focus group with a group of ten students at this stage in order to consider all four of my research questions in greater detail.

Lesson Five: How revolutionary was the Black Death for the medieval peasantry?

To help students build their conceptualisation of consequences further and to consider what they were arguing about (RQ3 and RQ4), this was a narrative lesson focused on the Peasants' Revolt as a direct or indirect consequence of the Black Death. During this lesson, students completed a story board and considered whether they still saw the Black Death as a blessing based on how the position of the peasantry changed throughout the revolt of 1381. This lesson was designed to encourage students to question the consequences of the Black Death more holistically, drawing upon the topic-specific and conceptual knowledge they had gained throughout previous lessons.

Lesson Six: How was the Black Death a blessing for the medieval peasantry?

To assess students' thinking and argument, I designed a final activity where students wrote an essay answering the question: ''The Black Death was a blessing for the medieval peasantry.' How far do you agree?'. I wanted to find out how students would use topic-specific knowledge, conceptual knowledge and historical evidence (RQ1, RQ2, RQ4) in order to consider what new learning goals might result from this research (RQ3).

Findings

Research Question 1: What counts as analysis of historical consequences?

The challenge with this research question was that there was limited literature available on how other educators had theorised consequences and, as such, what analysis of the concept should look like in practice. I drew heavily on the work of Fordham (2012) and Worth (2017) before I began my analysis and was therefore operating with preconceptions of what analysis of historical consequences might look like based on the different pedagogical methods used to teach it.

Reflecting on this and the students' written work, whole class discussion, focus groups, my mentor's observations and my own evaluations, I produced a number of analytic statements (Bassey, 1999). From the data, several factors that counted as analysis of historical consequences became apparent to me. I categorised these (see Appendix 2) into the following analytic statements:

i)   categorising consequences according to their nature;

ii)   evaluating and characterising historical consequences;

iii)   making direct links between the event itself and the subsequent consequences and forming an overall judgement that considers the direct and indirect consequences of a given event.

The main outcome in terms of students' understanding of historical consequences was that a variety of approaches —linguistic and conceptual —were needed in order to fully develop their analysis. Holly's (all names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity) argument (Figure 1) shows several forms of reasoning with consequences: she makes a judgement about their relative importance *("I think the most important consiquence (sic) of the Black Death is high mortality"*), she uses her topic-specific knowledge of the consequences of the Black Death to support her argument *("many benifishal (sic) things e.g. land, livestock or power"*), she establishes links between direct consequences and indirect consequences *("high mortality puts the peasants in a position where they can dimand (sic) from the Lord. If fewer people had died, the remaining peasant (sic) may not have gained as many benifishal (sic) things"*) and she categorises the consequences according to their nature (*"benifishal"*). Appendix 2, AS400 provides more examples of students analysing consequences in this way.

Figure 1: An example of a mid-attaining student's (Holly) analysis of historical consequences

Arguments that analysed historical consequences could be distinguished from the minority of students who continued to engage in the analysis of significance or change in their written work and verbal discussion. For example, William (Figure 2) drew a 'before' and 'after' shape when asked to visualise the scale of historical consequences, demonstrating his understanding of consequences in terms of change over time.
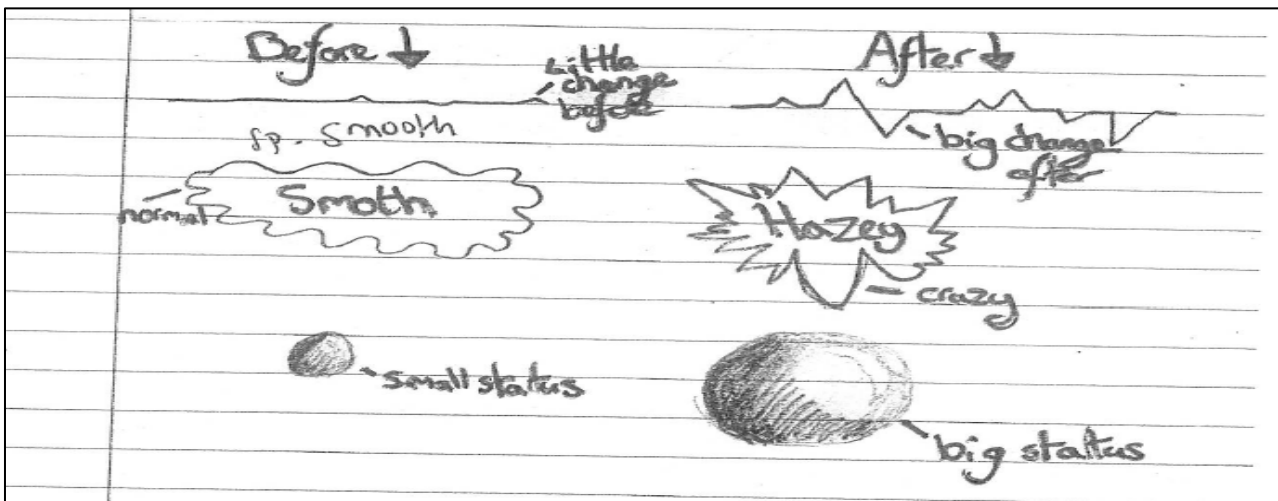

Figure 2: An example of a low-attaining student's (William)

conceptualisation of historical consequences

Research Question 2: What did pupils draw upon in their arguments about historical consequences?

As students developed their arguments about historical consequences, they drew upon topic-specific knowledge, particular criterion for categorising and ranking consequences and, for some, presentist notions of how medieval peasants might have felt and experienced the consequences of the Black Death (Appendix 3).

First, the strongest arguments from students were those that drew upon topic-specific knowledge (AS500). However, only a minority of students directly referenced primary source material, such as the Ordinance of Labourers, or included key dates from the period (EH501). Catherine wrote "*Geoffrey le Baker said over 90% died*". Simon wrote **"***After that a new law was made called 'The Ordinance of Labourers' which stopped the peasants from getting payed (sic)*"*,* reflecting a sense of security in the narrative, as well as his ability to utilise topic-specific propositional knowledge to advance his argument.

