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THEORY AND RESEARCH IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

From the Editor

Social Studies Education and the Pursuit of Social Justice

The tapestry of topics, methods, and aims we know as social stud-
ies education has always contained threads of social reconstructionism.
Social reconstructionists such as George S. Counts, Harold Rugg, and
later Theodore Brameld argued that teachers should work toward social
change by teaching students to practice democratic principles, collective
responsibility, and social and economic justice. John Dewey advocated
the democratic reconstruction of society, and aspects of his philosophy
inform the work of many contemporary social educators, multiculturalists,
and critical pedagogues. Current patterns of mainstream social studies
teaching, curriculum, and teacher education do not, however, reflect an
emphasis on social justice, which is the primary tenet of social
reconstructionist thought.

It is notable then, that National Council for the Social Studies has
joined with the Association of Teacher Educators to form a Joint Com-
mission on Social Justice in Teacher Education. Its mission is to
"reconceptualize and transform teacher education as a practice of social
justice for a democratic society." The Commission plans to work with
diverse organizations to recommend and disseminate ideas and prac-
tices that promote social justice through teacher education.

In a focus group held at the NCSS Annual Conference in Anaheim
last month, the Commission solicited NCSS members' visions of social
justice and teacher education. Five questions were presented to the focus
group: (1) What is social justice? (2) How do you practice social justice?
(3) What role to you see for teacher education programs in promoting
social justice? (4) What makes "good/effective" social activist teachers?
(5) What practices in public education hinder or support social justice?
These are questions I encourage readers to consider, my own musings
follow.

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Defining the visions to be pursued in social studies education is not
something that can be done once and for all, or separated from the expe-
rience of everyday life in a specific time and place. We can, however,
identify pedagogical means that will put teachers and students on track
to undertake education for social justice. Dewey's oft quoted, seldom
enacted, definition of reflective thought is a good starting point, the

active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief
or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds
that support it and the further conclusions to which it
tends. (Dewey, 1933, p. 8)

Teaching from this standpoint means focusing on outcomes and consequences that matter (e.g., everyday life circumstances as opposed to standardized test scores) and interrogating abstract concepts, such as democracy, for more meaningful understandings.

For example, "democracy" is most often taught, and understood, as a system of government providing a set of rules that allow individuals wide latitude to do as they wish. The first principle of democracy, however, is providing means for giving power to the people, not to an individual or to a restricted class of people. "Democracy," says Dewey, is "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience."

> The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each had to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity. (Dewey, 1916, p. 87)

Democratic life, then, involves paying attention to the multiple implications of our actions on others (Boisvert, 1998). In fact, the primary responsibility of democratic citizens is concern with the development of shared interests that lead to sensitivity about repercussions of their actions on others. In this light, it is nearly impossible to teach democracy without placing the pursuit of social justice and the examination existing social, economic, and political structures at the center of the endeavor.

Boisvert (1998) distills from Dewey's work three criteria for determining the degree to which a society (e.g., individuals in association) is moving in the direction of the democratic ideal: (1) Participation in formulating policy is widespread; (2) Groups that make up society encourage and actively elicit the development of latent powers/talents in their members; (3) Relations among social groups are multiple and supple. The more porous the boundaries of social groups, the more they welcome participation from all individuals, and as the varied groupings enjoy multiple and flexible relations, the society is closer to fulfilling the democratic ideal.

How does the contemporary society of stakeholders in education (viz., teachers, students, parents, policy-makers, teacher educators)—and the social studies education community in particular—measure up to the guiding ideals of the criteria above? Consider the circumstances below. What are the grounds that support these

circumstances? What further conclusions might be drawn from active and careful consideration of these states of affairs?

> The dominant pattern of classroom social studies pedagogy is characterized by text-oriented, whole group, teacher-centered instruction with an emphasis on memorization of factual information. (cf., Leming, 1994)

> Common topics for study in social studies include the enslavement of Africans in the U.S. and the subsequent civil war; genocide of Native Americans; and the Civil Rights Movement. The threads of capitalism, fascism, racism, and class domination that link these topics, however, are rarely woven together. (cf., Ross, in press)

> Teacher educators who stress life-long, active learning approaches and eschew discipline practices intended to make students compliant are criticized as being "out of touch idealists" and characterized as enemies of safe, orderly schools, whose aim is to graduate students who have mastered basic skills and learned such values as honesty and respect. (cf., Wadsworth, 1997)

> The developing consensus on educational reform at the state and national level places its highest value on increased test scores. By establishing content standards for schools and coercing compliance through mandated testing programs this reform effort reduces teachers to conduits for the delivery of pre-packaged knowledge, diminishes teachers' professional judgment, and constrains the creativity and spontaneity of teachers and students. (cf., Ross, 1997)

> At the opening session of the CUFA annual meeting in Anaheim, I identified only four people of color in an audience of nearly seventy. And, I walked through the exhibit hall at the NCSS meeting last month for ten minutes before seeing a person of color. I walked another 15 minutes before seeing another non-white person.

Democracy and social studies in the perfect sense will never be attained, but without examining our circumstances in light of guiding ideals we could never engage in the work to eliminate the "restrictive and disturbing elements" that prevent the growth of democratic life (Dewey, 1927; Boisvert, 1998).

A close examination of traditional social studies instruction (and teacher education) illustrates how particular theories of knowledge and conceptions of democracy function to obscure the political and ideological consequences of mainstream social studies education. These consequences include conceptions of the learner as passive; democratic citizenship as a spectator project; and ultimately the maintenance of status quo inequalities in society. Often times social studies educators eschew openly political or ideological agendas for teaching and schooling as inappropriate or "unprofessional." The question, however, is not whether to encourage particular social visions in the classroom, but rather, what kind of social visions will there be. The NCSS/ATE Joint Commission on Social Justice in Teacher Education gives us an opportunity to alter the warp and woof of social studies to create a tapestry of social justice.

E.W.R.

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Intensive Document-Based Instruction in a Social Studies Methods Course and Student Teachers' Attitudes and Practice in Subsequent Field Experiences[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the socialization of student teachers in secondary history class-rooms. Specifically, the article examines student teachers' responses to a history-intensive social studies methods course and their subsequent uses of document-based instruction. The analysis, grounded in data collected from interviews, lesson plans, and written reflections, supported previous research regarding student teachers' active participation in their socialization process. The findings also provide further insights into the complex relationship between teacher education and student teachers' beliefs and practices. The article ends with a discussion of ways in which methods coursework might be designed to better enable student teachers to introduce document-based instruction into existing secondary history classrooms.

> It is not that students don't know *enough* history; they don't know what history is in the first place (original emphasis, Wineburg, 1992, p. 24).

Recently published national curriculum standards in social studies and history encourage teachers to use historical inquiry to deepen students' historical understanding (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996; National Council for the Social Studies, 1994). For example, National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) suggests high school students should:

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systematically employ processes of historical inquiry to re-
construct and reinterpret the past, such as using a variety of
sources and checking their credibility, validating and weigh-
ing evidence for claims and searching for causality (p. 113).

To promote students' engagement in this inquiry process, the social
studies and history standards encourage teachers to position students
to analyze and to interpret diaries, old photographs, letters, newspa-
pers and other artifacts. Such document-based activities will develop
students' interpretive skills and afford students opportunities to evalu-
ate evidence and reconstruct the past.

     NCSS and the National Center for History in the Schools are not
alone in their call for increased attention to document-based instruc-
tion. The Geography Education Standards Project (1994) suggests stu-
dents should "compile and use primary and secondary information
to prepare quantitative and qualitative descriptions. They should col-
lect the data from interviews, field work, reference material, and li-
brary research" (p. 42). The Center for Civic Education (1994) also sets
forth standards requiring students to evaluate historical and contem-
porary political documents. Although social studies educators and pro-
fessional organizations agree on the importance of teaching students
to interpret historical evidence and evaluate claims about the past,
document-based history instruction is more the exception than the
rule. Research on the teacher socialization process provides a lens
through which to examine the discrepancies between what is called
for and what occurs in secondary classrooms regarding history in-
struction.

     This article examines student teachers' uses of and attitudes to-
ward document-based instruction subsequent to a history-intensive sec-
ondary social studies methods course. The article begins with a con-
ceptual framework that highlights the complex nature of both history
instruction and the teacher socialization process. Next is a description
of the secondary social studies methods course that was specifically
designed to enhance the knowledge of and to promote the use of pri-
mary sources to teach for historical understanding. Third, is a descrip-
tion of the methods used to examine secondary student teachers' uses
of and attitudes toward document-based instruction to teach history.
Finally, is a discussion of ways to adjust and modify document-based
instruction to meet the realities of the history classroom.

Conceptual Framework

History Instruction and Primary Sources
     Several studies demonstrate that teachers can use documents to
generate sophisticated historical reasoning among elementary and

secondary students (e.g., Britt, Rouet, Georgi, & Perfetti, 1994; Downey & Levstik, 1988, 1991; Wineburg & Wilson, 1988). In their study, Wineburg and Wilson (1988) concluded that highly effective history teachers possess a deep understanding of the ways historical knowledge is generated or constructed. Effective history teachers not only have a strong knowledge base upon which to draw, but they also have a sound comprehension of how historians investigate and reconstruct the past. Like historians, effective history teachers recognize the variety of potential meanings held by a document. They are comfortable with the ambiguity caused by apparently conflicting evidence and are aware of sources of bias that accompany historical documents. Highly effective history teachers help students comprehend broad historical themes, and have students weave material from a variety of sources into written narratives. Further, they understand that historical knowledge is provisional; always open to revised interpretation (e.g., Shulman, 1986; Stanley, 1991; Wilson, Shulman & Rickert, 1987; Wineburg, 1991b; Wineburg & Wilson, 1988; Yeager & Davis, 1994).

