

Summer 1992

Theory and research in social education 20/03

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Theory *and Research* *in Social Education*

Volume XX Number 3 Summer, 1992

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Theory and Research in Social Education

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Summer, 1992



The Official Journal of the
College and University Faculty Assembly
of the National Council for the Social Studies

TRSE is the official journal of the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for Social Studies. Published quarterly, it is a general review open to all social studies educators, social scientists, historians, and philosophers. A general statement of purpose, and submission, subscription and advertising information may be found at the end of the journal. ©1992 by the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. All Rights reserved.

THEORY AND RESEARCH IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

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Theory and Research in Social Education (ISSN 0093-3104) is published quarterly by the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. Membership is \$20.00 per year. \$15.00 of the dues are allocated for subscription to TRSE. Institutional and non-CUFA subscriptions are \$35.00 per year. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional offices. Back issues may be obtained for \$10.00 each when available. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 3501 Newark St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20016.

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Reviewer Acknowledgement

The editors would like to thank the following individuals for their time and for the attention they gave to the manuscripts they reviewed for this and future issues of *TRSE*.

Janet Alleman	Linda Levstik
Beverly Armento	Andra Makler
Patricia Avery	Gerald Marker
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dr. Jack R. Fraenkel, Editor
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Burk Hall 238
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San Francisco, CA 94132

Dear Jack:

Your decision to devote the Fall 1991 issue of *TRSE* to a comprehensive report of the research on higher-order thinking by Fred Newmann and his group was an excellent move. It is good research, well reported.

It is unfortunate that funds for such programmatic research are rarely available for social studies education. The report of the 5-year research program on higher-order thinking should serve as a model for programmatic research; however, the sad fact is that it would be an unrealistic model because the resources are simply not available to emulate it. Actually, it is a real tragedy that the funds were not available for Fred and his colleagues to conduct another 5-year program of research, capitalizing on the foundation laid in the first five years to explore specifically the relationships among classroom environment, teaching behaviors, and higher-order thinking outcomes.

I do wonder, however, if the lack of resources for programmatic research might not be ameliorated to some extent through cooperative professional action. In our chapter in the *Review of Research and Social Studies Education: 1976-83* (edited by Bill Stanley), Jack Nelson and I made the following observation:

A large proportion of research in our field continues to be done through doctoral dissertations. Might not a research consortium, perhaps NCSS-sponsored, of university faculty who supervise the bulk of dissertation research in social studies education be a productive substitute for science research laboratories? Periodically, perhaps every five to ten years, consortium members could meet (perhaps as part of an NCSS annual meeting) to identify a major research problem area and the thrust that each would encourage his or her students to attack within that area in the next five

to ten years. The continuing informal exchange of findings, along with papers, dissertations, and publications, would be an essential ingredient of such a consortium. A focus could be the identification of studies worthy of replication in dissertations. The outcome of such an organized research effort might be the building of a body of interrelated research results, in contrast to the ahistorical and scattershot approach that is now evident in social studies dissertations...(p. 411).

I have heard or seen no resounding response to that suggestion, perhaps in part because it was buried in the chapter. However, in the context of the programmatic research issue raised by Fred's higher-order thinking research, I wonder if the general concept is worth exploring? If so, what might the mechanisms be for implementing such a consortium? Should the NCSS Research Committee be asked to consider taking organizational responsibility? Might the best organization be an NCSS special interest group, say a SIG/Research Consortium or a SIG on Coordinated Research, open to those who would be interested in trying to develop coordinated, long-term research programs on significant problems in social studies education?

Perhaps some of the readers of *TRSE* would care to respond to the concept of a research consortium as well as to the mechanics of implementing such an idea, if you would be willing to publish their comments.

Sincerely,

James P. Shaver
Professor and Associate Dean of Research
Utah State University

Editor's Note: We think that Shaver's idea holds promise. What do the readers of TRSE think about the idea of a research consortium? Perhaps something along the lines of an AERA special interest group whose members would jointly design and replicate significant social studies research might be formed. Perhaps an exploratory meeting might be held at the 1992 CUFA meeting in Detroit? Send us your reactions.

Theory and Research in Social Education
Summer, 1992, Volume XX, Number 3, pp. 230-241
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SOCIAL STUDIES AND FEMINISM¹

Nel Noddings
Stanford University

Abstract

Although women's names and faces appear more often in today's social studies textbooks than in earlier ones, their genuine contributions to social life are still generally omitted. The next wave of feminism in education should be directed to the articulation of women's culture. This article explores some possibilities along these lines for social studies education

Introduction

The first wave of feminist influence on the school curriculum was similar to that of racial and ethnic influence. Curriculum makers responded to the questions, Where are the women? Where are the blacks? by adding women and blacks to the standard story. Now feminist thought challenges the standard curriculum itself--both its form and its content. I want to concentrate mainly on the newer trend, but filling in gaps in the first project may suggest ways to get started on the second.

Gaps in the Standard Curriculum

Standard social studies texts now contain more pictures of women and more references to women. In some cases, the increase has a humorous aspect: Women just appear in pictures, whether or not their presence is relevant. All female appearances count (Tetreault, 1986). In other cases, the addition of women is less amusing. Mentioning females for achievements that would go unrecognized if the subjects were male

is demeaning to women and trivializes the history under examination. Teachers can subvert this foolishness by talking about the curriculum making process itself and encouraging students to reflect on it, but I wonder how many do.

It is clear from what I've said so far that I would not recommend that curriculum makers dig around in dusty archives to see if there was some female participant in an important political conference whose name can now be included in texts--even though most of the male participants will still be unnamed. The gaps that interest me cannot be closed by raising the count of female names and faces.

Women have done things of great importance that go unrecognized because they were done by women and because the focus of their efforts has not been the focus of political history. Consider the case of Emily Greene Balch. Although she received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946, her name does not even appear in a major encyclopedia published in the fifties. In contrast, Generals Pershing and Patton each have entries of a column or so in length and a picture. Was Balch left out because she was a woman or because peace is unimportant compared with war? In the late seventies edition, the same encyclopedia includes Balch in an entry of a few lines. Pershing and Patton still appear prominently--with pictures. My conclusion is that she is now included because she was a woman and important publications today must include women. I do not believe that she is included because historians and curriculum makers have awakened to the importance of peace studies or because they now recognize the significance of work that women have found central in their lives.

How many students know that women from 13 countries organized to stop World War I in 1915? That women started the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in that year and that the organization is still active today? How many know that these women suggested a permanent arbitration body before the League of Nations was established? (See Brock-Utne, 1985; Reardon, 1985) Although Balch now receives an entry in encyclopedias and texts, we are left ignorant of the content of the WILPF's proposals and totally in the dark about how the women organized and what procedures they used. This material--content and process--is more important to education than the mention of Balch's name.

When we begin an exploration of women and peace, we are led quickly beyond the narrower confines of feminism. Reading the autobiography of Dorothy Day (1981/1952), I was struck by the anonymity of most of the men she mentioned. They, too, sacrificed for peace, workers' rights, food for the hungry, medical care for the mentally ill, and a host of causes often identified with women. Only those *inspired* by Day have become well known--the Berrigans, Michael Harrington, Thomas Merton, and Cesar Chavez, for example.

It was a life-long sorrow for Day that so many who subscribed to the *Catholic Worker* and most of its goals withdrew wholehearted support from its stand on peace. Many were even unaware of its pacifist position until some crisis brought it to their attention. Pacifism, it seems, is respectable for women, but not for men.

A cluster of fascinating issues arises out of this brief discussion, and students might profit from grappling with them: Why are peace and peacemaking so clearly undervalued in traditional historical accounts? Has the association of women with peace aggravated the undervaluation? Or, conversely, has the picture of women as *peaceful* (not an altogether accurate picture [see Elshain, 1987]) contributed to the devaluation of women? On this, students might discuss the possibility that some men submit to conscription and engage in fights because they fear looking "like a woman." Perhaps women have made a tactical error in organizing all-female institutions for the study and promotion of peace. How often has female authorship been used as a reason for rejecting proposals for peace and social justice? How is this reason disguised, and how can we know that it is operating?

The procedure I'm advocating here is straightforward and common-sensical. As educators, we begin by looking at the present curriculum and speculating on the motives of those who made it and those who use it. Have we, as feminists, made progress? We note the increase in female names and faces but the maintenance of central male standards. Is this what we want? Some feminists will say "yes" to this; they want full equality in the world as it has been defined by men--even the right to join the military in combat roles. Other feminists say "no" to this. We want recognition of important work that has gone unnoticed precisely because the standard of importance has devalued it. Whichever feminist view we take, we should acknowledge--as educators--that the debate itself is more significant than much of what we teach in standard courses.

Now I want to move on to a discussion of changes that might be considered if we took the latter feminist view. What topics might be included? What questions might be asked?

Challenging the Standard Curriculum

There is considerable debate today in ethics and political philosophy about improving societies. Classical liberals and their descendants still put great emphasis on the power of reason and universal concepts such as "rights" to point the way. Communitarians, in contrast, locate the beginnings and all possibilities for transformation of social thought in tradition. Alasdair MacIntyre goes so far as to call natural rights "fictions"--in the same category with "witches and unicorns" (1984, pp. 69-70). The doctrine of rights,

MacIntyre argues, is tradition-bound, not a discovery of something universal.

Both of these perspectives suggest strongly that transformation must emerge from something already present--in one case, a universal insight not yet implemented; in the other, a set of cultural understandings in need of refinement. On one level, one cannot argue against the basic fact: Transformation of necessity implies a starting point in what is. But what both perspectives overlook is that there may be traditions unarticulated within traditions, unspoken semi-universals alongside the highly touted universals identified by philosophers. Thus when philosophers and political theorists insist that we must begin our arguments in a tradition, they miss entirely the possibility of starting with a tradition that is largely unwritten. Let me give an example that illustrates the difficulty:

Law has long used a "reasonable man" standard to evaluate certain actions. In recent years, bowing to gender sensitivities, the standard has been renamed the "reasonable person" standard (Noddings, 1991/92, p. 65).

Renaming the standard is a move in keeping with the liberal tradition. It supposes a universal insight that has fallen short of inclusion in practice. The remedy is inclusion, and that is accomplished by the change in terms.

But the standard itself was developed in a masculine culture, and it reflects male experience. As a result, jurists have encountered difficulty in applying it to women, and considerable controversy has arisen. Consider one example:

If a man, in the heat of passion, kills his wife or her lover after discovering an adulterous alliance, he is judged guilty of voluntary manslaughter instead of murder. If, however, the killing occurs after a "reasonable person" would have cooled off, a verdict of murder is more often found.

What happens when we try to apply this standard to women? When a woman kills an abusive husband, she rarely does it in the heat of the moment. Most women do not have the physical strength to prevail in such moments. More often the killing occurs in a quiet time--sometimes when the husband is sleeping. The woman reports acting out of fear. Often she has lived in terror for years, and a threat to her children has pushed her to kill her abuser (Noddings, 1991/92, p. 65).

Many legal theorists recognize that a reasonable woman might behave very differently from a reasonable man and that the reasonable person standard as it has developed in a masculine culture does not take women's experience into account (Taylor, 1986). Changing the name of the standard has not removed its gender bias.

It seems to me, then, that the communitarians are more nearly accurate in their descriptive account than the liberals, and that means that transformation is a very hard project. Communitarians sometimes make it even harder by pushing for identification and conservation of the best in a given tradition. (MacIntyre's return to Aristotle is an example.) Further, the temptation is to identify only one tradition and to suppose that improvement means assimilation and full citizenship in that tradition. It is a line of argument that frustrates some feminist and ethnic theorists enormously.

Consider the area of gender and ethnic studies. Many well-meaning educators want to include topics on race, ethnicity, and gender in the standard curriculum. So far so good. But often recommendations go beyond independent inclusion. Educators also want to phase out separate programs, organized around women, blacks, or Asians. They find these programs divisive and fear the collapse of truly public education. But the danger is that, if the new programs are assimilated, traditions as yet unarticulated or only poorly so will be lost entirely--swallowed up by *the* tradition. I illustrated one facet of this problem in my opening remarks on Emily Greene Balch. She is now included in standard texts, but the power and significance of her work, her point of view, her culture are all still hidden.

Suppose this culture were fully articulated. Suppose the "different voice" identified by Gilligan (1982) were to speak in social studies. What might we hear?

First there might be much more emphasis on what we once called "private" life as contrasted with "public" life. As we know, the sharp separation between the two breaks down under analysis, but the tradition that sustains the separation is still dominant. Surely if we had started with private life, the school curriculum would be very different from the one actually developed.

Instead of the emphasis on citizenship, there might be one on family membership and homemaking. Homemaking! Even feminists tremble at the word! Am I suggesting a return to Catherine Beecher and her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1977/1842)? Well, the education described in *A Treatise* is not all bad, but that is not what I am suggesting.

There is nothing inherently anti-intellectual in the topic of homemaking. Indeed this is crystal clear in Beecher's work. The topic can include economics, art, nutrition, geography, history, technology, and literature. It can and should be multicultural. Perhaps, most

wonderful of all, it can be philosophical. What does it mean to "make a home"? Must a home's occupants be members of a nuclear family? Why is a "home for the aged" not considered a home by many of its occupants? Why is a nation often referred to as a homeland, and how does love for a homeland sometimes induce disagreements and war? Why is exile such a terrible punishment? By emphasizing the intellectual here, I do not mean to denigrate the practical but simply to pique the interest of those who might otherwise be too astonished to listen further.

We should indeed teach the practical elements of homemaking. I'm not sure they were ever well taught in ordinary homes (well-to-do Victorian households were not ordinary homes), and today I'm quite sure they are not. We should teach homemaking in such a way that students become competent homemakers and also so that they can see both the personal and global tragedies of homelessness whether that homelessness is caused by poverty, psychological neglect, mental illness, or war--whether it is the literal absence of shelter or the dreadful alienation of psychological separation.

Citizenship, from this perspective, is not all we have in common as adults. As a woman, I'd like children to be prepared as competent parents, homemakers, mates, neighbors, and friends. I'd like them to be responsible pet owners (if they own pets); to be considerate and appreciative users of the natural and human-made environments; to be intelligent believers or unbelievers in the spiritual realm. Are these not common human endeavors? Are they not as important as citizenship?

One response to my suggestions is to expand the notion of citizenship--to absorb much of what is now considered private life into public life. My preference, for reasons already discussed, would be to start with a different category entirely--perhaps "social" life, and begin where social life actually does begin--in the home and family. I am not suggesting this start as a way of psychologizing the usual subject matter. Such a move would merely recapitulate much that is already common in social studies. The suggestion is to establish a new emphasis.

Another major topic that the different voice might identify is intergenerational life. This would involve a study of life stages as well as of intergenerational responsibility. How do infants grow? When should children be taught to read? What are the special problems of adolescence? of young adulthood? When does old age begin? Here is a set of fascinating topics for multicultural education. The topics can include demographic and statistical studies, systems of medical care, the history of childhood, attitudes toward death and helplessness, responsibilities of the old for the young and vice-versa. Such study might also include field experience in the form of community service.

Surely another part of social life is the development of a strong sense of self. In traditional psychology the growth of self has involved

Nel Noddings

increasing separation from others and the establishment of firm boundaries between self and not-self (Chodorow, 1978). Some thinkers today (including many feminists) define self relationally. In *Caring*, I wrote:

I am not naturally alone. I am naturally in a relation from which I derive nourishment and guidance. When I am alone, either because I have detached myself or because circumstances have wrenched me free, I seek first and most naturally to reestablish my relatedness. My very individuality is defined in a set of relations. This is my basic reality (1984, p. 51).

The very fact that we confine a study of self to the discipline of psychology is a manifestation of the tradition against which we are struggling. From our alternative perspective, the study of self should surely be a part of *social* studies. In an important sense, social studies would become the heart of the curriculum, and everything else would spin off from it.

What topics might be introduced in a serious study of self? In *The Challenge to Care in Schools* (1992), I have suggested categories such as physical, spiritual, occupational, and recreational life, but many others might be considered. In an educational plan of this sort, drug and sex education would not be peripheral; driver education and alcohol use would not be add-ons; career education would not be left to spare time in the guidance office; consumer education would not be an elective offered only to those eager to escape the rigors of the disciplines.

These topics are so huge that I can do little more than scratch the surface here, but let's spend some time on spiritual education. This is an area that frightens many educators as well as laypersons. But why? It is no more inevitable that spiritual education should lead to indoctrination than that democratic education should do so. (I grant immediately that, in both cases, it does sometimes do so, but it is a result that can be avoided.)

Not only should children learn something about the history, art, literature, and music of religion. More important, they should have opportunities to explore the great questions of spiritual life: Is there a God? Are there, perhaps, many gods? Is there life after death? Is this the first time I've lived? What have great mathematicians (scientists, writers, artists, etc.) thought about God and religion? Have there been good atheists? Have there been evil Christians?

Consider the fact that in our zeal to protect religious freedom we have deprived many children entirely of an opportunity to engage religious matters. It's no use responding that their families should provide this opportunity. If their families fail to feed them breakfast

or lunch, we feed them in school. It's more a matter of what we value and what we have the courage to attempt.

Speaking in the alternative voice, we would not recommend simply adding a course in comparative religion or religious history. Rather we would help teachers to explore spiritual questions whenever opportunities present themselves. Certainly, many such opportunities arise even in conventional classes such as mathematics. When students study rectangular coordinates, they should hear about their inventor, Rene Descartes, and his attempt to prove God's existence. When probability is studied, they should hear about Pascal's famous wager. When calculus is studied, they should learn that Newton put a higher value on theology than on mathematics and that Leibniz is still as well known for his theodicy as for his calculus. They should also learn what theodicy is and have a chance to consider the ways in which evil has been defined and described.

Working through biography, autobiography, historical anecdote, fiction, and poetry we can explore many spiritual topics without advocating a religion or transgressing any legal restriction. As the curriculum is organized now, subject matter specialists would have to broaden their knowledge greatly to teach in this way, but it is clearly possible to do so. Organized as the different voice suggests, the curriculum would contain matters of spiritual concern from the start.

Right now, many theme courses or sequences could be constructed around religious topics:

One might involve conceptions of god and include some of the difficult theological problems that arise when god is defined in particular ways. Another might address religion and politics with sexism and racism as important subtopics. It is particularly important that young women understand the role religion has played in maintaining men's domination over them. If education were to be truly liberal--that is, freeing--the study of religion and politics would be fundamental (Noddings, 1992, p. 83).

Again possibilities for multicultural education abound. For example, students should come to appreciate the spiritual genius of black people who created black Christian churches out of a religion forced on them as slaves. What could have been a slave mentality became instead a wonderful force for solidarity and liberation (Walker, 1983). Spirituals, poetry, novels, and biographies that describe black Christianity and its influence are plentiful. Many of the same works also reveal other traditions, and these too should be part of spiritual education (Noddings, 1992, p. 83).

Probably many of you are wondering how in the world any of this can be done when religious pressure groups oppose every attempt to introduce any but their own values into classrooms. It is not a small problem. However, I think we educators have brought some of this on ourselves by collapsing easily under every assault—watering down texts, removing books from our library shelves, avoiding controversial issues. None of these concessions has reduced fundamentalist zeal, and, to make matters worse, we have become sophists and hypocrites. We pretend to espouse critical thinking and freedom of thought as primary virtues and aims of education, and then we deny ourselves the opportunity to exercise these virtues and deprive our students of the chance to acquire them.

What am I suggesting? When parents demand that we remove *Huckleberry Finn* from the curriculum, we should refuse to do so. If the concern is that much of the text is racist, we should respond by saying that this "weakness" is a pedagogical strength. It gives us a legitimate reason, within the standard curriculum, to discuss racism past and present. When parents object to the mention of God in mathematics class, we should respond that biographical and historical materials are part of the standard curriculum and will remain so. Failing to respond this way not only deprives the majority of students of knowledge and discussion to which they should have access, but it also deprives fundamentalist students of the only regulated attempt at critical thinking they are likely to experience.

Let me give a specific example of the kind of thinking that is cramping our style right now. Not long ago two of our teacher education math interns were doing a directed reading with me. They were both teaching geometry, and I suggested that they have their students read Edwin Abbott's *Flatland*. Both agreed that the book was wonderful in many ways, but, they said, it was *misogynist*. How could they use a book that so demeaned women? Aha! I responded, that's a great reason in favor of using it! You then have a legitimate reason to discuss sexism in a math class. Similarly, the fact that much of it is a religious allegory counts again in its favor. And the additional fact that it is outrageously classist makes it a triple threat. It can be used in a math class for genuine social education. Math teachers, like social studies teachers, need greater academic freedom and concomitantly greater knowledge and responsibility.

I do not mean to suggest by the foregoing remarks that every curricular demand of parents should be resisted. On the contrary, I believe we should listen respectfully and engage in compromise or negotiation when we are persuaded that the parents' case is legitimate—and, I believe, it often is. For example, I would be quite willing to include both evolution and creation under a general rubric of stories people have told about the origins of the universe and human

life. But I would want to include the creation stories of Native Americans, Hindus, Polynesians, and many other peoples as well as the Christian stories. I would include both heterodox and orthodox stories. Approached this way, we need not fight the battle over what is science and what religion. Rather, both scientific and religious versions appear as stories in the history of human thought.

Consider one more topic that might properly be part of a social education that begins with and emphasizes private life: love. If visitors from another planet entered our meetings, they would surely be amazed that a topic so central to human life is rarely treated in schools. But what a wonderful school subject it could be! Students could learn something of the history of love: homosexual love in classical Greece, courtly love in the Middle Ages, romantic love in the Victorian era. In addition to reading *Romeo and Juliet*, they might see a film version and listen to the music of both Berlioz and Tchaikovsky. Similarly, they should hear Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde." They might read (and see) *Wuthering Heights*. They might learn something about the history of marriage and how little love has had to do with marriage in most times and cultures. How was marriage bound up in European politics? How, for example, did some of Henry VIII's wives escape the fate of Anne Boleyn? How was the Act of Supremacy related to love and marriage?

More important than all the wonderful intellectual topics on love is the fundamental task of learning how to care for intimate others--sexual partner or spouse, close friends, children. In an age when we abuse one another at a disgraceful rate, such learning is crucial. I do not find education for responsible love in the President's agenda for education or in any well known statement of goals by the profession. Yet there is obviously much to be learned.

What does it mean to care for another human being? What is commitment? Do females and males look at love differently? How about friendship? Students might appreciate hearing Aristotle's views on friendship--particularly his insistence that friends should help each other to live morally better lives. Friends do not cover for each other's really weak and evil acts; good friends point us upward--toward our better selves, while loving us as we are.

Both girls and boys today need to plan for family life as boys once planned for careers. What skills are needed? How can a true partnership be developed? How should we define success?

Young people today need time to discuss matters of gender. Can we dispense with gender as some feminists suggest? Or are our sexual identities as precious as our racial and ethnic identities? What does it mean to be a woman in today's world? What does it mean to be a man? Matters of gender are thoroughly intermixed with questions of career and what it means to live a successful life. Many young women today

fear that they cannot have both career and family, and many young men doubt that they can achieve the conventional success of their fathers without the fulltime support of wives. How well-founded are these beliefs, and what are the alternatives?

In concluding this brief discussion of learning to understand love, I want to reiterate the major points: Nothing is more important to most of us than stable and loving connection; caring for a special person takes precedence over promoting causes and principles; intellectual life is not at all impeded by a concentration on existential concerns; and in intimate life we have an opportunity to learn a fundamental secret of morality--how to promote each other's moral growth.

Conclusion

Feminism's initial effects on social studies changed the surface of the subject to some degree: More female faces and names now appear in standard texts. I have suggested that these effects are not altogether salutary. On the positive side, women have gained access to a world once exclusively maintained for men. On the negative side, social studies as a regular school subject has been flooded with trivia and is threatened by continuing fragmentation. Further, women's genuine contributions have been glossed over because they do not fit the male model of achievement.

The next wave of feminism should be directed toward the articulation of women's culture. It may be prudent for feminists to resist the total assimilation of this material into mainstream curricula, because such assimilation could be tantamount to destruction. But, little by little, as the tradition itself becomes stronger and more confident, new curricula should reflect the fundamental interests of private life as well as those of public life, and public life itself should be deeply influenced by the articulation of private life. From this perspective, feminism may really contribute to a revolution in social studies education.

Endnotes

¹ Invited address presented to the Research in Social Studies Education Special Interest Group at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in San Francisco, CA, April, 1992.

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Theory and Research in Social Education
Spring, 1992, Volume XX, Number 3, pp. 242-262
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FIRST EFFORTS TOWARD A NATIONAL CURRICULUM: THE COMMITTEE OF TEN'S REPORT ON HISTORY, CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

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Abstract

The Committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy was one of ten sub-committees of the larger Committee of Ten formed by the National Education Association in 1892 to address the school curriculum. This article examines the report of the smaller committee, its members and its impact then and since. Parallels to actions in the 1990s are drawn to illustrate the continued timeliness of this report.

Introduction

The United States has carried on a flirtatious relationship with a national curriculum for nearly 100 years. We alternately admire the French or Germans for their standardized curriculums and pillory these same peoples for their lockstep approach to the curriculum. These actions are not new, and they continue today.

The first, and possibly the closest, attempt this country has come to the notion of a national curriculum was as a result of the Committee of Ten, which was initially conceived in 1891 and met in 1892. It published its' report in 1894. In this article, I examine the Report on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, one of ten smaller committees that were formed and its' attempt at setting national standards for these subjects. The Committee met in Madison, Wisconsin in December 1892, a meeting often referred to as the Madison Conference. Before discussing

the report that resulted from that meeting, it is useful to place it in the context of the larger Committee of Ten.

The Initial Idea

The idea for a national committee arose at a meeting in 1891 of the National Council of Education, a discussion forum of the National Education Association.¹ A discussion on “the general uniformity in school programmes (sic) and in requirements for admission to college” (Report of the Committee, 1894, p. 3) led the National Council to organize a conference on this topic during its’ meetings in July, 1892 in Saratoga, New York. There being general agreement among the 20 to 30 delegates attending, they recommended the formation of a committee to appoint subject area committees to report to the larger Committee of Ten on the programs of each subject and the requirements of each subject for admission to college.

According to Edgar Wesley (1957), the members were selected primarily by Nicholas Murray Butler, who became NEA president in 1894 and president of Columbia University in 1901. Butler asserted that he “brought forward the plan to interest the association in research and proposed the appointment of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies...and nominated President Charles Eliot of Harvard University as its chairman” (Butler, 1939, p. 196). Butler also introduced the motion naming the committee, although to what degree he initiated the names of individuals is not clear. Butler was very influential, according to both himself and Wesley. He noted that the Committee of Ten’s first meeting was at his apartment and “subsequent formal meetings were held in the Faculty Room of the Old Columbia College” (Butler, 1939, p. 197). The latter statement is corroborated in the Committee of Ten Report.

The formation of the Committee of Ten was the natural culmination of an intense re-examination of public education that began just after the Civil War and continued for over 20 years. A desire for a more scientific curriculum that did not openly reject classical study was discussed, most notably by Eliot, who proposed, “the introduction of algebra and other secondary school subjects in the upper grades, a lowering of the average age of college entrance from nineteen to eighteen and the reduction of the grammar school period from ten years to eight” (Krug, 1961, p. 5). Eliot was concerned with not wasting the time of students or society. Thus, the efficiency movement had an indelible effect on revised curricular demands at all school levels. The movement led to the insertion of time clocks in many schools, a view of students as “products,” and a concern with “producing a product” as quickly as possible. Callahan’s classic work (1962) describes this movement in detail.

Those appointed to the Committee of Ten were either influential at the college level or the academy level (except for Harris, the Commissioner of Education) and were seen as people who should be able to identify subject area committees and charge them appropriately with their task. Charles Eliot, for example, was internationally known.

The Members of the Committee of Ten

William Torrey Harris, a Yale graduate, was 56 years old and had held the position of U.S. Commissioner of Education for two years after serving 23 years in the St. Louis public schools, the last 13 as an assistant superintendent and superintendent.