Other students drew on some kind of chronological framework to give a sense of how consequences unfolded (EH502). Daisy claimed *"even though there were grave amounts of deaths this was a positive point in the long run",* suggesting her understanding of direct and indirect consequences after the Black Death. Fiona (Figure 3) argued that the peasants were *"higher up in status… at this point everything is going well. This then starts to travel downhill…"*, demonstrating her understanding of consequences developing as out-workings of the Black Death.

A minority of students drew upon their prior knowledge in order to argue about historical consequences (EH503). Simon wrote "*before the black death the peasants wouldn't dare ask the lord of the manor for payment (because they didn't get payed (sic) for working)*". Simon was drawing on his knowledge of the work of the medieval peasantry gained during a previous enquiry in order to substantiate his argument about the consequences of the Black Death on peasant status.

The written and verbal discussion of students with strong topic-specific knowledge tended to be more nuanced and sophisticated. It seemed their disciplinary knowledge improved their conceptual thinking.

As the Black Death/Plague faded away from sawstenville I see that there was a first consequence, high mortality. After the issue of poor wealth, low rate in health, no power over the lords land, could the Black Deaths Consequences get much worse. The Black Death was not a blessing for the medieval peasantry because without some of the villages who would get encourage them through the ~~day~~ rough conditions of work. Knowing that ~~the~~ 40% of the peasants suffered~ ~~thr.~~ was an upsetting consequence.

~~#~~ Another conequence would be, even though loved peasants died of the long lasting ~~dea~~ severe death they were able to work on more land, more livestock available ~~etc~~ maybe earn more money from the lord to be higher up in the status. This would be a smooth consequence at this point as everything is going well.

This then starts ~~to~~ travel down hill because the happiness of more land and livestock to keep the survived made them lead up to asking the powerful lord ~~to be~~ for the wages to be increased as there are only a few. ~~left.~~ peasants left. If the lord didn't pay them they would ~~refo~~ refuse to work long hard hours on his land. Due to this the King killed ~~the~~ a magority of the remaning peasantry, this is a big, extreme consequence.

Others might argue this is a great consequence as it shows how much confidence the peasants have.

Figure 3: A mid-attaining student's (Fiona) outcome task

reflecting on the consequences of the Black Death

Second, many students privileged certain consequences, seemingly based upon their understanding of the nature, scale or significance of each consequence. (AS600). This was particularly evident with economic consequences, especially when students only dealt with one kind of consequence in their answers (EH601). Students appeared to deploy some kind of value criteria when ascribing significance to consequences (EH602), with 'money' and 'richness' particularly valued by many students. Charlotte's work exemplifies this as she wrote:

> *"The most important consequences of the black death was the economic side. This reason had beneficial consequences for the medieval peasantry. I think this because even though the Black Death wiped out their families, they could then inherit or get the valuables they left so could get more money and stock…"*
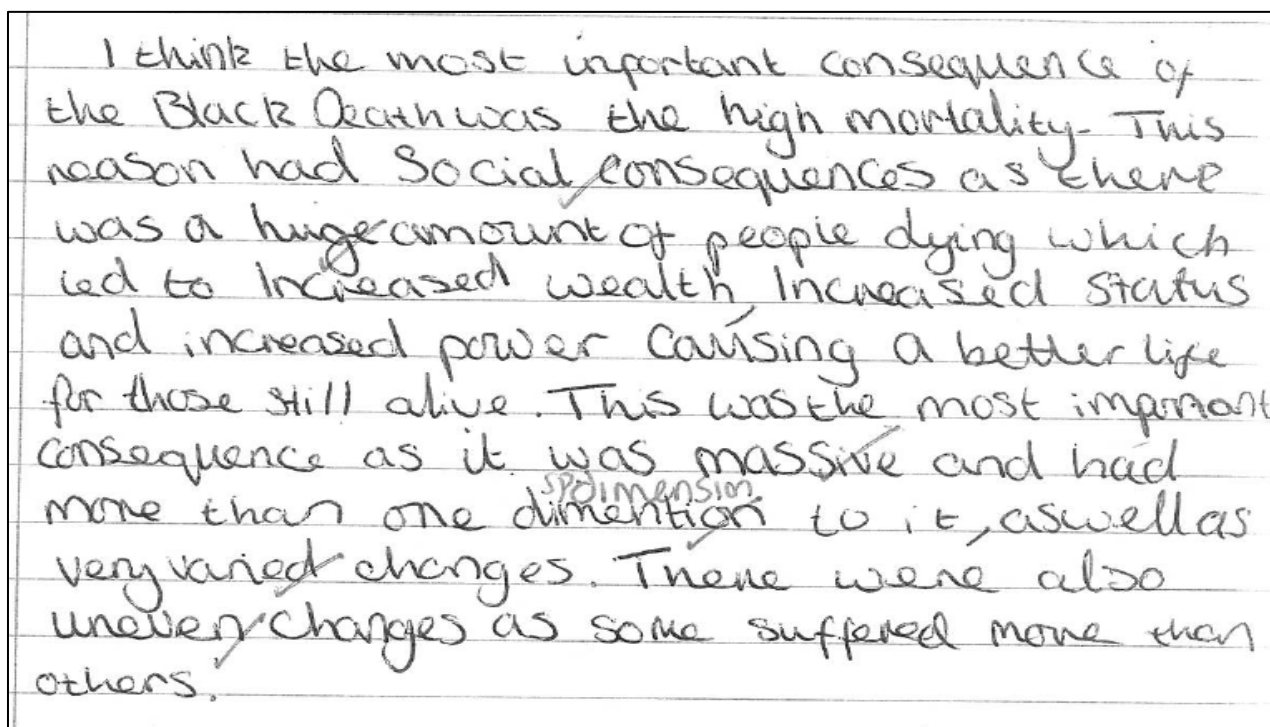
Charlotte prioritised the economic 'benefit' of inheriting values over the loss of family, demonstrating her deployment of a particular set of values under which she judged the significance of particular consequences.