Elementary and secondary teachers who possess a deep or robust comprehension of history appeared confident their students were capable of sophisticated historical reasoning and comprehension (e.g., Downey & Levstik, 1988, 1991; National Center for History in the Schools, 1996; NCSS, 1994). Children as young as seven years old can construct historical narratives and attain considerable historical understanding when taught at an appropriate level for comprehension (e.g., Blake, 1981; Levstik & Barton, 1996; Levstik & Pappas, 1987; VanSledright & Brophy, 1992; Wineburg, 1991b). According to Wineburg (1991b), "under the right conditions, even third graders can grasp something of history's indeterminate nature to arrive at sophisticated interpretations of the past" (p. 518).

Although many educators believe that students will benefit greatly from their engagement with primary sources, other research indicates teachers seldom ask students to work with historical documents (e.g., Booth, 1980; Downey & Levstik, 1991; Krug, 1970; Levstik & Barton, 1994; Lukowitz, 1978; Rulon & Lubick, 1982; Schneider & VanSickle, 1979; Shulman, 1986; Stanley, 1991; VanSledright, 1995; Weaver, et. al., 1985; Wilson, Shulman, & Rickert, 1987; Wineburg, 1991b; Wineburg & Wilson, 1988, 1991; Yeager & Davis, 1994). The typical social studies classroom appears to be driven by textbooks and worksheets. Rarely do students dispute what they read or write narratives regarding their interpretations of their readings. In such environments, elementary and secondary students are unlikely to exercise the "habits of mind" historians apply to historical issues and evidence (NCSS, 1994, p. 22). In addition, the information is forgotten after the test and students deem history irrelevant or boring (e.g., Christopoulos, Rohwer & Thomas, 1987; Goodlad, 1985; Levstik &

Barton, 1994; Loewen, 1995; Ravitch & Finn, 1987; Shaver, Davis & Helburn, 1979; Wiley & Race, 1977).

Even students who retain a considerable number of historical facts after a test or attain "cultural literacy" (Hirsch, 1987) may know little of what Perfetti, Britt, and Georgi (1995) refer to as "historical literacy." This "historical literacy" implies "an ability to reason about historical topics—to place them in more than one context, to question the sources of a historical statement, to realize that more information is need to reach a conclusion, and so on" (p. 5). Most students tend to view history textbooks as absolute, truthful versions of the past (e.g., Perfetti, Britt, & Georgi, 1995; Salter, 1997). They do not recognize or understand that historians interpret evidence and construct provisional or tentative versions of what happened. Most students never learn that historical interpretations are open to controversy and revision. They do not appreciate history as an ongoing, often contentious conversation about what happened and why (e.g., Levstik & Barton, 1994; Paxton, 1997; Seixas, 1994; Wineburg, 1991b). Unless history instruction fosters this kind of understanding, students are unlikely to appreciate history's usefulness for attaining critical perspective on present day social issues.

One reason why students may not be able to engage in historical inquiry is that most history teachers are not well prepared or socialized to implement teaching strategies that invite students to weigh historical evidence or debate competing versions of the past. Many college or university level history departments do not insure college students understand how historians use documentary evidence. Although historical content may have more nuances in college classrooms, the *process* of history instruction is similar to what students experienced in secondary schools (e.g., Boice, 1991; Boyer, 1987; Gabelnick, et. al., 1990). Although colleges seek to "move...student[s] toward a sense of discipline-based document use," most leave history classes with a weak sense of how historians employ evidence to write history (Perfetti, Britt, & Georgi, 1995, p. 178). In sum, college history students, who often become social studies teachers, have little or no preparation in historical methodology or epistemology.

Because of the many responsibilities of teacher preparation courses, social studies education programs have had difficulty supplying teacher candidates with a firm comprehension of how historians construct the past. Research suggests that teacher candidates usually depart instructional methods courses without having interpreted historical materials, written historical narratives based on primary sources, or critiqued the work of other historians based upon their own comprehension of the past (e.g., Goodman & Adler, 1985; Yeager & Davis, 1994, 1995). As a result, teacher candidates enter student teaching ill equipped to implement document-based instruction (e.g.,

Downey & Levstik, 1991; Levstik & Barton, 1994; Seixas, 1994; Weaver, et. al., 1985; Wineburg, 1991a; Yeager & Davis, 1994). Prospective teachers leave teacher education programs without what Yeager and Davis (1994, 1995) call the "knowing how" of history.

The lack of attention to interpretation, critique and reconstruction of history in pK-12 classrooms, college courses and social studies methods ill prepares student teachers to foster students' historical understanding in elementary and secondary classrooms. Even if student teachers did receive instruction designed to promote historical understanding, there is little evidence to suggest that they would receive support and encouragement to implement these strategies, that are counter to the status quo, in the classroom.

Teacher Socialization

Researchers appear to agree that the process of teacher socialization is complex in nature (e.g., Jordell, 1987; Ross, 1987, 1988; Ross & Jenne, 1993; Zeichner, 1980; Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). However, Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) maintain that there is a "lack of consensus...regarding the potency and influence of various socializing agents and mechanisms that affect the development of beginning teachers" (p. 15). Researchers often focus on a limited number of socializing agents in their efforts to add to an understanding of the entire teacher socialization process, but there is nothing to suggest that these agents are mutually exclusive. For example, cooperating teachers (typically viewed as exerting great influence); the student teachers, themselves (recently recognized for the complexity of their role in the socialization process); and teacher education courses (typically seen as having little influence).

One particular socializing agent that researchers have examined is the cooperating teacher and her/his apparent influence on student teachers' socialization into the profession (e.g., Bullough, 1992; Goodman & Fish, 1997; Head, 1992; Koeppen, 1996, 1998; Ross & Jenne, 1993; Staton & Hunt, 1992; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). Cooperating teachers tend to filter information as well as institutional forces that effect student teachers' decision-making (Ross & Jenne, 1993). Su (1992) suggests that cooperating teachers are a primary influence in part, because student teachers often spend their entire field experience in this one teacher's classroom. When social studies student teachers are placed in secondary history classrooms where traditional strategies are paramount, they observe pedagogy that may be distinctly different from what they studied in teacher education. These discrepancies in pedagogy can widen the gap between theory and practice and can further constrain student teachers' use of strategies learned in teacher education. In such instances, student teachers may feel compelled to follow the lead of their cooperating teachers (Goodman &

Fish, 1997; Koeppen, 1996, 1998; Ross & Jenne, 1993). In this way, co-operating teachers promote the status quo.

While cooperating teachers are able to exert a great deal of influence as socializing agents, student teachers are not simply passive recipients; they, too, have agency. In this way, student teachers are framed as socializing agents because they can effect their socialization process in several ways (Jordell, 1987; Ross, 1987, 1988; Ross & Jenne, 1993; Zeichner, 1980; Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). As Ross (1987, 1988) discovered, student teachers shaped their field experiences through one or a combination of the following interactive processes: a) role-playing, b) selective role-modeling, c) impression management, and d) self-legitimation.

Through role playing, student teachers participated in the activities they most closely associated with the act of teaching, for example, conducting a lesson with students. These student teachers were convinced that the field experience would be their proving ground because their "teacher education course work was artificial and separated from the reality of the school classroom" (Ross, 1987, p. 231). Student teachers used selective role-modeling as they actively designed their unique model of a teacher. They deliberately selected the attributes of their cooperating teachers that they most wanted to replicate. Impression management was evidenced through student teachers' reservations regarding actions they took in the classroom that did not correspond to their personal beliefs. In other words, they modified their actions to better fit the context of the field experience but maintained their beliefs, however contrary. Self-legitimation was the process whereby student teachers evaluated their own teaching. In this respect, student teachers overwhelmingly believed that their success in the classroom was due more to "personality characteristics...than any particular knowledge or skills that might be taught during teacher education" (Ross, 1987, p. 237).

Using processes such as those described by Ross (1987, 1988), student teachers can make choices about what actions and beliefs to emulate, discard information that they deem unnecessary or unimportant, and resist socializing efforts that contradict their perspectives. In these ways, student teachers actively participate in defining themselves as teachers.

Teacher education courses are also seen as socializing agents. Most teacher educators hope that their course will influence student teachers' beliefs and attitudes. While some research indicates that information from teacher education courses is often seen as insignificant or is mitigated once student teachers enter the classroom (e.g., Deal & Chatman, 1989; Koeppen, 1996; Lortie, 1975; Ross, 1988; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984), other research suggests that associations with particular teacher education faculty (Su, 1992) and courses

(e.g., Goodman, 1986; Goodman & Fish, 1997; Ross, 1988; Su, 1992; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985) influences student teachers' knowledge of and commitment to particular instructional strategies. In a recent study, for example, Goodman and Fish (1997) examined preservice teachers' experiences with methods courses and accompanying field experiences that were "designed to foster a commitment to teach in a socially and pedagogically progressive manner" (p. 96). After a semester, all participants expressed a desire "to move away from traditional modes of educating children" (p. 97). The course work either confirmed preservice teachers' existing perspectives by making the ideas more pragmatic or "provided completely new ways of viewing the education of children" (p. 102). In other words, methods courses *were* of some consequence to student teachers' perspectives.

Like Goodman and others, the study presented here focused on the potential influence of teacher education course work, specifically from methods courses. Fundamental to this study was the belief that social studies methods courses that modeled document-based instruction and positioned teacher candidates to discuss classroom use of historical artifacts would enable them to resist those socializing forces during student teaching that promote more conventional history instruction.