James Burrill Angel, the president of the University of Michigan, had B. A. and M. A. degrees from Brown University, and had been the editor of the *Providence Journal* for seven years and president of the University of Vermont for five. Midway through his Michigan presidency, he served as U.S. Minister to China from 1871 to 1909.

John Tetlow also had a bachelor's and master's degree from Brown, and had frequent contact with Eliot, since from 1885-1907 he was Headmaster of the Girls' High School and the Girls' Latin School in Boston. (Eliot had attended Boston Latin for Boys in the 1840s.) Tetlow, along with Ray G. Huling, who was appointed to the History, Civil Government and Political Economy Committee of the Committee of Ten, had organized the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in 1885.

James M. Taylor had a degree from Rochester and was an ordained Baptist minister practicing at a number of sites in New England until his appointment as the president of Vassar in 1886.

Oscar Robinson, a Dartmouth graduate who joined the NEA in 1892, became principal of the high school in Albany in 1886.

James Baker, who was chairman of the National Council of Education and principal of the Denver High School, was appointed president of the University of Colorado in 1892. Born in 1848, Baker was originally an Easterner, with a degree from Bates College.

Richard Jesse had re-opened the defunct department of Greek, Latin and English at the University of Louisiana in 1878, which later merged with Tulane in 1884. Prior to that, he had taught at private academies for two years and became president of the University of Missouri in 1891.

James MacKenzie was born in Scotland, but received his B. A. from Lafayette in Easton, Pennsylvania. An ordained minister, he organized Lawrenceville Academy, "the wealthiest boys' boarding school in the country" (Selmeier, 1948, p. 34), and served as its headmaster from 1882 to 1899.

Henry C. King had two bachelor's degrees from Oberlin and a Master's degree from Harvard. After tutoring in Latin and Mathematics

at Oberlin Academy, he became a professor of mathematics, and then of philosophy and theology from 1884 to 1901, when he became dean at Oberlin.

Butler saw this group of ten as “a very remarkable and very representative committee” (Butler, p. 196), but it was not balanced. First, the Committee was composed of all white males who were between 34 (Henry King) and 63 years of age (James Angel). It was dominated by easterners, particularly from Ivy League or similar institutions. The lone westerner (Baker) was from the east originally, and the few southerners were from Missouri (although Jesse had lived in New Orleans for a number of years). Despite protestations to the contrary, this was an elite group, making recommendations for college-bound youngsters. Appointing minority members would have been considered astounding, although there was a pool, albeit small, of female academics who could have been considered. The most striking characteristic (and the one most capable of being changed) was the elitist nature of the group. As Wesley noted,

The report piously observed that secondary schools “did not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges.” It then proceeded to discuss the teaching of only those subjects which colleges did recognize...(1957, p. 73).

The Committee of Ten met in New York in November of 1892, where they appointed the members of each of the nine subject committees: (1) Latin; (2) Greek; (3) English; (4) Other Modern Languages; (5) Mathematics; (6) Physics, Astronomy and Chemistry; (7) Natural History (Biology, including Botany, Zoology and Physiology); (8) History, Civil Government and Political Economy; and (9) Geography (Physical Geography, Geology and Meteorology), each of which would contain ten members. The Committee sought to divide the selections of members evenly between colleges and schools, as well as to accord “proper” geographical distribution. They also selected backups in case some who were selected declined to serve. In the case of backups, careful attention to distributions were no longer considered. The Committee report acknowledged that “in filling a few vacancies..., it was necessary to regard as qualification, (the) nearness of residence to the appointed place of meeting” (Committee of Ten, 1894, p. 8). Seventy of the persons who were selected agreed to serve. Twenty substitutes agreed to serve in case of emergencies, 12 selected by the Committee of Ten, and eight selected by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee. All of the appointees were white males, and none were Herbartians (Butler, 1894). Butler makes this point because of the new Herbartian movement

emerging at that time that was trying to bring a more scientific view to the study of education.

The Charge to the Committee

The charge to all nine committees was to discuss and answer eleven questions. The direction of each committee's work was shaped by this list of questions. Quoted verbatim, they were:

1. In the school course of study extending approximately from the age of six years to eighteen years—a course including the periods of both elementary and secondary instruction—at what age should the study which is the subject of the Conference be first introduced?

2. After it is introduced, how many hours a week for how many years should be devoted to it?

3. How many hours a week for how many years should be devoted to it during the last four years of the complete course; that is, during the ordinary high school period?

4. What topics, or parts, of the subject may reasonably be covered during the whole course?

5. What topics, or parts, of the subject may best be reserved for the last four years?

6. In what form and to what extent should the subject enter into college requirements for admission? Such questions as the sufficiency of translation at sight as a test of knowledge of a language, or the superiority of a laboratory examination in a scientific subject to a written examination on a text-book, are intended to be suggested under this head by the phrase 'in what form.'

7. Should the subject be treated differently for pupils who are going to college, for those who are going to a scientific school, and for those who, presumably, are going to neither?

8. At what stage should this differentiation begin, if any be recommended?

9. Can any description be given of the best method of teaching this subject throughout the school course?

10. Can any description be given of the best mode of testing attainments in this subject at college admission examinations?

11. For those cases in which colleges and universities permit a division of the admission examination into a preliminary and a final examination, separated by at least a year, can the best limit between the preliminary and final examinations be approximately defined?

As noted earlier, the Committee of Ten sought to standardize requirements for each subject area taught in high school in relation to the college entrance requirements of the time. This was to include allotments of time and content, as well as to address methods of instruction and testing.

Overall, each of the men on the nine subject committees agreed that there was a need for their respective subjects to be taught earlier and better. Each committee agreed that they wanted correlation with other subjects (this in spite of, or maybe because of, the fact that each committee met separately). Of those that addressed the issue, there was also a consensus as to the need for better trained teachers, although what that meant was not usually specified.

The seventh question from the Committee was answered "unanimously in the negative by the Conferences" (committees), and that was that "every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease." It was this statement (which had the greatest impact on educators of the time) that provided the basis for arguments favoring a national curriculum and against the tracking of students. Charles De Garmo (1894), President at that time of the Herbartian Society and also of Swarthmore College, noted poetically, "So long as he chooses to remain in school, the training given to the son of the artisan or the farmer shall not differ, so far as any given study is concerned, from that of the future scientist, statesman or professional man. Not only is the principle to hold good for social classes, but it is to be equally valued for the sexes." De Garmo went on to praise this egalitarian notion so in contrast with the caste idea in education found at that time in countries like Germany.

Cecil Bancroft, the principal of Phillips Academy, writing in that same volume (1894), also praised this view that was shared by all of the nine committees. Francis Parker (1894, p. 488) called the principle as "worth all the cost and all the pains that were necessary to produce the report. The conclusion is that there should be no such thing as class education."

As Wesley (1957, p. 74) observed, despite the hosanna of praise for this concept, it was a sham. High school students comprised only a small percentage of the total school population at that time, and the conference members represented almost exclusively academies, colleges and universities. The recommendation was *de facto*, if not *de jure*, elitism. The

members of the Committee implied through the various curriculum programs (Classical, Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages and English) that one course taught well was as good as another. Baker, who dissented from the report, strongly objected to this view. He encouraged more effort by the committee, since their reports were rushed, but his suggestion went unheeded. The notion that all subjects were of the same value was of particular importance to advocates of science and social science subjects who had been struggling for acceptance in a classically dominated curriculum, which the Committee of Ten noted. For this reason, the reports of the Natural History; Geography; and History, Civil Government and Political Economy committees were lengthier and more elaborate (Selmeier, 1948).

Some Committee suggestions had a significant and swift impact on the schools. Noting the increasing number of high school and college requirements, the Committee suggested more curricular and structural flexibility, particularly in the offering of a 6-6 program in schools rather than an 8-4 organization. This was instrumental in the calls which came soon after for a junior high school.³

The Committee of Ten members' noted that a key to better learning was getting better teachers. It was suggested that to "procure" better trained teachers, a wiser utilization of certain "agencies," that is, organizations, might help. First, it was suggested that at universities, summer programs should be available to more teachers by having their cities or towns pay the cost of tuition fees and traveling expenses. Second, colleges and universities should offer coursework during the year in the main subjects that teachers taught in the local schools. Third, the superintendent, who was seen as a master teacher, could teach a "whole body of teachers under his charge."

The Committee of Ten closed its section of the report by appealing to colleges and scientific schools to establish uniform dates for their admission examinations and to schools of Law, Medicine, Engineering and Technology, to arrange their admission requirements to conform to the courses of study the Committee had recommended.

The Report of the Committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy

The Committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy met in Madison, Wisconsin, from December 28-30, 1892, less than two months after the Committee of Ten had met in New York. This committee was different from the other committees because "history was at that time not universally accepted as a respectable discipline" (Boozer, p. 48). The American Historical Association (AHA) had only been organized in the fall of 1884, and it was not until 1890 that a major

reference appears in the official papers of the AHA as to history as a school subject. This was in John Jay's 1890 presidential address wherein he called for improvements in teaching history in common schools and academics (Boozer, p. 46).

The conference met in the Seminary of Political Science which was located in the Fuller Opera House in Madison, Wisconsin. George W. Peck, the Governor of Wisconsin, gave a reception on December 29th, and the Madison Business Men's Club honored the conferees...at a banquet on December 30th, the final day of the conference (Link, 1970, p. 62).

According to Lewis R. Harley (1895), only a few years earlier, history was scarcely considered worthy of a place in an American college course, let alone as a school subject. Between 1870 and 1885, courses of study in history were established at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Michigan, Syracuse, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Wisconsin.

The Conference Members.

The appointed chairman of the Conference, Charles Kendall Adams, had been a professor of history at Michigan for 22 years, but had recently been appointed president of the University of Wisconsin after a seven-year stint as president of Cornell (1885-1892) and, in 1889, as AHA President. His position admirably allowed him to host the conference, as well as to appoint at least one member to fill out the committee. That member, William A. Scott, was an assistant professor of political economy at Wisconsin. "Scott took the place of William W. Folwell, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Minnesota and Acting President of the American Economic Association in 1892, who was unable to attend" (Link, 1970, p. 66).

The other members had academic credentials that made their appointments understandable and made the direction of the conference predictable. Adams had authored books on Italian, French, and British history. Edward G. Bourne was a 32-year old professor of history at Adelbert College (later Western Reserve) in Cleveland, but his B. A. and Ph.D. were from Yale, where he returned to teach in 1895 until his death in 1908. His expertise was in early American history, particularly the Spanish exploration of the New World.

Another young professor of history from Harvard, Albert Bushnell Hart, who was only 38 years old, served as secretary of the conference. By 1892, he had authored at least five books on American and constitutional history, including *History in high and preparatory schools*. By the time he died in 1943, he had authored over 50 books on American history.

Abram E. Brown, principal of the Central High School in Columbus, was 43 years of age at the time of his appointment. As a

native New Englander, he had written two published books on Massachusetts history by 1892. Ray Greene Huling, mentioned previously as a co-founder of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, had B. A. and M. A. degrees from Brown. Before becoming a principal at Fitchburg, Massachusetts and New Bedford, Massachusetts, he had been a classical assistant for six years at Fall River (Massachusetts) High School. By 1893, he had become headmaster at Cambridge English High School, where he served until 1908.

Another appointee with an Ivy League background was James Harvey Robinson, who had received a B. A. from Harvard, lectured in European history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1891-92, and taught at Columbia from 1892-1919. Robinson had written one book on European history by 1891. That, plus his graduate work at the University of Freiburg in Germany, made him an attractive candidate for the conference from the point of view of people like Eliot.

Henry P. Warren, who was a graduate of Phillips Academy, had spent a year at Amherst and graduated from Yale. He was immediately appointed principal of the New Bedford Grammar School, then moved as principal to the high school in Dover, New Hampshire (1872-75) and then to the New Hampshire Normal School (1879-83). He was English Master for four years at the Lawrenceville (New Jersey) School and in 1887, he became headmaster at the Albany Academy, where he stayed until his death in 1919. He wrote two books—one of history stories and one of the history of a town in Maine.

The last two appointments were geographical "oddities"—Jesse Macy and Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, of course, became governor of New Jersey and President of the United States. In 1892, however, he was a 36-year-old professor of political jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton University. Despite his Bachelor's degree from Princeton and his appointment as a professor there, it stands to reason that Wilson, who had written two noted books on government by 1891, was seen as a representative of the South. He was a native of Virginia, had attended Davidson University, had a law degree from Virginia (where he had practiced for a year), and a doctorate from Johns Hopkins, which was considered a "southern" city, despite being in the North. Minutes of the conference taken by A. B. Hart indicate Wilson was the "key mover of the Madison conference" (Link, 1970, p. 62).

Macy was the only appointee from west of the Mississippi. At the age of 50, he had authored at least three books on government by 1891. His degree was from Iowa (now Grinnell) College, where he had been principal of the Academy of Iowa College for 14 years before becoming professor of political science in 1885.

Members of the committee, with some exceptions, then, represented elite views of the Northeast, particularly those of Ivy League

institutions or preparatory schools and academies known to Eliot, Tetlow, Robinson, Taylor, Mackenzie, Angel and Harris of the parent Committee of Ten. The appointees all had classical educations, and most had authored works in traditional fields of history or government. It is not surprising, then, that the report contained the general recommendations that it did regarding the courses required for all students, recommendations that were far more appropriate for the elite college-bound student than the vast majority of students. It would have been nearly impossible for these men to reconceptualize traditional fields of knowledge when one considers how deeply immersed in them they were.

Credit is also given for assistance (not specified) to Professors Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles H. Haskins², and to Mr. Wells, State Superintendent of Education for Wisconsin. Turner was a native of Wisconsin who had received his B. A. and M. A. at the state university, and who had been appointed professor in 1889 and taught American history at Wisconsin until 1910. At that time, he moved to Harvard, where he taught until his death in 1924. Haskins had just received his Ph.D. in European history at Johns Hopkins in 1890 and was beginning his teaching at the University of Wisconsin. He taught there until 1902, when he, too, moved to Harvard, where he taught for 29 years.

Oliver E. Wells wrote published reports on school ventilation, school architecture, and laws affecting education. Though his contribution was probably more suggestions concerning the providing of space or materials, he may have had some input stemming from a circular he wrote in October of 1892 containing historical and patriotic selections in celebration of the Columbian Quadricentennial. Turner and Haskin's views would have probably been consonant with the establishment views and ideas of the Committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy.

The Contents of the Conference.

According to Tryon (1935), the NEA in 1876 recommended a study of United States history for the common schools with "universal" history and the Constitution to be studied in high schools and prep schools. Up until 1876, and even after, history had been a minor subject in schools; and advocates had struggled for its acceptance and more time for it in the school curriculum. The American Historical Association was founded in 1884 and chartered in 1889, so the Report of 1892 was the first opportunity for AHA members to have some impact on the school curriculum. Thus, against this enthusiasm for school impact and struggle for recognition, the committee examined the questions put to them by the parent Committee and produced the longest document of any of the committees that met under the aegis of the Committee of Ten.

Although the larger Committee saw their mission as being for all students, the smaller committee stated that their recommendations were more for non-college-bound students, in fact, even for "the larger number of whom will not enter even a high school." The members of the committee then stated that the chief objective of historical study was to train students to make good judgments using the lessons of history and to state their conclusions in their own words, (which sounds very much like critical thinking). The committee did not let the opportunity pass in which to speak against the trivia that even then permeated the study of history in schools:

When the facts are chosen with as little discrimination as in many school textbooks, when they are mere lists of lifeless dates, details of military movements or unexplained genealogies, they are repellent (p. 168).

The committee's report is divided into seven sections, most of which are in parts III, Arrangement of Studies and Part IV, Subjects and Programs. The first important question concerned when history should be taught in schools. Because it was not widely accepted as a subject of school study, history was taught at widely disparate grade levels in the curriculum. The committee seized the opportunity to recommend that children begin reading history at ages nine to 11, and that there be at least two years of "methodical" history study in grammar school. Students should, they noted, have history in each year from grades five through twelve.

In their observations and solicitations of information from across the country, the committee found that the time spent on history teaching was uneven, but approximated one to three periods (of 40 minutes each) per week nationwide. There should be, they stated, at least three 40-minute periods per week for eight years, around 900 exercises in all. Where would the extra school time come from to do this? Their proposed solutions to this dilemma included combining the teaching of history, political geography, English and/or civil government and political economy. The same program was recommended for all students.

The Subjects of the Curriculum.

The conference began with a strong recommendation that no general history be taught. Instead, they recommended Greek, Roman, English, American and French history, and general European history to be taught in connection with French and English history. "(T)he steady history must begin with Greece, for in Greece all history is found in a nutshell" (Committee of Ten, p. 175). Later, overwhelming emphasis on American history cannot be traced to this conference. They noted that the opportunity for comparison and the training gained from a study of

other systems are both lost if the study of history is confined to that of our own country" (Committee of Ten, p. 176).

One of the most interesting and flexible suggestions of the committee, one that has reappeared in various guises in many subsequent reports and recommendations, recommended an intensive study of a brief period (a study in depth, not breadth). The committee gave some suggestions such as "Spain in the New World," "The Mohammedans in Europe," and "American Political Leaders from 1783 to 1830," but noted that "many intelligent teachers will be able to find topics which the interest of their students and the resources of their libraries may make more suitable" (Committee of Ten, p. 177).

Just as scholars like Kieran Egan (1983) and those of the Bradley Commission (1988) 90 years later, the Committee felt that an elementary study of history should begin with biography and mythology reinforced by good historical reading. This, they asserted, needed "no argument" and none was offered (Committee of Ten, p. 177). After two years of this (grades 5 and 6), American history was suggested for grade seven and Greek and Roman history for grade eight. The report noted that "This order of subjects was strenuously urged in the conference by professors and teachers of American history, upon the express ground that the large number of pupils who leave the schools at the end of the grammar school course should not be deprived of the opportunity of learning something of other civilizations (Committee of Ten, p. 178). This comment is interesting in at least two respects. First, because only Warren and Brown among the school people and only Hart and Bourne among the college people had any background in American history. With all due respect to the Harvard professor, this is one indication of the influence that Hart wielded even at a young age. The other point of interest is that the rationale used to justify this coursework for grade eight was the same used to justify *different* coursework in subsequent reports (those of 1899 and 1916, for example), indicating the import of educational philosophy, rather than logical, thought in course selection recommendations. If philosophy had no impact and pure logic was brought into play, the same conclusions in all three cases should have been drawn. That was not the case, however.

The committee noted the *lack* of chronological order, but did proclaim that there was a logically connected series. They also argued against a method common in Germany "by which the student begins with the history of his own city and widens out to his nation, to Europe, and perhaps eventually to the rest of the world" (Committee of Ten, p. 179), what we know today as the expanding communities model. Their biggest concern was that "if this process is at any point interrupted the child is left with the feeling that the world stops where his study has ceased" (Committee of Ten, p. 179).

In recognizing that civil government is taught much less than history, the committee recommended that civil government, including the elements of political economy, be allotted about one-half the time devoted to history and allied studies in each of the two years recommended for grades seven and eleven. It was seen as propitious, however, to integrate the study of government with American history.

The committee felt that the theoretical constructs of government seemed difficult to teach to children, thus the committee suggested emphasizing individual contacts with government such as city councils and local courts. Because of the complexity of studying foreign governmental systems, this was seen as not needing elaborate coverage, but the committee did see value in references to German, Swiss, English and French governments in comparison to that of the United States.

The last subject discussed was political economy, which "received no favorable consideration from the Conference in spite of the fact that two of its members had the expression 'Political Economy' in their academic titles" (Tryon, pp. 11-12). Noting that political economy is taught in about only one-twentieth of the high schools, is not attempted in other countries, and suffers from a lack of trained teachers, the committee chose to recommend no formal instruction in the subject. Instead, they recommended teaching the principles of political economy in conjunction with American history, civil government, or common geography.

The fifth section of the report dealt with college examinations, which, the committee found, compelled "the teacher to accept bad methods for college preparation" (Committee of Ten, p. 183). Rather than just memory, the committee saw an unmet need to test mental training (i.e., the idea of developing the mind like a muscle), alertness, and intelligence as well. Colleges would do well to accept written tests or papers in history done in school as partial evidence of preparation. In today's parlance, this might be called teacher portfolios, which are being proposed by some certification groups.

The lengthy sixth section presented ideas on methods of historical teaching. It was noted that much teaching is by rote from textbooks that are poor, antiquated, and dull. One committee member (not identified in the report) questioned whether, in light of this, history should be omitted altogether from school programs.

Exceptions were noted, but this was largely due to better trained teachers, which the committee heartily supported. New teachers, as well as those already in service, needed specialized training in history. Thus, the university should cooperate with the schools in establishing training courses.

A number of useful methods were discussed, the first being lectures, which should come after simple storytelling. Even during lectures, the committee discouraged elaborate notetaking. Pupil

preparation of lectures done jointly with the teacher were seen as interesting and profitable.

To the members of the committee, the textbook was the center of the study of history in the schools. The committee viewed this as no more than what was right and proper. A good textbook was essential, and the committee offered their criteria for one: (1) it should be written by an expert in the field; (2) it should be "conveniently" arranged; (3) it should deal with the essentials of history, avoiding accounts of military events or the mere outlines of political discussions; (4) it should have good maps; (5) it should be interesting, with illustrations and quotes.

There were few texts to be found which contained these five qualities, and the committee recommended "that a practice be established in the schools of using two, three, or four parallel textbooks at a time" (p. 189), so that students could learn to compare and not accept the written word at face value. Even today, this is still an unusual, but often lauded, practice. Though some teachers today cite the difficulties in coordinating classroom teaching with more than one textbook, the committee saw this as no problem.

On their face, the next two sections on recitations would seem inappropriate for today's classroom with the variety of teaching techniques emphasized. Mere lecture/recitation would seem to some as hopelessly outdated. The committee, however, saw recitation as more than just the regurgitation of facts. "(T)he question in a recitation ought not to demand from the pupils a bold repetition of the phrases or ideas of the book, but ought to call for comparison and comment" (Committee of Ten, p. 190). Comparisons and references to other subjects or previous lessons were to be encouraged. "A few things" were to be memorized and, when forgotten, learned again; but these were to serve only as "a framework to assist the memory" (Committee of Ten, p. 190).

Open text recitations were encouraged in order to develop and practice what would be referred to today as higher order thinking. Reference books would be a necessity. "(I)t is as impossible to teach history without reference books, as it is to teach chemistry without glass and rubber tubing" (Committee of Ten, p. 193).

Written exercises in history were mandatory, but were seen as expeditious to link English with history by having students write English compositions on subjects drawn from history lessons. Individual and original research was encouraged under the heading of the topical method. It was the teacher's duty to shape the topics chosen so that students would not select inappropriate projects:

The topics must be very limited in scope; the writing of elaborate theses and monographs in the school is not to be commended; all the good results can be had by a succession of brief pieces. The material to be used may

comprise the local records, which, in the towns possessing them, have seldom been carefully used (Committee of Ten, p. 197).

The best time for this study was during the one year "intensive study of history," but other times were also defensible. The reading of original sources was encouraged as a way to reduce bias and because they are more "delightful reading" (Committee of Ten, p. 196).

All of this would improve history teaching and would be even more effective if surroundings (i.e., classrooms) were attractive. Both teachers and students were seen as responsible for developing a positive attitude toward history through the imaginative use of materials.

The use of various approaches, such as debates, personal accounts of historical sites, and the use of the magic lantern, was encouraged. Even at that time, social studies teachers were encouraged to use media, such as film or video, that today often makes them the target of derision for excessive use.

The committee reflected the times by encouraging constant references to the lives of great men (Committee of Ten, p. 198), such as Cicero, Charlemagne, Luther, Calhoun, and Lincoln (note that the committee recommended only great *white* men). Great lives did not apply to women, who were considered (judging by their omission) of little, if any, concern.

Despite the formation of another committee on geography, which will be discussed briefly below, the report of the committee on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy included some remarks about historical geography. One of the committee's resolutions recommended that the study of history should be linked to the study of geography, particularly historical, commercial, and political (human) geography. Good, inexpensive maps and atlases were greatly needed, it was noted.

The committee's summary section was brief and offered no new insights.

Directly following the summary is the report of the geography committee, mentioned above. The majority of the members of this committee saw their field as geology and meteorology, so-called physical geography, and produced a report that emphasized these subjects. This served to split further the field of geography into human (social science) and physical (hard science) factions. This is a split that geographers today still seek to reconcile.

The directions, suggestions, and conclusions of the Geography committee were unacceptable to Edwin J. Houston of Central High School in Philadelphia, who wrote a lengthy minority report in which he called for a more unified view of geography. Though Houston was mostly concerned with physical geography, he saw political geography as a part of it and suggested key questions about geographic features,

such as "What is it?" "Where is it?" and "Why is it?" that are applicable to human as well as physical geography.

Reactions to the Committee Report

As noted earlier, most of the general attention to the committee's report was focused on the recommendation that every subject that is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil. G. Stanley Hall saw this as an extraordinary recommendation, as he did the notion that all subjects were of equal educational value if taught equally well. Hall's developmentalist view that allowed for more "spontaneous" growth contrasted sharply with the mental disciplinarians (i.e., those who saw the *form* of a subject as the key to learning, with content only a secondary consideration) who comprised the bulk of the members of the conferences and the Committee of Ten.⁴ Hall later asserted that one-third of the dropouts in schools were a result of the loss of interest in the classical study proposed by the Committee of Ten (Selmeier, 1948). Overall, most Herbartians felt that there were insufficient provisions for the teaching of science and social studies.

Charles Adams thought that the final report of the Committee of Ten departed more from his committee's recommendations than it did from any other (Selmeier, p. 57). Adams' view was a limited one, since he served on no other committee. but it did indicate that there was some dissatisfaction with the committee's work, even on the part of some of the committee members.

Tryon (1935) offered a simple assessment of the report based on school offerings. He noted the increase in the number of schools offering the courses recommended by the Committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, indicating that the report's recommendations might have been heeded. In addition, he observed that there was an increase in the number of schools offering general history (from 41 to 61 percent over the period 1894-1904), a course specifically discouraged in the committee report. He felt that reaction to the report was mixed.

E. G. Dexter (1906) echoed Tryon's views in noting that "more of the specific recommendations of the committee have been actually violated by the trend of high school organization, or have proved inert, than have been followed."

In 1896, Albion Small, head professor of social studies of the University of Chicago, and the initial force in the shaping of its sociology department, delivered an address to the National Education Association in which he expressed his dismay at the report of the committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, because it had no real

sense of education as a whole. "It is a whole made up of parts" (Small, p. 178). Rather than identifying particular subjects with various faculties (mathematics to train reasoning; history to train judgment; and so forth), he saw the student as the rational center with "pedagogy the science of assisting youth to organize their contacts with reality." Small went on to assert that "educators shall not rate themselves as leaders of children, but as makers of society" (Small, p. 184). Small's impatience with the report, with the traditional course of study, plus his belief in education as a shaper of society, was characteristic of a larger body of educators, mostly associated with John Dewey. They would finally see their ideas widely accepted and published in 1916 as part of the NEA's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education; but in 1894 (when the first report was published), they were still in the minority.⁵

"The AHA, perhaps depressed because the schools had failed to respond to the suggestions of the History committee, set up its own Committee of Seven, which issued a report in 1899..." (Sizer, 1964, pp. 193-94) In its introduction to that report, the AHA Committee acknowledged the "highly interesting" Madison conference report of 1892, but still concluded that the state of history in the schools had not been accurately assessed. The Committee thus sought to provide common foundational work in history, just as the Committee of Ten's Madison conference had sought to do (AHA, 1899).

E. V. Robinson (1898) was one observer who rejected the committee's disavowal of general history teaching in the schools. He noted that Professor Salmon also disagreed with this⁶ and he offered his own model for grades 9-12 as follows.