Linked to these value criteria, a large minority of students drew upon presentist notions and their personal understanding of the consequences within their argument, arguably ascribing significance based on their own reflections (AS700). There were three main reasons for this:

i) Students drew upon their present day knowledge, resulting in anachronistic conclusions about the experience of the peasantry (EH701).

ii) Students drew on a sense of empathic reasoning to ascribe significance to consequences (EH702).

iii) A small number of students drew on a sense of period, giving the sense that they had understood the peasants' mindset to some extent (EH703).

When asked if a consequence was the same as a historical consequence Simon said *"Almost but it's something that has changed history, not a personal thing."* Despite this, Simon's verbal discussion and written work reflects his present-day focus. Catherine exemplifies this as she wrote **"***Also it efects lifes (sic) because if you lost your wife you would have to do the housework and look after the kids.***"**, reflecting her present day understanding of housework as a women's role and resulting in anachronistic conclusions about what would have happened to the peasantry after the Black Death (EH701). EH702 demonstrates the engagement of some students in empathy, where they considered the circumstances of the peasantry in relation to their present-day understanding. Peter in particular

drew upon this in his argument. Despite this, some students did draw upon a sense of period in their arguments (EH703). Sarah (Figure 4) wrote *"There were uneven consequences as some suffered more than others",* reflecting her understanding of the complexity of consequences for different groups at the time.

I think the most important consequence of the Black Death was the high mortality. This reason had Social consequences as there was a huge amount of people dying which led to Increased wealth Increased Status and increased power Causing a better life for those still alive. This was the most important consequence as it was massive and had more than one dimension to it, aswell as very varied changes. There were also uneven changes as some suffered more than others.

Figure 4: A higher-attaining student's (Sarah) analysis of historical consequences

Research Question 3: What qualities in pupils' thinking about historical consequences might help us theorise new learning goals concerning historical consequences?

In order to qualify what is meant by qualities in pupils' thinking, I continued to develop analytic statements (Bassey, 1999) related to the thinking processes students were apparently engaged in (Appendix 4). The qualities I discerned in pupils' thinking can be broadly themed as conceptual (AS800), personal (AS900) and linguistic (AS1000).

Although only a minority, some students' arguments revealed that they conflated historical consequences with significance. The words students were provided with in their initial considerations of the nature of historical consequences perhaps did not help with this judgement (Figure 5). 'Upsetting', for example, encouraged students to consider the consequences from a

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position of empathy (AS700, EH702) and, as a result, to ascribe their own significance to the consequence of high mortality.

Figure 5: An example PowerPoint slide containing words students were using to consider historical consequences

Charlotte wrote *"upsetting because everybody died."* Fiona (see Figure 3) and Peter (Figure 6) consistently focused on the significance of high mortality in these terms; their thinking about the personal translated into their historical arguments. However, some students reflected on the direct consequence of high mortality resulting in the indirect consequences of higher status, wealth and power (AS1000).

As considered in relation to Research Question 2, some students were engaged in empathy throughout their arguments. The use of axes such as positive and negative potentially pushed some students to consider consequences in terms of deterministic notions of 'progress'. When asked to consider the relative importance of consequences, some students instead wrote about the 'worst consequence' suggesting they ascribed significance in terms of what they deemed the most and least 'progressive' for medieval peasants, particularly in terms of emotional impact. On the whole, these arguments were less sophisticated given their deployment of anachronistic knowledge or

reasoning. The strongest answers were those where students had a strong sense of period (EH703); therefore, this should be prioritised as a learning goal when teaching consequences.

I think the black death was not a blessing because people in your family would have died and there will be noome around you.

My reason for this is because there will be none of your family left and you would be lonlee Statistics show that 40% of people died. Ziegler

My second reason is that people may argue that if people died it would be good because they would get money. But if PR peasants ask for more money they will just get killed anyway by the kings men and lords men because they didn't want to pay more money.

Others might argue that the fatal disese is a blessing because the scale of people who died was huge so the peasants would get more money and live a better lifestyle because they have more money but this is NOT True. → Why?

I categorise the black death as jagged and hazy. I think its jagged because there is two different sides to it. I also think the peasant have some ups and downs. I think it is also hazy because it is not very clear what is happening like what happens with the people.

Figure 6: A lower-attaining student's (Peter) outcome task
reflecting on the consequences of the Black Death

Another small minority of students continued to think about historical consequences in terms of change based on the previous period. A sense of 'before and after' was present in some students' drawings and visual metaphors of the scale of consequences, as well as in their written work (EH802). As seen above, William's drawing of the scale of consequences (Figure 2) is particularly revealing of his thinking around historical consequences. He has drawn a smooth shape and line, alongside a small ball labelled as *"normal, little change before and small status"* respectively. He has also drawn a *"hazey"* (sic) shape, a jagged line and a big ball labelled a *"crazy, big change after and big status"* respectively. Thus, William was thinking about how he might characterise the scale of consequences based on his period knowledge. However, his focus is on what happened before the Black Death compared to what happened after the Black Death rather than on creating direct links between the event itself and its out-workings. When theorising new learning goals, this suggests it is imperative to make this distinction between change and consequences clear; whilst change considers change across a broader period, consequences focus on a specific event and the effects of that particular event.

The students who wrote and verbalised the most sophisticated arguments were those who integrated the language of conceptual reasoning, whether in discussing the nature, scale, or relative importance of historical consequences (Figure 7, next page), into an argument that was well informed by rich topic-specific period knowledge (AS500). Thus, an essential learning goal concerning historical consequences is developing students' linguistic tools regarding consequential thinking alongside rich period knowledge.

Research Question 4: What were pupils arguing about?