History Intensive Methods Course Instruction
Overview
The instructor of the secondary social studies methods course this study examined sought to address Shulman's (1986) idea of "pedagogical content knowledge" when he designed the course at the midwestern university where he taught. In addition, he sought to deepen these teacher candidates' knowledge that history is constructed, debated, and revised. At the same time, he introduced them to instructional methods to cultivate such knowledge among the students whom they would teach during their student teaching. In short, he explicitly linked historical content to instructional methods so that the teacher candidates might develop pedagogical content knowledge.

Although the course attended to disciplines within the social studies other than history and strategies other than historical inquiry, the use of primary documents for instructional purposes was emphasized throughout the sixteen-week course. The heavy emphasis on document-based instruction stemmed from the instructor's belief that understanding knowledge construction and pedagogy in one discipline would enable teacher candidates to use primary data with students in economics, geography and other social studies disciplines. To this end, teacher candidates' pedagogical content knowledge was fostered via modeling and participation in and creation of numerous activities using primary documents to cultivate historical understanding.

Exercises in Historical Interpretation and Reconstruction

In adherence with a content-and-pedagogy approach, teacher candidates routinely analyzed and interpreted historical artifacts such as song lyrics, documentary films, diary entries, advertisements, paintings, and oral history testimony. In addition to these exercises, teacher candidates wrote historical narratives utilizing historical evidence. Teacher candidates frequently engaged in what the instructor termed "imaginative readings" of documents in order to assess what they might indicate about past events and the documents' credibility as evidence. For example, the instructor asked teacher candidates to interpret the meaning(s) of Hale Woodruff's 1939 mural "Mutiny on the Amistad," which portrayed the 1841 slave rebellion on board the slave ship *Amistad*. The instructor also required candidates to employ what Wineburg (1991a) identified as a "sourcing heuristic" to assess the document's accuracy as a reflection of past events or condition, that is, how reliable was Woodruff's 1939 depiction of an event that took place in 1841? Teacher candidates compared documents to assess whether one source corroborated what others indicated about the past thus creating some sense of reliability. They also learned to check the source and authorship of documents to consider possible biases or distortions (Salter, 1997; Wineburg, 1991a). Oftentimes, in discussions of documents, teacher candidates drew upon prior historical knowledge to place them into "a concrete temporal and spatial context" (Wineburg, 1991a, p. 77).

Exercises used to develop pedagogical content knowledge were neither time consuming nor elaborate. During the first two meetings of the methods course, the instructor conducted a lesson which served as a model for teacher candidates' lesson planning. He titled his model lesson "Using Primary Sources to Understand the Past: Slavery and Runaway Slaves in Colonial America (1769)." The instructor wrote lesson plans that were linked to performance expectations listed under the theme "Time, Continuity and Change" (NCSS, 1994), specifically those suggesting that students "a) use documents to reconstruct the past, such as letters, old newspapers, maps, photos... and b) employ processes of critical historical inquiry (interpretation, analysis and synthesis) to reconstruct the past" (p. 34). In addition, he wrote original objectives to reflect higher order thinking skills referenced in Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of educational objectives. For example, "students will interpret and analyze escaped slave advertisements [in order to] write a story about slavery in ante-bellum Georgia during the age of the American Revolution."

On the first day of class the instructor initiated the model lesson. First, he distributed six runaway slave advertisements that appeared in the *Savannah Georgia Gazette* during the last three months of 1769. The instructor asked the teacher candidates to "read the advertise-

ments and write down a list of ideas in response to the following question: 'What was slavery like for those held in bondage?'" After they individually scrutinized the *Gazette* advertisements, the instructor placed them in groups of four to develop a collective list of ideas in response to the question.

Next, in a whole class discussion, each group contributed to a class-generated list of facts teacher candidates garnered from the advertisements concerning what slavery was like. Some groups noted that advertisements referred to marks or scars on slaves and inferred that slaves were beaten or tortured. Other groups cited the advertisements to argue that slaves developed a system to help escapees avoid capture. After twenty minutes of discussion, the instructor had recorded a list of ideas about slavery that filled the blackboard at the front of the class.

With their long list in front of them, the instructor asked students "to identify evidence in the documents that show how they know what slavery was like for those who endured it." This activity represented the instructor's effort to show teacher candidates how to practice interrogating historical data. He wanted teacher candidates to reflect upon whether the facts they identified were reliable sources for determining what slavery was like for those held in bondage.

Indeed, teacher candidates offered thoughtful remarks about the status of the advertisements and their reliability as historical evidence. For example, all agreed that references in the advertisements to wounds and scars represented credible evidence that slaveholders mistreated slaves. However, one student noted the wounds could have come from injuries sustained during work-related accidents. Another student asserted that inferences about abusive treatment cohered with evidence from slave diaries and secondary sources she had read for an American history class. In other words, to support her inferences the teacher candidate cited corroborating evidence from her prior knowledge of history and referred to work of historians who had studied slavery. Yet another teacher candidate pointed out that since the advertisements were dated 1796, they may not reflect what slavery was like at the time of the American Civil War. Another pointed out that the advertisements were from Georgia and perhaps slavery in other colonies was different.

Following this exercise in evaluating evidence, the teacher candidates took fifteen minutes to "write an in-class essay in response to the question: What was slavery like for those held in bondage?" Teacher candidates were invited to use notes from the previous class meetings' discussions as well as the slave advertisements for composing their essay. Subsequently, the class established criteria for evaluating these essays. Evaluative criteria included: coherence of the narrative; citation of advertisements to support generalizations; appropriate

weighing of evidence taken from the advertisements; creative use of evidence to establish inferences about the slave experience.

Following the establishment of criteria, groups read and evaluated the essays. Group members then selected and read an essay to the class which they believed other members of the class would benefit from hearing. A group member read an essay, and the instructor asked group members to identify the criteria used for selecting it. The essays that groups selected to read met all or some of the previously listed criteria. A fifth evaluation criteria emerged from this process, that is, the essay's placement of evidence within a larger body of previous historical knowledge.

Lesson Planning

The social studies methods course placed heavy emphasis on lesson planning in order to develop the pedagogical side of teacher candidates' content knowledge. The aforementioned slavery lesson served as a model for teacher candidates to use to construct their own source-based lesson plans. One of the course goals was to encourage prospective teachers to empower young people to create original historical narratives. To this end, teacher candidates designed lesson plans that would engage students in the interpretation of primary sources.

On three occasions, teacher candidates followed the instructor's model to design lessons centered on primary sources. The lesson plans, which they submitted for evaluation, were required to contain: a) objectives framed in terms of Bloom's (1956) higher order thinking skills, b) procedures that described, in detail, how primary sources would be employed in the lesson, and c) strategies for evaluating whether students attained the lesson plan's objectives. Teacher candidates submitted for evaluation lesson plans that focused on a wide range of topics and employed a variety of documents. Examples included lessons on the Holocaust based on excerpts from some of Hitler's speeches; the status of free African-American women in ante-bellum United States based on a speech by Sojourner Truth; the structure and organization of noble family life in medieval France using a 12th century marital contract. A more detailed example is a lesson which contained the following objective: "students will apply the claim 'all wars are driven by economic considerations' to the outbreak of World War I." To test this claim, the lesson procedures required students to read a number of documents that seemed to substantiate as well as contradict this assertion. The evaluation strategy consisted of a written account of *why* World War I took place, in which students took into consideration the economic interpretation of the War's beginning.

Peer Instruction

Teacher candidates implemented a lesson plan with their peers in order to practice converting lesson plans to classroom instruction. This peer instruction was regarded as a key activity for developing their understanding of how historians make sense of the past. The peer instruction activity required each candidate to design and then implement a document-based lesson, with his or her peers serving as the class. As the instructor, each of the teacher candidates provided his/her peers an occasion to scrutinize historical documents and refine their historical "sense making" skills. After each lesson, the peer instructor and the acting class discussed the lesson's success at positioning students to interrogate historical documents. The following question informed each discussion: "To what extent did the lesson allow teacher candidates to interpret historical evidence, weigh its credibility, or use it to write historical narratives?"

The lesson plans from the peer instruction activity were subsequently graded by the instructor. These lesson plans were typically rich in primary source material. Each peer instructor immersed fellow classmates in a variety of historical documents that elicited higher order thinking. The high quality of the lesson plans provided evidence to suggest the teacher candidates understood how and why historians use primary sources. Some teacher candidates displayed a more sophisticated knowledge of historical epistemology than others, but each certainly demonstrated some level of the "knowing how" of history. Regardless of the sophistication of knowledge, the instructor believed each candidate left the methods course willing and able to implement document-based lessons during student teaching.

Admittedly, teaching one's peers is different from teaching middle or high school students. In addition, schools are replete with obstacles to the implementation of higher order thinking (Onosko, 1991) and the type of document-based history instruction promoted in the secondary social studies methods course described here. Also, once student teachers enter the classroom the process of teacher socialization is often beyond the university's influence and may run contrary to the pedagogical knowledge promoted therein. With these obstacles in mind, the following study was instigated to assess whether student teachers actually implemented document-based instruction in the classroom, teacher candidates' attitudes toward the use of primary documents, whether they credited the university's secondary social studies methods course as influencing these.

Method

The three questions that guided this study include: (a) To what extent did teacher candidates use historical documents during their

student teaching? (b) What were student teachers' attitudes toward document-based instruction after their field experience? (c) Was the methods course credited by student teachers with teaching them to use primary sources for the teaching of history? In order to answer these questions, interviews with student teachers were conducted, written lesson plans used during their student teaching were collected, and written reflections from a seminar held in conjunction with student teaching were gathered.