- Gr. 9 - Ancient History
- Gr. 10 - Medieval and Modern History
- Gr. 11 - English History
- Gr. 12 - American History and Civics⁷

Sizer (1964, p. 205) has observed that had the Committee of Ten accurately predicted the changes in American Society and education (changes clearly implied in the Commission of Education's statistics of 1892), the Report might have found a more permanent place in American school curricula. This was particularly true for the committee on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy, which Sizer referred to as "the most lucid and useful of the nine" (p. 116).

The Committee Report Today

As Tryon noted, many schools adopted some variation of the committee's recommendations. Sizer added that it was "clear that the

Committee of Ten started a movement toward research by committee with groups studying all sorts of things in the curriculum" (p. 194). As new reports were issued in 1899, 1908, 1910, and 1916, the import of the report of 1892 eroded. By 1980, the committee's recommendations had been reduced to a quaint, esoteric document. In 1988, however, the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools issued its guidelines and acknowledged its intellectual debt to the "subcommittee" on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, which "recommended that all students...should take four years of history on the secondary level" (p. 1). The Bradley Commission went on to extol the mental disciplinarian view attacked by Hall and no longer held to be accurate by most, if not all, psychologists. The Commission lamented that "this common, democratic curriculum did not survive the educational changes made during and after World War I."

As was discussed earlier, the winds of educational change were blowing almost as soon as the Committee of Ten's Report was issued. Mental disciplinarians were losing their influence, and developmentalists were gaining more adherents and respect. The Bradley Commission is historically inaccurate in its assertion of the common curriculum falling victim to changes during and after World War I (Bradley Commission, p. 1). In fact, the common curriculum was a sham and was recognized as such by many educators in the 1890s. Even at that time, there were offerings for different tracks in high school, which was an elite institution.⁸ The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, begun in 1912-13, had been preceded by three American Historical Association (AHA) reports in 1899, 1909 and 1910, which eroded the impact of the Committee Report of 1892 within five years of its issuance.

These AHA reports were either conveniently forgotten or intentionally snubbed by the Bradley Commission (1988) in its introduction, which stated that:

The Bradley Commission, however, is the first national group to devote its attention exclusively to history in the schools. Indeed, the case for the importance of history has not been cogently and powerfully made since 1892, when the National Education Association appointed a distinguished Committee of Ten to examine the entire high school experience (p. 1).

The recent report published by the Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in Schools and the National Social Science Disciplinary Associations (1989) draws, unknowingly it seems (since it did not reference the 1892 report), some interesting

parallels with the Report of 1892. The Task Force urged that teachers select material carefully and provide useful in-depth study as well as some overview (breadth) to contextualize the material. The twelfth grade course is strikingly similar to the recommendation for the careful study of some special period as recommended by the Committee Report of 1892. The Task Force urged a unified view of geography that sounds much like the Committee on Geography's Report, particularly Houston's minority report.

All this, of course, is probably a coincidence. Nevertheless, it does indicate the staying power of much of the Report of 1892, the need for a better historical perspective on the field of social studies, and, possibly, the quality of the ideas the Report contained.

The Committee of Ten Report was born out of concern for the uneven fit between schools and colleges and the perceived need for standards, if not standardization, of the curriculum. The desire for a national curriculum was strong for these men who felt that they saw America's needs clearly. Despite this, they still offered no fewer than four programs (Classical, Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages, and English) for students in the high school, all of which they claimed were equally valuable. The committee on History, Civil Government and Political Economy saw an opportunity to increase time for its subjects in the schools and attempted to seize this opportunity. Their report was longer, more detailed, and included more specific comments and recommendations than that of any other committee.

Certain hierarchies emerged from that report. Political economy was considered less important than civil government. Civil government as less important than history. History as best taught in conjunction with geography, English and/or civil government.

Despite their failure to use the term "social studies," since it did not come into popular use until 20 years later, the committee advocated a social studies approach with history as its core. The boundaries between and among subjects were fuzzy and often disciplines intersected as specific topics were examined. Intensive study of a period was to include all aspects of study, not merely chronology. Study of a period of time, according to the Committee of Ten, was not to be just a combined social science approach, but one encompassing literature, social sciences, and all aspects of human life. In the midst of fragmented argumentation for stronger coverage of geography as advocated by geographers, or economics as advocated by the Joint Council on Economic Education, or history as advocated by reports like those of the Bradley Commission, it would not be unwise to use reports like that of 1892 to help get to the nub of the issue to many people--is it social studies or social sciences? At a time when social studies did not even exist, a group of educators saw fit to inspire, if not invent, it in thought and tone. Their views, although old, are not out of date.

Endnotes

¹*Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*, published for the National Education Association by American Book Co., 1894, p. 3.

²Woodrow Wilson referred to both as “old friends” and stayed with Turner while in Madison (Link, 1970, p. 63). Professor J. B. Parkinson is also mentioned in the minutes, but not credited in the final report of the Committee.

³See, for example, T. Briggs. (1920). *The Junior High School*.

⁴Herbert Kliebard discusses this more fully in his book *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, pp. 12-16.

⁵Small (p. 182) cites the Master’s degree study of Galesburg, IL by Arthur W. Dunn, co-author of the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies as an example of this “society making” function of educators.

⁶Professor Lucy Salmon of Vassar was one of the AHA’s Committee of Seven of 1899.

⁷This model was adopted by the AHA’s Committee of Seven (1899).

⁸Only 10 percent or fewer of eligible students attended. See, for example, *Manual and Directory of the Public Schools of the City of Reading, PA, 1892-93*.

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TEACHING THE SOCIAL STUDIES: MULTIPLE APPROACHES FOR MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

This article reports a second phase of research on individuals making a career change into teaching. Our research over the past four years has shown us a variety of perspectives among such individuals, those of: Scholar Psychologist; Friendly Scholar; Inculcator; Facilitator of Thinking and Lifelong Learning; Friendly Pedagogue; Empowerer; and Nurturer. The authors present portraits of seven social studies teachers who each reflect one of these perspectives. Given the multiplicity of perspectives among these teachers, and given the stability of such perspectives over time (Bennett and Spalding, 1991), we contend that perhaps multiple approaches to teaching social studies are needed to fit the multiple perspectives teachers bring to the field.

Introduction

What is the field of social studies all about? Consider the following responses made by three preservice social studies teachers as they entered the Teacher as Decision Maker Program (TADMP), a middle/secondary school certification program for individuals making a career change into teaching;

- The goal of the social studies is to develop a populace who are aware and can think on their own. Democracy cannot survive without educated citizens. Social studies can help students learn to make intelligent decisions...and understand what's going on in the real world (Interview 6/89).

- The purpose of the social studies is to develop knowledge of history, geography and literature that is necessary to be culturally literate (Interview 6/89).

- The social studies is so interdisciplinary. I see it as integrating literature, art, history and the social sciences into a global and multicultural perspective (that) enables our students to become agents of political and social change (Paraphrase of Interview 6/89).

Over the past four years, our research with preservice teachers enrolled in the TADMP has shown us that students enter the program with a variety of perspectives that tend to remain quite stable over time. Seven teacher perspectives have emerged from our study of 68 individuals from the fields of science, English, foreign language, math and the social studies. The perspectives, which will be defined later, are: 1) Scholar Psychologist, 2) Friendly Scholar, 3) Inculcator, 4) Facilitator of Thinking, 5) Friendly Pedagogue, 6) Empowerer, and 7) Nurturer. The greatest diversity appeared among the 20 social studies teachers, whose perspectives were distributed across the whole spectrum. That is, only among the social studies teachers did we find at least one representative of each perspective (Bennett and Spalding, 1991). In this article, we report the second phase of our research, which focuses on this diverse group, seven of whom will be described in case studies.

Each of these perspectives seems more compatible with one social studies tradition or approach than with others. For example, a perspective may fit with either the cultural transmission, social science, or reflective inquiry tradition (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). Additionally, social studies defined as either simplified social science, critical study of social science, or examination of social problems may align with one or more of the perspectives (Engle and Ochoa, 1988).

Teacher Perspectives

A perspective refers to the personal attitudes, values, beliefs, principles, and ideals that help a teacher justify and unify classroom decisions and actions. It provides the lens through which teaching is viewed and affects the way teaching is perceived and interpreted.

(Lacey, 1977; Zeichner and Gore, 1990; Zeichner, Tabachnik and Densmore, 1987; Zeichner, 1986). We have become increasingly interested in using teacher perspectives as a conceptual framework for our longitudinal research on TADMP Fellows. This framework provides a structure for understanding the interactions between individuals and school contexts during preservice teaching and the first few years of actual teaching.

Teacher Perspectives On Social Studies

A number of researchers suggest that teacher perspectives are a promising conceptual tool for understanding how teachers approach the social studies. Goodman and Adler's (1985) study of elementary student teachers identified six perspectives on the social studies: social studies as human relations; as school knowledge; as a non-subject; as citizenship; as the great connection; and as social action. In a discussion of teachers as mediators of the curriculum, Parker (1987) writes that Goodman and Adler illustrate "how a teacher's perspective on social studies mediates the relationship between teacher and students, and the teacher's practical planning and implementation of the social studies curriculum" (p. 13). Johnston, in a case study of five elementary student teachers' perspectives on the social studies, suggested that, "Learning to teach may not be a matter of one influence overpowering all others; it may be more a matter of interactions and continuities" (1990, p. 230). She concluded that the influence of teacher education programs might be enhanced if teacher educators better understood their students' perspectives.

At the secondary level, Cornett (1990) found that the personal theories of one twelfth grade social studies teacher were congruent with her practice and affected her "significant role as a curriculum developer" (p. 269). He suggested that reflection could be a tool used by both social studies teacher educators and social studies teachers to enhance thoughtful practice. Evans (1988), in a study of three high school American history teacher interns, found that each teacher held a distinct conception of the meaning of history and the purpose of studying it. He also found that individual teachers' interpretations of their subject areas had a significant impact on the curriculum they selected and the content they taught. He called for further research that could include a larger sample of teachers and would develop a fuller range of teacher typologies. Our research on teacher perspectives, particularly those held by social studies teachers, is a step in this direction.

In this article, we will offer the color wheel as a model and metaphor, which has helped us think about the perspectives of TADMP preservice and inservice teachers. As we attempt to illuminate the values, attitudes, and beliefs of these individuals, and, ultimately,

to understand how these predispositions are enacted in the classroom, we keep in mind Kagan's (1990) caveat that "teacher perspective," like "teacher cognition," is primarily a "heuristic device, a vehicle for probing the essence of...that elusive phenomenon, good teaching" (p. 460).

Methodology

Participants

The overall research involves 68 TADMP Fellows who have entered the program since its inception in 1988. The Fellows represent a highly select group in terms of academic preparation and/or work experience, interpersonal communication skills, and commitment to teaching. They range in age from 23-51 and come from many careers, including law, banking, business, homemaking, engineering, nursing, theater, social work and college teaching. Their areas of teacher certification are as follow: 20 in social studies, 18 in science, 18 in English, six in math and six in foreign language. In this article, we include data gathered from 20 social studies Fellows, 11 males and nine females. Seven social studies Fellows were selected for in-depth study and follow-up during their first three years of teaching. Criteria for selection included variety in teaching perspective, school location (e.g., rural, suburban, or inner city), and grade level taught.

Program Features

The decision-maker theme provides a conceptual framework that underlies the program's goals, rationale, university course work, and field experiences. It is based upon a model of decision making that identifies six important areas of knowledge and skill that influence classroom decision-making: the nature of the learner, the nature of the subject area, general pedagogy, specific subject matter pedagogy, school context, and self as teacher.

Guided by this model, the overall program is designed to help students clarify their beliefs and perspectives about teaching and develop skills in reflective self-analysis and observation of teaching/learning processes. By focusing upon middle and secondary school students, the program presents ways of diagnosing important learner characteristics and abilities, and examines how they interact with ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic background. The program also develops a repertoire of teaching/learning strategies for heterogeneous classrooms in middle and secondary schools. It is designed for individuals who have acquired a strong academic and/or experiential background in their subject area and can apply this knowledge to teaching decisions.

In addition, the program is designed to enhance the Fellows' knowledge and understanding of ethnic diversity and increase their awareness of the state of the planet. An ultimate goal is to enable them to translate this knowledge and understanding into curriculum plans and instructional decisions that will foster global and multicultural learning with their future students, regardless of whether these students are multiethnic or monoethnic.

Data Collection

Four techniques were used to study the teaching perspectives of the Fellows during the program and during their first years of teaching: autobiographical interviews, concept mapping, stimulated recall interviews, and classroom observations with follow-up interviews. Brief descriptions of each technique follow. (For detailed descriptions, see Bennett, 1991; Bennett and Powell, 1990; Bennett and Spalding, 1991).

Autobiographical Interviews. Each year, upon entering the program, the Fellows are interviewed in depth by a program assistant. All interviews were audiotaped and subsequently transcribed. The questions were grouped according to personal background data; early socialization, including school experiences; teaching perspectives, including motivations, values and conceptions of teaching; conceptions of knowledge in the selected content area; and the role of schooling in society.

Concept Mapping. Using free association concept mapping procedures (Beyerbach, 1987), the Fellows were asked to construct concept maps around the central organizing concept of "teaching." Maps are created at four strategic points throughout the program: upon entry, at the end of summer coursework, at the end of the fall field experience, and at the end of student teaching. After completing their first and last concept maps, the Fellows were asked to explain their maps and interpret their development over time. These interviews were audiotaped and transcribed.

Stimulated Recall Interviews. Four lessons taught by each Fellow (at the beginning of summer coursework, during the fall field experience, and at the beginning and end of student teaching) were videotaped and analyzed in a follow-up interview that was taped and transcribed. Stimulated recall interviews were conducted immediately following each lesson. The interviews contained three distinct components: 1) questions about planning; 2) stimulated recall through viewing the videotape and focusing on three critical incidents/points of

saliency in the lesson; and 3) reflective analysis of the lesson (Borko, Livingston, McCaleb, and Mauro, 1988; Norton, 1987).

Classroom Observations and Follow-up Interviews. During their first and second years of teaching, the selected Fellows were videotaped for at least one full class period. A two person research team conducted the observations. The follow-up interviews asked the teachers to describe their classroom and feelings about teaching and to answer questions related to teaching perspectives (e.g. values and conceptions of teaching and learning, conceptions of knowledge in their content area, and the role of schooling in society). All follow-up interviews were taped, transcribed and analyzed.

Data Analysis

This study was guided by principles of qualitative research, specifically case study research strategies (Merriam, 1988). Original units of analysis were taken from autobiographical interview transcripts. Categories were developed using Lincoln and Guba's index card system (Merriam, 1988). This card sorting yielded the seven teacher perspectives described in the findings.

In order to enhance reliability, we sorted the cards independently, then discussed and resolved discrepancies. A colleague not involved in the research was given descriptions of the perspectives and independently categorized a selected sample of the cards. Interrater reliability was .78. Qualitative analysis of concept maps was conducted for the purpose of triangulation. Field notes, videotapes, and transcriptions of other interviews were also studied for this purpose. We asked colleagues who are social studies educators to comment on our emerging findings. Although to date it has not been possible to conduct member checks with all 68 participants, the ones with whom we have checked concurred with our analysis. (A more detailed description of data analysis appears in Bennett & Spalding, 1991).

Overall Findings

Teaching Perspectives As A Color Wheel

As we sought a way to represent the seven perspectives visually, we wanted to avoid linear designs that might suggest a hierarchy or compartmentalization of the perspectives. Thus, we chose the color wheel as both a model and a metaphor for our general stance toward the perspectives.

We found that perspectives, like colors, appear most often in "shades." Just as there are few "pure" colors, there are few "pure" perspectives. The color wheel is also intended to suggest a degree of flexibility among the categories. For example, an individual's

fundamental perspective may be that of Empowerer, but she may at times act as a Nurturer or an Inculturator.

A brief description of each perspective follows, together with elaboration of the color wheel metaphor.

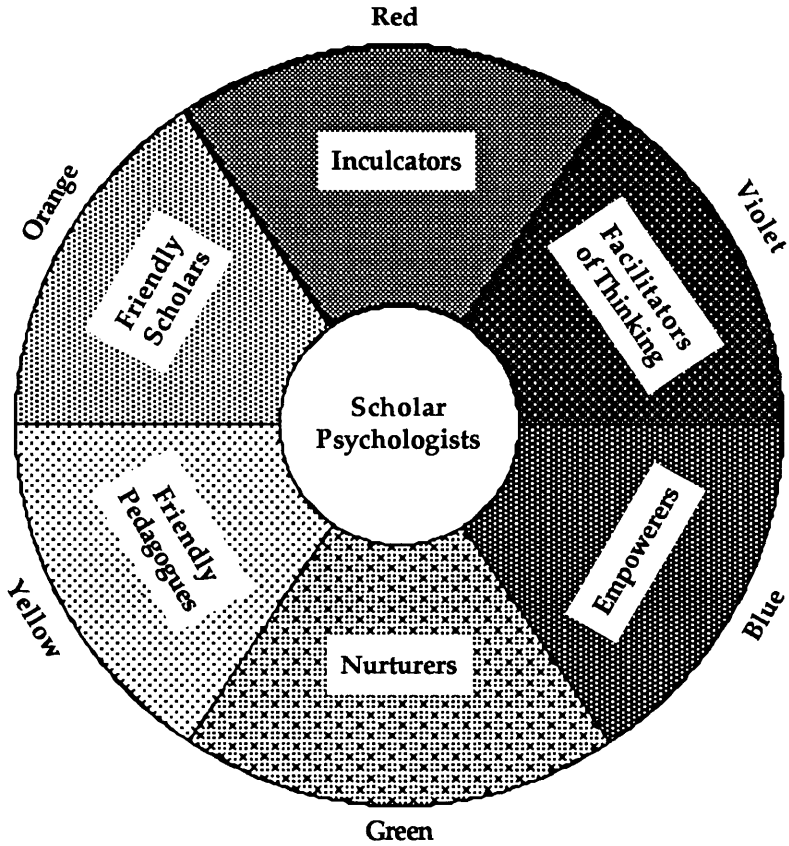


Figure 1
Teaching Perspectives as a Color Wheel

Primary Colors

Inculturators (RED) described the transmission of academic content knowledge as central to teaching. Several aspired to transmit "fundamental values" as well. They rarely referred to subject matter relevance, the nature of the learner, or teacher personality characteristics, such as enthusiasm or creativity. They often expressed

a desire to "inspire" or be role models. Recurring themes were "control" and "discipline."

Empowerers (BLUE) described teaching in terms of social action or change. They saw academic knowledge as less important than, for example, learners becoming "self-actualized," or "gaining a sense of power and independence and control." Frequently committed to social causes themselves, they hoped to influence students to use political power, understand cultural pluralism, or accept multiple perspectives.

Friendly Pedagogues (YELLOW) defined teaching in terms of lesson preparation and teacher personality characteristics (e.g., "organization" or "enthusiasm"). Most expressed an aversion to "lecture" or to "being boring," and a preference for questioning and discussions. They stressed the importance of preparation, and often compared teaching to a "performance."

Secondary Colors

Facilitators of Thinking (VIOLET) identified thinking and lifelong learning as the principal goals of teaching. Although often scholarly themselves (and therefore similar to Inculcators), they de-emphasized the importance of content. Their emphasis on "critical thinking," "problem-solving," and "learning how to learn" brought them close to the Empowerer perspective, but their recurring focus was cognitive rather than social.

Nurturers (GREEN) perceived teaching primarily in terms of interactions with students. They defined good teachers as "open and responsive," "flexible," and "attainable." Because they emphasized the development of the learner and expressed concerns about children as "our future," they resembled Empowerers. Because they de-emphasized academic knowledge, they resembled Friendly Pedagogues.

Friendly Scholars (ORANGE) shared with Inculcators an emphasis on the transmission of academic knowledge, but, like Friendly Pedagogues, they stressed teacher personality characteristics such as enthusiasm, humor, friendliness. Their transmissive view of learning was balanced by a desire to make knowledge relevant and learning fun.

Scholar Psychologists lie at the center of the wheel, representing the murky blend of colors that results from mixing red, violet, blue, green, yellow, and orange. This was the largest and least clearly defined group, who often displayed characteristics of other perspectives. Like Inculcators, they emphasized academic knowledge. Like Friendly Scholars, they wanted to make knowledge relevant. To do this, they often planned elaborate lessons, like Friendly Pedagogues. Like Nurturers, they wanted to be "sensitive" and "available" to students. They were distinguished, however, by several characteristics. They tended to point out relevance in terms of students'

future rather than present lives. They used psychological language in describing students, e.g., "understanding the nature of adolescent development." They saw themselves as counselors to students, willing to listen to their problems but not to become personally involved in them.

Teacher Perspectives and TADMP Social Studies Teachers

The twenty TADMP social studies teachers are distributed across all seven teacher perspective types. Clear gender differences are evident (see Table 1). Both Friendly Scholars are male and all of the Empowerers are female. Three of the four Scholar Psychologists and four of the five Facilitators of Thinking are male. The one Nurturer is female. The Friendly Pedagogue is male.

Knowledge transmission is a central component in the teaching perspectives of 10 of the 20 teachers: the Inculcators, Friendly Scholars and Scholar Psychologists. This is not unexpected among prospective/practicing middle and secondary school teachers who already hold degrees in their chosen disciplines. Equally important is the finding that only 20 percent are "pure" Inculcators (i.e. knowledge transmitters); another 30 percent (the Scholar Psychologists and Friendly Scholars) stress connections between social studies content and students.

Knowledge construction is an important component of the perspectives of the 10 remaining teachers. They stress the importance of helping students learn to think, solve problems and develop social action skills. Facilitators, Nurturers and Empowerers favor strategies such as games, simulations, small group work, inquiry and values clarification. Friendly Pedagogues stress lesson preparation, presentation and feedback from students.

The portraits which follow are our attempts to represent how seven social studies teachers in our program express their perspectives through reported beliefs and actions. The portraits are selective in that we have chosen interview statements, examples, and vignettes that seem to us most characteristic of their perspectives. It is not our intent to oversimplify the complexities of teaching or to "pigeonhole" these individuals. Reality is far more confusing, contradictory, and dynamic than any representation of it. We hope we have captured some of the ambiguity of "real life" with our color wheel analogy. At the same time, we hope we have painted "still lifes" that ring true to the reader and to the TADMP teachers portrayed here. We should add that the TADMP Fellows with whom we have shared our previous findings not only agreed with our analysis and analogy, but urged us to use it as a tool for teaching in the current cohort.

Table 1
Teacher Perspectives of TADMTP Social Studies Teachers

Teacher Perspective	Description	Number of Males	Number of Females	Total Percent
Inculcators	Emphasize academic knowledge; transmission of fundamental knowledge, values; teacher as inspirational role model; history and social sciences as cultural literacy.	1	3	20%
Friendly Scholars	Emphasize academic knowledge and teacher personality characteristics; stress immediate relevance of subject matter; social studies help students solve personal problems and understand current social issues and events.	2	0	10%
Scholar Psychologists	Emphasize academic knowledge and understanding nature of the learner; social studies emphasizes relevance in the social science disciplines to enable students to become intelligent decision makers and participatory citizens in the future.	3	1	20%
Facilitators of Thinking	Emphasize thinking, decision making and learning processes; social studies important in helping students think critically and reflect.	4	1	25%
Nurturers	Emphasize teacher-student interaction, empathy and caring relationships; social studies important for development of learner's potential.	0	1	5%
Friendly Pedagogues	Emphasize instructional strategies, well-planned lessons and student feedback; social studies important as a tool for understanding.	1	0	5%
Empowerers	Emphasize values, critical thinking, decision making and development of self, and/or social action; social studies important in effecting change on a societal or global scale.	0	3	15%

Inculcator: Katherine

Katherine had spent six years working as a sales representative in the publishing industry before entering the TADMP. Even though she had been out of college ten years and felt "a little rusty" in her subject areas, history and political science, she decided to enter teaching, because it seemed to "combine all her needs:" she liked "working with kids," wanted to "keep using her mind" and to "do something that's worthwhile to somebody" (Interview 5/88).

Upon entry into the program, Katherine defined a good teacher as someone who is able to "impart knowledge to students in a way that the knowledge will stay with them" (Interview 5/88). She defined teaching as "imparting fundamental knowledge and fundamental values to children and instilling the love of learning..." (Interview 5/88). During her student teaching experience in an urban high school, Katherine added "appropriate behavior" as an element of the transmissive process:

So first the teacher teaches the appropriate behavior by verbal example, reading, writing, seeing, you know, all the different ways you can use. *And that goes to the students* [emphasis authors'], and after that happens the teacher can start teaching the students the subject area again by the same methods (Interview 4/89).

Like other Inculcators in the TADMP, Katherine aspired to serve as a role model for students.

Katherine summed up her first year of teaching at Harmony Junior High¹, an urban school with a racially mixed, predominately low SES student body, as "really rough."

I'm not teaching academics here. I'm teaching behavior and basic manners and decency and just getting kids to do their work is like a big success.... I've just really had to modify any kind of expectations and realize that most of these kids--we'll be real lucky if 50% of these kids graduate from high school. If we have anybody go to college, maybe 5 out of 500 (Interview 5/90).

When we visited Katherine in her second year of teaching, Harmony Junior High was plagued with problems of attendance, accreditation, budget cuts, and low morale. Katherine described Harmony as the district's "low school on the totem pole." Her classroom reflected the cheerless atmosphere of the school: paper wads were scattered around the floor; desks were stuffed with candy and gum wrappers. Katherine was afraid her overhead projector light would burn out--and if it did, the school had no replacements.

The class was a seventh grade World Civilizations class and Katherine precisely articulated her goals for the lesson:

"Our purpose today is to show you how to go about writing a report. You people are used to writing a report in grade school by copying from one encyclopedia. We aren't doing that anymore and you won't be able to do that anymore--here, or in high school or in college" (Interview, 2/91).

Using the overhead projector and transparencies she had made herself, Katherine demonstrated her method of taking notes from multiple sources. Her first transparency outlined five major headings (e.g., history, government, culture) for assigned reports on European countries. Students had already chosen their countries and had spent the previous day using the library to find information. Few, however, had any notes to show for it. Katherine explained the major headings slowly and deliberately, using a yardstick-length pointer to emphasize them. A second transparency listed facts about Spain taken from an almanac. Katherine wrote the five headings across the blackboard and called on individuals to state the proper category for each fact. The homework assignment was to practice the note-taking method by copying facts about the country from the textbook onto appropriately labeled sheets. A number of students expressed confusion--about the headings, about the homework, and about the report in general. Katherine answered individual questions and then reviewed her expectations for the project: "You'll receive 100 points for content--that means following the structure and filling out the structure--and 60 points for originality--which means I need to know you wrote it." Katherine frequently broke off her explanations to deal with inattentive or disruptive students or to wait for silence before she continued. When the bell rang, she was still trying to clear up confusion.

We observed the same lesson in the next and last class of the day. Afterward, Katherine expressed her frustration: "I didn't have the feeling that either class ever understood what I was trying to tell them.... I didn't have the feeling that they understood, even at the end, what they were supposed to do" (Interview 2/91).

By the second semester of her second year, Katherine had adjusted her definition of "fundamental knowledge and fundamental values" to achieve a better fit with her teaching context, but her basic perspective on teaching as transmission remained stable. Faced with students who "choose not to learn," she has added inculcating "basic skills" to transmitting "basic content."

When they get out of here, I want them to remember certain things. That just sounds so basic, but countries, directions, how to read a

map, how to use an atlas, how to know where to find something in a book...(Interview 2/91).

Katherine's conception of teaching social studies is embedded within her Inculcator perspective. When she entered the program, she defined social studies as the knowledge of history, geography, literature, and other areas that people need to be "culturally literate." She expressed this view of social studies as the transmission of discrete bodies of essential knowledge in both her first and second year of teaching:

I'd say that they ought to at least have a semester of geography, and I'd spend at least a semester if not a year on World History as a separate course, before you get into World Civilization, and do World Civilization being current cultures, current political environments...It ought to be done separately, so that by the time you get to the contemporary stuff, you have a decent background of historical trends (Interview 5/90).