Through iterative readings of students' written work I constructed a series of analytic statements (Bassey, 1999) that sought to characterise what students were arguing about (Appendix 5). These statements were broadly divided between those that demonstrate the development of students' arguments and consequential thinking, outlined here — the majority of students were arguing about the relative importance of historical consequences (AS1100), whether consequences were indirect or direct (AS1200) and how to characterise historical consequences (AS1500) — and those where students' arguments reflect a lack of conceptual focus, outlined below (after Figure 7).

The Black Death was a blessing for the medieval peasantry because even though there were a grave amounts of deaths this was a positive point in the long run.

The most important Consequence be was high Mortality because this point leads on to some beneficial Consequences like how they became richer and more powerful. They became richer because they have more land now from neighbours or fellow villages that died. The Consequences were multi dimensional and lasting because their status has now become higher meaning they could even ask the lord for money. That had some unanticipated Consequences.

Others might argue that the Black Death wasn't a blessing because one source of evidence from the black death says that 90% of people died, though when historians looked into it, they found that only 40% probably died. Also people continued to die when they decided to stand up to the lord in the peasants revolt 1381. Lots of people who did ask for more money ended up getting killed or killing other people.

In conclusion I think that there were varied Consequences.

Figure 7: A high-attaining student's (Daisy) outcome task
reflecting on the consequences of the Black Death

The majority of students progressed beyond a narrative account of the Black Death resulting in high mortality and contributing eventually to the Peasants' Revolt. They engaged in conceptual reasoning by identifying themes within the narrative or by using colligatory generalisations (albeit taught during the lesson sequence) to consider the consequences collectively and their overall impact on the medieval peasantry. Charlotte wrote *"The most important consequences of the black death was the economic side"*, whilst Sarah argued *"This reason had social consequences."* These students were able to synthesise their period knowledge to make claims about the consequences about the Black Death, such as peasants having more money or more power in society. However, these claims were not always supported with strong historical evidence. Some students' attempts to

characterise historical consequences were less developed and it was unclear whether they were actively aware of the process of argumentation they were engaged in. Darcie's (AS1500, SW117) characterisation of the consequences as 'multi-dimensional' initially appeared promising but she then evidences this by stating *"I think this because all the consequences were different."* Perhaps students were well equipped in the language of consequential thinking but they had not been effectively taught how to utilise it in their arguments.

Although some students were able to synthesise information in order to identify broader 'categories' of consequences, a few students' written and oral work did not demonstrate reasoning about consequences (Appendix 5, AS1300 and AS1400). There seemed to be two reasons for this. First, as discussed previously, some students conflated consequential thinking with change or significance (AS1400). Second, a number of students who had understood consequential reasoning in general terms were insecure in their knowledge of how to argue about it (AS1300). These students appeared secure in their narrative of consequence in terms of the chronology of the Black Death, its consequences, and the Peasants' Revolt, yet they were unable to explore the relative importance, scale or nature of consequences within that broader narrative. As such, their arguments were about **what** the consequences were, rather than **the characterisation** (**nature or scale or importance)** of those consequences. Introducing students to a broad range of ways to argue about historical consequences worked for many but may have been overwhelming for some students, resulting in a lack of nuance in their own arguments.

Discussion

What actually is analysis of historical consequences?

My findings for Research Questions 2 to 4 suggest that the boundaries between historical consequences and other second-order concepts, especially change and significance, are blurred and it is therefore challenging to develop a secure pedagogy for teaching consequences. Although subtle, I would argue that there are distinct differences between what we want students to do when studying historical consequences in comparison to other second-order concepts.

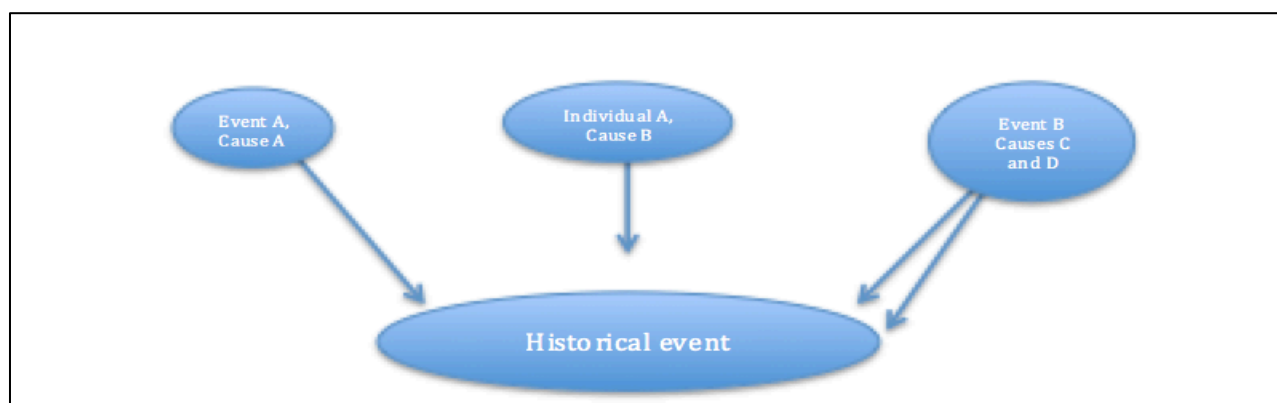*How is analysis of historical consequences different to causal analysis?*

Figure 8: A Visual Metaphor for Causation - causal reasoning considers a variety of causes, originating from a number of events and individuals, ultimately resulting in a historical event

When beginning this research, my mentor and I had discussed consequences and whether they were 'just the cause of something else.' However, this simply ignores the nuance with which historical consequences are treated by professional historians (Horrox, 1994) and, ultimately, how they could be explored within the classroom. Whereas the questions educators such as Chapman (2003) and Buxton (2016) ask about causation explore how a multitude of causes contribute to a defined end point (whether a development, event, action or happening) with the goal of constructing a multi-causal explanation (Figure 8), I wished to support students in identifying how a single event can have wide-ranging consequences on individuals, society and future events. Professional historians Benedictow (2006) and Hatcher (2008) both consider the cumulative nature of consequences, which students were beginning to do through their use of colligatory generalisations (Carroll, 2016) (See Appendix 2: EH402, SW54, SW102; Figure 9).