Participants

The university's secondary social studies education program constitutes 40 students in a given year, approximately two-thirds of whom are undergraduate students in a 4-year or 5-year program seeking certification in social studies. The remaining one-third enroll in what the university labels Program B, a Masters of Arts in Teaching-type program in which they simultaneously become certified and obtain a masters degree. A few students are in a post-baccalaureate situation in which they already have an undergraduate degree and are seeking certification, but not a masters degree.

Diversity within the university's secondary social studies education program on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender is minimal. The program remains a male dominated enclave with the ratio of students approximately two-thirds male to one-third female. The students enrolled in the program tend to be exclusively Caucasian with the exception of three persons of color enrolled during the two years prior to this study.

Eleven student teachers participated in this study. Nine were undergraduates, one was in the Masters program, and one was in a post-baccalaureate situation. The seven male and four female student teachers were Caucasian.

Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews. Structured interviews were designed to assess student teachers' attitudes toward and use of primary documents in teaching history (contact the authors for a copy of the interview schedule). The interviews, which occurred soon after the student teachers completed their field experiences, were designed to elicit information concerning whether, and how often, they used primary sources during their student teaching. The interviews were also designed to obtain information regarding student teachers' attitudes and commitment toward future use of document-based instruction and whether the methods course was a source of their document-centered instruction.

Each interview tape was analyzed separately and then the individual findings were discussed. The coding procedure employed consisted of searching the interview tapes for references to (a) the use of

primary sources during student teaching, (b) the student teachers' attitudes (favorable or unfavorable) toward document-based instruction, and (c) the methods course as a locale for knowledge of document-based instruction.

Lesson plans. Throughout the semester, student teachers submitted the lessons they used in class that were then used in conjunction with the written reflections described below. A sample of lesson plans student teachers prepared and implemented were analyzed in order to corroborate what they mentioned during their interviews. The lesson plans were also examined for evidence of goals, objectives or procedures that indicated use of primary source material. We also examined the lesson plans to determine whether the lessons engaged secondary students in interpretation exercises, efforts at synthesis in the form of written papers or projects, or evaluation of the work of others in light of their own efforts to comprehend primary source materials.

Written reflections. During the seminar held in conjunction with student teaching, teacher candidates reflected, in writing, on their classroom experiences. Once each week, student teachers wrote reflections on the planning and teaching of their lessons (Contact the authors for a copy of the guidelines for weekly reflections). The seminar instructor collected these weekly reflections and the corresponding lesson plans at two different points throughout the semester (March, and April). On both occasions she provided written feedback on the reflections. This feedback was intended to encourage student teachers' further thinking or to prompt them to clarify their comments as well as stimulate depth in future reflections. Teacher candidates then wrote responses to the feedback, thus creating a written dialogue. This process was an opportunity for student teachers to contemplate their successes and frustrations during student teaching including those involved with using document-based strategies as well as to reveal their attitudes toward document-based instruction over the course of the semester.

Interpretations

Student Teachers' Use of Primary Sources

Analysis of interviews and lesson plans indicated all eleven student teachers used primary sources at least once and used them to attain a variety of instructional goals. Results indicated that all eleven participants asked students to interpret or to analyze documents as well as using primary sources to enliven instruction and supplement text. Four student teachers asked students to use primary sources to construct or to write historical narratives and two student teachers used primary sources to develop students' critical reading skills. In each instance, student teachers exhibited signs of agency as they wove

document-based instruction within the more conventional strategies championed by their cooperating teachers.

Enlivening instruction. All candidates indicated that they employed primary sources to enliven classes or to interrupt routines of lectures, worksheets and textbook reading. Many candidates regarded document-based instruction as a "break"; a "fun" activity that engaged students with material from a particular historical period or event. Kevin's[2] comments exemplified the thoughts of most teacher candidates as he reported he used primary sources to "shake up the routine of lecture/worksheet, lecture/worksheet." He noted in his reflections that primary sources "seemed to spark interest" and he "was really pleased" that students recognized connections between primary sources and the material he offered through lectures and textbook. As a result of students' positive responses to primary sources early in the student teaching semester, Kevin wrote that "I plan to continue their use for upcoming units."

Teacher candidates used primary sources to supplement texts or lectures; offering students the thoughts and feelings of actual participants in historical events. For example, Jake employed documents "to provide students with a contemporary view on an [historical] issue...; to see what people at the time thought about it." Kevin stated he used primary sources to expose students to the experiences and thoughts of those who remain relatively "voiceless" in history texts. The example of the "voiceless" he recounted was a Vietnamese "boat person" who lived in the rural community in which he was teaching. The audio recording of this refugee's oral history testimony described the trials he and his family encountered on their journey from Vietnam to the United States. At one point on the tape, the refugee described how his sister disguised herself as a man in order that she would not be sexually assaulted. In Kevin's words, students must have exposure to first-hand accounts in order for them to "realize there are perspectives other than your own."

Interpreting documents. All teacher candidates stated that they used primary sources to offer students practice in their interpretation of historical documents. For example, to enhance students' understanding of wartime propaganda, Megan required her students to interpret American political cartoons' representations of the Japanese during World War II. In the same unit, she asked students to analyze and to interpret, through both writing and discussion, several documents including President Roosevelt's famous "Day of Infamy" address, and a letter written by a Japanese-American girl after her internment in a relocation camp.

The student teachers' interviews, reflections, and lesson plans revealed the employment of a wide range of primary sources for analysis and interpretation. This evidence included political cartoons, ad-

vertisements, quotations, newspapers, musical lyrics, paintings as well as the speeches, writings and oral history testimony of politicians, scientists, intellectuals, and the relatively "voiceless" (e.g., children)

Constructing historical narratives. Although every participant employed documents to enrich history lessons and to enhance interpretation skills, only four of the eleven required their students to write historical narratives. These candidates asked students to weave their interpretations and analyses of primary sources into a synthesis, i.e., to write an historical narrative of an event or period. Julie, for example, created a lesson plan for middle school students on Sacco and Vanzetti in which one of her goals was for students to "observe media images [during] the Red Scare [and] interpret primary source material [to] create a written historical analysis." A writing assignment that was part of Julie's plan required students to use primary sources to "write a paragraph about the Red Scare....You will want to study these documents before you start writing. What are the documents telling you? How do you interpret them?" Julie required students to cite "two items of supporting evidence from the primary sources" when constructing their narratives.

Enhancing critical thinking. Julie was one of only two student teachers who required students to reflect critically upon their own work and that of others. In a lesson plan on labor union activities in the 1920s, she set for students tasks to "establish *criteria* for good writing [and] develop tools to *evaluate* thoughtful composition" (emphasis added). Aaron also employed primary sources in ways intended to encourage students "to interpret material for themselves." He used these materials to "enhance students' critical thinking" such that they would not "accept something just because the textbook says it."

Student Teachers' Attitudes Toward Document-based Instruction

The interviews indicated that all eleven teacher candidates in the study left the secondary social studies methods course and student teaching with a positive regard for document-based instruction. They maintained a positive attitude toward the use of document-based instruction and expressed their intentions to use them in the future. However, these teacher candidates completed student teaching believing they must introduce such strategies slowly or that they could not use them as frequently as they had expected. Their enthusiasm for using document-based instruction appeared to be tempered by the socializing agents at work in their respective field experiences.

John was among those student teachers who expressed a high regard and commitment to document-based instruction. When asked if he would use document-based instruction in the future, he replied: "Yes...it wouldn't be fair to do anything else." John based this opinion on the eventual success he enjoyed during student teaching in a class-

room setting where students had not previously had such exposures. In expressing his commitment to using primary sources in the future John stated that document-based instruction represents an effective way "to create independent learners; anything else is lazy [on the teacher's part]." Kevin also expressed enthusiasm for document-based instruction. In reflecting on the absence of exposure to primary sources in his high school history classes, he offered the opinion that one "cannot be interested in history without having used primary source material."

Student Teachers' References to the Influence of the Methods Course

All teacher candidates indicated during interviews that the secondary social studies methods course's intensive focus upon document-based instruction influenced their use of primary sources during student teaching. Whether teacher candidates used documents to supplement lectures and texts or used them to enhance critical thinking skills, the methods course appeared to motivate teacher candidates to utilize them. Jake, for example, stated that the methods course was "absolutely" the place where he learned to use historical documents and Julie asserted the course "pounded inquiry into us." John observed that history instruction in college generally seemed "a carry over from high school, except for methods course." In her interview, Megan claimed that the

> biggest thing that encouraged me to use primary source ma-
> terials was...methods. When I saw [in the methods course]
> tons of different ways [to] use primary source materials...I
> thought "hey, that's a neat way. It's the real thing."

Jake asserted that he felt prepared to use primary sources when he entered student teaching. In his words, "Although at the time [of the methods course] I thought it was kind of a pain...by the end I felt very comfortable [using primary documents]." Since the methods course highlighted document-based instruction, Jake reported he "kind of felt obligated" to use primary sources during student teaching. This notion of obligation adds to the complexity of understanding the influence of the methods course. It is unclear whether Jake had internalized an understanding of and commitment to document-based instruction or was trying to appease his university instructors from whom he would ultimately receive a grade.

Three teacher candidates, to be sure, were required to use primary sources while in high school or in previous university courses. These teacher candidates recalled their earlier experiences with document-based instruction as favorable. John, for example, reported he first encountered primary sources in high school, and this experience sparked in him a passion for history. Before his high school encounter

with primary sources, John remembered his social studies classes as textbook driven with tests containing multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank items. "Those were easy and boring," John recalled. However, when one of John's high school history teachers introduced primary sources to her students and said, in effect, "'it's up to you,' I loved that! I thought I was valuable again. It gave me a chance to really think, which...students really want." In the methods course, these eleven teacher candidates learned or refined their understanding of primary sources for creating historical knowledge as well as constructing lesson plans centered around historical documents.