Teachers of World Civilizations at Harmony Junior High are free to choose the content for their classes, and Katherine has chosen to focus on basic geography: "The book I want to use next year, that is it. It's a total geography book. They bring in things like cultural stuff, but it doesn't try to pretend to do everything...."

District curriculum guidelines suggest what content should be covered before standardized tests are administered in March. Katherine stated that she didn't know anyone who actually followed the guidelines; nevertheless, she covered the content in the recommended order and at the recommended pace: "...I've done the Middle East and I've done North Africa, and I'm doing Europe now...But I'm going to have to get to Asia real quick because testing time is coming up."

Katherine's perspective on the social studies curriculum served to increase her frustration with teaching at the time of our visit, shortly after the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War:

"You know, it kills me that we spend four weeks doing the Middle East over and over. And when all the trouble started I had kids going, 'Where's Kuwait? Where's Iraq?' and you're like, 'I might as well not have done it'" (Interview 2/91).

Friendly Scholar: Rick

After obtaining a degree in economics from a small but selective liberal arts college, Rick worked as a chemist for a year. Dissatisfied with that, he quit and worked at various "odd jobs" before moving to

Washington, D.C., where he did substitute teaching. He was considering entering law school when he heard about the TADMP and decided to apply. He entered the program in June of 1988.

Rick initially defined a good teacher as: "knowledgeable about the subject area, able to explain clearly to students, personable and easy to get along with" (Interview 6/88). Teaching appealed to Rick as "one way of learning new knowledge," but he was disappointed with his two week, pre-student teaching practicum because "with ten days you don't see a result" (Interview 4/89). By the end of his student teaching, he was happier because he could see "the benefits," especially of his work with individual students. Rick's metaphor for teaching at that time captures the "benevolent" transmission orientation of the Friendly Scholar:

I can see a classroom like a jungle or forest and you have grass and trees, and the trees grow because they need more sunlight. In the classroom...you have an interaction between teacher and student. For example, the teacher might be the sun and the students might be the tree reaching for the sunlight" (Interview 4/89).

We visited Rick in May of his second year of teaching in a suburban/urban middle school with a racially and socio-economically mixed student body. Although Rick was beginning to "take down" his classroom, the walls were still decorated with maps, posters, and calendars. The clean, spacious room was equipped with a computer, computer geography games, overhead screen and projector, and a video projector.

Rick called the seventh grade geography lesson we observed "a little rehash of some things we had done from the previous week." He began by reading aloud a vivid, eyewitness account of the Sepoy Rebellion, which led into a lively discussion of the Caste System. Rick controlled the discussion by questioning at different levels: e.g., What is Dharma? How does Dharma affect the way these people act? He joked and bantered with the students, answering their questions but keeping the discussion focused on the topic. He concluded the lesson with a map exercise and asked students to write on the overhead. They volunteered eagerly, waving their arms in the air and pleading, "Call on me, Mr. Fordham! Call on me!" One volunteer, Tom, was so short he couldn't reach the overhead surface to write on it. Rick, joking about the boy's height, offered him a chair to stand on. Rather than being offended (as we feared), Tom was obviously pleased with the additional stature. For the remainder of the class, he would periodically leave his seat, walk to the front, stand on the chair, clutch Rick's shoulder, and speak into his ear. Rick, at 6'2" and with a

large, athletic frame, towers over most of his students. Tom had at last found a way to stand eye-to-eye with him.

Rick has developed close relationships with many of his students, the aspect of teaching he likes most. Former students who have dropped out of school still send him postcards; current students meet him at the door in the morning. When he stands in the hallway, students "come and stand right next to me...right next to me and they're standing on my feet..." (Interview 5/91). He coaches several sports and sometimes invites students to his home for pizza and a movie or takes them to ball games. He is appreciative of parents who have told him he "made a difference" for their children.

When Rick entered the TADMP, he stated that the social studies are important "to understand our current situation." He wanted to teach social studies in such a way that "students can relate the knowledge to solve their present problems." In contrast to Katherine, who was frustrated at the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War because her students had already "done" the Middle East and forgotten the location of Iraq and Kuwait, Rick brought a TV set into his room and tuned in to CNN:

...the biggest help for me was the Persian Gulf War. 'Why do we have to learn about Iran and Iraq?' 'Well, you know, your brother's there. That's why you need to learn about it...'...I have 160 kids and I would say maybe 75 had relatives in the Gulf at one point or another, so it was very, very personal to them....That's why they're paying attention to the Caste System. Last year, I couldn't teach the Caste System to save my life. I couldn't teach Hindus. I couldn't teach Muslims, because they had... [the attitude] 'So what?' But now that they've had...this very real experience...that helped a great deal to emphasize my point..." (Interview 5/91).

Scholar Psychologist: Greg

After earning a B.S. in marketing in 1987, Greg worked as a sales representative for a large tool-manufacturing corporation. But after 14 months of "coming home every night not happy about who I was and what I was doing," he decided that teaching would "offer more possibilities of fulfillment" (Interview 6/89). He entered the TADMP in June, 1989 at age 24.

In his entry interview, Greg stated that "the best teachers...obviously know their subject matter." Equally important is the psychology of teaching: "...a good teacher has to have a good idea of perception, perceiving what the class feels, and have empathy for what the class has to go through.... A good teacher has to understand what makes the students tick" (Interview 6/89). According to Greg, good teachers were "listeners" and "friends"—but "not to the point of chummy "pal"-ing around" (Interview 6/89).

During his student teaching placement in high school economics, Greg worked at combining his scholarly inclinations with an understanding of pedagogy and adolescent psychology:

And as I took notes out of all these texts, I thought that this was really shaping up as a teacher talk exhibition. So on my little note pad, I kept slipping in 'why' and 'what for' and 'how come' just so I will remember to ask those questions (Interview 3/90).

Greg found a teaching job in the community where he grew up, a blue-collar, industrial suburb of a large Midwestern city. He described his classes as "quite a mix" of cultures, including African, African-American, and Hispanic. Greg himself is of Eastern European descent, as are a number of his students.

We visited Greg toward the end of his first year of teaching. He explained to us that, although he was "not an artsy person," he had sought help in designing his room from a colleague who was. The walls were decorated with laminated maps and posters. One bulletin board was designated a "History Board," on which students could display newspaper and magazine articles of interest. Early in the year, Greg had moved his desk to the back of the room because it "was just in the way," and over it hung a large poster of Michael Jordan along with several pieces of his students' art work.

Greg began his eighth grade U.S. History lesson on Westward movement by asking how many students still lived in the house where they were born. Only a few raised their hands. He then asked the students to suggest reasons why people moved, and used their responses to construct a chart on the board comparing the motivations of various groups who moved West, e.g., the 49ers and the Mormons. Greg's questions throughout the lesson encouraged the students to connect their own experiences with moving to the historical concept. He concluded the lesson by asking the students to reflect on the discussion and use their notes to write a paragraph about what reasons would cause them to move. When the bell rang, every student handed in a paragraph.

Afterwards, Greg talked about his teaching. He continues to use multiple sources to plan, and compared the textbook to an "anchor," stating:

I usually try to be sure that I am using the chapter enough to go back to, because the kids come in with so much emotional baggage, they may be hearing only half the words I'm saying, if that....the kids here have so many emotional problems. We have kids who have to wash their clothes here because their mom's using the money for drinking money...and I almost became hardened to all the stories I've heard this year. Because if you just spent your emotions every

time you heard one, I'd be bouncing off walls somewhere, because it happens daily with more than half of the kids in that class (Interview 5/91).

Initially, Greg described the social studies as "a net, a mesh that you spend the rest of your life filling in..." (Interview 6/89). After almost a year at Hamlin Junior High, he still stressed the interconnections between the individual and society and between the social studies and life:

So when I look at social studies, I think it's just the fact that a citizen is part of a community, no matter who they are, no matter where they are, the citizen is a part of the community. And my motto all year, you know, when we talked about voting, is that George Bush has as many votes as you will have when you're eighteen" (Interview 5/91).

In contrast to Rick, who capitalized on his students' personal interest in the Persian Gulf War, Greg took a more analytical stance: "You know, when the war started and they heard schools had walk-outs and boycotts, [they said] 'Oh! Let's have one!' [I asked] 'Why?' And not one kid could answer me" (Interview 5/91). For Greg, students' interest and enthusiasm should be tempered by logic.

Facilitator of Thinking: Jenna

Jenna entered the TADMP in June 1991. After earning a degree in American Studies from a large Catholic university in the Midwest, Jenna moved to the Southwest where she taught English and history at a school for Native Americans. After a year she returned to her alma mater, where she directed the university's freshmen learning resource center. Encouraged by these teaching experiences, she decided to apply to the program and seek certification in English and social studies.

When she entered the TADMP, Jenna stated, "...my goal as a teacher is to teach them to teach themselves" (Interview 6/91). Jenna expressed a love for her subjects, but said that what most attracted her to teaching was:

...the ability to learn every day. From what comes up in the classroom. I don't think I really went into my first year [of teaching in the Southwest] thinking I was going to learn as much as I did, but the insight of adolescents is incredible (Interview 6/91).

Jenna's microteaching lessons were consistent with her perspective, which values the thinking process over content. The topic of her first

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two lessons was "conflict," and she explained how she went about planning:

I guess I went down to the library, grabbed a history book and I opened it and I found the Boston Massacre and thought, 'That's fine.' So I read it and I was disgusted by the text, so I rewrote the text to be a little more objective...But I thought, 'Oh, well, it seems to me that a good point I could teach, focusing on this, would be...conflict.' Teach about whose perspective we can view this from. And get them to investigate (Interview 6/91).

Jenna's definition of the social studies is consistent with her perspective as a Facilitator of Thinking:

...the point here is we're studying our society, and I don't think it's important that you remember who was involved in the court case that made us desegregate or what year something happened. I don't think any of that is important...It's nice to know and if you have an interest in it, you can go and read it and learn it, but I don't know if it has a place in the history classroom, to be honest with you. So my motive for teaching that is to get kids to see a value in reflecting, mostly. A value in reflecting on things (Interview 6/91).

Nurturer: Caroline

After earning a B.A. in history with a psychology minor, Caroline worked for a year and a half as a paralegal. She decided to change careers, however, because:

...it didn't really matter that I was the one doing it. Anybody else could have done that job. With teaching I guess you get a lot more feeling like you contributed to the success of students (Interview 6/90).

When she entered the TADMP in June 1990, Caroline described the characteristics of a good teacher as:

Patience, understanding, being able to communicate with the students, recognizing that each student is different... And help them reach their own potential. Kind of cheering them on (Interview 6/90).

Caroline's pre-student teaching practicum was in an urban middle school with a predominantly African-American and low-income student body. Reflecting upon that experience, she said, "I really felt like I could really help somebody" (Interview 2/91). For her student

teaching, however, she was placed in a suburban high school, with an affluent, non-minority student population. Here she taught history and psychology under two mentor teachers whose teaching styles and philosophies were quite different.

Caroline described her teaching role as a "facilitator" and favored games, discussion, and group projects as modes of instruction. In the history department, however, the curriculum was predetermined. Days were designated for workbook assignments, quizzes, and tests. She had designed a "Jeopardy" game to help students review for the upcoming test, which she described as "pretty much straight recall." She told us that she geared her instruction for the test, but supplemented lessons with videos and outside sources. She wanted students to make connections between World War I (the unit she was teaching) and the Persian Gulf War, but the departmental test did not ask students to demonstrate the ability to make connections. Nevertheless, Caroline adapted to the school context, and although she felt uncomfortable with the inflexibility of the curriculum, she felt that the departmental grading policy gave students "plenty of chances for them to be successful" (Interview 2/91).

Caroline had more "freedom" in her psychology classes and was more satisfied with her teaching in this area:

I have a lot of activity type things...I gave quizzes only once in a while. When we studied attitudes, I asked them to be creative—they had to write a song. I had people who wrote poems and made posters displaying their attitudes toward a certain subject. They did presentations (Interview 2/91).

Caroline was happy that she had developed a "good rapport" with the students, especially because of her extracurricular work with the track team and the cheerleaders: "I want more things like people asking me to fill out recommendations for them for student offices and...cheerleading" (Interview 2/91). Her relationships with students were the most rewarding aspect of her student teaching.

When we asked Caroline about the role of the social studies, she talked about the importance of Government, one of her areas of certification:

I think government's very important to them because they will eventually be running the country. If they can understand where it's coming from and how it's changed through the years,...It's important to realize that they have the ability to make changes if they want" (Interview 6/90).

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Like other Nurturers, she defined her subject area in terms of its contribution to the development of the learner and children's futures.

Caroline is the only Nurturer among the social studies teachers, and, to date, has not found employment to teach social studies. Consequently, we have been unable to follow up how her perspective might influence her approach to teaching social studies in her own classroom.

Friendly Pedagogue: Jim

Jim earned a B.A. in history from a small liberal arts college, and then did substitute teaching and house-painting before accepting an offer to teach in Central America. After six months of teaching English in a private secondary school, he returned to the United States where he worked for three and a half years for a large, aerospace corporation. He entered the TADMP in June 1989, because he wanted to be "involved in intellectual questions," and because teaching seemed "less trivial and more meaningful" than "the realm of business" (Interview 6/89).

When he entered the TADMP, Jim defined a good teacher as:

A good teacher, first of all, doesn't tell you everything, but rather draws it out of you. A good teacher is a good questioner...has a certain degree of organization...has to be inspirational...interjects humor...[and] is personable (Interview 6/89).

Friendly Pedagogues tend to focus on the methods rather than the content of teaching. After his first microteaching session, Jim talked about his planning:

...so I just took the First Article [of the Bill of Rights] and tried to think of some way that it would involve the class, and some way that would grab the attention of the kids who would not really be interested...sort of fooling them, so that instead of doing boring history, we're doing something that is more of a game (Interview 6/89).

For Jim, the lesson is at the heart of the learning process:

Now specifically, for teaching, it [teaching] centers on the lesson. This has two main areas: lesson preparation and giving the lesson. Lesson preparation outside the classroom. Materials, what materials are we going to use? All those calculations (Interview 4/90).

After completing the TADMP, Jim was hired by a growing and prosperous urban/suburban school district with a racially and socio-

economically mixed student population. We visited Jim in May of his first year of teaching at the high school, where he taught several classes of "basic" U.S. history and Interdisciplinary Studies, a new, team-taught course which combined U.S. History and English and was offered in a two-hour time block.

The topic of the Interdisciplinary Studies lesson was McCarthyism. Jim had prepared and duplicated two excerpts from transcripts of the Congressional hearings, and students role-played the parts (e.g. Lillian Hellman, Ronald Reagan). After each role-play, Jim questioned the class, "What do you think of that?" "What did you expect?" "Does this change your opinion of Ronald Reagan?" The discussion was brief but lively, with some students expressing strong political opinions. Jim used the last few minutes of class to explain the homework assignment: write an essay comparing Lillian Hellman's testimony in the McCarthy "Witch Trials" to John Proctor's testimony in the Salem Witch Trials (*The Crucible*).

Afterwards, Jim told us he was happy with his over-sized classroom, which had enough room for students to spread out for small group discussions, and with the stereo sound and video systems which allowed him to use multi-media. He enjoyed teaching "Interdisc" and was planning some major changes for next year:

...what I want to get into is organizing around the critical, important ideas rather than the events....Next year, I want to get more diversity from the class where they're more responsible for individual things...having each person...not write a biographical paper necessarily, but be that person...so that when we have discussions, you know, 'What would Jefferson think about this? Or Hamilton?' Try to get that going (Interview 5/91).

Jim was unhappy with the 500 page U.S. history text and wanted to convince the district to purchase an abridged version which he could supplement with "primary source documents and readings." Particularly frustrating to Jim were his "basic" classes:

...because I was struggling, struggling, struggling, trying all sorts of things and I finally said, 'Okay. We're going to do the Vietnam War because I think that's really interesting. Would you rather do that? 'Yes. We would.'...and I gave them an assessment to see where they were and I asked, 'Where was the Vietnam War?' And two kids told me, 'Korea'....They both just stared at me and said Korea. Not a joke. And I just thought, 'Oh, my God' (Interview 5/91).

Jim resisted having these students memorize historical facts, and he didn't like workbooks. As in his Interdisciplinary class, he wanted to discuss the underlying causes, issues, and implications of events, but "world events, even the Gulf War was not really something that I felt anything coming from....There wasn't any interest in anything beyond going down...to the mall, or working at the supermarket" (Interview 5/91). He concluded that he and his "basic" classes were "a mismatch."

When he entered the TADMP, Jim told us, "History should be taught so that we can minimize crazy ideas that people are sometimes wont to have" (Interview 6/89). Using Nazi Germany as an example, he said that by studying the mistakes of the past "we can look at things from a more balanced perspective." After almost a year of teaching, his view of social studies' as a tool for ends other than knowledge per se remained consistent. He compared social studies to a "shotgun:"

We're just going to tell you the most important things, as many important things as we can...so you now, after a year, have a better idea of what the world is like, of what your past is like, and where you are (Interview 5/91).

He was able to enact this perspective in his "high-track" Interdisciplinary class. For these students, "history in particular, the factual materials, the knowledge of events, what transpired, is absolutely secondary" (Interview 5/91). But he was ambivalent about the importance of social studies for his basic students, who were interested by neither his probing questions nor his pedagogical techniques:

If I spend a lot of time teaching the 50 states, but then I come back after three weeks and give that same map unannounced, some of them do pretty well, and a good number of them put Michigan in Florida. Then I wonder just how much I've done over 180 school days of educating them to be better voters....What have I done as far as teaching them about politics or about the Constitution or about how to be critical of a speech that you're hearing?" (Interview 5/91).

Empowerer: Marilyn

Marilyn earned her B. A. in Economics in 1976. Before beginning the TADMP in 1988, she devoted her time to raising her two children, teaching swimming lessons and working as a "professional volunteer." She decided to enter teaching because it seemed to be "the most logical thing to do" and she believed she had been "given a gift for teaching" (Interview 6/88).

Marilyn de-emphasized the importance of academic knowledge in teaching:

"Knowledge is secondary. It's more important to teach kids to accept themselves and to develop their own talents and work to be satisfied with themselves and be responsible for their actions" (Interview 6/88).

Like Caroline, she expressed concern more with students' self-esteem and uniqueness than with academic achievement. But as an Empowerer, Marilyn added the dimension of "responsibility for self."

Marilyn did her student teaching in a medium-sized city with two large high schools. The school system is distinguished as much for its students' academic achievement as for its finely-developed tracking system and highly structured curriculum. In this context, Marilyn found much that conflicted with her initial aspirations of teaching cooperation, self and mutual respect, and responsibility. Only in her economics class did she feel free to implement co-operative strategies:

"...with the CTL or co-operative team learning - I spent hours on it. I saw students come alive.... In small groups, some students who didn't participate would participate. Students were not embarrassed. Just the excitement that I felt. I can't say that it improved their test scores at all, but they worked" (Interview 4/89).

Marilyn felt restricted by the school environment in which she was placed. She did not, however, alter her perspective of wanting to "create responsible students;" rather she blamed the contextual factors which seemed to be impeding her from attaining her goals. Although she finished student teaching with many negative feelings, she also felt that she was "still learning...confident, at least in my presence...I continually want to do and be more than I am" (Interview 4/89).

Marilyn was hired to teach fifth-eighth grade social studies and English by a Catholic school in a small suburban/rural community. We observed her seventh grade social studies lesson on "Triangular Trade." Her focus was the slave trade in Africa. The students were seated around four tables and Marilyn, seated at one of the tables, began by introducing the concept of "profit". Next, using the pictures in the text and a world map on the black board as focal points, she questioned students for prior knowledge, directed their attention to the pictorial evidence and asked them to hypothesize as to why, for example, the slave trade volume tripled during the first half of the eighteenth century. The students volunteered information, observations, and possible explanations. The discussion based on the visuals took up most of the period; then Marilyn raised the map on the board to reveal the homework assignment. The students, guided by two focus questions, were now to read the text of the chapter they had been discussing.

Marilyn told us she was basically satisfied with her decision to go into teaching: "I like when I can, when I see the kids actually thinking on their own. When I know they can finally do it on their own" (Interview 5/91). She expressed some frustration with the textbook and the state-imposed testing program, but this small, parochial school offered her freedom and support she had not experienced during student teaching:

"Oh, I was part of the family before I walked in...I was welcomed with open arms. I'm the social studies department. I've taken the kids out of the book to - read *The Crucible* in 8th grade...I've done a lot of neat things, and normally I've asked permission, but I've never been turned down" (Interview 5/91).

Some of the "neat things" Marilyn told us about were a prayer list on one blackboard ("It's just always there as a reminder that we're not the only ones out there"), a month long independent research project on Native Americans, and a unit on Africa..."to break the stereotype that Africans run around half naked and they're all black and...totally uncivilized."

When Marilyn entered the program, she characterized the social studies as being "about all aspects of life: history teaches us how we become what we are...government is political power" (Interview 6/88). After almost a year of teaching in a context that harmonizes with her own values and in a community that supports her classroom decisions, Marilyn's perspective has become even clearer. When asked what she wanted her students to learn from social studies, she replied, "A more global perspective. That there's a bigger world out there than this little town.... That there are kids just like them all over the world." (Interview 5/91).

In contrast to the other six teachers portrayed in this study, Marilyn encouraged students' participation in events surrounding the Gulf conflict. She had her students send letters and cards to soldiers on active duty, and when the war was over:

"Two of my students had brothers in the war. When they came back we had them come in and talk. Well, seventh grade eyes got like...silver dollars. 'What do you mean you were stuck in a bunker with sand in your hair and your ears? Well, why didn't you just go take a shower?' And he just said, 'I couldn't. There were no showers'...It was a good learning experience. It brought it all home to them" (Interview 5/91).

Discussion And Conclusions

Teachers are like snowflakes. Each has a unique identity yet shares common characteristics with the others. The teachers in our study are unique and idiosyncratic, yet we have been struck by common themes and patterns that have emerged within the group.

The seven teachers portrayed in this study represent several levels of experience (from none to two and one-half years), a variety of school contexts, and a range of social studies teaching assignments. Their perspectives both influence and are influenced by all these variables. For us, their teacher perspectives have been a common thread with which we can trace these diverse individuals as they develop in their profession.

Imbedded within each teacher's perspective is his/her individual conception of the social studies. These conceptions seem to mirror the competing traditions of the social studies held by major theorists in the field (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977; Engle and Ochoa, 1988). Katherine and Rick, for example, seem to fit into the tradition of Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission. Greg, Jenna, and Jim seem most closely aligned with the tradition of Social Studies Taught as Social Science. Caroline's student teaching experience in Psychology suggests that she would probably belong to the tradition of Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry, as would Marilyn. Marilyn and Jenna might also be in agreement with advocates of multicultural and global perspectives in the social studies (Banks, 1989; Becker, 1979; Bennett, 1990; Kniep, 1986). Thus, each of these teachers does seem to be working within a recognized tradition of social studies teaching. And while all seven would probably accept a definition of social studies as citizenship education, they would differ in their definitions of and emphases on the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and action needed to attain this goal (NCSS, 1990).

It appears that these teachers' choices of instructional techniques are also influenced by their perspectives. Traditionally, social studies instruction has been seen as "textbook-based, teacher dominated recitation and lecture" (Thornton, 1991, p. 246). Thornton suggested that there may be more variety in instructional strategies than previously reported, that recitation and lecture effectiveness vary with individual teachers, and that these techniques may not necessarily result in "student disengagement" (p. 276). The teachers portrayed in our study used a variety of instructional materials and techniques. Several--Greg, Jenna, Jim, and Marilyn, for example--were observed using the textbook primarily as a resource, or springboard. We observed a variety of questioning and discussion styles, as well as various projects these teachers had designed to encourage independent inquiry, values

clarification, and higher-level thinking among their students. Even Katherine, the most textbook-oriented of the seven, was teaching a lesson she had designed herself to address what she perceived as a student need. While Katherine was having little success with her lecture approach, we have observed other Inculcators, Friendly Scholars, and Scholar Psychologists using the recitation/lecture method successfully. In our experience, the success of this method depends as much on charismatic personalities as it does on school culture and classroom climate.

Our findings present teacher educators with some difficult questions. Are all perspectives equally appropriate for social studies in the coming decades? If not, is it ethical to attempt to modify "inappropriate" perspectives? How do we avoid the dangers of stereotyping individuals or gatekeeping based upon insufficient data? If we take the position that no teacher perspective is inherently better or worse than the others, what do we do about teachers who emphasize irrelevant content or who foster attitudes and values that are morally indefensible to the world and interests of some students?

We have taken the position in the color wheel analogy that no color (or perspective) is "better" or "best," though some shades may clash with some school contexts and harmonize with others. Certain shades may also clash with some approaches to the social studies and harmonize with others.

Being open to multiple teacher perspectives in the social studies does not require value neutrality, however we can be judges of effectiveness. We would not feel neutral about low teacher expectations for student learning and development, about students whose needs and interests are overlooked, or about social studies content that conflicts with our view of what knowledge is of most value. We find teachers of all seven perspectives who foster student learning and who strive to develop knowledge, understanding, attitudes and skills consistent with democratic ideals such as human dignity, justice, free dissent, and majority rule with minority rights. Inculcators, for example, can inspire and advocate concern for the environment and anti-racist behavior; they can also promote conservative patriotism and ethnocentrism.

Although we are open to multiple teacher perspectives in the social studies, we have seen over the past few years that some perspectives are effective in a narrower range of contexts than are others, especially Inculcators and Nurturers. Inculcators, for example tend to be highly effective in advanced placement history or government courses, but not in middle school social studies. Nurturers are happiest in schools where they can develop warm relationships with their students and personalize the content.

All of these teachers shared a common teacher education program which attempts to foster global and multicultural awareness and a

concern for the learner. It appears that the impact of the program is very much influenced by the perspectives individuals bring to it: they pick and choose the aspects that harmonize with their perspectives. If we teacher educators hope to influence our students to share our values, we need to have an understanding of *their* values, attitudes, and beliefs. This understanding begins with reflection and is nurtured through negotiation and dialogue.

Several implications for social studies teacher educators have emerged over the past four years. Social studies methods instructors who advocate a single approach to teaching the social studies need to be aware that the approach they teach may be filtered through the preservice teacher's perspective. This was evident in the cases of Katherine (Inculcator) and Marilyn (Empowerer), who took the same social studies methods course, a course that stressed social issues and problem solving. Katherine was resistant to the approach while Marilyn was open and receptive.

How, then, should social studies teacher educators deal with this match or mis-match phenomenon? We suggest that it might be better to present an array of approaches rather than a preferred one. Given a whole range of approaches to teaching the social studies, teachers can clarify where they stand among the competing conceptions, and feel their perspective is recognized and valuable. A sense of "this is me" could provide an anchor, a stable point from which they can venture out and explore. Inculcators, for example, could learn to use advance organizers, concept acquisition strategies, primary sources and multiple media to supplement the lecture approach they favor, although they may never be comfortable with role play and extensive small group work. A study of the teacher perspectives could be developed in a spiral fashion, beginning with an introductory methods course and continuing through student teaching and the first few years in the classroom. First, the color wheel itself could be presented early during preservice education as a means of strengthening self-awareness and awareness of the range of possibilities, strengths and potential weakness. It could be revisited during student and inservice teaching as a self check and means of examining areas of strength/success and weakness/concern, and enable the beginning teacher to become more proactive in resolving difficulties. Second, a complementary color wheel of the various approaches to the social studies could be developed through collaboration among teacher educators, inservice and preservice teachers. This could strengthen analysis of which approach is most appealing according to teacher perspective, context, and grade level/subject area taught. It could also lead to a richer description of the seven teacher perspectives in terms of content and processes focused specifically on social studies instruction. Third, case study scenarios of social studies teachers who portray the

seven perspectives could serve as a springboard for study, interpretation and decision making among both preservice and inservice teachers. The case studies should include examples of teachers that range along a continuum of successful to unsuccessful. (We are currently developing such case studies and plan to pilot them in a social studies methods class during the fall of 1992.) And fourth, the perspectives can provide guidelines for continual self-assessment and reflection throughout a teacher's career.