My findings from RQ1, 2 and 4 suggest students' focus in consequential reasoning was on the out-workings of the Black Death, rather than the event itself (Appendix 2), which distinguished their conceptual thinking from that of Megill's (2007) refrained counterfactualism where the focus is on hypothetical causes of events rather than explicitly their consequences.
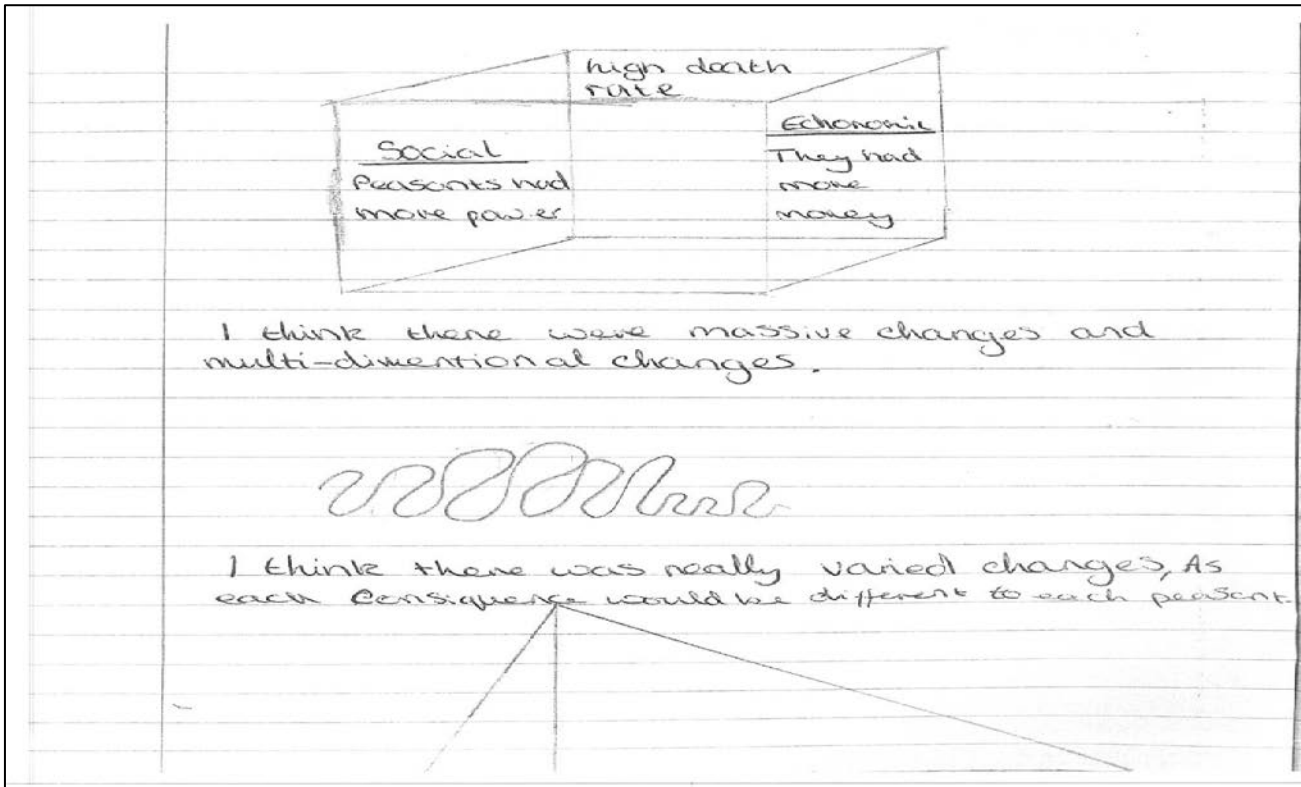
Figure 9: A mid-attaining student's (Sarah) creation of a visual metaphor to represent the size and scale of historical consequences

How is analysis of historical consequence distinct from significance?

Counsell (2004) contended when we want students to analyse the significance of a historical event or individual, we not only want them to analyse the significance of the event itself but also to consider why the event or individual mattered to different people at different times, whilst Seixas (1997) argued that students might have subjective and objective impressions of significance. Students' work suggests analysis and characterisation of historical consequences must be different to that of significance. Rather than focusing on the event itself, when analysing historical consequences, students began to characterise them in relation to the event but also in relation to consequences (AS100, AS200). Daisy (Figure 7) wrote *"The most important consequence was high mortality because this leads on to some beneficial consequences…"*,

What students are doing and we want them to do with historical consequences is therefore different to significance in three main respects. First, when we get students to analyse consequences, we want them to consider the relative importance of consequences in relation to one another, not just the event itself (AS200). Second, we want students to consider the nature and scale of each

consequence (EH101, EH201). Third, we want student to form an overall judgement that considers the character, relative importance and complexity of consequences as a collective (AS400).

How is analysis of historical consequences distinct from change?