Modifying Document-based Instruction to Meet Classroom Realities

Courses that model document-based instruction and position teacher candidates to discuss classroom use of historical artifacts may influence student teachers' instructional activities. Such appeared to be the case for some participants in this study. As demonstrated above, student teachers left their field experiences with a positive attitude toward document-based instruction, believing it to be a useful or valuable tool for engaging students in the learning process and cultivating historical thinking skills. Although teacher candidates left student teaching with a positive attitude toward document-based instruction, some qualified their enthusiasm with reference to what they deemed the realities of the typical social studies classroom.

When asked whether document-based strategies were worthwhile Kevin replied, "absolutely." He noted, however, that one has to "temper enthusiasm [regarding primary sources] with the realities of implementation." He included in these "realities" the requirement whereby teachers are often expected to "cover" a body of material during a semester or school year and the fact that using document-based instruction might impede such coverage. Sara also shared some reservations regarding document-based instruction. In her opinion,

> you can go overboard with [primary sources]. I don't think everything you teach should be inquiry-based. But I think [primary sources] are really useful...and I think the students like them too...especially the gifted.

Two teacher candidates experienced ample discouragement and high levels of frustration when they implemented document-based instruction during student teaching. However, they emerged from somewhat sobering experiences determined to use primary sources in the future.

In the first example, Julie encountered classroom control problems when she offered students the independence to analyze, interpret, and critically evaluate primary sources. In other words, when

she employed primary sources she relinquished control of 30 students who used the occasion to, in her words, "go nuts." Further, her cooperating teachers did not believe primary source materials could be effectively introduced to their particular students. The result for Julie was discouragement and frustration with a methodology she was convinced was valuable for deepening her students' historical understanding. In spite of these experiences, Julie asserted "I won't give up" on employing document-based instruction in the future. She fully comprehended the theory and evidence supporting document-based instruction and was willing to implement it again, in the future.

In the second example, John found that using primary source materials was at first "like trying to teach a foreign language to students who didn't want to learn it." He discerned that students "were used to book-fed material....They did not have to think for themselves." Consequently, students were uncomfortable with the "ambiguity and higher order thinking" involved in document-based exercises. John, like Julie, received little or no support from his cooperating teacher which made it difficult for him to help his students overcome their discomfort as they began the process of "thinking for themselves."

Several student teachers observed that their use of primary sources interrupted or even disrupted the "normal" instructional activities of the classroom. Student teachers encountered secondary students with little or no previous experience handling such materials. They regarded students' lack of experience with primary sources as impeding their efforts to effectively employ them. As a result, many student teachers used primary sources less than or differently than they would have liked. Thus, the student teachers were socialized, to an extent, by their students (Ross, 1988).

Given the criticisms regarding students' prior experiences with primary sources, it appears as if the student teachers were only interested in using document-based instruction with students who already possessed the necessary requisite skills. However, their frustrations might be illuminating a lack of pedagogical know-how regarding how to meet students where they are and propel them to new levels of understanding. Adjustments in the methods course, discussed later, address this dilemma.

Additionally, student teachers believed the prevailing community, school or classroom environment slowed or stalled the implementation of document-based strategies. This supports previous studies that indicate the importance of the school context in the teacher socialization process. Kevin believed the school district and community in which he taught did not provide a sympathetic environment for less conventional approaches to history instruction. Kevin noted that when he left the methods course he "was full of ideas" about document-based instructional activities. However, "the reality is that

I couldn't use them to the extent I wanted." According to Kevin, the methods course was a "great training ground for ideas, but you have to adjust and modify in order to meet reality." In other words, the context of the school will ultimately influence what and how student teachers decide to teach.

One reality to which Kevin and other student teachers referred was time constraints related to "a curriculum of coverage" (Onosko, 1991), which required teachers to cover a prescribed amount of text material and test students' knowledge of the content. According to Kevin, one "cannot get around the lecture/textbook material; you must contend with it, [which] takes time away from inquiry." Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) consider this "technical control, exerted through the timing of instruction, the curriculum and curricular materials" to be the "most powerful factor in determining the level of institutional constraints in all schools" (p. 17). This technical control is also seen as a significant aspect of the way in which teachers are socialized into their work and of how institutional norms are maintained over time (Apple, 1983; Gitlin, 1983).

Yet another reality was the constraints of cooperating teachers. John, who enthusiastically employed document-based instruction, said his cooperating teacher's desire to use multiple choice exams interfered with John's desire to offer students greater exposure to document-based instruction. While the level of support for document-based instruction from cooperating teachers varied, all student teachers acknowledged difficulty in using such strategies when their cooperating teacher did not or did not support their efforts. These concerns further support research that suggests the cooperating teacher is a significant socializing agent.

The research results demonstrate that many student teachers did find their social studies methods coursework important with respect to acquiring knowledge about document-based instruction. However, there were limitations to the methods course's impact on their use of document-based instruction. While all student teachers in this study used primary sources to enliven instruction and create a more positive attitude toward history, most tried only to implement exercises requiring students to analyze and interpret primary documents. Few had their students write narratives based on sources and fewer still required students to critically evaluate historical evidence. These findings are consistent with Ross and Jenne's (1993) findings that student teachers felt that the methods course was important and meaningful, but that the ideas were not supported in the context of the schools where they taught. Thus, an essential question remains: How can social studies education better insure student teachers are able to position students to critique sources and to use them to write historical narratives?

Interestingly, participants believed the methods course could have better prepared them to employ document-based instruction. For example, one student teacher suggested the instructor show future teacher candidates how different document-based exercises can move students gradually up the rungs of higher order thinking (e.g., Bloom, 1956). Methods course students should be shown first how to engage students in the interpretation of, say, political cartoons, paintings, propaganda posters, or newsreel footage. By climbing these rungs, teacher candidates can learn to understand that students need to attain confidence in their ability to recognize the historical meaning(s) primary sources contain. Once students feel secure that they can interpret documents, they may have the confidence to move to a higher rung, e.g., write narratives citing primary sources as evidence. Subsequently, the methods course should prepare teacher candidates to help their students to read primary sources with a critical eye and assess them for potential bias and to critique accounts written by other historians.

Teacher candidates suggested also that the social studies methods course alert prospective teachers to the potential for students' frustration with document-centered exercises and assignments. This is particularly the case for schools where students are accustomed to lectures, textbooks and worksheets. Julie, for example, recommended the methods course provide prospective teachers with ways to employ primary sources, while exerting vigorous control over classroom behavior. She suggested this could be done through relatively short, highly structured, interpretation exercises. Teacher candidates should first offer highly "concrete assignments" (Julie's words), centered on one or two primary sources only, due at the end of class, completed individually, graded and returned the next day.

Conclusions

In light of this study's findings, social studies educators can be cautiously optimistic about the potential significance of a methods course upon the "learning-to-teach ecosystem" (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998). Although teacher socialization occurs within the constellation of "internally held beliefs, the forces of context..., and the actions one takes in consideration of these forces" (Staton & Hunt, 1992, p. 131), a social studies methods course can influence how students interpret and behave within the particular teaching situations they encounter. By deepening teacher candidates' understanding of how and why to employ primary sources, a methods course prepares them to foster secondary students' abilities to read, interpret or analyze sources. Further, they may employ instructional methods which require students to write and evaluate historical narratives, thereby realizing critical goals of recent national standards. Each of the eleven

student teachers in this study required secondary students to interpret documents such as speeches, song lyrics, paintings, and political cartoons. Only four, however, tried to find ways for their students to write document-based historical essays or refine student's ability to assess the historical writing of others.

The teaching context accounted, in part, for student teachers' inability or unwillingness to attain more completely the goals for document-based instruction. Student teachers in this study reported on how they accommodated their own teaching perspectives and preferences to the instructional contexts in which they were enmeshed. Most significantly, student teachers felt compelled to follow cooperating teachers' suggestions or requirements for content coverage and methodological approach. Some teacher candidates also recognized pressure from students who lacked experience with primary source material. The students, in other words, resisted a new mode of teaching, which influenced student teachers' decisions regarding the use of document-based instruction (Ross, 1988).

This study's results appear significant at a time when national social studies and history standards call for document-centered instruction. Furthermore, the findings illuminated questions that need, if not answers, at least more serious reflection to insure new history teachers are prepared to foster students' historical thinking skills. These questions include: (a) Did these teacher candidates utilize primary sources in their own classroom once they were beyond the influence of cooperating teachers and university supervisors? (b) How can already crowded methods courses most efficiently develop teacher candidates' understanding of, and preparation for using document-based instruction? (c) How can instructional techniques learned in a methods course be properly aligned with student teaching contexts to encourage document-based instruction? (d) Does a deeper understanding of knowledge construction in history encourage the use of primary sources in other social studies disciplines? (e) How might college and university social studies faculty with history and other departmental colleagues to deepen teacher candidates' comprehension of knowledge construction in various disciplines? Perhaps the answers to these questions will enable social studies educators to better prepare teachers for the challenging standards posed in NCSS and other standards documents.

Notes

[2] All names are pseudonyms.