Teachers can benefit from insight into how their approach to the social studies is affected by their overall teacher perspective, which in turn affects their interpretation of the teaching context. Katherine, for example, cannot inculcate well if she cannot get a light bulb for the overhead projector. Jim has all the resources he needs to be a Pedagogue. His interdisciplinary classes seem to appreciate his presentations, but his basic classes do not. The fit between perspective and context ranges from good for Rick and Greg, to moderate for Caroline and Jim, to poor for Katherine. The fit was also poor for Marilyn during student teaching, but she is currently thriving in a school context that supports her Empowerer perspective.

In future research we plan to explore the degree to which teacher perspectives and their conceptions of their content areas are influenced by school contexts. Additional research could also explore whether perspectives differ according to grade level taught, and how perspectives might vary among the social studies content areas. Finally it should be emphasized that Teacher as Decision Maker Fellows differ from many preservice and beginning teachers in maturity, work experience, and academic preparation. Therefore, we are cautious about the extent to which our findings apply to other groups, but hopeful that future research will investigate this question.

Endnotes

¹The names of the schools have been changed to protect their identity.

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Theory and Research in Social Education
Summer, 1992, Volume XX, Number 3, pp. 293-312
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IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES WITHIN THE SOCIAL STUDIES PROFESSION: AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE "TWO CULTURES" THESIS

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Abstract

Differences in perspective between professors of social studies education and teachers of social studies regarding the proper focus of social studies instruction frequently have been noted. In order to better understand one potential source of these differences, data on the political ideology of both groups was collected and examined. The professorate sample was found to be substantially more liberal than the teacher sample. The implications of these findings for the future vitality of the profession are discussed.

Introduction

It has been argued by Shaver (1977), Mehlinger (1981), and most recently, Leming (1989), that among the many problems besetting the social studies profession is the presence of an ideological chasm that separates the intellectual leadership (primarily college and university faculty members), from social studies classroom teachers and the general public. This ideological chasm manifests itself most fundamentally in differing conceptions regarding the proper objectives for teaching the social studies. It has been noted by the authors mentioned above that social studies teachers tend to hold to a view that, in practice, envisages a conservative role for social studies education involving the transmission of mainstream interpretations of

history and American values. For example, most social studies teachers tend to eschew controversial ideas or topics that focus on apparent weaknesses in the economic and/or political system of the United States. College and university faculty, on the other hand, generally espouse a socially progressive role for social studies education. They hold to the view that social studies instruction should prepare students to critique existing society and empower them to work toward a "better" society of some sort.

The existence of this ideological chasm has been inferred by the above authors from the writings of university faculty, which they then compared to descriptions of how social studies was actually taught in the schools, as drawn from field studies and other evidence. The precise nature and extent of this gulf or chasm, if indeed it does exist, has not been empirically studied to date. Although some limited empirical evidence does exist regarding the ideological perspectives of social studies teachers (Leming, 1991), very little is known regarding the ideological perspectives of college and university faculty members. As Banks & Parker recently noted in their review of social studies teacher education: "Professors in social studies education have devoted little attention to studying themselves (1990, p. 678)."

Accordingly, the purpose of the present study was to gather data concerning the ideological perspectives of college and university faculty with regard to political and educational issues, and to compare it to existing survey data which describes the responses of social studies teachers and the general public to the same questionnaire items. Questionnaire data from a national survey of a sample of social studies teachers that assessed their opinions related to political ideology was collected. Relevant items from this questionnaire data were then incorporated into a questionnaire that was mailed to members of the College and University Assembly (CUFA) of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), defined for the purpose of this study as the intellectual leadership of NCSS. The results from this survey were then compared with the responses of social studies teachers, and where possible, compared with the responses from a national sample of teachers, the responses of a national sample of higher education faculty, and the responses of the general public.

Method

Subjects

CUFA is an associated group of NCSS and has as its purpose "...to promote the common interest of social studies educators in research, instruction and other scholarly activities." The membership of NCSS, not including institutions, consists of approximately 19,500 individuals.

The membership of CUFA consists of approximately 450 individuals. Not all CUFA members are college or university faculty, however, and not all NCSS members affiliated with colleges or universities are members of CUFA. Only 53 percent of those NCSS members who indicated that they work at a college or university (n=850) are also members of CUFA.

A current set of mailing labels of CUFA members was obtained from the national office of the NCSS. Individual CUFA members with U.S. or Canadian addresses comprised the initial number of questionnaires that were mailed (n=450).

Four sets of surveys that drew samples from national populations and utilized random sampling techniques were identified. The data from these surveys provided the comparison data for the sample of social studies teachers, the sample of teachers in general, and the sample of higher education faculty. The characteristics of these samples is shown in Table 1.

Instrument

Using items selected from relevant prior national surveys, questionnaire items were included in the CUFA questionnaire dealing with the following topics:

- political party identification;
- political ideology identification;
- opinions regarding economic opportunity;
- religious belief and practice;
- opinions on contemporary issues (separation of church and state, the death penalty, abortion, and the most important problem facing the United States);
- goals of education;
- goals of social studies education.

The questionnaire consisted of 12 items covering the above topics. The primary source from which the questionnaire items were drawn was the National Center for Educational Information's *Profile of Teachers in the U.S.* (Feistritz, 1986). The mailed questionnaire survey contained the original items for all of the above topics except the last two mentioned-- "goals of education" and "goals of social studies." The item dealing with the goals of education (and the related social studies teachers data) were taken from the High School and Beyond study (as reported by Rutter, 1986).

The goals of social studies education survey item and the related social studies teacher data were taken from the Agency for Instructional Television Survey (Fontana, 1980). The wording of each questionnaire item was stated verbatim as it was presented in the above surveys. This wording is reported in the results section below.

Table 1
Characteristics of Comparison Studies

Author	Sample Characteristics	Year Data Collected	Sample Size	Response Rate	Questionnaire Topics ^a
Feistritzer (1986) ^b	Public School Teachers	1986	1,114	70 %	1,2,3, 4,5,6
Feistritzer (1986)	Social Studies Teachers ^c	1986	285	70 %	1,2,3, 4,5,6
Fontana (1980)	Social Studies Teachers	1980	588	58.8 %	8
Rutter (1984)	Social Studies Teachers	1984	10,370	90% ^d	7
Astin, Korn, & Dey (1990)	University Faculty	1989-1990	35,478	55.2 %	2,5

Key: ^aNumbers refer to following items: (1) political party identification (2) political ideology identification (3) opinions on economic opportunity (4) views on religion (5) opinions on contemporary issues (6) most important problem (7) goals of education (8) goals of social studies. ^bFeistritzer also reports comparison data from national surveys of the general public. This data, where relevant, are reported within the individual tables located throughout this article. ^cWithin the Feistritzer (1986) sample of public school teachers, 157 respondents indicated that they currently taught the social sciences and 128 respondents indicated that they currently taught history. Data from these two groups were combined to create the social studies teachers data set (n=285). ^dPercentage of the 537 High School and Beyond schools from which completed questionnaires were received.

Procedure

In March of 1990, the questionnaire was mailed to all CUFA members with U.S. or Canadian addresses (n=450), along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The last of the returned questionnaires was received on August 1, 1990.

Results

Completed and usable questionnaires were obtained from 260 respondents (58%). This response rate is slightly higher than other recently mailed national surveys to higher education faculty. For example, the Carnegie Foundation National Survey of Faculty (Boyer, 1989) achieved a 54.5 percent response rate from questionnaires mailed to 9,996 higher education faculty. The Higher Education Research Institute Faculty Survey (Astin, Korn & Dey, 1991) achieved a 55.2 percent response rate from 93,479 mailed questionnaires.

Eighty-three percent of the CUFA sample indicated that they held positions at institutions of higher learning. The sample consisted of 67 percent male respondents and 33 percent female respondents. Eighty-six percent (n=223) of the CUFA sample were recipients of doctoral degrees. The decade in which recipients indicated they earned the degree is as follows: 1940s (n=1, <1%); 1950s (n=4, 2%); 1960s (n=72, 32%); 1970s (n=88, 39%); 1980s (n=51, 23%); 1990s (n=7, 3%).

Identification with one of the major political parties in this country can be considered as a very general indication of one's political ideology. This has been especially true in the past two decades when the split regarding the extent of governmental intrusion in the lives of citizens has been clearly drawn in voters due to the Republican party's conservative theme of less government. The data in Table 2 can be interpreted as indicating that the CUFA sample identifies substantially more with the Democratic party than do social studies teachers. The party identification of social studies teachers was found to be closer to that of other teachers and the general public.

Party identification is not always a reliable indication of an individual's political ideology. Regional differences with regard to party stands on particular issues, as well as intra- and inter-party differences at the national level, often make it difficult to associate ideological positions with an individual's party identification. In the data reported in Table 3, the respondents gave a self-definition of their political ideology. The CUFA sample identifies with a liberal ideology four times more than do social studies teachers and other teachers. While the professorate, in general, is much more liberal than the general public, the CUFA sample was found to be 21 percentage points more liberal than the general professorate.

An even more finely tuned examination of the ideological position of the social studies profession may be obtained from the responses to questionnaire items that focus on perceptions regarding economic opportunity in this country. Once again, it was found that social studies teachers and their public school colleagues were quite close in their perceptions. However, the responses of the CUFA sample,

Table 2 Political Party Identification				
Item: Regardless of how you may vote, what do you usually consider yourself—a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent? (check one)				
	General Teachers (NCEI)^a	SS Teachers (NCEI)	CUFA Sample	General Public^b
Democrat	41%	41%	73%	39%
Republican	31%	31%	7%	31%
Independent	25%	25%	20%	26%

^aNCEI=the National Center for Educational Information (Feistritzer, 1986)

^bHarris Survey of 2,501 adults conducted February - April 1986

Table 3 Identification of Political Ideology			
Item: How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally do you think of yourself as liberal, moderate, or conservative? (check one)			
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
General Teacher Sample (NCEI)	14%	56%	30%
Social Studies Teachers (NCEI)	15%	57%	28%
CUFA Sample	63%	33%	4%
Professorate (HERI)^a	42%	40%	18%
General Public^b	21%	38%	36%

^aHERI refers to the Higher Education Research Institute data (Astin, Korn & Dey, 1991)

^bCBS/*New York Times* survey, January 19-23, 1986.

as shown in Table 4, are substantially different from both groups. Compared to social studies teachers, the CUFA sample can only be characterized as lacking the belief that economic opportunity is a

Table 4 Opinions on Economic Opportunity				
Respond to the following five statements using SA (Strongly agree), A (Agree), D (Disagree), or SD (Strongly disagree). (Percentages represent those responding either agree or strongly agree.)				
Item	General Teachers (NCEI)	SS Teachers (NCEI)	CUFA Sample	General Public^a
•America has an open society. What one achieves in life no longer depends on one's family background, but the abilities one has and the education one acquires.	73%	72%	45%	85%
•Everyone in this country has an opportunity to obtain an education corresponding to his or her abilities and talents.	63%	63%	27%	71%
•In the U.S. there are still great differences between social levels, and what one can achieve in life depends mainly upon one's family background.	44%	45%	60%	45%
•Only if differences in income and social standing are large enough is there an incentive for individual effort.	24%	33%	16%	59%
•Differences in social standing between people are acceptable because they basically reflect what people are made of.	43%	43%	12%	74%

^aGeneral Social Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, 1984.

reality in this society. In general, the CUFA sample, when compared to other groups, views economic success as a result of position and privilege over discipline and effort, and finds that the economic differences that result from our economic system are undesirable.

Religion is a central fact of life for the majority of citizens in the United States. Deeply held religious beliefs are frequently associated with positions on important contemporary issues such as the death penalty, abortion, and prayer in public schools. As reported in Table 5, the CUFA sample was found to have substantially less faith in religion as a source of solutions for today's problems than the other samples, and less likely to have engaged in prayer.

The death penalty, abortion, and the place of religion in schools are among the many public policy issues that divide U.S. citizens. Table 6 presents the percentage of respondents agreeing with specific positions on these issues. The CUFA sample consistently favored more liberal positions on these issues than did the social studies teachers and the other comparison groups.

Table 5 Views on Religion				
Question: With which of the following statements do you agree more? (Check one)				
Item	General Teachers (NCEI)	SS Teachers (NCEI)	CUFA Sample	General Public*
•Religion can answer all or most of today's problems	52%	47%	20%	58%
•Religion is largely old-fashioned and out of date	9%	14%	26%	24%
•No opinion	39%	38%	54%	18%
Item: Do you ever pray to God? (Check one)				
•Yes	94%	93%	71%	87%
•No	6%	7%	29%	13%

*Survey of 1,008 adults by the Gallup Organization, November 11-18, 1985.

Table 6
Opinions on Contemporary Issues

Item	General Teachers (NCEI)	SS Teachers (NCEI)	CUFA Sample	Profesorate (HERI)	General Public ^a
Favor death penalty for murders	70%	81%	33%	56%	75%
Approve Supreme Court decision that government may not require reading Bible verses in the public schools	60%	66%	94%	NA ^b	43
Agree teachers should be allowed to start each day with a prayer	47%	42%	9%	NA	66%
Agree abortion should be legal as it is now	48%	42%	87%	77%	38%
Agree abortion should be legal only to save a mothers life, or because of rape or incest	39%	36%	10%	NA	45%
Agree abortion should not be permitted	16%	12%	1%	NA	12%

^aSurvey by the National Opinion Research Center, February-April, 1985

^bItem was not included in questionnaire

The percentage of respondents checking a single problem as the most important problem facing this country today is presented in Table 7. The most distinctive differences between the CUFA sample and social studies teachers is with regard to the problems of poverty, and moral, religious decline.

Table 7
Most Important Problem
Facing the United States today

Item: What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (Check one)

Item	SS Teachers (NCEI)	General Teachers ^a (NCEI)	CUFA Sample
•Crime	18%	----	9%
•Unemployment	4%	8%	3%
•Poverty/hunger	10%	----	37%
•High cost of living	2%	----	1%
•Fear of war,international tensions	5%	9%	1%
•Excess government spending, budget deficits	15%	13%	12%
•The economy, in general	12%	14%	16%
•Moral, religious decline	30%	26%	10%
•All others	4%	----	12%

^aOnly the five most frequently checked responses are reported.

Two important differences between the sample of social studies teachers and the CUFA sample were found in the rank order of the general goals of education as reported in Table 8. The CUFA sample ranked citizenship higher than the social studies teacher sample; the social studies teacher sample ranked good work habits and self-discipline higher than the CUFA sample.

Table 8
General Goals of Education

Item: Rank order the following general goals of education, giving a 1 to the goal that you see as most important, and an 8 to the goal you see as least important. (Responses are reported as mean rank, followed by the mean rank order in parentheses.)

Item	SS teachers (HSB)^a	CUFA sample
Academic excellence	3.7 (3)	3.6 (3)
Basic literacy skills	2.4 (1)	3.5 (2)
Citizenship	4.3 (5)	2.6 (1)
Good work habits and Self-discipline	3.3 (2)	4.7 (6)
Human relations	4.5 (6)	4.0 (4)
Moral, religious values	6.2 (7)	6.2 (7)
Occupational Skills	6.7 (8)	6.6 (8)
Personal growth	4.0 (4)	4.1 (5)

^aHSB=High School and Beyond study (as reported by Rutter, 1986).

Table 9 presents the perceptions of the respondents regarding the purposes of social studies education. There do not appear to be any substantial differences of opinion on this question between the CUFA sample and the social studies teacher sample.

Summary and Discussion

Based on the data collected in this survey, the inference appears warranted that an ideological chasm separates the CUFA members from the social studies teachers of the profession. This chasm is most apparent with regard to political orientation, opinions regarding

Table 9
Purposes of the Social Studies

Item: To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements about the purposes of the social studies?^a

Item	Social studies teachers (AIT) ^b	CUFA sample
•The social studies is to teach knowledge of the past	53%	48%
•The social studies is to help students effectively cope with issues in their own lives	88%	81%
•The social studies is to develop student's ability to think critically and constructively about society	95%	99%
•The social studies is to teach the knowledge and methods of the social sciences	47%	52%
•The social studies is to promote involvement in social and political organizations	54%	59%
•The social studies is to prepare students for alternative futures	62%	73%

^aPercentages based on responses to a 5 point semantic differential scale, with (5) indicating "completely" to (1) indicating "not at all." Percentages represent those giving a 4 or 5 response.

^bAIT=Agency for Instruction Television study (Fontana, 1980).

economic opportunity, and opinions on selected contemporary political and social issues. The social studies teacher sample was found to be ideologically closer to the general teacher sample and the general public than they were to the CUFA sample. The CUFA sample was found to be ideologically to the left of social studies teachers, other teachers, and a sample of their colleagues in higher education. Differences between the CUFA sample and the social studies teacher sample with regard to the general goals of education and the purposes of social studies education were found to be minor.

Some obvious limitations of this study exist that must temper any conclusions. The first is the question of whether the actual CUFA sample surveyed is representative of the intellectual leadership of the social studies profession. Both the use of the CUFA membership as the population and the obtained response rate may raise some questions in this regard. Although only 53 percent of those NCSS members that are affiliated with an institution of higher education hold membership in CUFA, the membership of CUFA has traditionally included those members of the profession that have articulated the most quoted positions on the purposes of social studies education and those who have been the most actively involved in research in the field. As noted above, although the response rate in this study (58%) is below what would have been desired, it is slightly above that of other mailed survey response rates that utilized a higher education sample.

Another possible weakness of this study is the potential for a historical effect in the data resulting from the differences in time between the administration of the questionnaire items to the different samples. With regard to some items, such as the most important problem facing the country, dramatic shifts have occurred in national polls over relatively short periods of time (six months or less). Responses to this sort of questionnaire item have been found to be very sensitive to current events. On the other hand, only minor shifts have been noted over a 20 year period of time in the general public's ideological identification (Robinson & Fleishman, 1988). Basic ideological positions tend to be more stable over time than positions on specific issues. The data in this study should be interpreted accordingly so as to avoid confusing intergroup differences with differences that may be due to shifts common to all groups over an elapsed period of time.

Finally, a small number of the respondents voiced objections to the wording of certain of the items on the questionnaire. Clearly, there were a variety of sophisticated positions held by some respondents that were not adequately reflected in the choice of options included in individual items on this questionnaire. Although a more open-ended format for this questionnaire might have yielded a more detailed view of ideological positions, the use of forced-choice type items was unavoidable once the decision was made regarding the importance of obtaining valid comparison data. This decision necessitated that the wording of questionnaire items be exactly the same as in previous surveys.

The apparently incongruous finding that the CUFA and social studies teacher samples expressed close agreement regarding the purposes of social studies education deserves discussion. One possible interpretation is that the ideological differences between the groups does not carry over to perspective on the social studies. This

interpretation is not credible given the pronouncements regarding the purposes of social studies found among the academic community. For a revealing description of how the ideological perspectives of faculty are manifested in Schools of Education, including social studies methods classrooms, see Kramer (1991).

A more plausible interpretation of this finding is that the wording of the options for this questionnaire item is not sensitive to (i.e., does not elicit) true differences of perspective on this issue. Let me illustrate with a brief example. The item, "The social studies is to teach knowledge of the past," can be interpreted from a variety of perspectives. On the one hand, an individual might agree with this statement and mean that the social studies ought to continue to teach history so as to extoll our democratic traditions and government as it has attempted to do in the past. On the other hand, a person could agree with this statement and mean that a very different type of history should be taught, one that would emphasize the fundamentally undemocratic nature of our country and how powerful elites have managed to maintain political control throughout its history. Also, the current debate surrounding multicultural education is in part a debate over whose history should be taught. Agreeing that history should be taught, by itself, is not informative with regard to the more important question of "What history?"

Evidence regarding the sources of the political liberalism of social studies academics is not revealed by this research. Some individuals have argued that the liberalism found among academics today represents something like the second coming of the New Left of the 1960s (e.g., Diggins, 1992). That is, the student radicals of the 1960s have grown up, some have become college professors, and the political struggle has been moved from the steps of the administration building into the college classroom. This interpretation does not appear to hold for this sample. Using a one way ANOVA procedure to examine the political ideology of CUFA respondents on the various items, no statistically significant differences were detected when the respondents were grouped by decade of the year of receipt of the terminal degree (1960s, 1970s, and 1980s). Additionally, CUFA respondents were asked to indicate their degree of political activism when they were undergraduate and graduate students. Correlational analysis revealed no meaningful relationships between level of political activism and any of the questionnaire items. A generational interpretation of the political socialization of the CUFA sample does not appear to be supported by the evidence collected in this survey.

In my opinion, a more plausible explanation for the ideological perspectives of the CUFA sample is drawn from the analysis of conflicts between individuals and institutional contexts. That is, it has

been my observation that individuals with strong liberal political orientations typically find working within hierarchical and fundamentally conservative organizations such as the public schools a repressive experience. Public schools are certainly institutions where the conformity to organizational life has required an imposition of limits on the personal freedoms of teachers and students alike. Those school teachers who are the most sensitive to these restraints on personal freedoms would, from this perspective, be the most likely to want to seek out an environment more compatible with their ideological dispositions, yet still within their chosen profession. The most attractive alternative for many of these individuals, according to this interpretation, has been higher education. This interpretation is only conjecture at this point, but it is based on autobiographical observations collected from my conversations with colleagues over the years.

Commentary

What does the presence of the ideological chasm identified in this study imply for the future of social studies education? I wish to offer a few thoughts in this regard. Ideological differences between academics, those practicing the profession, and the general public have been noted in many professional fields as diverse as the humanities (Kimball, 1990) and law (Bork, 1990; Presser, 1991). These ideological differences between those who work in institutions of higher education and the general public have inspired contemporary fiction, generated cartoons in the *New Yorker*, and provided general bemusement (and sometimes outrage) for many observers of academe. In general, society has developed a fairly tolerant attitude toward the eccentricities of academics as long as the product produced has been considered to be of good quality. It is when the product is considered suspect that those at the head of the profession are more closely examined. Recent years have seen a decline in confidence in the product of our educational system. Those involved in teacher education have been exposed to intense public and political scrutiny, and those involved in social studies education have been no exception.

The great dismal swamp of today's school curriculum is not reading or writing, not math or science, not even foreign language study. It is social studies, a field that has been getting slimier and more tangled ever since it changed its name from "history" around 1916. It is also a subject students seldom like, and one that is doing a wretched job of forging historically knowledgeable citizens with a passion for democracy (Finn, 1988, p.35).

The above quote is symptomatic, if not a bit more vitriolic, of many of the criticisms facing the social studies profession today. The term "social studies" has increasingly fallen out of favor. Critics of present-day social studies have characterized the current leadership as a collection of extreme liberals who are out of touch with contemporary reality. In the 1988 essay mentioned above, Chester Finn attacks Jan Tucker's 1987 NCSS presidential address in which Tucker called for global interdependence, cultural reciprocity, and relativism to be taught at the expense of national identity and pride; Finn also criticizes James Banks' call (in his social studies methods book) to root out the traditional emphasis on facts and replace such teaching with higher levels of knowledge. It is the advocacy of curricular imperatives that eschew traditional values that enrages Finn and many others of influence in the United States today, and delineates the crisis facing the intellectual leadership in social studies education.

One result of the leadership's failure to articulate a politically astute rationale for the social studies has been that history and geography are increasingly the terms of choice among many critics and reformers instead of "social studies." California, one of the largest and most influential educational states, refers to its social studies curriculum as a "history and social sciences curriculum" (History/social science curriculum and criteria committee, 1988). Additionally, in *America 2000: An education strategy*, President George Bush and Secretary Lamar Alexander, although mentioning citizenship as an important goal, appear to interpret it as competency in history and geography. They do not mention the social studies. One reason for this evolving state of affairs is, in my judgment, that the social studies has been defined in such a way that in the public eye it now carries the baggage of a socially progressive agenda.

One of the necessary first steps that must be taken to revitalize an organization and a profession that increasingly finds itself without an effective voice on the national level is to redress those factors that are contributing to this state of affairs. From my perspective, one of the most significant of these factors is the failure of the intellectual leadership to articulate a view of the purposes of the social studies that will gain the support of teachers, the general public and the political establishment.

How, therefore, should the intellectual leadership respond to the gradually shifting focus for social studies that is increasingly being influenced from outside the profession? To date, I have not detected a response from the profession that has been persuasive. Typical of the responses that have appeared has been an energetic attack on the proponents of cultural and historical literacy. The problem with these counterattacks is that the idea of cultural literacy is one that has a

broad public appeal. Despite their erudition, CUFA members have not been able to mount a politically persuasive counter argument. The dominant ideology that characterizes much of the thinking of the intellectual leadership has become ossified dogma; as a result, a significant portion of the profession has been incapable of responding in an constructive manner to the changing political and educational environment. To the extent that we as a profession are perceived as continuing to operate outside of the center of the contemporary educational debate, we marginalize ourselves.

In order to effectively reenter the national dialogue about the the future of social studies education, I feel that two fundamental principles must be incorporated into the infrastructure of our discussion as a profession. First, we must openly acknowledge that we know little about how social studies instruction within school settings contributes to the development of the qualities of citizenship in students. In this regard, we have been and continue to be a discipline without expertise. Illustrative of this point is the research base which underlies two of the goals that have traditionally been at the heart of most rationales for social studies: active citizenship and higher order thinking. Two recent reviews of this research base confirm that there is a lack of evidence with regard to the influence of the social studies curriculum on these goals. Parker, in a recent review of the research on achieving thinking and decision-making objectives in social studies, concluded that "... the wish has remained so fervent, yet so unrealized" (1991, p. 354). Similarly, the investigation by Newmann and his associates into department-wide efforts of social studies classrooms to teach higher order thinking found that there exist considerable difficulties in attempting to assess the impact of such curricula. They were not able to identify any substantial relationship between the presence of classroom thoughtfulness and student performance on a test of reasoning about a constitutional issue (Newmann, 1991). Given the great care that Newmann and his co-workers utilized to identify thoughtful classrooms, this finding is both telling and discouraging.

With regard to the outcome of citizenship from a research perspective, the most common interpretation has been to study the social or political participation of students. Ferguson, in a recent review of research on this topic, concluded that "There is no evidence to refute...(an) earlier conclusion that the formal curriculum has little impact on student inclination toward participation" (Ferguson, 1991, p. 397). Implicit acknowledgement of this lack of a research base to inform practice is to be found in the recent framework for civic education *Civitas* (Quigley & Bahmueller, 1991). The *Civitas* framework offers an exhaustive list of goals and suggested content, but does not discuss research and offers only a few suggestions for pedagogy.

A second, but related, fundamental principle that in my judgment must become widely accepted by the intellectual leadership is that all education (but especially the social studies) is necessarily a conservative enterprise. No successful society in the history of the world has failed to recognize the necessary connection between cultural survival and cultural transmission. Consistent with a respect for basic human rights, educational institutions have always had a major responsibility in all societies to pass on the existing culture to the young. The social studies should play a major role in this regard.

The way for the intellectual leadership to contribute to the revitalization of the profession is to follow two basic precepts. First, speak only about citizenship as an objective in terms of goals and outcomes that can plausibly and causally be linked to educational practice. The appropriate response to the failure of the profession to develop a research base for its most valued goals is, in my judgment, to exercise appropriate intellectual discipline when articulating these goals. Secondly, articulation of the goal of citizenship should be defined in such a way that it is perceived by the public and the rest of the profession as developing loyalty and commitment to our nation and its core culture and democratic values.