Whereas a conceptual focus on change often focuses on a temporal scale and considers the influence of multiple factors (for example, historical events and key individuals) on a particular group (medieval peasants, Native Americans) or theme (economic, social, medicine, crime) over that time (Figure 10), students' analysis of historical consequences focuses more on the impact of a specific event (Appendices 2 to 5).
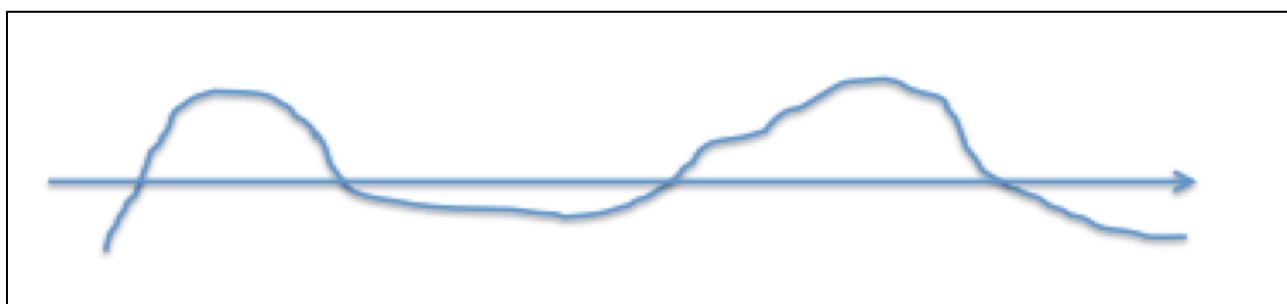

Figure 10: A Visual Metaphor for Change over time – the arrowed line denotes a linear progression of time influenced by a variety of factors and events over a given period

Students' work that considered change over consequence focused more on language such as 'before and after' or 'one consequence… another consequence'. Although consequential reasoning necessitates an understanding of the previous period, the focus on change resulted in fewer nuances in some students' judgements of whether or not the Black Death was a blessing for the medieval peasantry.

What distinguished students who analysed consequences from those that considered change was the focuses on the characterisation of the out-workings of a specific event, Fiona said there were *"multi-dimensional consequences of the Black Death. For example, power could lead to more livestock, extra land, more income…"* The focus here is on one event and its multiple characteristics, as opposed to a process of change over time (Figure 11).
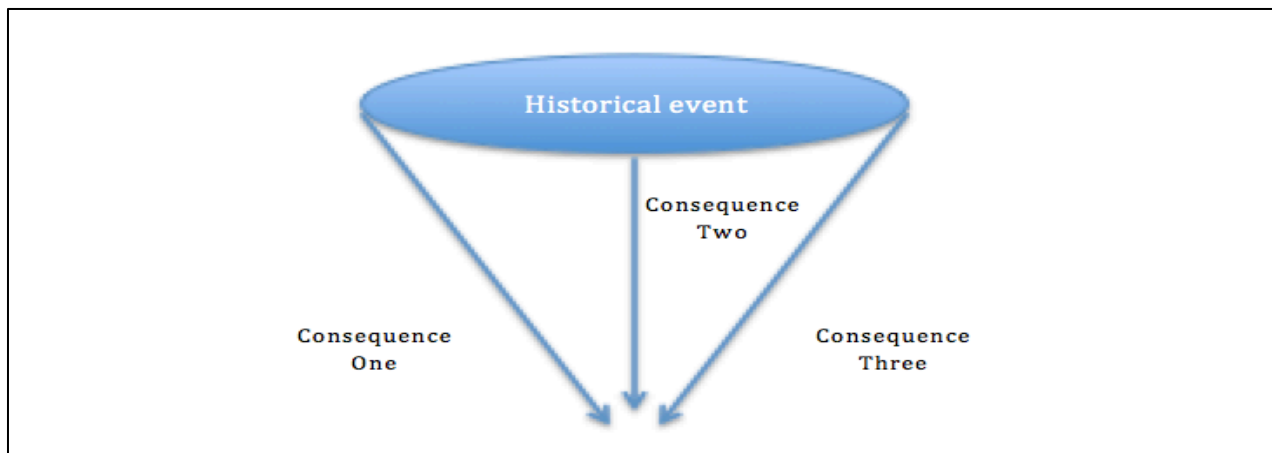
Figure 11: A Visual Metaphor for Historical Consequences –
the 'funnel' represents a historical event culminating in multiple, different consequences,
which have individual and collective historical meaning

What new learning goals can be theorised?

Whilst RQs 2 and 4 sought to uncover what students were drawing upon in their arguments and what they were arguing about, RQ 3 sought to identify qualities in pupils' thinking that would facilitate the theorisation of new learning goals for historical consequences (Appendices 3 to 5). Fordham (2012) offered a range of pedagogy to explore historical consequences within the classroom, many of which formed the basis of my teaching during this enquiry. By their final task, all students were (at least beginning to think about) identifying consequences, categorising them, explaining their relative importance and evaluating them as they characterised consequences in their overall judgements (See examples in Figures 3, 6 and 7). Students' thinking and reasoning suggests that there is value in focusing specifically on consequences as a standalone concept and, by extension, scope to develop pedagogy to support students in their consequential reasoning.

Rather than simply being taught what the consequences of an event are, students should be taught to problematise consequences and to engage in consequential reasoning. Just as historians of the Black Death, such as Benedictow (2006) and Hatcher (2008), seek to characterise and rank its consequences, so too should students within the classroom.

Recommendations

This investigation reveals that students are capable of engaging with a nuanced set of criteria for analysing and conceptualising historical consequences.

Some students' utilisation of the 'language of consequences' suggested that they did not truly appreciate the conceptual value of language (See Figure 4), despite having a clear understanding of what the words actually meant. The importance of strong period-knowledge was evident in students' writing and verbal reasoning. If the linguistic can release the conceptual (Woodcock, 2005), so too can secure factual knowledge shape the disciplinary. Reflecting on Carroll's (2018) assertion that arguments that emulate historians most effectively combine strong substantive detail with clear conceptual language, perhaps further research on knowledge-specific learning goals would be beneficial here.

Arguably a 'forgotten key element' (Phillips, 2002, p.106), if historical consequences is to be 'found' then more research needs to be done on both its theorisation as a concept and the pedagogical goals we have in practice.

Implications for my own practice

Moving forward, I have a clearer idea of what kind of thought and argument students are engaged with (RQ1, 2 and 4) and, as such, the sorts of learning goals that should be associated with students' thinking about historical consequences (RQ3). Although this research has resulted in more questions than answers regarding what we want students to do with consequences, I hope that it will help me continue to theorise the concept and to tentatively develop a progression model for what consequences might look like within the classroom.

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Appendix 1

Focus Group Interview Schedule

Q1: Have you enjoyed studying the consequences of the Black Death?