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Epistemological Entanglements: Preservice Elementary School Teachers' "Apprenticeship of Observation" and the Teaching of History

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Abstract

The following study of two preservice teachers' "apprenticeship of observation" in elementary social studies, describes a dilemma associated with the teacher socialization process. It focuses on one aspect of social studies—history. Borrowing from Novick's (1988) analysis of American historiography, a continuum was constructed to help provide an illustration of how an objectivist philosophy of historical knowledge and an interpretivist philosophy of historical knowledge influenced the two students' thinking about teaching history. This continuum was then used to explore how the preservice teachers encountered their teacher education courses and how the combination of these experiences influenced how each proposed to teach history once they entered the profession. The results indicated that: (1) the two preservice teachers' primary exposure to history was largely influenced by objectivist epistemologies concerning historical knowledge and didactic approaches to teaching the subject; (2) each preservice teacher had tentative ambitions not to teach history from an objectivist epistemology and a didactic approach; and (3) teaching internships and exposure to resources may help forecast preservice teachers' epistemological views of historical knowledge and their approach to teaching history in the elementary school.

> *"One cannot undo centuries of tradition*
> *with a few simple alterations."* Dan C. Lortie (1975)

Introduction

"That's not the way I learned how to do it ... I was always told ... This is the way my old teacher showed me how to ..." The previous statements were collected from preservice teachers during a social studies methods course. As students are introduced to a variety of teaching methods, how can methods professors help students to find them valuable and experiment with them in their own classrooms? Consider the following vignette that describes an all too common experience in learning to teach.

Rhonda is an undergraduate in a social studies methods course. The course is designed to facilitate growth in a prospective elementary teacher's repertoire of teaching techniques—specifically in teaching history methods. Her professor begins one class by telling Rhonda and her peers not to have elementary children memorize historical facts. "There is no need for this anymore," he continues, "your children should learn how to investigate and debate events in history." Rhonda ponders her professor's statements and then decides that this is unacceptable; she was always taught to memorize historical facts, and so will her students.

Why has Rhonda dismissed her professor's suggestion? She did take the time to reflect on previous experience, but still opted for a more familiar approach. In the following exploration I attempt to address this question. Using previous research on "the apprenticeship of observation" (Grossman, 1991; Lortie, 1975) and "reflexive conservatism" (Lanier & Little, 1986, Lortie, 1975), I describe several aspects of the apprenticeship of observation of two preservice elementary teachers and detail their influence on learning different approaches to teaching American history, one portion of the social studies methods course curriculum. I begin by discussing Lortie's assumptions about the influence of the apprenticeship of observation on teachers' thinking, and then discuss its implication for teaching social studies, specifically the history portion of this subject area.

Apprenticeship of Observation

Research on preservice teachers suggests that they have had a significant "education" in learning to teach during their K-12 and university education. Much of it occurs long before they enter their professional coursework sequence. The principal teaching models of preservice teachers have been derived from their first 16 years of education (McGuire, 1996). This education has been referred to the as the "apprenticeship of observation" (Grossman, 1991; Lanier & Little, 1986; Lortie, 1975). The apprenticeship of observation commences as an individual student enters school. From their K-12 through the college years, students observe countless hours of teaching and witness a number of classroom teaching methods.

Mahlios and Maxson (1995, pp. 192-199) document the influence preservice teachers' observations of previous teachers have on their approach to teaching and the methods they use (see also, Adler, 1984 and Ross, 1987). As part of their conclusion, Mahlios and Maxson sur-

mise that "typically, faculty know little about the views students hold and thus have little if any knowledge of how these characteristics will interact with dominant concepts incorporated within respective teacher education programs" (p. 197). Some research has shown that university teacher education experiences alone may have little impact on the future performance of prospective teachers (Adler, 1984; Lanier & Little, 1986; Grossman, 1991; McGuire, 1996; Ross, 1987; Wegner, 1996; Zeichner & Liston, 1987). Zeichner and Liston (1987) found that an elementary education program at the University of Wisconsin failed to consider students' prior experiences and beliefs during methods course instruction. These same beliefs "represented through images and past situations" (Phelan & McGlaughlin, 1995, p. 165) if not examined, may hinder growth in future teaching practice, according to Lanier and Little (1986).

If preservice teachers' prior educational experiences are not consistent with current views on teaching and learning, what are the implications? Can university professors expect preservice teachers to adopt current teaching strategies without carefully analyzing preservice teachers' current views of subject matter, teaching, and learning?

In describing the education of prospective teachers, the literature highlights students' chronological movements through a teacher education program (McDermott & Gormley, 1995; Lanier & Little, 1986; Zeichner & Liston, 1987). A teacher education program at the college level will typically consist of 4-5 years of schooling. Lanier and Little, (1986, p. 546) identify three major levels of the prospective teacher's university experience: (1) general education, (2) subject matter concentration, and (3) pedagogical study. The early years of the university experience begin with general education courses. In the next phase, an education student completes courses in general pedagogy and/or a combined field experience (Hawkey, 1995). The last stage consists of a focused approach to teaching practice with an internship at an area school (student teaching). In addition to the above sequence, some universities have implemented a fifth year of continuous internship (McDermott & Gormley, 1995).

Reform-minded teacher educators have hoped that a student's pre-professional-school university experience might provide effective preparation for teaching. However, it is possible that only some of this preprofessional experience counts as strong preparation for teaching (Lanier & Little, 1986; Grossman, 1991; McGuire, 1996; Ross, 1987; Wegner, 1996; Zeichner & Liston, 1987). Research suggests that buried within the university education are individual student belief systems influenced by lifelong observations of teaching and learning (Mahlios & Maxson, 1995). The outcome of teacher education programs may rely heavily on an understanding of these belief systems (Grossman,

1991; Lanier & Little, 1986; McDermott et al., 1995; VanSledright, 1996). As Grossman (1991) put it, "preservice teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning will inform their own classroom practices" (p. 350).

What students learn from their "apprenticeship of observation" may be deeply embodied in their belief system. Researchers indicate a need to understand these belief systems in order to create meaningful and lasting instruction for students of education (Adler, 1984; Armento, 1986; Hawkey, 1995; Lanier & Little, 1986; Mahlios & Maxson, 1995; Ross, 1987). Preservice teachers may need to analyze their existing beliefs about teaching that conflict with university teacher-education programs in order to minimize their reservations about adopting innovative approaches to teaching. Without this analysis, some preservice teachers experience frustration that limits their opportunities to experiment with teaching models and strategies that differ from those they witnessed in the "apprenticeship of observation." Lortie, in his book, *Schoolteacher* (1975) had this to say,

> Significant change will demand from teachers the capacity to make effective adaptations. The ethos tends toward automatic conservatism; reflexivity is induced by teachers' recruitment, socialization, and task organization ... It appears that teachers will have to exercise considerable selectivity in the years ahead. They will confront options in educational practice, alternative responses to public expectations, and difficult organizational decisions. The target for intervention, as I see it, should be *reflexive* conservatism; teachers ought not to reject change out of hand or be unwilling to give serious thought to alternative ways of attacking pedagogical problems. (pp. 229-230)

What exactly is meant by reflexive conservatism? Simply stated, it is a *reflex action* to rely on more familiar approaches to teaching when confronted with new and unfamiliar teaching methods. Lanier and Little (1986, p. 550), expanding on Lortie's (1975) work, highlight the limiting effects of "reflexive conservatism". This reflexive conservatism makes it difficult to envision a range of possible decisions and actions available in teaching. "Teacher education that fails to challenge"...reflexive tendencies, "may contribute to their [preservice teachers] resistance to change" (Grossman, 1991, p. 345). As a result, two actions are recommended in general teacher education: (1) the encouragement of reflective analysis of existing beliefs, and (2) the challenging of the limiting beliefs inherent in reflexive conservatism.

The Importance of Preservice Teachers' Thinking

In 1991, Larry Cuban reviewed the 49 issues of *Theory and Research in Social Education*. He found that of the 221 articles published, only three attempted to analyze teachers' behaviors and thinking (Cuban, 1991). When analyzing the teachers, teacher educators attempt to understand reasons why teachers choose subject content and implement certain teaching practices. Recently, some reform movements in the education of social studies teachers suggest the need to consider the mental lives of teachers (McGuire, 1996; Wegner, 1996). This movement is an attempt to fill a void in the research noted by Cuban. Researchers have come to recognize that "teacher thoughts, intentions, and affects" (Armento, 1986, p 946) need to be considered when theorizing about the education of preservice social studies teachers. Armento stresses this by pointing out that ,"social studies classrooms of today are little different from those of 20 years ago" (p. 944). These classrooms, in which teacher talk dominates and the textbook is primary to instruction (Armento, 1986), may accommodate and influence present preservice teachers.

Thornton (1991) and Armento (1986) have expressed the need for social studies researchers to examine the sources of beliefs about learning to become social studies teachers. A "promising factor" framed by Susan Adler (1991) involves social studies teacher research that explores the genesis of personal past experiences, with the data used "to improve teaching practice." Therefore, this study explores preservice teachers' "apprenticeship of observation" and the possibility of reflexive tendencies tied up in their views of social studies and historical knowledge. That is, how are their beliefs about the teaching and learning of social studies in the elementary school affected by their view of social studies knowledge, and what is their value in predicting how preservice teachers intend to teach social studies and history?

Learning to Teach Elementary Social Studies

Since the vast majority of research on teacher education and the social studies centers on the secondary level (Levstik, 1996), little research exists that helps to explain how teachers in the elementary school have constructed their view of social studies knowledge and the teaching of that content. Preservice teachers enrolled in an elementary education program typically experience a host of methods courses. These methods courses—reading, language arts, math, science, and social studies—are designed to help develop a proficiency needed by preservice teachers so as to teach competently in any of the subject areas. But what do we know about each of these subject areas independent of the others? Scouring the literature, one can find a number

of studies that begin to address this question in the areas of math and reading. However, little research on how preservice teachers learn to teach social studies in the elementary grades exists.