The central challenge related to the implementation of these precepts is the definition of citizenship. Most Americans consider themselves good citizens, yet have traditionally regarded the social studies as their least favorite school subject. Hahn (1991) recently reported that students expect that they will be good citizens when they get out of school, but when pushed to state what that means, they limit their definition to voting. The commonplace perception is that good citizenship primarily means that one votes. Whether citizens vote or not is not a function of schooling. What, then, does this leave for the social studies? In a word, knowledge. The development of an accurate knowledge of our American history, our traditions and the social world, should be the superordinate goal of social studies instruction. Our job as professionals should be to develop interesting, engaging, and effective means of achieving this goal. Given the current status of the social studies the achievement of this goal would represent an important first step toward the revitalization of the profession.

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REACTION AND RESPONSE

Editor's Note: Michael Whelan's article "History and the Social Studies: A Response to the Critics," which appeared in the Winter 1992 issue, provoked several reactions from members of the profession. In what follows, we present the reactions of Professors Ronald W. Evans, Jack L. Nelson, Murry Nelson, David Warren Saxe, Shirley H. Engle and Anna S. Ochoa, followed by Professor Whelan's response to each.

Misunderstanding Social Studies: A Rejoinder to Whelan

The central and unstated assumption underlying Michael Whelan's response to critics of the revival of history is the notion that social studies instruction in schools must be organized around a discipline sited at the university. I find that assumption problematic for several reasons.

First, the university disciplines evolved as disciplined forms of inquiry with the aim of scholarship, with the aim of creating knowledge. That purpose is quite different from the teaching purpose of classroom teachers, which, in social studies classrooms, aims at thoughtful citizenship. The truth is that history classes were mandated in most states, and continue to be, for largely ideological reasons. History instruction in schools was viewed as a way to Americanize immigrants and to forge a common culture, to pass on our traditions (Tyack & James, 1985). While it is true that historical study can take a more critical tack, it continues to be thought of as a conserving activity by many of its advocates (Ravitch, 1992).

Second, building school curricula around university based disciplines usually leads to a focus on consumption of knowledge in the form of facts, concepts and generalizations which are uncritically accepted by most students and many teachers. Teachers tend to put professors (especially historians) on a pedestal and to revere the knowledge that is created by university scholars. That knowledge, as Engle notes, is almost always presented in the declarative mood, as received knowledge, as sacred text. We need an education lived in the hypothetical mood (Engle, 1990), in which probing questions link together our lived experiences and cause us to draw on a variety of sources of knowledge as part of a dynamic curriculum.

This tendency devalues the lived experiences of students and teachers and the cultural knowledge that all parties bring to the classroom. It also tends to inspire didactic forms of teaching in which knowledge is passively accepted by students and stored away for later use. Such approaches, as Whelan admits, are not conducive to thoughtful and reflective school experiences, yet, they are the norm. History, taught in a critical, hypothetical mood, could create a

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reflective and thoughtful citizenship education. Yet, what we know of classrooms and textbooks suggests that this is seldom realized.

Third, selecting any one academic discipline as the framework for study inevitably means that knowledge from other disciplines and other sources (media, students, the community) will receive second priority, it means that choices will be made for students and teachers that limit the borders of inquiry (Giroux, 1992). What we really need to do is to create innovative approaches to social study for critical citizenship, approaches that transcend disciplines, that draw on all relevant forms of knowledge, that emphasize thoughtful questions, questioning of assumptions, reflection on values, etc. Basing our curriculum on a single discipline simply doesn't help much in moving us that direction.

If we were to select a single discipline, I still doubt that history should be the focus. As Hayden White has suggested, history is the conservative discipline par excellence, and narrative its most traditional mode (White, 1978). The focus on the past too often leads to a glorification of traditions and development of a mythical view of the world, or on knowledge for the sake of knowing. In fact, history has been the forum for a great deal of non-critical chronicling. It has too frequently served as a subtle means of oppression by emphasizing the stories of dominant elites, glorifying national heroes, minimizing the contributions of persons of color and de-emphasizing or omitting controversial questions. Drawing on the critical literature, Nelson writes, "the concept of a discipline as a construct for knowledge is laden with ideological, not logical, baggage. Disciplines are the refuge of disciples, not the carriers of critical thinking. One of the means used to sterilize basic inquiry into the relations between knowledge and power is to raise discipline barriers that cast the unanointed outside and the disciples within....In order to be a member, one has to accept the dogma of the field. From a critical perspective, the defining of knowledge barriers is tied up with issues of cultural hegemony, cultural capital, and ideological interests" (Nelson, 1990). In other words, the disciplines too often serve as a subtle means of maintaining the hegemonic power of social elites.

Whelan's other arguments are more easily refuted. Whelan takes issue with the following points made by critics of the revival of history:

•*History as the core of social studies education is an ideologically conservative idea.* On the issue of ideology, Whelan confuses an attempt to link to context with a direct causal link. I did not state such a necessary link to the conservatism of the times, but instead demonstrated the context out of which the revival of history has grown

(Evans, 1989a). Of course, the timing of the revival of history could not have been better.

The primary advocates who spawned the revival of history were politically conservative: Ravitch, Bennett, Cheney, Honig, Finn. Many others, of various political persuasions, joined the movement to improve instruction in history. As the movement grew, its base broadened to include an increasingly diverse group, dominated by historians. Still, political conservatives have been among the most prominent and most powerful and have assumed exalted positions of leadership: Secretary of Education, Deputy Secretary of Education, NEH Chair, etc.

For the most part, the emphasis among advocates of the history as core approach has remained on narrative history, and on a "banking theory" approach to teaching with emphasis on knowledge of content, based on the belief that it is sufficient to ask students to store information in their bank of knowledge for later use (Freire, 1970). Despite protestations to the contrary, this educational ideology leans toward the conservative side of the spectrum. It is important to distinguish between political ideology and educational ideology. Though I find it inconsistent, political and educational ideologies are not always congruent, perhaps because of a lack of clear thinking or a lack of knowledge of educational choices and their ramifications. Yet, the form does carry a message. Power relationships shape classroom discourse; knowledge is socially constructed; pedagogical forms cannot be neutral and tend to either support or resist hierarchical, dominant forms of power. Dialogical and problem posing forms of education tend toward liberation, hierarchical forms of education tend toward oppression. Hence, education is a form of political activity, particularly so in social studies where virtually all of the content is politically charged.

While I support the critical forms of history of which Whelan writes, and believe that inclusion of this knowledge in classrooms would be beneficial, including different conclusions on previously ignored topics is not sufficiently powerful to counteract the entrenched forms of classroom practice which focus on knowing for the sake of knowing.

•*History's claim to a central place in the social studies curriculum is not supported by empirical evidence.* This a moot point, conceded by Whelan as true. However, his discussion of the assertion is curious because of his distinction between the "official curriculum," the "operational curriculum" and the "experienced curriculum." He asserts that the latter are only indirectly related to the "official curriculum." Considerable evidence exists to suggest that the relationship is more direct than he admits. Frameworks (official curricula) support

textbooks and textbooks tend to structure what goes on in classrooms (Goodlad, 1984; Jenness, 1990; Shaver, 1979). While there is not a one to one correspondence between frameworks, textbooks and classroom practice, considerable evidence exists to show a direct and hierarchical relationship. These factors tend to reinforce an emphasis on chronology, on names and dates, and an emphasis on the fact, myth, legend approach which, the evidence suggests, dominates history classrooms.

His final claim, that what is taught in schools derives more "from value judgments about the nature of human existence and the purposes of formal education than from empirical research" contains a strong element of truth (Whelan, 1992). Rationales for an issues-oriented approach to social studies are grounded in ideas about participatory citizenship and critical reflection on values (Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Shaver, in press). However, Whelan displays a lack of cognizance of certain classroom realities that necessarily impact what is learned and what is most meaningful in classrooms. Above all, teaching and learning are communicative and collaborative, in Freirian terms, dialogical. Broadly defined research on the field (historical, critical, empirical, etc.) can help inform decisions about curriculum practice. Whelan's statement implies no connection between our knowledge of past reforms, research on classroom practice, and the current wave of reform initiatives. What Whelan and many other supporter of the history as core movement do not understand is that the gist of the social studies movement over its history has been the effort to make the study of history and the social sciences meaningful to students.

•*The interdisciplinary study of social problems is the proper focus of social studies education.* On this point, Whelan misunderstands the meaning and intent of an issues-centered focus, an orientation that most critics of the revival of history see as the core of social studies. Most advocates of an issues-centered curriculum suggest a focus on perennial public issues, reflective probing questions, or an examination of social practices. The focus is on critical reflection which can take place within the study of any subject matter. Over the historical development of the field, advocates of issues-centered approaches have argued for:

- the direct study of persistent social problems
- a focus on public issues within discipline based courses
- development of an issues-oriented scope and sequence.

Realistically, most advocates of issues-centered education know that the second option is most feasible, and has had most impact on classrooms. In fact, this is the approach taken by the *Public Issues Series*, the single largest selling product of the new social studies era, currently being issued in a revised edition (Oliver & Newmann, 1988).

An issues-centered focus does not mean abandoning the disciplines, but instead means focusing on citizens questions. Those who favor an interdisciplinary and issues-oriented social studies curriculum dream a vision of a revised scope and sequence, but see scope and sequence as a second tier issue. The primary problem is the emphasis on knowledge gain rather than on questions, the emphasis on socialization rather than countersocialization, the emphasis on knowledge as a fixed entity rather than a view of knowledge as problematic, socially constructed and ever changing.

Historians differ in their beliefs about the discipline and in their purposes, ranging from the school of the unique to the metahistorian. Likewise, history teachers vary in their purposes and approaches to teaching, ranging from the storyteller and scientific historian to the reformer and cosmic philosopher (Evans, 1989b). Among teachers, these differences are largely matters of educational ideology. Unfortunately, the neo-conservative voices have had the lion's share of leadership in the movement to promote the history as core approach to social education.

Whelan is correct that rigidity won't further the educational debate nor will it improve classroom practice. Certainly, advocates on either side have talked past each other, failed to listen to each other. My team teaching with a historian at San Diego State University has taught me that we must build on areas of consensus and continue to educate historians, teachers, and the general populace about the legacy, tradition, and philosophical roots of issues-centered curricula (Evans, 1989c). For my colleague, the term social studies (and other educational jargon) presented a stumbling block. Once he understood the term, different possible definitions, and the meaning of an issues-centered approach he gained a new found respect for the field. I am convinced that the same could happen with some of the historians involved in the revival of history and their supporters, many of whom know very little about pedagogy or about approaches to social studies, preferring instead to make *a priori* condemnations of the entire field as a scapegoat for current practice in order to advance their particular discipline.

If there is a middle ground in the debate over social education, it will focus on depth, thoughtfulness, and reflective questions; it will emphasize an issues-centered approach within discipline based courses (Evans, in press). Above all, it will emphasize problem-posing, dialogical forms of education with the aim of reflective citizen participation in our collective future.

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Social Studies and History: A Response to Whelan

The Winter, 1992, issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education* contains Michael Whelan's interesting but flawed effort to

respond to critics of the Bradley Commission and the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools (Whelan, 1992). He admits his advocacy for making history the core of social studies and he attempts to refute some of the criticisms made by those who oppose the increased domination of history in social studies instruction. To his credit, Whelan desires a constructive, rather than contentious, discussion of the matter. And he is far more open to discussion and debate than were the commissions in the development of their reports. But Whelan's response does not actually make a case for increasing the domination of history in the social studies curriculum, it denigrates and dismisses the criticisms without thorough examination, and it seems to label those who disagree as contentious and not constructive.

The commissions and their supporters deserve to be criticized, even contentiously. Constructive discussion, of course, is needed, but not if it requires that critics capitulate on basic disagreements that require exposure. Whelan ends his response by merely affirming his apparently rigid view that history "alone has such an encompassing breadth of vision and such a prolonged analytic perspective...it is the most natural and best suited discipline..."(p.13). It is difficult to have a constructive discussion in the face of this absolutistic view and his denial of the substance of the criticisms.

Essentially, Whelan invents categories for the criticisms, evaluates them according to his standards of relative merit, and falls back on his apparent romantic attachment to history to dismiss the criticisms. It is not a convincing presentation.

His simplistic categorization of criticisms demeans the complexity of the multiple arguments against the commissions and their proposals to have history become the core of social studies. He posits three categories of criticisms, those which argue that the proposals are: 1) ideologically conservative, 2) unsupported by empirical evidence, or 3) less supportable than the interdisciplinary study of issues as a focus for social studies. The criticisms are broader and deeper than those categories and the categories themselves are not parallel in dimension or quality.

Whelan's initial concern seems to be that social studies is a debated subject; something that I think is to its credit. Any valid and dynamic field should be subject to debate. He, however, implies that debates are dysfunctional. That is similar to the confounding and troubling premise found in the National Commission report that debates over social studies need to be corrected by having historians take over the field and provide "coherence". This incredible, and anti-intellectual, position would not be accepted by historians about the valuable and continuing debates in their field. They would not want an outside group to impose "coherence" on history, and would resent the implication. One of the redeeming qualities of historical study is the

recognition that history is necessarily interpretive, subject to revision and containing potentially conflicting ideologies. Social studies should be given the same respect and latitude for debate and error.

I am prepared to even debate Whelan's contention that citizenship education is the one area of social studies where there is little dispute. That full argument deserves another setting where I can elaborate my concerns with the "citizenship" conception of the field. Among my concerns, however, is that citizenship education has too often been a prop for increased nationalistic history instruction, the kind which Whelan claims to oppose. We need to continue debates about social studies to prevent the academic imperialism now threatening the field and to retain our vitality.

It is true that there have been many disagreements about social studies as to rationale, purposes, and curricular organization since its earliest years. If those disagreements disappear, such as at a time when traditional history would completely take over the field, I will be very disappointed; social studies will cease to exist. Its replacement is likely to be the static view of history that already tends to dominate the school-texts of the field. We will come closer to Bertrand Russell's fears of state-run education, teaching the young to: "respect existing institutions, to avoid all fundamental criticism of the powers that be, and to regard foreign nations with suspicion and contempt" (1928,p. 128).

History taught in schools is peculiarly suited to this kind of loyalty and ethnocentric education (Dance, 1960). School history has a long record of succumbing to pressures for nationalistic, loyalistic, and moralistic teachings (Bagley and Rugg, 1916; Hayes, 1930; Gellerman, 1933; Beale, 1936; Krug, 1963; Billington, 1966; Nelson, 1976, 1978; Anyon, 1979; Janowitz, 1983).

Solid historical study itself, of course, does not limit debates about rationale, purposes, and curricular structure. In stead, it is school history, usually formulated under the traditionalist and narrow view of history as dogma, that is static. Academic scholars of history do engage in fundamental debates over their field, as Whelan notes, but the nature of these debates is not reflected in the current recommendations by the Bradley Commission (1988), or in the new and restrictive curriculum proposed by the National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (1989). Instead, the recommendations and, apparently, Whelan's support are for an increase of traditional presentation history as though there were no disputes in or about history.

If the internal debates about the nature and value of history were to be in the core of historical study proposed for schools, I would be more pleased about recommendations to increase such study in schools. This, at least, would make students more skeptical about history as truth and

would probably relieve much of the student boredom which traditional school study of history has generated. I am indebted to William Stanley of the University of Delaware and Burton Weltman, a doctoral student at Rutgers, for pointing out that my view is actually an advocacy of historicity, but not an advocacy of formal history as the only or best way to understand human society. I believe people should be authentically prepared in historical perspectives, with a skeptical knowledge of interpretational history. That requires critical study of historical data and interpretations as one of many ways of coming to knowledge. But the kind of formal history historically taught in the schools and advocated by the commissions should not be increased in its domination of the curriculum.

I am also an advocate of having social studies teacher education students, most of whom are history majors, take course work in philosophies of history and in contrasting historiography to develop more skepticism in their approach to the field. Most of my history department colleagues, however, argue that study of conflicting philosophies of history is reserved for history Ph.D. students, and is not available for undergraduates. Thus, those going into schoolteaching do not get to share in these debates; they are left to rely on the concept of history taught as truth or the chance that they might come across conflicting views of history on their own. Historical disputation is not part of the package proposed by the National Commission and its disciples for study in the schools; they appear to desire a form of teacher-proof and student-proof historical study, unencumbered by diverse views of the field or of contemporary social conflict. Instead, the National Commission recommends that no issues be dealt with until the senior year of high school, after students have absorbed the ethnocentric and moralistic lessons of traditional history for eleven or more years.

The Commission-proposed curriculum is one which is static, controlled by traditionalist historian interpretations, and unaffected by historical disputation. That is part of the grounds on which I charge that the Commission report is a conservative, narrow, and backward conception. This is a point not addressed by Whelan's response, lying outside his categories.

Included in his categories of criticisms is conservative ideology in the commissions' work, although Whelan discounts the importance of the criticism. Conservative ideology is not an automatic defect, but its impact can be. Classic conservatism offers some hope in its libertarian orientations; under that umbrella, social studies might be freed from governmental or organizational (e.g., AHA) intervention and control. That kind of optimism, however, is not likely under the kind of backward-looking political conservatism currently expressed through ideas such as Bush's America 2000 program, potential governmental

imposition of a national curriculum and national tests in history, and the correlated advocacy of a back-to-basics, non-controversial, traditional, and nationalistic history curriculum. That conservatism is a serious threat to free inquiry and limits challenges to the status quo. Restrictive limits on the forms of knowledge are among the conservative views, and are not in the best interests of liberal education (Young, 1971; Apple, 1990; Popkewitz, 1987, Cherryholmes, 1988; Stanley, 1992).

The conservative ideology underlying the commissions is one which would restrict knowledge, limit inquiry, and increase dominance by one already powerful view. Under the Commission-proposed curriculum, the study of social science is permitted only within the formal study of traditional history, and social issues are similarly sterilized by treatment as archival artifacts in history or are held off until just before graduation. The effort is to produce hegemony of traditional history over social education, and to stifle consideration of contemporary human conflict.

Whelan claims that criticisms about the conservative ideology imbedded in the proposals are mainly "rhetorical" and of "negligible" analytic value. But his claim does not make it so. Ideological analysis is an appropriate and fundamental framework for criticism from whatever side, but Whelan makes it superficial by improperly classifying such criticism as an example of a logical fallacy. He denigrates the criticism by suggesting that it rests only on a vague notion of occurrence during the Presidencies of Reagan and Bush and support by William Bennett. Whelan fails to comprehend the pervasiveness of the conservative ideology in operation while the commissions worked, and the consistency of their recommendations with traditionalist political and educational views. He does not explore the striking similarities in the commissions' memberships and the link of many to traditionalist views in the current governmentally supported education reform program. Can he argue that the views of powerful conservative figures such as Diane Ravitch had no impact on the commissions? He does not question the lack of participation in commission report deliberations by noted progressive or liberal social education scholars who are not linked to the history establishment. Nor does he respond to the serious lack of citation to or recognition of critical social educators in the book written by the National Commission's "Scholar-in-Residence" (Jenness, 1990; Nelson, 1991). He seems unaware of similar domineering actions by a small group of history zealots related to the commissions in establishing the new history-bound California Framework for social studies (Campbell, 1991). And he has not addressed the substantial literature which argues against and identifies the conservative ideology apparent in the

current educational reform effort (e.g., Pressiesen, 1985; Giroux, 1988,1989; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1983; Purpel, 1989; Apple, 1990).

To dismiss criticism of the conservative quality underlying traditional history advocated in the commissions' documents as a "rhetorical" exercise is to lack understanding or to attempt to camouflage the activity. The National Commission's curricular proposal is conservative in its context and its substance. Whelan mounts no serious opposition to that point. He merely complains that we shouldn't link Presidents Reagan and Bush to everything that happened during their watch.

Whelan admits that there is a lack of supportive empirical evidence for the commissions' arguments. He agrees it is a serious problem and says we need research, but he still wants to impose more history while we consider studies to see if it is worthwhile. The National Commission report, however, was touted to be based on research which, in fact, is not presented in the report and which has not shown up in the three years since its publication. In terms of research, it is interesting that history has been the most frequently taught subject in social studies this whole century and social studies teachers are more prepared in history than in any subject. Scholarly evidence from studies during that period suggests that history bears considerable responsibility for defective nationalistic and moralistic teaching, poor textbooks, lack of critical thinking, low student test scores, and student boredom (Billington, 1966; Fitzgerald, 1979; Anyon, 1979; Shaver and Helburn, 1980; Rigberg, 1991; Onosko, 1991). If anything, the research evidence available suggests that we should consider limiting or significantly changing history instruction, not increasing the traditional form as proposed by the commissions.

Despite Whelan's blanket dismissal of critics and his claim that history alone is the pre-eminent discipline, issue-centered social studies is probably better than and is more comprehensive than history as a core of social studies. But there are other configurations which are also probably better than history as cores. For example, cohesive and progressive social studies cores can be designed around social criticism, philosophy, reconstructionism, anthropology, or combinations of humanities and social studies. For another example, Nel Noddings, a professor in the philosophy of education at Stanford, made a remarkable proposal to the Social Studies special interest group 1992 meeting at AERA in San Francisco that citizenship may not be the best framework for social studies. She suggested that homemaking could be a much more suitable rationale for social education. Her point is that homemaking, in its most valuable sense, is a real focus of human relations and, when approached intellectually, incorporates the most important forms of knowledge for all people in society.

History is important as one avenue to understanding and knowledge about society and individuals; I support historical study among the many ways to know. But history has many limitations. History is not the same as time; history is usually distilled through the perspectives of those historians who are most powerful at a point in time. So we fluctuate a bit, usually featuring military and political history, then certain views of social history, and seldom consider intellectual or other disputative forms of history in schools. Important leaders of victorious societies and positive glosses on our own founding leaders are the most commonly taught material about individuals; there is little on "people's history" or contrary interpretations. Formal history excludes prehistory and futuristic explorations, exercises serious limits on the study of contemporary events, can produce excessive linear thinking, tends to be backward-looking, and has been used to manipulate rather than to expand thinking. Why should the social studies be bound to a single subject with these many limitations? How does that further the liberal education of youth? Why not continue to keep history as one of the significant bases for social studies, but not its core or center?

Whelan has made a contribution to the discussion in his response; it should cause a sharpening and elaboration of the disagreements. I commend his efforts to examine the question and I look forward to continued interchange on this most important of issues for the field. It is unfortunate that the commissions were not more open to diverse views and have not devoted time and resources to allow critics to debate on a more level field. Their approach has been primarily one of propaganda and public relations, to outflank the critics. The National Council for Social Studies, where one would expect an interest in featuring the debate, has demonstrated complicity in the bandwagon effort of some in the commission camp to simply impose their will. Social educators need to engage in the debate or be trampled.

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One Critic's Retort--A Response to Whelan

Michael Whelan has offered a response to the critics who decry history as the core of the curriculum. There are truth and insight in some of Whelan's contentions, but he fails to convince not only that his conclusions are warranted, but also that his understanding is accurate.

Whelan focuses on three critiques and attempts to rebut them. First, that a history-centered curriculum is conservative. He is right, of course, but this argument is not about the general statement; it is specifically about the commission proposals he mentions, the people on those commissions, and about the use and retention of power. It is true that neither Presidents Bush nor Reagan was affiliated with either commission, but the hysteria of American school "failure" was fostered by President Reagan's appointees who penned "A Nation at Risk" and loosed the demons on the "deficient" American school system.

Whelan "pooh-poohs" the notion that political climate could or has an effect on various Commission recommendations by drawing two analogies. First, that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision would have had to have been conservative, because Eisenhower was in regard to civil rights. The Supreme Court is frequently out of step with the president as the Constitution clearly allows for. The influence the president would have is often far less meaningful than public outcry. The Bradley Commission was composed of people predisposed to increasing history in the schools, many of whom were totally unfamiliar with what went on in schools and were pliant enough to be convinced by ideologues like Chester Finn and Paul Gagnon who had, ostensibly, more insight into what was being taught in schools. The ideologue's agenda was synchronous with President Bush's advisers in the area of education. Thus, Whelan's analogy simply doesn't work.

As for his second analogy that many of the most progressive movements in American history were prominent during some of the most

conservative presidential administrations, that is a descriptive statement that has no conclusion drawn. Hardly logic or an analogy.

Whelan also cites a small sample as too biased to substantiate the claim of conservative influence. He notes that Bennett, Cheney, Finn, and Ravitch's presence is offset by people who *consider themselves* liberal or progressive, such as Hazel Hertzberg or Theodore Sizer. Self-declaration means little. President Bush is a self-proclaimed environmentalist and education president. Does that make it so? The late Professor Hertzberg wrote of social studies in one cited volume done for the Social Science Education consortium. Without reviewing her work in detail, I can only comment that Dr. Hertzberg wrote more of the failure of social studies and espoused an historically conservative view of the field, a field in which she chose to be minimally involved. In the ten years prior to her death, Professor Hertzberg attended no NCSS meetings. She did attend a pre-NCSS session at her institution in 1985 where she and her students, including Michael Whelan, presented their research.

Whelan goes on to praise the scholarship of progressive historians. No problem there, except it is not generally progressive historians making work with and of lower schools their focus. Progressive historians, like Charles Beard in the 1930s, are simply not addressing social studies in the schools today. When they last did, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, they agreed that social studies and NCSS were uniquely qualified to meet the history and social science needs of school children. Thus the AHA Committee on History Teaching in the Schools changed its name to the Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools in 1924 and in 1928 changed it to the Commission on the Social Studies. (See AHA Annual Report, 1924, 1925, 1928.) Even the moderate historians agreed with these changes, people like A. C. Krey, Guy Stanton Ford, Henry Johnson, William Lingelbach, and John Bassett. Thus when the AHA was more concerned with schools it recognized both the primacy of the term "social studies" and the central role of NCSS. Not finding those ideas challenged in the AHA apparently has led to the formation today of new splinter groups less concerned with cooperation with existent groups and more concerned with getting "their way."

I cannot fault Professor Whelan in his call for more research in the area, although I fail to be convinced of the need for his version of empirical research. His assertion that "only within the last twenty years have researchers begun to examine what actually takes place in social studies classes." Gambrill's survey of 1923 (AHA Proceedings, 1923 and *Historical Outlook*, 1923), the History Inquiry of 1923-24, and the brief review by A. C. Krey upon assuming the chair of the AHA's Committee on History Teaching in the Schools put the lie to Whelan's statement. There are many more examples as there are of later

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questions Whelan raises as having never been addressed in social studies. What is most disturbing is that Whelan is well aware of these studies.

It is possible that his own ideological blinders have shaken his notion of research. He notes that "Elaine Reed, Administrative Director of the National Council for History Education, has identified a list of outcomes *she believes* [my emphasis] history teachers should strive to promote" (Whelan, p. 7). Noble they may be, these are still clearly beliefs, not research outcomes.

Whelan tries to salvage his attempts at "objectivity" by noting that both the Bradley Commission and the National Commission do not advocate history as the only subject in the social studies curriculum. There's a magnanimous view. History is and has been the center of social studies. If there are qualms about the learning of history, it is not for lack of emphasis in social studies courses. Thus, one might ask, "What's the fuss?" There's agreement on a central role for history in social studies. The disagreement comes in the creation of devious bodies--organizations and individuals--who set up straw men to knock down, thereby consolidating power and creating artificial differences. NCSS was formed as a group to cooperatively link associations striving for curricular placement in schools. Whelan has offered only more division in his attempt at "contributing." By ignoring the history of the field of social studies, a history that he knows, he has not made himself an object of derision so much as an educator to be pitied.

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A Response to Whelan

In Professor Whelan's recent article "History and the social studies: A response to the critics," an attempt is made to level three critiques addressed to the so-called "history-centered" approach in social studies. Unfortunately, Whelan neither levels these critiques nor sheds any new light on the issue of history's role or function in social

studies. While I agree there is consensus on the need to study such things as what it is we do as social studies practitioners in the hopes of doing things better, yet such study is not a panacea for social studies reform. The problem with Whelan's analysis stems from his incomplete comprehension of the roots of social studies, more specifically, Whelan fails to recognize the fundamental difference between the nature of history instruction and the nature of social studies.