Following Drever's (2003) guidelines, this question was chosen to allow students to build confidence for the rest of the interview. It is non-threatening and allowed students to offer their opinion and talk at length without apprehension of a right or wrong answer.

Q2: What do you think the main consequences of the Black Death were?

PROMPT: How did the Black Death result in these consequences? Are any of them linked?

Q3: Are some consequences more important than others?

PROMPT: Why do you think yes/no? Which consequence(s) is most important?

PROMPT: Why do you think X thinks this is more important than the consequence you have chosen?

Q4: Why did you use the words you did to characterise the consequences of the Black Death?

Q5: What role do you think the Black Death had in the Peasants' Revolt?

PROMPT: Do you think it was a consequence of the Black Death? Why? Why not?

Appendix 2

Analytical statements and explanatory hypotheses drawn from supporting data items in response to Research Question 1

SW= Students' Work MO(LX)   Mentor Observation (Lesson Number)   LE = Lesson Evaluation   FG = Focus Group

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS100 Analysis of historical consequences involves categorising consequences according to their nature.	**EH101:** Students developed a 'language of consequential thinking' in order to categorise consequences according to their nature or type.	**SW2:** 'The Black Death had positive consequences for the medieval peasants. I think this because work was harder but you earned more money.' **SW96:** 'I think the black death had devestating (sic) but benificial (sic) consiquences (sic). It was devestating (sic) because so many people died and it was benificial (sic) as more people got better jobs and better pay.'
AS200 Analysis of historical consequences involves evaluating and characterising historical consequences.	**EH201:** Students characterised historical consequences according to the scale of consequence.	**SW15:** Focus group participant Reece uses words for the scale of impact such as 'multi-dimensional' alongside his types and substantive knowledge to build his argument; 'many pros and cons; unclear how much they have gained/lost.' **SW122:** 'I think the consequences were massive and varied as some suffered worse than others as they had more loved ones/family members died or suffer. I believe the consequences were multi-dimensional as there were social and economic consequences.'
	EH202: Students evaluated historical consequences according to their relative importance.	**SW118:** 'The most important consequence was high mortality because this point leads on to some beneficial consequences like how they became richer and more powerful.'
AS300 Analysis of historical consequences involves making direct links between the event itself and the subsequent consequences.	**EH301:** Students' only fully explained or analysed the consequences of an event when they made explicit connections between the event and its consequences.	**SW116: '**The Black Death had high mortality consequences… But it started to get better they had more wealth, power and status but things started to change because the Peasants started a revolt in 1381 and demanded they had more money from the king.'

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS400 Analysis of historical consequences involves forming an overall judgement that considers the direct and indirect consequences of a given event.	**EH401:** The strongest responses from students were those that considered the connection between consequences immediately after the Black Death and in the longer-term.	**SW46:** 'Increased power and authority… had multi-dimensional consequences of the Black Death. For example, power could lead to: more livestock to keep them fed, extra land, more income…' **Focus Group:** '**Q5:** So my final question for you is 'What role do you think the Back Death had in the Peasants' Revolt?' So that was our storyboard. **Simon:** Well, it kind of started it all. Because it started off with people dying in the Black Death and then they decided, well, there's less people, so surely we should be allowed to be paid more money and then it just added on and they got fed up and then someone convinced them and they decided to riot… **Sarah:** I think it had quite a major role because without it people wouldn't have had more money or more power and they wouldn't have wanted more maybe.'
	EH402: A minority of students across the attainment-range used colligatory generalisations (Carroll, 2017) to synthesise their arguments, according to direct and indirect consequences.	**SW54 (lower-to-mid-attaining):** 'The most important consequences of the black death was the economic side. This reason had beneficial consequences for the medieval peasantry I think this because even though the Black Death wiped out their families, they could then inherit or get the valuables they left so could get more money and stock…' **SW102 (higher-attaining):** 'This reason [High mortality] had social consequences as there was a huge amount of people dying which led to increased wealth, increased status and increased power, causing a better life for those still alive.'

Appendix 3

Analytical statements and explanatory hypotheses drawn from supporting data items in response to Research Question 2

This research question will be more thoroughly explored under recommendations

SW= Students' Work MO(LX)   Mentor Observation (Lesson Number)   LE = Lesson Evaluation   FG = Focus Group

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS500 Students' arguments were strongest when they drew upon topic-specific knowledge.	**EH501:** Only a minority of students drew on topic-specific propositional knowledge (e.g. directly referencing the Statute of Labourers or referring to dates).	'**SW113: '**After that a new law was made called 'The Ordinance of Labourers' which stopped the peasants from getting payed (sic).'
	EH502: A minority of students drew on some kind of chronological framework to give a sense of how consequences unfolded.	**SW118:** 'The Black Death was a blessing for the medieval peasantry because even though there were grave amounts of death, this was a positive point in the long run.'
	EH503: A very small minority of students drew upon their prior knowledge of medieval peasantry within their arguments to substantiate the impact of the Black Death.	**SW54:** '… so they could get a different house and not live in dirty, cramped cruck houses' [Cruck houses had been explored in a previous enquiry]. **MO(L1):** Student G- 'Maybe it's a celebration because they don't have to work anymore' [Drawing on prior knowledge of medieval peasant work]
AS600 Students privileged certain consequences, seemingly based upon their understanding of the nature, scale or significance of each consequence.	**EH601:** A majority of students privileged economic consequences, particularly if they dealt only with one kind of consequence.	**SW20:** 'The black death had a beneficial effect because people would have died but if they did then all of their stuff would go to another person, which was good.' **SW54:** 'The most important consequence of the black death was the economical side (the increase in wealth).'
	EH602: Some students seemed to be deploying some kind of values criteria in order to ascribe significance to the consequences (this seemed in some way to be linked to the fact that so many privileged the economic consequences, particularly 'money').	**FG (Q3) Eliza** 'I think there is a bit of a balance between them because the fact loads of people died was bas and that makes it important but it then means things get better.'