This study focuses on social studies and specifically on one element within social studies—the teaching of American history. This is one of the more common subject areas called for in school curricula at the intermediate grades. In fact, according to Shaver, Davis and Helburn, (1979), "the curriculum is mostly history ..." (p. 151), with political history remaining as, "the backbone of school history..." (Levstik, p. 26, 1996). Therefore, it is often a focus in social studies methods courses.

Learning to Teach History Can be Problematic

Recent shifts in the discipline of history pose significant implications for learning to teach history and the sorts of approaches preservice teachers encounter in their professional methods courses. Pointing out the complexities and subtleties that exist between disciplinary and school history provides a useful framework in which to better understand problematic areas associated with history—the discipline—and learning to teach history. It was the combining of professional methods of historical inquiry and the disseminating of findings that promoted a certain world view, or epistemology of historical knowledge (Novick, 1988).

Early professional historians such as J. Franklin Jameson, Woodrow Wilson, and Lucy M. Salmon championed the notion of historical knowledge. As Novick (1988) noted, "at the very center of the professional historical venture is the idea and ideal of objectivity (p. 1)." These historians believed that objective knowledge was "incontrovertible and noncontroversial (p. 57)." As for the influence on the teaching of history, Woodrow Wilson warned that, "we must avoid introducing what is called [interpretive] history in the schools, for it is a history of doubt, criticism, examination of evidence...It tends to confuse young pupils" (Novick, 1986, p. 71). Even more revealing is Novick's relaying of a quote from Lucy M. Salmon, a member of the AHA's Committee of Seven. She maintained that in the schools as elsewhere,

> 'the ultimate object of history, as of all sciences, is the search for truth', and...that in the discussion of national heroes, 'one must avoid the presentation to children of...blemishes the world has gladly forgiven and forgotten for the sake of a great work accomplished and a noble life lived.' (p. 71)

There was, however, a growing dissatisfaction with the ideal of "objectivity" within a group of "New Historians." Some of these his-

torians began to suggest a different world view of historical knowledge—a more interpretive epistemology. Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson and Carl Becker were not just "methodologically new, but ideologically as well" (Novick, 1988, p. 92). These Progressive Historians embraced the "pragmatic theory of truth" (p. 105), and stressed the interpretive nature of historical knowledge. The following quote from Robinson (in Novick, 1988) clarifies this position.

> History should not be regarded as a stationary subject which can only progress by refining its methods and accumulating, criticizing, and assimilating new material. With our ever increasing knowledge...our opinions must change, to what may be called the innate relativity of things. (p. 105)

Carl Becker also was not satisfied with an objectivist epistemology; instead he maintained that history was an interpretive synthesis. In his words, 'no historical synthesis could be true except, relatively to the age which fashioned it.' (Novick, 1988, p. 106)

Do these different epistemologies imply that the view one holds of historical knowledge influences the way one teaches about history? If so, how does a teacher's epistemology of historical knowledge influence his/her students? What if these students are preservice elementary school teachers? In essence, what are the implications of preservice elementary school teachers' apprenticeship of observation in history? We can speculate that preservice teachers who primarily encountered history teachers and professors with a more objective epistemology of historical knowledge constructed or tended to experience courses where historical knowledge was received rather than interpreted. These history teachers and professors likely structured their courses around lecture and rote memorization, and assessed learning through objective tests (Evans, 1988). One needs only recall *History 101* and its large 200-seat lecture hall to realize this possible influence.

However, some historians have questioned the idea of objectivity and its role in producing historical knowledge (Novick, 1988; Loewen, 1995; Seixas, 1993). Wondering if there ever can be a definitive body of factual knowledge that can be discovered and passed on, these scholars make a case for a more interpretive approach to teaching historical knowledge. In their world, history is relative to a community's "interpretive" agreement about the meanings a variety of historical events have. History teachers and professors with a more interpretive epistemology of historical knowledge will tend to emphasize inquiry, interpretation, and multiple perspectives. Students would be expected to learn how to do history as they encountered various interpretations of the past (Evans, 1988).

But to separate interpretive and objective epistemologies into distinct categories may not represent what actually goes on when dealing with people. Although we might like to assume an either/or position when dealing with epistemologies of historical knowledge, it is more likely that people exhibit varying epistemological tendencies. One way to display this idea is to place an objective epistemology of historical knowledge and an interpretive epistemology of historical knowledge on a continuum. The notion of a continuum suggests movement back and forth between different points. But, in the case of preservice teachers, how much of the history instruction they have encountered in their apprenticeship of observation exhibits varying epistemological assumptions? Previous research tells us that variation is indeed limited.

Wilson (1991) pointed out that many preservice teachers' apprenticeships of observation have portrayed history as a body of objective facts. A "parade of facts" approach or the heavy reliance on the memorization of names and dates in American history has dominated the American history curriculum (Wilson, 1991). This curriculum which tends to view historical knowledge as objective is currently being challenged by history education researchers (Barton, 1997; Seixas, 1993; VanSledright, 1996). Over the past decade, on a number of fronts, efforts have been made to suggest that schools replace an objective view of historical knowledge with a more interpretive one. Evidence for this is especially obvious in the growth of women's and sociocultural history (Levstik, 1996). As another example, the teaching of history rooted in interpretive epistemology parallels the type of teaching called for in constructivism, a result of the cognitive revolution, and, in the National History Standards (National Center for History in the Schools, 1994).

Social studies methods professors who attempt to have students examine their root beliefs about the teaching and learning of history may help preservice teachers understand some of the awkward reactions associated with exposure to new learning situations. If their apprenticeship was characterized by history teaching influenced by an objectivist view of historical knowledge, which we can likely surmise, then what evidence would preservice teachers exhibit when asked to discuss that apprenticeship? The acknowledgment of a heavy reliance on a single text book for the instruction of history is one source of evidence. Also, the supplementary resources a preservice teacher was exposed to during history instruction provides a clue. We can also look at the teaching methods used by history teachers and professors to teach preservice teachers. Were they didactic and lecture-oriented or were they inquiry and constructivist based? The empirical question remains: What do preservice teachers report about the nature of their apprenticeship of observation and the view of historical knowl-

edge it leaves them with, and in turn how does it influence their choices about how they will teach history?

Method

Data Collection and Analysis

The study was structured around three sets of interviews. The first interviewing session probed two preservice teacher's recollections of their social studies/history "apprenticeship of observation" from kindergarten through twelfth grade. The next series of interviews attempted to explore in depth the "apprenticeship of observation" in college-level history and social science classes. The third set of interviews explored the preservice teacher's current views of teaching and learning social studies.

Multiple interviewing sessions provided a wealth of data. The data provided in the final analysis were characterized using three categories as guides; (1) recollections of the apprenticeship of observation (including epistemological positions), (2) anticipated approaches to teaching history, and (3) indications of reflexive tendencies. The data were then searched for confirming evidence and then searched again for any disconfirming evidence (Erickson, 1986). The presentation of the data illustrate the nature of the data collected and the, "kinds of discussions that take place when such data are mined for meaning." (Wilson & Wineburg, 1993).

This is not a study that attempts to assess the effectiveness of one teaching approach or view of knowledge over another. Instead, objectivist and interpretive views of historical knowledge are guide points to help map out and detail the two preservice teachers apprenticeship of observation and how they come to understand how they might teach history in the future.

The Participants

Jim and Rachel (pseudonyms) were preservice teachers completing their senior year at the time of the study[1]. Their senior year was structured around two phases: One semester of discipline-based methods courses and a classroom apprenticeship, and one semester of full-time student teaching. The interviews took place during Jim and Rachel's first phase of their senior year. Rachel was a traditional elementary education major, and was placed in a self-contained second-grade classroom. Her cooperating teacher had been teaching for thirteen years, seven of them as a second grade teacher. Jim was a nontraditional elementary education major. After graduating from high school, Jim served in the armed forces and then proceeded to college. Jim's placement was with a fourth grade teacher who had 20 years of experience.

Both Jim and Rachel were chosen to take part in the study because of their different backgrounds. I assumed that the contrast would be more revealing about the uniqueness of the individual's apprenticeship of observation. Also, the choice of two participants provided me with two sets of data to triangulate during the analysis phase.

As will become evident, both Jim and Rachel had been exposed to various alternative teaching strategies during their experience in the teacher education program. Jim and Rachel's teacher education program tended to emphasize a constructivist approach to knowledge. I mention this because, although some of Jim and Rachel's interview transcripts contain responses that indicate an awareness of alternative teaching strategies and ways to view knowledge, at the time of the study they lacked experience witnessing these methods practiced in elementary classrooms. Therefore they tended to be cautious about how these different views and approaches might actually be applied.

Results and Discussion

In the following, readers encounter three different views of Rachel and Jim. The first centers on their apprenticeship of observation in American history. The second view describes Jim and Rachel's anticipated method of teaching history based on their projections. In the third view, I link the participants' responses to the previous theoretical framework. This framework suggests that Rachel and Jim will replicate their apprenticeship of observations if they are not provided with the opportunity to explore their prior beliefs about teaching and learning history, and actually witness *and* experiment with alternative approaches.

Context 1: The "Apprenticeship of Observation"
As I describe Jim and Rachel's apprenticeship, an objectivist influence on their view of historical knowledge and its implications for teaching emerge as dominant characteristics. Once they offer evidence of this, an unanticipated phenomenon begins to surface in the data: Jim and Rachel start to move away from the influence of their past experiences.