Whelan affirms a loyalty to history teaching, but does not carefully cultivate his own historical analysis. For example, Whelan suggests that history teaching was promoted in the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies report through the influence of James Harvey Robinson. However, just who Robinson was influencing is never revealed. The omission is no small quibble. Indeed, history instruction was part of the 1916 report, however, history as a discipline was not viewed by the committee members (as Whelan would have us believe) as the central organizing feature of social studies. In fact, Robinson's function on the committee (like committee references to Dewey) was probably more for political considerations than for original contributions. Compositions of national committees are selected for practical and political reasons, and the careful selection of Robinson, one of the most respected American historians of the day, as well as judicious use of his writings reflects prudent politics. In addition, the use of quotes from Dewey, the premier educational philosophers of the progressive era, was designed to demonstrate the social studies report as a cutting edge program.

Robinson's (and Dewey's) own publication record after 1913 bears this out. That is, despite Robinson's membership on the committee--unlike fellow members such as Arthur William Dunn, James Lynn Barnard, or Clarence Kingsley--Robinson did not agitate for social studies in any history, education, or social studies journals or books. Indeed, in the social studies that developed following the dissemination of the 1916 report, social studies writers never seriously considered or even acknowledged Robinson as an "influence" of a "history-centered" social studies curriculum.

By the time the committee was organized in 1912, leaders Thomas Jesse Jones, Arthur William Dunn, and James Lynn Barnard had well-developed ideas about the social welfare focus (or student-as-social activist) of social studies. In fact, in advance of the committee deliberations, future committee members Jones, Dunn, and Barnard had independently activated social studies programs at Hampton Institute, and in public schools in Indianapolis and Philadelphia respectively. The programs of Jones, Dunn, and Barnard can hardly be described as "history-centered" or even influenced by history-centered curricular appeals. Whelan tells us nothing about these efforts. Although social studies in practice has typically been centered in history, the original

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social studies conceptualization was not. In neglecting to examine the roots of social studies that expose Jones, Dunn, and Barnard's explicitly non-history approaches that contributed to the beginnings of social studies, Whelan merely continues the familiar myth that history-centered approaches have always been the theoretical focus of social studies.

In addition, Whelan fails to discuss that the type of history instruction for schools (promoted through major committees of the National Education Association and the American Historical Association in the 1890s) was conceived as an extension of the newly established College/University emphasis on history. Namely, history study in schools, particularly at secondary level was designed to complement the preparation of students for successful matriculation at collegiate levels. In the 1890s, with less than 10 percent of the school-age youth attending secondary schools and still fewer attending college, history study was not intended as a program for the masses, that is, a program to enhance or promote citizenship skills and dispositions. History-centered study was then, as it has largely remained, a college-prep program--where, in its traditional form, history was examined so that we in the present could have a more accurate picture of the past.

In stark contrast, through an emphasis on furthering citizenship skills and dispositions, social studies (in its original form) was promoted as a curricular attempt to make the world we live in a better, more humane place. To accomplish this goal, teachers worked with students to sift through data generated by the various social sciences, history, geography and other sources in the effort to foster democratic empowerment. The use of these data were not intended to fill students with facts, dates, and other nonsense or to be learned verbatim for some standardized test. The difference between developing a more accurate conceptualization of past life (history) and improving present life (social studies) is significant. Although many have argued that these two "differences" are not mutually exclusive, even when history instruction is broadened at the theoretical level (as Whelan attempts to do), in past and present practice, history study is typically reduced to a tedious contest of memorization and regurgitation forced on reluctant students by ill-prepared and uninspired teachers.

Whelan's assertions that history (as a discipline) "alone has such an encompassing breadth of vision and such a prolonged analytical perspective," or that history "is the only discipline open to the whole range of human experience and its development through time" are claims that can easily be made for anthropology as well as history. Without curricular models demonstrating that history deserves the cat-bird seat of citizenship education, Whelan's assertions that history can do it all--that history by some exclusive "understanding of

the nature of human existence" should be the central feature of social studies--simply fall flat. In fact, the assertions merely expose a shallow understanding of both social science, particularly studies in anthropology and sociology, as well as an incomplete conception of history. Until Whelan comes to grips with the disparate functions of history and social studies (in their original forms), Whelan's contribution (as an advocate of history-centered instruction) to the so-called "debate" between history and social studies amounts to no more than "so's your old man."

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A Response to Michael Whelan

This letter refers to the first sentence in the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 11 of the article by Michael Whelan entitled "History and the Social Studies: A Response to the Critics" found in the Winter, 1992 issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education*. The sentence reads, "This does not mean, as Engle and Ochoa (1988) contend, that students must wait until the last two weeks of a history course or the final year of high school to study current social problems (pp. 129-130)." It is not clear from this sentence even if taken in context, what it is that Engle and Ochoa are credited with proposing. Could we set the record straight?

Both the Bradley Commission and the National Commission do propose, as Whelan correctly reports, that "Important public issues be studies as the capstone to social studies education." This would not occur until many, perhaps one-half, of high school students had dropped out of school. In contrast, we propose that one important public issue be studied in depth in all social studies classes for a period of three weeks during each year of the curriculum. This practice would not only have the advantage that all students would be exposed to the study of at least a few important social issues but it would work to enliven and would give greater meaning to the study of history.

While we believe that the study of history itself should be organized around the study of historical problems, we respectfully suggest that such study will not occur unless careful plans are laid for such an eventuality. Unless this happens the study of history will likely regress to mere coverage, the rapid exposition of facts to be memorized with little or no thought. While the Bradley Commission and the National Commission give a nod to the study of social issues within history courses, neither make explicit the need to make such study a focal and integral part of the social studies. We emphasize the study of social issues with serious attention to their historical

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antecedents. Accomplishing this goal requires a strategy and commitment as is provided in our 1988 book, *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Decision-Making in the Social Studies*.

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Michaael Whelan responds:

Note: I have responded to the five critiques separately for two reasons: first, I did not receive all of them at the same time; and second, each critique raises issues that need to be addressed individually. However, since my conception of history education is outlined most thoroughly in the response to Evans, that response should be read first and kept in mind when reading my response to the other comments.

Ron Evans and I propose different curriculum models for social studies education (Evans, 1989; Whelan, 1992), but we seem to share similar ideas about how and for what purposes social studies should be studied and taught. Such accord suggests the possibility that our curriculum models may not be completely irreconcilable. Moreover, an effort to identify points of agreement in these models will likely result in opportunities to work toward reforms we both consider beneficial. Therefore, before responding to Evans' critique of the history-centered curriculum I have proposed, I would like to highlight some important issues about which we apparently agree.

First, we agree that "didactic forms of teaching in which knowledge is passively accepted by students and stored away for later use" (Evans, p. 4) are pervasive in social studies education and generally inappropriate. Such teaching contributes to widespread student dissatisfaction with the subject (Farman, Natriello, & Dornbusch, 1978; Goodlad, 1983; Schug, Todd, & Beery, 1984; Shaver, 1987) and, more important, is fundamentally inconsistent with the goal of enlightened citizenship which is social studies' underlying rationale. Evans and I also agree that the study of history in schools has often stressed "knowledge for the sake of knowing," has "been the forum for a great deal of non-critical chronicling," and has "frequently served as a subtle means of oppression by emphasizing the stories of dominant elites" (pp. 4-5). And I join Evans in condemning this sort of history instruction. An uncritical analysis of the past in which the experiences and perspectives of certain groups of people are arbitrarily ignored or misrepresented is more akin to indoctrination than social

studies education. It is antithetical to the goal of enlightened citizenship and therefore holds no legitimate claim to a place in the social studies curriculum.

Furthermore, the intellectual bias and uninspiring grind that characterize so many history courses are not only inconsistent with the goal of enlightened citizenship, but also contradictory of everything educational researchers have discovered about effective methods of teaching (Downey & Levstik, 1988; 1991). In general, students learn best when they are active, not passive; when they are creative and not merely receptive; and when they are put in a position to exercise their powers of critical judgment and not simply required to recall bits of information. Thus, Evans and I agree that social studies students should be expected to collect and evaluate information; should be given opportunities to propose and question generalizations; and should be challenged regularly by questions that call for thoughtful reflection and independent analysis. These general pedagogical principles should guide social studies teachers as they organize the courses they teach.¹

Evans and I further agree that the reasons these principles are followed so infrequently in history courses are largely attributable to teacher decisions and the tacit norms of school culture, and not something peculiar to the study of history (pp. 4; 6-7). He strongly implies, however, that a problem-centered curriculum would not be plagued by ineffective classroom practice (pp. 4; 8-9). Unfortunately, neither logic nor research supports this conclusion. On the contrary, both suggest the opposite: there is no reason to assume that the implementation of a problem-centered curriculum would miraculously transform ineffective teaching; and research, though sketchy, indicates that social studies teachers vary their teaching styles very little, if at all, when teaching a problem-centered course as opposed to a history course (Cuban, 1991; Franklin, 1990; Shaver, 1987; Wiley, 1977). The point is not that curriculum decisions are unimportant, they are not; but rather that such decisions by themselves have little effect on classroom practice. In other words, Evans has identified some serious pedagogical problems that pervade social studies education, but solutions to these problems are largely independent of the decision to adopt a history or a problem-centered curriculum.

Some of Evans' observations about the conservative orientation of the most prominent spokespeople in the history-centered movement are also misleading (pp. 5-6). It is true that many of these spokespeople tend to be politically and educationally conservative;² but, as I have argued on other occasions (Whelan, 1991b, 1991c, 1992), one cannot logically infer from this that the study of history is "a conserving activity" (Evans, p. 3). Nor can one infer that everyone who advocates a history-centered curriculum does so in a misguided effort to impose

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some erroneous notion of "common culture" on a diverse and pluralistic society (Evans, pp. 3-4). Moreover, the implication that a problem-centered curriculum would be free from the influences of conservative ideology--that no teacher would recommend sexual abstinence before marriage as the only appropriate response to the AIDS pandemic, for example--is incredibly naive. Indeed, anyone who believes that the social studies curriculum, no matter how it is constituted, will ever be free from political pressures, from the left or the right, should study the history of American education more carefully.

The need for additional historical study also applies to Evans' analysis of the establishment and educational influence of discipline-based academic departments in higher education (pp. 3-5). He claims that departments were established for the purpose of producing scholarship, but that is only partially true. In most cases, colleges and universities established departments to serve administrative and teaching purposes as well (Higham, 1983; Rudolph, 1962; Veysey, 1965). Furthermore, in recent years, the administrative functions of departments, and not their research functions as Evans claims, have probably had the most conservative educational effect: like many administrative bureaucracies academic departments tend to promote the status quo. Historical research, on the other hand, has increasingly bridged traditional academic boundaries (Grob & Billias, 1987; Higham, 1983; Kammen, 1980). And, as Evans' team-teaching experience indicates, so has history teaching. Indeed, many of the most innovative programs of interdisciplinary study in higher education in recent years have involved historians in leading roles; programs in ethnic, gender, and environmental studies are but a few examples. Both of these trends need to become more common and, as they do, much broader: interdisciplinary research is essential to generate the type of scholarship needed to investigate and analyze the evolutionary development of a society or a culture, and interdisciplinary teaching, especially involving teacher educators, is needed to insure that this sort of scholarship is thoroughly infused in the school curriculum. If both of these goals are pursued through a variety of creative collaborations, everyone--social studies teachers and their students, teacher educators and historians--is likely to benefit (Whelan, 1990).

In general, therefore, Evans is right to criticize the narrow, "banking theory" (p. 6) approach to history education that is practiced by too many teachers, but wrong to equate this approach with the type of history education that I have proposed (Whelan, 1992). To clarify the differences between the two, I will briefly describe the type of historical study I support. First, I do not call for history education that is merely antiquarianism; but rather, history education that speaks directly to the present and to present concerns about the future. "The past," as William Faulkner once observed, "is not dead, it's not even

past." This is an over-generalization, of course, but Faulkner's fundamental point is undeniably true. The present is a product of the past, and history teachers should use this essential relationship as a basis upon which to organize the courses they teach. When preparing a course, they should ask themselves whether each topic included informs or enlightens the present. If the answer is no, the topic should be replaced by another that meets this general standard of relevance. In other words, the study of history should facilitate "a dialogue" between the past and the present (Carr, 1961, pp. 3-35) in which questions asked of the past are related to matters of pressing present concern (Gaddis, 1992). Furthermore, as conditions inevitably change in the future, those aspects of the past that are most informative and therefore most worthy of study will change as a result. Thus, the type of history education that I propose will result in a flexible, dynamic curriculum, and not the sort of stale, static study that Evans fears. One example should suffice: at the height of the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s many of the country's most important constitutional issues required students to pay special attention to the relationship between state and federal authority in promoting equal justice, but, if recent campus controversies are an indication of the type of issues the country as a whole may face in the future, some of the most important constitutional issues in coming years will likely require students to pay special attention to the relationship between individual liberty and governments' responsibility to provide for the general welfare of the community.

Second, I do not advocate history education that focuses exclusively or disproportionately on political issues and events, or that excludes or misrepresents the experiences and perspectives of people other than white males of European descent. Unfortunately, this narrow conception of history education has traditionally been the norm; it needs to be superseded by one that is self-consciously inclusive and that draws on ideas and methods of inquiry from other disciplines in an effort to analyze the complex, evolutionary development of a society or a culture. The multi-disciplinary analyses of Lawrence W. Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977) and Eugene D. Genovese in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974) are exemplars of this sort of history. Moreover, a unit of study in which students investigate reasons why these books were written in the 1970s, and not sometime earlier, would offer an obvious and fruitful opportunity to pursue the type of "thick," rich cultural analysis that should be the hallmark of history education in schools.

Third, I do not advocate history education that limits students to low-level cognitive activity, or restricts their investigation of historical issues in an effort to advance some vague notion of socialization. Rather, students studying history should be challenged

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by questions that require the highest levels of intellectual analysis, and they should be encouraged to investigate these questions as fully as possible. Within this broad analytical framework, the investigation of the likely consequences of historical alternatives (history in the hypothetical mood, as Evans refers to it) should be common. Such study may be speculative, but, in many cases, it is also potentially instructive. Without this sort of inquiry it is difficult to understand fully or evaluate fairly the significance of a specific historical decision. An analysis of alternatives to voting eligibility policies in the United States during the 19th century, for example, or transportation, immigration, health, and education policies during the 20th century will greatly enhance students' understanding of the historical decisions that were made about these issues. Furthermore, this sort of analysis underscores the importance of rational decision-making in a democratic society. Indeed, choosing between options on the basis of rational inquiry is the essence of democratic citizenship; regular investigation of historical alternatives should therefore be an essential part of history education in American schools.

Finally, I do not advocate history education that ignores or discounts the study of social problems. For a number of reasons, however, I propose that students study these problems in historical context. As Evans points out (p. 8), the most serious social problems tend to be perennial, so a history-centered curriculum can provide numerous opportunities for their investigation. More important, social problems are historical phenomena, and therefore best studied within an historical framework in which their causes and consequences can be traced through time. To do otherwise, to study social problems in seriatim apart from their historical context--to study environmental issues during the first half of tenth grade and issues about international relations during the second half, for example--adds to the inauthenticity of the social studies curriculum. Social problems do not occur in isolation; each is always part of a crowded, complex social agenda and, as a result, must compete with others for public attention and the allocation of scarce resources. Within this context, different problems are inevitably linked: decisions about one affect the range of possible decisions that can be made about others. Such interrelated complexity is the reality of human existence, and the social studies curriculum should be organized in a way that embraces this reality and thereby promotes students' understanding of it. Homelessness in New York City, for example, a long-standing social problem that is part of a far-reaching web of social issues, cannot be analyzed properly apart from this web. If it is, it appears less complicated than it actually is and, as a result, is likely to lead students to believe that it can be solved by simplistic schemes or, perhaps more dangerously, that it is caused and sustained by some nebulous conspiracy. "For every complex

problem," H. L. Mencken cautioned in typically acerbic fashion, "there is a simple solution that is usually wrong."

In sum, I advocate a history-centered curriculum that is relevant, flexible and consistent with the most worthy notion of democratic citizenship; that draws on and synthesizes knowledge and methods of inquiry from other disciplines; that challenges students to investigate, analyze, and evaluate important social issues; and that adjusts to the present and, as far as possible, anticipates the future. Such a curriculum does not represent a break with the traditions of social studies education, nor does it represent a failure to understand those traditions. Rather, it represents an enduring vision of social studies that can be traced directly to the subjects' formative development during the first decades of the twentieth century; in particular, it can be traced to the vision of social studies proposed by James Harvey Robinson, whose ideas, along with those of John Dewey, his friend and colleague at Columbia University, greatly influenced the landmark report by the Committee on Social Studies in 1916 (Hertzberg, 1981; Whelan, 1991a). Moreover, the need for this sort of history-centered social studies education is more urgent now than it has been in decades. At a time when national leaders justify major foreign policy initiatives with the most superficial historical analogies and prominent conservative spokespeople propose social programs for the country that seem to arise from a nostalgic, "Father Knows Best" impression of the 1950s, George Orwell's warning in 1984--that those who control the past can control the future--should have special meaning for social studies teachers. In short, this is no time for progressive-minded educators to de-emphasize history education in schools.

Jack Nelson says he would be "very disappointed...[if] the static view of history that already tends to dominate the school-texts...completely take[s] over the field" (p. 3). He's not alone, so would I; and he knows that because we have discussed our respective views of history education in private, in public, and in print. In other words, the title of Nelson's critique notwithstanding, his manifold criticisms of history and a history-centered curriculum are made in response to things I have never said. I oppose as strongly as he does history education that is nationalistic, loyalistic, and moralistic; ethnocentric, conservative, and backward; narrow, dogmatic, traditional, and formal (Nelson, pp. 4-11). And I share his opposition to history education unaffected by interpretive disputation and unencumbered by contemporary social conflict (Nelson, pp. 5-6); history education grounded in a national curriculum or driven by national tests (Nelson, p. 6); and history education that restricts knowledge, limits inquiry, or manipulates rather than expands student thinking (Nelson, pp. 7-11).

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In fact, if any of the alternatives to history that Nelson proposes (pp. 9-10) were taught in an engaging and challenging manner that drew on students' powers of creativity and critical judgment, I would prefer it to history taught the way he describes throughout his essay (pp. 3-7). The qualification, of course--if it were taught well--is the critical issue.

Like Evans, Nelson criticizes history education for pedagogical problems that plague social studies in general. But history is not peculiarly predisposed to these problems; even Nelson grudgingly admits that history can be taught well (pp. 4-5, 10). Moreover, as I said in responding to Evans (pp. 3-4), there is little reason to believe that teachers who teach history as poorly as Nelson says they do will teach anything else--philosophy, social criticism, or reconstructionism--in a more engaging and effective manner.

Nelson's faulty analysis stems from the fact that he mistakenly believes decisions about the official curriculum (i.e., what official agencies and professional organizations say the content of the curriculum should be) have a direct effect on problems that pervade the operational curriculum in social studies (i.e., the way teachers implement the official curriculum in classrooms). Historically, however, this has not been the case. Teaching practices in social studies, as Larry Cuban points out (1991), have been marked by "pervasive constancy" throughout the twentieth century despite changing emphases in the official curriculum. In sum, decisions about curriculum content have had little effect on instructional decisions of teachers in classrooms. There is little reason to conclude, therefore, that the type of repressive, teacher-centered instruction that Nelson criticizes will change in any significant way solely on the basis of a decision about the amount of history students should study in schools.

This is not to suggest that Nelson's impassioned critique of ineffective history teaching is without merit; his advocacy of improved teaching, in this instance and many others, is well-advised and constructive. Nor is it to suggest that his critique fails to raise other important issues. For example, his recommendation (pp. 5, 10) that history courses at all levels of education address a range of issues more inclusive than those traditionally emphasized (i.e., past politics and military campaigns) could not be wiser. The most important issue he raises, however, the one that cuts straight to the philosophical underpinnings of social studies education, is his reference to Nel Noddings' suggestion that "homemaking" (and all that that involves) should be considered a possible alternative to "citizenship" as social studies' underlying rationale (Nelson, p. 10; Noddings, 1992, pp. 8-11).

Noddings' proposal confronts social studies educators with the profound challenge of implementing the fundamental curriculum reforms that feminist scholarship entails (Noddings, pp. 2-8). To date,

such scholarship has generated some superficial reform, but its substance demands reform more radical in nature. However, the need for radical reform may not necessitate the abandonment of social studies' traditional responsibility for citizenship education. While a traditional notion of citizenship (i.e., the relationship of the individual to the state) is certainly too narrow to support a viable social studies curriculum, a broader conception of citizenship (e.g., what it means and involves to be a member of various communities and groups) may provide a suitable foundation for a new and more inclusive curriculum.

Furthermore, the need for radical curriculum reform may not necessitate the abandonment of a vision of social studies organized around the study of history. Most of the homemaking issues Noddings proposes can be addressed at different times and from different perspectives within a history-centered framework. A course in American history, for example, could begin with a comparative study of the structures, functions, and values of Native American families and families of early European colonists. In other words, Noddings' basic point, that social studies education should be relevant to the current state of scholarship and to current concerns of students and society, can be facilitated through historical study, if such study synthesizes other disciplines and seeks systematically to speak to the present.

Some issues Noddings raises--the "practical elements" of homemaking (p. 9), for example--may not be analyzed well within an historical context; but other courses, such as an interdisciplinary sequence of courses in community or public health, could supplement the study of history in the social studies curriculum. A fuller discussion of these issues is needed, however; therefore any conclusions at this time are premature.

Finally, while parts of Nelson's blustery critique are insightful and constructive, others are not. For example, he claims that the case for increasing historical study is not supported by empirical study and that my advocacy of such a policy is therefore unjustified (p. 9). He also claims that my arguments are "absolutistic" and intended to stifle debate (pp. 1-2, 9). Both allegations are certainly questionable. The former could just as well be turned on him: what research supports a place for reconstructionism in the curriculum? But to ask this question (or to make Nelson's allegation) is actually misleading; it assumes a direct relationship that doesn't exist between research data and decisions about the official curriculum. Empirical research may inform questions about teaching and learning (e.g., the identification of instructional and environmental conditions most likely to produce a particular outcome), but such research is at best indirectly related to questions about the official curriculum. Decisions about what students should study in school derive more from value judgments about the

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nature of human existence and the purposes of formal education than from the results of empirical study (Whelan, pp. 7, 9).

The second allegation, that my arguments are absolutistic and intended to stifle debate, is simply not supported by the record. The fact that I have published my opinions about history and its place in the curriculum and have responded to criticism of those opinions belies this characterization. Furthermore, while it is true that I tend to state my opinions strongly (but certainly no more so than Nelson) and have challenged the indiscriminate labeling of history education and its advocates as conservative, I have also said (p. 12) that "[m]any issues raised by the critics are potentially constructive ... the research and reforms called for by [their] arguments are well-advised." This does not sound like the "blanket dismissal of critics" (p. 9) that Nelson alleges.

Nelson concludes his essay by warning those who oppose a history-centered curriculum "to engage in the debate or be trampled" (p. 11). Such rhetoric may be inspiring, but it is also alarmist and categorizes people in confrontational terms. In fact, there is a range of opinion on both sides of the debate about history's place in the curriculum, and there are also issues about which advocates and critics of a history-centered curriculum agree. For example, Nelson and I agree that teaching practices in social studies need to improve. Moreover, our disagreement about the curriculum is actually a matter of degree; the issue is not whether historical study should be included in the curriculum, but to what extent. In reality, therefore, neither side seeks to trample the other; rather both seek to influence the complicated process by which social studies will become more or less history-centered. This is not to minimize the importance of such decisions, but to suggest that those involved in them discuss their differences with less hyperbole and less suspicion, and, as they do, focus also on issues about which there is a measure of consensus. In this way they may not only benefit from a sharpening of their respective positions about history, but also find enough common ground to work together on issues of mutual concern.

Murry Nelson's response is poorly argued and unnecessarily argumentative. I will ignore his smug, *ad hominem* remarks for they only serve as a diversion and concentrate instead on those parts of his retort that are more directly related to the substance of the issue at hand. It is difficult, however, to refrain from a certain amount of sarcasm in responding to his "cut-and-slash" commentary.

Perhaps the best place to begin is with Nelson's most unreasonable comments. Foremost in this regard is his condemnation "of the formation...of new splinter groups less concerned with cooperation ...and more concerned with getting 'their way'" (p. 2). What Nelson condemns (it almost seems too obvious to say) is a fundamental right in

the United States: people who disagree with the policies of existent groups certainly have the right to organize in an effort to promote what they believe to be in the best interest of the country. Nelson may not agree with the goals of groups such as the National Council for History Education, but his criticism of their right to organize, even for the purpose of getting their way, is simply indefensible. How often, one wonders, have sentiments similar to those expressed by Nelson been heard in corporate and political board rooms in recent years about groups such as AIM, ACT-UP, and the Sierra Club?

Almost equally unreasonable is Nelson's characterization of "many" who served on the Bradley Commission as "pliant enough to be convinced by ideologues like Chester Finn and Paul Gagnon" (p. 1). First, it should be noted that Finn did not serve on the Bradley Commission, but, because he generally supports the Bradley Commission reports, Nelson somehow concludes that he must have influenced those who wrote them. At best, this is mere conjecture; failing any evidence to support the allegation³ it borders on irresponsible innuendo. To whom is Nelson referring? Kenneth Jackson? Gordon Craig? Robert Ferrell? Nathan Huggins? Michael Kammen? William Leuchtenburg? Leon Litwack? William McNeil? C. Vann Woodward? All respected scholars, and not a group of pliant dupes. Furthermore, the fact that five Bradley Commissioners--John Arevalo, Marjorie Wall Bingham, Louise Cox Byron, Claudia Hoone, and Charles Shotland⁴--are teachers with considerable school experience weakens Nelson's allegation that "many [of the Commissioners] were totally unfamiliar with what went on in schools" (p. 1).

Next, Nelson tries to make a point by challenging the validity of President Bush's self-proclamation as an "environmentalist and education president" (p. 2). "Self-declaration," he cautions, doesn't "make it so" (p. 2). Of course not, but this admonition should be directed at those who indiscriminately label the study of history and all who support a history-centered curriculum as conservative. Both charges are common (Evans, 1989; Garcia, 1990; Nelson, 1990), and both are misleading over-generalizations. That is the point of the analogies Nelson has failed to understand (p. 1). The history-centered movement is neither monolithic nor homogeneous; historical study means different things to different people (much like the term social studies), and it is supported by people on both the left and the right of the political spectrum. Ironically, Nelson's little lesson about the independent judiciary (p. 1) seems to support, not refute, this point. (Although one could argue that members of the judiciary, many of whom are nominated by the president, are less independent than the members of the Bradley Commission, none of whom were so nominated.)

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In this context, arguing that a history-centered curriculum is supported by progressives as well as conservatives,⁵ I mentioned Hazel Hertzberg as an example of the former. But, again, Nelson has missed the point. If he doesn't think Hertzberg's credentials suitably progressive--and I suggest he start his background check by reading Butts' 1989 article "An Appreciation of Hazel Whitman Hertzberg" that appeared in *Social Education*--there are many other progressive supporters of a history curriculum that could have been cited. In other words, in attacking Hertzberg--and conveniently ignoring Theodore Sizer and Eric Foner who were mentioned in the same context (Whelan, 1992, p. 4)--Nelson has missed the forest, in all its variability, for a tree.

Nelson's final swipe at Hertzberg, that she "attended no NCSS meeting ... [i]n the ten years prior to her death" (p. 2), is gratuitous and untrue.⁶ Furthermore, to suggest that attendance at NCSS meetings may be used as a standard to evaluate an individual's involvement in social studies education is foolish. Such a standard is neither valid nor reliable.

Having fired these unsubstantiated allegations at members of the Bradley Commission and Hertzberg, Nelson turns his sights in my direction and levels three charges, each aimed as recklessly as those fired at others. He claims that I have distorted the historical record about the state of empirical research in social studies (p. 3); that I have mislabeled "beliefs" as "research outcomes" (p. 3); and that I have contributed to divisiveness in the NCSS (p. 3). I strongly dispute the first allegation; am bewildered by the second; and do not understand the point of the third.