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS700 A large minority of students' arguments drew upon presentist notions and their own personal experience or feelings about how the peasants' might have experienced the Black Death, particularly loss of family.	**EH701:** Some students drew on their present day knowledge of how the world works to draw anachronistic conclusions about the experience of medieval peasantry.	**SW110: '**Also it efects lifes (sic) because if you lost your wife you would have to do the housework and look after the kids.'
	EH702: Some students drew on a sense of empathetic reasoning to ascribe significance to consequences.	**SW113: '**They had lost family and fiends due to the Black Death and I can imagine how devastating this would to them.' **SW115:** Knowing that 40% of the peasants suffered was an upsetting consequence'
	EH703: A small number of students did seem to draw on a sense of period- there was a sense that they had understood the peasants' mindset to some extent.	**SW102: '**There were uneven consequences as some suffered more than others.'

Appendix 4

Analytical statements and explanatory hypotheses drawn from supporting data items in response to Research Question 3

SW= Students' Work MO(LX)　　　　　Mentor Observation (Lesson Number)　　　　LE = Lesson Evaluation　　　　FG = Focus Group

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS800 Some students' consequential reasoning was limited as they conflated historical consequences with other second-order concepts.	**EH801:** A minority of students conflated historical consequence with significance.	**SW86:** Student focuses on personal impact/significance- 'You can't bring your parents or children or siblings back but they survived (before) with that amount of money.' **SW119:** 'The Black Death was a significant experience and there were many disastrous consequences... many people feared the consequences.'
	EH802: A minority of students conflated historical consequence with change.	**SW5:** 'before they were happy and civilised but now everyone is panicking and trying to save each other.'
AS900 Students who engaged in empathy during their analysis tended to be less nuanced in their arguments.	**EH901:** When students considered consequences from a personal perspective (empathy), their arguments were less sophisticated.	**SW86:** 'I think the worst consequence is death because if people needed more money they could work harder whereas they wont have any family and they can't bring them back.'
AS1000 Students who were well equipped with a 'language of consequential thinking' formed more nuanced historical judgements.	**EH1001:** Students who engaged with consequential reasoning most effectively were those who characterised consequences and discussed them with a clear language.	**SW118:** 'The consequences were multi-dimensional and lasting because their status has now become higher meaning they could ask the lord for money. That had some unanticipated consequences.'
	EH1002: Even when provided with a language for discussing consequences, some students did not understand its conceptual purpose.	**SW114:** 'The consequences of the black death were direct and impractical changes to the nation. With mild and extreme events happening all over nation all the time damaging/changing peoples lives'

Appendix 5

Analytical statements and explanatory hypotheses drawn from supporting data items in response to Research Question 4

SW= Students' Work MO(LX)   Mentor Observation (Lesson Number)   LE = Lesson Evaluation   FG = Focus Group

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS1100 The focus on ranking historical consequences meant that some students were arguing about the relative importance of historical consequences.	**EH1101:** Students used a variety of knowledge (Appendix 3/RQ2) in order to consider the relative importance of consequences in their arguments.	**FG(Q3)** **Catherine:** They're not all on the same level. **PROMPT:** So which ones do you think are more important than others? **Catherine:** Death is more important. Even though they got loads of nice things, they'd still had to see all of that death from their families and that's bigger. … **Eliza:** Um, I think that there is a bit of a balance between them because the fact loads of people died was bad and that makes it important but it then means things get better. … **Simon:** I think probably the impact of them having more money and more power because it ended up with them starting riots against the king.
AS1200 Introducing students to the idea of direct and indirect consequences and the links between consequences resulted in some arguing whether consequences were direct or indirect.	**EH1201:** Some mid and higher-attaining students implicitly referred to the direct or indirect consequences of the Black Death in their arguments.	**SW122:** 'I think the Black Death was a blessing as the peasants had a large increase in wealth. This was because of all the deaths as the remaining peasants could gain more land, which led to having more food to sell on to others and that would get them probale (sic) high income for the left of their families.'
AS1300 Despite a focus on types, scale and relative importance, some students simply listed the consequences the event, with little judgement.	**EH1301:** Some students did not form a clear judgement regarding the consequences, perhaps due to a lack of conceptual understanding.	Not applicable.
	EH1302: Some students focused on the narrative over the conceptual at points within their work.	**SW115:** 'A first consequence…', 'Another consequence'. '

Analytical statements	Explanatory hypotheses	Example data items
AS1400 Some of my concerns regarding the difficulties of a conceptual focus on consequences were seen in a minority of students' arguments.	**EH1401:** A small number of students argued about change and continuity.	**SW27: '**Before the Black Death the peasants wouldn't dare ask the lord of the manor for payment… but after the Black Death they asked the lord.' **William:** A historical consequence changes the way we remember history in the country or world whereas a normal consequence can just be a relief or a danger or something that has happened. **Charlotte:** It's something that will affect you after an event and change the way you do things. **Q2:** So what about a historical consequences? **Charlotte:** It's an event that will change the way that history is whereas a normal consequence will just change the way you do things or the way you want to do things.
	EH1402: A minority of students were arguing about historical significance.	**SW119:** 'The Black Death was a significant experience and there were many disastrous consequences... many people feared the consequences.'
AS1500 The majority of students were arguing about the categorisation of historical consequences. **(See AS100 and AS200 also)**	**EH1501:** The majority of students were secure enough in their substantive knowledge of the historical consequences to begin categorising the nature of consequences.	**SW119**: 'Others may argue that the Black Death was positive and had a beneficial consequence. For example, some may say after the Black Death the remaining peasants had gained rather a lot of money, land and livestock, which resulted in more power.'
	EH502: Some students were secure enough in their substantive knowledge to begin characterising consequences according to their scale.	**SW117:** 'The black death had multi-dimensional consequences for the medieval peasantry. For example all the consequences were different. I think this because, they have more land because there are a lot of dead people.'