With regard to the charge of distorting the historical record, Nelson misrepresents my point by citing a quotation out of context. What I actually said is:

Classroom-based research in social studies is a relatively new development, and many issues have yet to be studied empirically. Only within the last twenty years have researchers begun to examine what actually takes place in social studies classes. Prior to the 1970s, social studies research focused primarily on issues related to the official curriculum...Questions about what and how teachers taught and students learned were largely ignored (Whelan, 1992, p. 5).

In challenging the accuracy of this assessment, Nelson refers to three studies (p. 3) from the fifty-year period between 1923 and 1972, each of which was conducted during the first decade of that period.

Such skimpy evidence seems to support my position more than his. Moreover, only one of the studies Nelson cites, the Gambrill survey, deals in any way with the type of research I refer to (i.e., questions about what and how teachers taught and students learned). Finally, others who have studied the historical record support my evaluation. In the *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (1991), Matthew Downey and Linda Levstik (pp. 400-410) and Larry Cuban (pp. 197-209) conclude that the research base is much as I have described it. And, in *The educators' handbook: A research perspective* (1987), James P. Shaver (pp. 112-138) comes to the same conclusion.⁷

Nelson's second charge, that I have mislabeled "beliefs" as "research outcomes," refers to my citation (p.7) of a list of educational outcomes that Elaine Reed associates with the study of history. His attack, in this case, is most bewildering because I plainly state that the outcomes Reed asserts need to be supported by empirical study. And I do so not once, but three times (Whelan, 1992, pp. 7; 9; 12).⁸

Nelson concludes his retort with the charge that my article has increased divisiveness in the NCSS (p. 3). That may be so (although it would be difficult to prove), but I don't understand the point. What is the problem with an organization in which members express a range of opinions about important issues? I am sure the NCSS can survive such diversity. Indeed, Jack Nelson believes (1992, p. 2) diversity strengthens, not saps, an institution's vitality. So again, what is the point? Would conformity and censorship be preferable?

Professor Saxe's response can be divided into two parts. In the first (Saxe, 1992b, pp. 1-2), he presents a revisionist interpretation of James Harvey Robinson's contributions to social studies education; and in the second (pp. 2-5), he discusses the curriculum theories of some early advocates of a "social welfare" or "student-as-social activist" conception of social studies.

With regard to Robinson, Saxe challenges the prevailing interpretation of him as a leading figure during social studies' formative development. Instead he portrays Robinson as a marginal contributor whose influence has largely been exaggerated. Accordingly, Saxe says Robinson was probably appointed to the Committee on Social Studies "more for political considerations than for original contributions" (p. 2), and generally concludes that Robinson had little, if any, influence on the development of social studies' theoretical foundations or its subsequent development as a school subject (pp. 1-3).

But, in an article about "the founders of the 1916 social studies" movement that was published in *TRSE* last spring (Saxe, 1992a), Saxe directly contradicts this revisionist interpretation. In his earlier

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evaluation, he describes Robinson as one of "the most influential members of the social welfare and efficiency prototype that introduced the inaugural social studies program" (pp. 172-173). He also says Robinson served "as the bridge between the 'old line' historians and the new social studies advocates" (p. 168); that Robinson's "views on history blended nicely with the ideas of Jones and Kingsley,⁹ his two former students at Columbia University" (p. 168); that "Robinson's concept of history, as outlined in his book *The New History*, provided a missing element to the Committee's expression of social stud[ies]" education (p. 169); and, quoting Thomas Jesse Jones, the Committee Chairman, that Robinson "had a profound influence on all the Committee deliberations" (p. 168). Saxe adds that Robinson "continued making contributions to social studies [after 1916] by authoring and revising secondary school history texts" (p. 170).

So, which of these contradictory interpretations is closer to the truth?¹⁰ Saxe is obviously too confused to render a reliable judgment, but his original assessment is more consistent with that of others who have studied Robinson's career (Hendricks, 1946; Hertzberg, 1981, 1989; Higham, 1983; Whelan, 1991, 1992). The evidence for Robinson's influence--the fact that some years prior to his appointment to the Social Studies Committee he proposed and began to lobby for a "new" conception of history education and that this conception was strikingly similar to the recommendations the Committee eventually adopted--may not be conclusive, but it is certainly more convincing than the unsubstantiated allegation that Robinson was merely a political expedient.

However, this evidence only speaks to Robinson's contributions to the work of the Social Studies Committee. It supports his depiction as a leader who influenced the establishment of social studies' theoretical foundations, but says nothing about his contributions to the subject's subsequent development as it was studied and taught in classrooms throughout the country. Thus, in asking "just who" [sic] Robinson influenced, Saxe (1992b, p. 1) has inadvertently posed an important question. The point, however, is not, as Saxe implies, that Robinson's influence on classroom practice was negligible, but rather that little is known of the extent of his influence in this regard. Of course, the same may be said of Jones, Dunn, Barnard, and the Social Studies Committee in general.¹¹ The impact of curriculum proposals on classroom practice, especially during the early decades of social studies education, is an area of research that needs to be studied more thoroughly. Specifically, questions about the transition from history to social studies need to be studied from a "bottom-up" perspective; that is, they need to be studied from the point of view of teachers and students and not just the point of view of official curriculum committees. In what

ways were classrooms different as a result of the transition to social studies? What did this transition mean to those who had to implement the social studies reforms? And, if this transition had little effect on classroom practice, as some research indicates (Cuban, 1991), then the reasons for this "constancy" also need to be studied "bottom-up." What is needed, in other words, are case studies of individual schools, classrooms, and teachers. In addition to shedding new light on the history of social studies education, such studies may identify factors that have promoted and retarded the implementation of curriculum reform. The practical value of this sort of information for future reform is obvious.

The second part of Saxe's response (pp. 2-5) dwells on the curriculum theories of prominent advocates of a social welfare or student-as-social activist approach to social studies. In an apparent effort to assert a preeminence for the ideas of these theorists, Saxe says, "The original social studies conceptualization was not...centered in history.... [T]o examine the roots of social studies...exposes Jones, Dunn, and Barnard's explicitly non-history approaches" (p. 3). While it is true that various conceptions of social studies were advanced during the first decades of the twentieth century, to assert that history was not part of this original mix is doubtful, at best. Indeed, according to Saxe's first interpretation (1992a), Robinson's "views on history blended nicely with the ideas" of the social welfare advocates and "provided a missing element" in their expression of social studies education (Saxe, 1992a, pp. 168-169). Furthermore, the final report of the Committee on Social Studies recommended a curriculum for secondary school grades that was principally grounded in the type of historical study that Robinson proposed (Committee on Social Studies, 1916, pp. 12, 15, 35, *passim*).

But even if one concedes Saxe's second interpretation (1992b), the point he is trying to make is still not very clear. Is he suggesting that the social welfare, student-as-social activist approach to social studies has been more influential than Robinson's history? If so, the record (as incomplete as it is) does not seem to support such a claim; history, after all, as Saxe readily admits (p. 3) has been the most commonly taught subject in social studies throughout the twentieth century. The ideas of Jones, Dunn, and Barnard are important, but their influence on the field has apparently been more limited. Saxe tries to bolster his (second) interpretation by citing two cities in which schools adopted a social welfare, student-as-social activist curriculum,¹² but he ignores the thousands of schools in which these theories were not adopted. As I suggested above, studying the reasons why schools have successfully (or unsuccessfully) implemented particular reform initiatives may have

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considerable practical value, but merely pointing to a few schools that adopted one reform program or another is much less significant.

On the other hand, if Saxe is implying that current and future social studies reform should be guided by the ideas of Jones, Dunn, and Barnard, his point is less than compelling. The argument he offers to support such a claim stems from the spurious distinction he draws between the nature of history and the nature of social studies education (Saxe, 1992b, p. 5). The former, according to Saxe, seeks only to re-construct the past while the latter aims at improving the present. This is a straw-man argument; it is based on an extremists' conception of historical study that few, if any, advocates of a history-centered curriculum support. It is certainly not the conception of historical study and history education that I have proposed. But, considering Saxe's flip-flop on Robinson in which he wound up arguing both sides of the issue, perhaps a strawman argument is a step in the right direction.

The recommendation of the Bradley Commission (1988) and National Commission (1989) that students study important public issues in a special course during the final year of high school is similar to the recommendation of the 1916 Social Studies Committee that students study the "problems of democracy" at that time. None of these committees, however, recommended that the study of public issues be confined to this single capstone course. To do so would be inappropriate, not only for the reason Professors Engle and Ochoa mention, but more important, because such practice would be inconsistent with social studies' underlying responsibility to promote thoughtful, active citizenship. That is why the study of public issues should be an integral part of every course in a social studies curriculum, including history courses which, as I said above and on other occasions (Whelan, 1991, 1992), should investigate the relationship between the past and the present. As Engle and Ochoa say, the implementation of this fundamental guideline requires thoughtful and careful planning; but that is true of effective curriculum development in general.

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Endnotes

¹To this list of general pedagogical principles, I would add that students should be involved in the process of creating knowledge; but, for some reason, Evans says (p. 3) this is the province of professors in higher education and not appropriate for social studies students in primary or secondary schools.

(continued next page)

Endnotes (continued)

²Since, as Evans claims, political conservatives have thus far been the most prominent spokespeople for a history-centered curriculum (pp. 6; 9), one would expect that he would be heartened by the fact that spokespeople for a more progressive notion of history education have begun to speak out.

³Maybe Finn had the influence Nelson claims, but the allegation needs to be supported with evidence (i.e., Nelson must "do" the history). However, without any evidence to the contrary, the Bradley Commissioners should be "presumed innocent" (i.e., it should be presumed that the opinions they expressed about history's place in the curriculum were their own.

⁴In addition to the thirteen people mentioned, three others, Charlotte Crabtree, Hazel Hertzberg, and Diane Ravitch, served on the Bradley Commission. The Commission also employed three staff members, Paul Gagnon, Elaine Wrisley Reed, and Joseph Ribar (Bradley Commission, 1988, pp. 29-32).

⁵There is no question, as I said in my response to Evans, that the most prominent spokespeople for a history-centered curriculum have been associated with conservative political positions; that is why it is strange that Nelson attacks with such hostility a spokesperson for a progressive notion of history education.

⁶In the official program of the annual meeting of the NCSS in Chicago in 1985, Hertzberg is listed as a panelist at a session entitled "The relevance of the old and 'new' social studies to the present and the future." At the meeting the following year in New York, she is listed as a panelist at a session entitled "The history of social studies and its sources" and a respondent at another session entitled "Current research on teaching history." Furthermore, I spent a day with Hertzberg at the 1986 meeting.

⁷The first sentence in Downey and Levstik's chapter reads, "The research base for the teaching and learning of history is thin and uneven" (p. 400). In his chapter, Cuban "caution[s]...reader[s] that, in trying to recapture what has disappeared--i.e., teacher intentions and actions, student-teacher exchanges, classroom culture, what children learned--historians and other researchers have access to few sources" (p. 199). In a chapter entitled "Implications from Research: What Should Be Taught in Social Studies," Jim Shaver states that "educational research (and that research in social studies education is no exception) tends to be aimed at questions often not viewed by teachers as germane to actual classroom teaching, such as how to teach students to be creative, independent, critical thinkers or how to (continued next page)

Endnotes (continued)

sequence learning activities to achieve higher-order cognitive and affective outcomes" (p. 122).

⁸Specifically, I say, "[a]dvocates of a history-centered curriculum need to demonstrate how the outcomes they assert may actually be achieved" (Whelan, p. 7); "[a]dvocates of a history-centered curriculum have an obvious obligation to undertake this sort of research and thereby substantiate some of the conclusions about the study of history they have thus far merely asserted" (Whelan, p. 9); and "... the research and reforms called for by the critics' arguments are well-advised. A more solid base of research data about teaching and learning is likely to improve history instruction..." (p. 12).

⁹"Jones" refers to Thomas Jesse Jones, the Chairman of the Committee on Social Studies, and "Kingsley" refers to Clarence Kingsley, the Chairman of the Commission to Reorganize Secondary Education which was the plenary, supervisory body for the Committee on Social Studies. Both the Commission and the Social Studies Committee were sponsored by the National Education Association.

¹⁰ In his article, Saxe (1992a, p. 169) suggests the possibility that Robinson's appointment to the Social Studies Committee may have been more for "his respectability and political qualities than [for] his ideas about history and pedagogy," but he correctly labels such speculation as "supposition" and "conjecture."

¹¹ For example, Saxe (1992b, p. 2) says Jones, Dunn, and Barnard "activated" social studies programs at a number of institutions, but more needs to be known about how those programs were actually taught. The focus needs to shift from the curriculum theorist to the classroom teacher.

¹² According to the Social Studies Committee report (p. 12), the programs begun in the Philadelphia and Indianapolis schools only included the elementary grades.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ESSAY REVIEW

Implementing Global Education Within the Contexts of School Change and American Culture

Tye, Kenneth A. (Ed.). (1990). *Global education from thought to action..* 1991 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Alexandria, VA: ASCD. 184 pages, \$19.95. ISBN 0-87120-171-2.

Review by MERRY M. MERRYFIELD, School of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

The movement for global perspectives in American education is in its third decade. In the 1970s scholars such as Chad Alger (1974), Lee Anderson (1979), Jim Becker (1979), and Robert Hanvey (1976) provided rationales and conceptualizations of global perspectives in education that continue to be the core, "must-read" literature in the field. In the 1980s and early 1990s there was considerable development of K-12 instructional materials, additional contributions to conceptualization, some brief descriptions of school-based and teacher education programs, the beginnings of research, and some attention to issues and strategies especially pertinent to global education. The American Forum for Global Education became a leader in organizing national conferences and disseminating resources and ideas. The Alliance for Education in Global and International Studies (AEGIS) was initiated as a forum for discussion and cooperation of organizations working in global education. However, few scholars or practitioners have written about global education within the realities of people's lives--actual students, teachers, administrators or schools involved in implementing global perspectives in education. Fewer writers have addressed the interaction between global education and the cultural, political or economic contexts in which all educational change takes place.

In 1992 it is easy to question the quality and quality of literature in global education. Where have we come since the 1970s in defining, understanding, implementing, and evaluating global perspectives in education? How does the literature of the 1990s reflect the lessons of the past decades? Is the field stagnating, or are global educators moving forward in conceptual development and sophistication?

Global Education From Thought To Action, the 1991 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), is a recent addition to the literature in global education. Based largely

on the research and experiences of its authors, the book lives up to its title by bringing together thought (specifically rationales and conceptualizations) and action (experiences in implementation). Although the volume falls short of its potential, *Global Education From Thought To Action* is a significant contribution to the field because it adds to our understanding of how global education fits into the contexts of American schooling and American culture.

Kenneth Tye, as the editor of this volume, has set out three purposes for the book. First, the book explains what global education is and why it is important now. Second, the authors have described processes of implementation. Third, they have linked global education with specific strategies for school improvement within the contexts of educational reform and American culture. Although these goals may meet the needs of the membership of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) for whom the book is written, they are too broad to be treated sufficiently in a book of 200 pages. Consequently a major contribution of the book—description and analyses of the implementation of global education—does not get the in-depth attention it deserves.

Part I of the book focuses on today's context for implementing global education in K-12 schools. Lee Anderson's Chapter 1, "A Rationale for Global Education" is essential reading for anyone new to global education who wonders why we need to change American education. Although Anderson's *Schooling for Citizenship in A Global Age* (1979) is a much more detailed treatise of our changing world and his conceptualization of global education, this chapter summarizes and updates his previous work (see also Anderson, 1982).

In the second chapter, "Schooling for America Today: Potential for Global Studies," Barbara Benham Tye places the innovation of global education into the contexts of the "deep structure" of schooling and culture in the United States today. Tye's analysis relates implementation of global perspectives in education to earlier literature on school change (Rogers, 1962; Sarason, 1982). Most experienced educators probably have already recognized such factors as the role of the principal or the impact of societal perceptions that she notes influence school change. However, Tye goes beyond the usual cataloging of such factors and explains how global education interacts with other school reforms (such as cooperative learning and interdisciplinary instruction) and societal change (such as recognition of the global marketplace or the National Governors Association's call for more international understanding).

Tye's chapter would be a perfect introduction to case studies of the implementation of global education within a school or community. I particularly like her attention to what she calls one of the "persistent paradoxes" of education in that "any individual school is very much

like other schools, yet at the same time also uniquely itself" (p. 35). The chapter could have been much more helpful if Tye had used real-life illustrations from Chapman College's Center for Human Interdependence's (CHI) work with schools to demonstrate this paradox in her sections on the "interaction of deep structure and individual schools," "school-level adaptations," "school-level initiatives," and "school-level resistance." Unfortunately these very brief sections only whet the reader's appetite for thick description or case studies of actual teachers and schools.

Steve Lamy's "Global Education: A Conflict of Images," the third chapter of the Yearbook, captures the essence of the controversial nature of global education in the U.S. today. I first used this chapter in April 1991 as a catalyst for discussion with 30 teachers who had been experimenting with global perspectives in their schools over a three month period. Lamy's explication of conflicting worldviews, especially the "good versus evil" perspective of teaching about the world, profoundly affected these teachers and led to an intense and sometimes emotional exploration of some basic assumptions about American values, the teaching of perspectives consciousness, and the role of schools in society. In a follow-up study six months later, these teachers still talked about Lamy's ideas as some of the most thought provoking they had ever encountered.

The strength of Lamy's chapter lies how he helps the reader understand that within American society there are strong, conflicting views of how schools should prepare students for a changing world. Unfortunately the chapter does not provide illustrations of how these conflicts actually affect real teachers, students, or communities. In an extremely brief conclusion Lamy does outline some implications for teacher education. Given the wealth of data from CHI's work with schools and Lamy's own work, it is too bad that the chapter ends without tying these controversies to actual implementation in California schools.

The second part of *Global Education From Thought To Action* is entitled "Practice." These six chapters look at curriculum, school leadership, teacher development, partnerships between schools and universities, the community and global education, and global education as a change agent. Each chapter addresses important contextual factors in the implementation of global perspectives.

In Chapter Four, "Curriculum Considerations in Global Studies," Jim Becker critiques current social studies curricula for global content and outlines possible approaches to curriculum with a global perspective. Although there has been considerable rhetoric for global/international education from national reports and state mandates, Becker concludes that these documents "generally call for more emphasis on world areas or cultures, as well as world history or

geography. Few of them deal with the concept of global systems in a manner that might shed light on what a Japanese industrialist has called the 'borderless world economy' or global environmental concerns, such as depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, or pollution of the oceans" (p. 73). Perhaps there are some "in between" stages in moving from the traditional social studies scope and sequence (p. 69) to a curriculum that prepares students to see their world with a global perspective. I wish Becker had shared an example of a truly global curriculum in practice so that the reader could envision application of Becker's conceptualization of global perspectives.

Becker has chosen to focus on social studies in this chapter, although in other work he has made it clear that global education must permeate all subjects (Becker, 1979, p. 38-57; Becker & Merryfield, 1982). Certainly a book written for the ASCD membership should attend to global perspectives across the curriculum. A critique of Iowa's global education initiative that specifies global content for all K-12 subjects would have been of interest. By concentrating on social studies, the chapter may lead some readers to conclude that social studies bears the responsibility for teaching global perspectives. In fact, teachers of other disciplines, particularly science, language arts, foreign languages, music, and art must work with or perhaps even prod social studies teachers in the areas of global systems and perspectives consciousness.

Becker does make a case for interdisciplinary global education and discusses the philosophical compatibility of cooperative learning and global education (pp. 80-81.). These are extremely important areas for consideration as they link global education to other reforms. Unfortunately these sections appear almost as postscripts to Becker's more developed descriptions of different approaches within social studies.

In Chapter Five, "School Leadership and Global Education," Jane Boston presents a strong case for the power of school administrators and teacher leaders in the implementation of global education. Boston's chapter is exemplary in its integration of ideas and real-life examples. She brings together literature on school leadership, her personal conclusions about the significant roles of principals and other school leaders, and vignettes of the impact of school leaders in both bringing about and constraining global programs. She outlines a list of factors supporting the implementation of global programs that includes "the principal as enabler" (pp. 88-92) and the development of teacher leaders (pp. 93-97). However, she does not advise the reader on what to do in situations when there is little support by administrators or few opportunities for the development of teacher leadership. The last section, "Leadership, School Culture and Global Education," begins to link leadership issues with the "deep structure" discussed in Barbara

Tye's chapter. This section is very brief without examples to illustrate conclusions.

What role does teacher development play in the implementation of global education? Since Ken Tye introduced *Global Education From Thought To Action* with a description of CHI's Network Project (pp. 2-3), I read the book expectantly, looking for lessons learned from the CHI staff's four years of experience in working with schools. In Chapter Six, "Teacher Development Through Global Education," Ida Urso speaks from her experiences working with teachers as a staff associate of CHI. Her case for teacher involvement in global education rests on the program's ability to help teachers "to feel a new excitement about their teaching" (p. 101). Global education connects teachers to new knowledge that they need since it deals with critical current issues and promotes cross-cultural understanding. She particularly likes global education for its opportunities for holistic learning and community involvement (p. 103). In describing CHI's teacher-centered approach to global education, Urso does bring in data from the network. She notes that the teachers highly valued networking with colleagues at other schools. Special projects such as "International Sports Day" and "Your Community and the World," and mini-grants were given to teachers for curriculum development (pp.105-107).

Given the need for teacher education in global perspectives, I found this chapter particularly disappointing. What has been learned about the process of long-term collaboration and inservice education? What has been learned about the needs of teachers for instructional materials, content knowledge, or cross-cultural experiences? What have the teacher educators at CHI learned about working with interdisciplinary teams or working across schools? Although the content of Urso's chapter is useful, it simply does not address many major questions related to how teachers become global and how teachers can work with teacher educators to implement global programs in their schools.

Chapters Seven (school and university collaboration) and Nine (global education for school change) should be read together as they speak to the impact of schools and universities working together to promote school change. Jan Tucker, Professor of Education and Director of the Global Awareness Program at Florida International University (FIU), is one of America's leading teacher educators in global perspectives. Toni Fuss Kirkwood, Global Education Specialist for Dade County Schools, is an experienced teacher and curriculum specialist in global education. Tucker's chapter helps us understand key factors in university and school collaboration. Kirkwood takes us into schools in Miami to illustrate the process of implementing global education.

Several themes in these chapters are reflected in other parts of the book that warrant attention. Tucker speaks of how the interdisciplinary nature of global education offers a wide variety of potential linkages between schools and different university departments, disciplines, or centers. Global education does not raise the usual campus battles over turf as all disciplines and world areas can participate freely. Global education capitalizes on cultural diversity and so builds on the contributions of university and K-12 students. In Miami, where 30 percent of the student population was born in another country, student experiences and knowledge are important resources for a global education program.

Tucker suggests that four principles are essential to school-university partnerships. These include (1) culture and leadership, (2) global education for everyone, (3) mutual rewards, and (4) a conceptual framework (pp. 115-122). He explains each of these principles in turn and includes examples from his own work in Dade County and other programs. Kirkwood follows up on each of these principles from a school system's point of view.

The parallels in these two chapters demonstrate different facets of the process of enabling school change. Since the FIU program and Dade County Schools have adopted Robert Hanvey's *An Attainable Global Perspective* (1976) as their underlying conceptualization, these chapters also contribute to our understanding of the role of a conceptual framework in implementing global education. Given the ambiguity of global education and the constant lament over the lack of one universally accepted definition, these programs demonstrate how consensus can contribute to progress. It would be of interest for Tucker and Kirkwood to have been joined by some of the teachers in Dade County so that their voices are also heard in this story of school change.

In Chapter Eight, "Global Education and the Community," Charlotte Anderson examines curriculum in local-global links from Chad Alger's (1974) original *Columbus in the World* up to the Center for Human Interdependence current efforts in their "Your Community and the World" project. In making a case for tapping into the local community, Anderson stresses the community as a laboratory for students' exploration of global issues and events. Local-global links provide an interdisciplinary approach that in fact, connects all school subjects with actual issues in the community. One strength of this chapter is its examples of how global/local links can be addressed by courses in language arts, journalism, English as a Second Language, science, health, agriculture, art, business, physical education, mathematics, and home economics (pp. 130-139).

In the last chapter, Ken Tye looks to the future of global education. Drawing data from the CHI project, Tye examines global education as a social movement in which sociopolitical controversies

are largely unavoidable. The CHI program has experienced relatively little controversy because it has not pushed a particular worldview and has most frequently dealt with non-controversial topics. With no predetermined curriculum to disseminate, CHI has simply "helped teachers globalize their curriculum" (pp. 160-161). Tye's open discussion of problems with the name "global education," the effects of controversial consultants, and the negative reactions of a few teachers are to be applauded. Anyone working in global education these days needs to be aware of possible outcomes from its controversial nature.

Tye's conclusion touches on themes in other chapters that bear serious attention. In early meetings with administrators and teachers the people at CHI referred to Hanvey's *An Attainable Global Perspective* (1976). As work with the network schools increased, Tye explains that "what we did, as Lamy noted, was to move rather quickly in the first year of the project to help people plan and carry out activities based upon whatever meaning global education had for them" (p. 163). One wonders what parameters, if any, CHI works with in accepting any meaning for global education. In my own work I have often found that teachers who have not read literature in global education often call their instruction "global" simply because they are teaching about other world regions or cultures. I also wonder why there is no mention in the book of other conceptualizations of global education, such as Willard Kniep's (1986).

Tye briefly mentions other themes in school change, such as multicultural education, accountability and testing, teacher isolation, and the existing structure of schools. Each of these is important and needs more development. Multicultural education is getting tremendous attention today in both education and in the popular press. It is surprising that the authors, particularly Charlotte Anderson and Toni Kirkwood whom I consider to have great expertise and experience in bringing global and multicultural together, don't integrate the two reforms in their chapters. Authentic or outcomes-based assessment, another major reform in education in the 1990s, is barely mentioned in the book. Other reforms such as the professional development school (PDS or Holmes initiative) movement of over 100 universities to work with schools to improve teacher education is omitted, yet it has great promise in acting upon on the ideas expressed by Boston, Tucker, and Urso.

What is the contribution of *Global Education From Thought To Action* to the literature in global education? Although it lacks the depth I would like to see, this book does make an applaudable effort to examine global education in the broader contexts of school change and American sociopolitical values. Unlike most literature that focuses on global education, this volume backs up many of its assertions with data from teachers and schools. It goes beyond rhetoric of what should be

done and takes the reader into schools where global education is taking place.

My major criticism is that the authors don't go far enough in taking us into classrooms, planning sessions, team meetings and other demonstrations of global education in process. The focus is on the "experts" (and these are experts) instead of on K-12 educators and the action taking place in classrooms. Many of the chapters are simply too brief and leave the reader wanting more explanation, illustrations, and discussion of implications. What the literature in global education badly needs is depth.

The authors bring in perspectives of teachers or administrators as brief quotes or asides. If these are truly collaborative programs, why not have school people as authors? I would like to hear teachers explain how they make global education their own or administrators give their experiences in implementation.

Where has the movement for global perspectives in education come in the last three decades? From this volume it appears that global educators are relying on the conceptualizations of the 1970s, particularly those of Alger and Hanvey. Perhaps Ken Tye or others could do a content analysis of global education in practice to see if teachers have developed new or different conceptual bases as they globalize their courses.

Much has happened over the last twenty years. Should global education's conceptualizations be dynamic and change over time? Or are those ideas so cogently expressed in the 1970s to be the basis for global education in 2001? This volume begins with a rationale for global perspectives in education. When will global educators feel it is no longer necessary to build a case for global education at the beginning of every article and book? Although the movement for global perspectives is moving ahead in schools across the nation, the literature lags behind in telling the story of preparing teachers and young people to think globally.

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INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Theory and Research in Social Education is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. The purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge about purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations.

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- The relationship of different independent, explanatory variables to educational achievements in the area of learning about society and social relations;
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