Rachel
The following is an excerpt from the dialogue with Rachel discussing her past experience with history while she was a student in the public schools.

Interviewer: What do you remember about history class?

Rachel: The one that I remember, I think was in seventh grade. Going into junior high and hitting the books and learning about history and wars and revolutions and memorizing those. And memorizing all of the conquerors and the kings and the queens and everything and just sitting there and taking the test.

Interviewer: What was instruction like in elementary social studies?

Rachel: It was always her teaching the class. It was never our working in groups. It was just one on one with us basically. She used a lot of dittos.

Interviewer: Where did her lessons come from?

Rachel: I would say they came out of a book. They were so structured. It didn't seem like something that she just thought of as she was going along. In other grades I also remember a couple of teachers just using overheads and showing us film strips. I remember two teachers. One of them would just get us in to class, open our notebooks and we would just write, write, write.

Interviewer: The book was used as?

Rachel: They would give us the notes and that way when we would go to read the book it wasn't as boring. We could relate to the overhead and the book. It helped because the tests were straight out of the book. If you read the chapter you got a good grade.

Interviewer: Describe social studies homework in middle school.

Rachel: A lot of reading on a daily basis from the text book. Reading a couple of chapters a night. Answering the discussion questions at the end. This really wasn't racking your brain either, all you had to do was flip the pages.

Rachel clearly has vivid memories of her past teachers and the methods they used to teach history. Objectivist influences dominate her recollections. For example, Rachel first remembers "memorizing them" (wars and revolutions). When prompted about the use of a textbook, Rachel exclaimed, "a lot of reading on a daily basis...answering the discussion questions at the end of the book...and the tests were straight

out of the book." Rachel's apprenticeship is symptomatic of an objectivist approach to teaching history. We encounter memorization of facts, heavy reliance on a text book, and teaching that is didactic in nature. For Rachel's history teachers, history was conveyed as objective body of knowledge that students were required to memorize.

Jim

Jim also recalled his apprenticeship in history teaching as largely didactic and unmemorable.

> *Interviewer: What do you remember about the way social studies was taught to you when you were in school?*
>
> Jim: Direct instruction. Rather traditional using a book. Memorizing. It was very crucial to remember days and times; when things happened and who did it. Not a whole lot of emphasis on understanding what happened but to know what happened and when. Like when the Declaration of Independence was signed.
>
> *Interviewer: What about the book do you remember?*
>
> Jim: I don't recall a specific text book. I remember that we did use textbooks. Yes, I remember having to read in them and pulling out the days, and times and people and events.
>
> *Interviewer: Was it a standard instructional tool?*
>
> Jim: Yeah, I think the teachers relied on it a lot. I remember worksheets, and things like that.
>
> *Interviewer: Anything else?*
>
> Jim: Nothing real memorable. We didn't have guest speakers. We didn't have artifacts. The textbook was pretty much an instructional necessity when I was in school.
>
> *Interviewer: What about the teachers do you remember?*
>
> Jim: Based upon my knowledge of teaching pedagogy, I think that my history teachers were not good. They emphasized direct instruction and emphasized dates and memorization of places, nothing really in-depth.

It is interesting to note the similarities between Jim and Rachel's exposure to history instruction. The emphasis on memorization dominates each of their recollections. As mentioned earlier, Jim was a non-traditional student. His exposure to an objectivist approach to history instruction took place seven years earlier than Rachel's—the movement of time appears stagnant when comparing Rachel and Jim's apprenticeship.

Context 2: "If I were a teacher"

In this context, Jim and Rachel talked about their anticipated methods of teaching history. Interestingly, Rachel began to exhibit a break with her apprenticeship here. Instead of being influenced to teach by an objectivist orientation to history teaching, Rachel articulated a desire to be different, but she has some reservations. She appeared to be conflicted about her choices.

> *Interviewer: How will you teach history?*
>
> Rachel: If I were a teacher with a lot of knowledge in history, I would not rely on the book only. [I'd] possibly use some other resources.
>
> *Interviewer: You said something about the subject matter in history being a problem for you, what do you mean? Do you mean you yourself having the knowledge, the background knowledge?*
>
> Rachel: Exactly.
>
> *Interviewer: How do you make up for that?*
>
> Rachel: Obviously you read up on it. You go to the library. If the book says stuff about it you make yourself familiar with what the book says. That would get your mind going and you can plan activities.
>
> *Interviewer: So you aren't prepared to teach history at this point in your education?*
>
> Rachel: To be very honest with you there is a lot I feel I'm not prepared to teach, I really do.
>
> *Interviewer: Beyond history?*

Rachel: Sure, you are learning stuff every minute of your life, but I'm talking about history in particular. It is very easy when you are in the lower grades, But when you move up and get into slavery or the Civil War or you know different presidents, this that and the other, I can't really tell you. And that's really a shame because I've taken a lot of courses, but they've not been on the history part.

Rachel's responses indicate a twist to her anticipated teaching style. Although Rachel's apprenticeship leaned towards an objectivist version of history, she seems to want to avoid that approach in her teaching style, and demonstrates caution as a result of feeling, "there is a lot I feel I'm not prepared to teach." She doesn't specifically say deep knowledge would help her teach differently, but one wonders if Rachel will tend to teach history as an objective body of facts. If she feels that background knowledge is a requisite for teaching history differently, will she turn to a textbook as a primary gatekeeper of historical knowledge or will she search out multiple sources with differing interpretations? It is not clear.

Jim's responses were markedly different from Rachel's when he was asked about his plans to teach history. But Jim also deviated from what one might predict based on his apprenticeship.

Interviewer: How will you teach history in student teaching and upon receiving your first job?

Jim: I want to present to the students different perspectives about a person, place, or event, because there is always two sides to any story ... The resources that I want to use are periodicals, trade books, autobiographies and biographies, different literature from native people, movies, and any other resource ... I would like to stay away from text books because they are so general, politically correct, all fluff, and do not encourage critical thinking.

The way I want to teach this type of subject is by letting the students make their own discoveries and become the experts. I believe they will become intrinsically motivated in learning more about the subject ... because I want to teach an integrated curriculum ... It is hard to project how often or when because there won't be a particular time set for just history or social studies, it would be perhaps an entire afternoon to work on the "unit."

Jim is well versed in the current push to teach history from a more interpretive angle. What is interesting is that, in the previous context,

Jim indicated that his apprenticeship was in objectivist history. Now he plans to teach using a more interpretive approach. His responses seem to defy what is predicted by his "apprenticeship of observation." What has happened for Jim?

In the third context I address this question by incorporating the concept of reflexive conservatism. Will Jim and Rachel forecast objectivist views of historical knowledge and the teaching of that knowledge even though they outwardly express a desire to be different?

Context 3: The Influence of Reflexive Conservatism

Both participants note the absence of an emphasis on guided reflection in learning how to teach social studies; in fact they both show contempt for what they are learning in their social studies methods course. Jim had this to say about the course: "The activities we are participating in are mindless rote activities...they have no value...." If both Jim and Rachel had an objectivist apprenticeship and have had little opportunity to reflect about their past in their social studies education courses, then why do they both express the desire to teach differently? In wrestling with this question, Rachel looks to the future for guidance on how to teach history and making decisions, and Jim sees the future as the possibility for objectivist teaching styles creeping into his repertoire.

Interviewer: Tell me about social studies methods.

Rachel: Have I learned about social studies a little bit more? I would say yes. But have I learned how to teach it. No.

Interviewer: You would have liked that?

Rachel: Sure that's what the title of the course is and that's why we are doing what we're doing.

Interviewer: When you have your own classroom, what will help you become a better teacher?

Rachel: I could have an experience with different classrooms and different settings and meet different types of teachers and see their styles a little bit more.

Interviewer: Tell me about your overall feeling of being ready to teach.

Rachel: The four years that I've been at the university, they've been more about learning about yourself, and about different subjects more than they were about actually going and teaching.

Interviewer: Describe what and when you will teach social studies when you have your own classroom.

Rachel: What I'll teach is really not up to me, it will be up to the curriculum. It would also depend on how much time you had to teach it.

Since Rachel had little opportunity to learn how to teach history, she looks to the future to "experience ...different types of teachers ...see their styles a little bit more." Also, Rachel looks to the curriculum guides as a content provider. Is this reflexive conservatism? Rachel does not use her apprenticeship to make decisions about teaching approaches because of an learned response to rely on past experiences. Instead, she releases the past and looks to the future. Rachel knows that by looking forward, the answers about how to teach history possibly will be found. But what if the future is dotted with experiences similar to her apprenticeship? What awaits is an unknown.

However, worried about what he has already seen, Jim sees the future as a possible "trap" for defaulting to objectivist history teaching approaches such as direct instruction (e.g. lecturing at students about how things were).

Interviewer: What was the teaching style of social studies method's professor?

Jim: I'd say 98% direct instruction.

Interviewer: Is this going to effect the way you teach?

Jim: I hope not. I'm going to try not to fall into the trap of using direct instruction all the time, but different times you have to use it.

Interviewer: You said a trap, what do you mean a trap?

Jim: Well, I think at first or until you get your tenure you're somewhat timid about the way you are going to instruct, you want to make sure all your ducks are in a row, and teaching the curriculum the way whoever wants it instructed. You try not to bend the system too much. You

may not be able to teach the way you want to teach or the way you envision teaching ... you're bogged down with all the pressures of being a first-year teacher, so you know, I think you can get into the trap of relying on a workbook or dittos and stuff like that, because that's an easy way of covering material.

Previously, when asked about his vision of teaching history, Jim articulated the portrait of a history teacher using interpretivist history teaching approaches. The strength of his vision however, may weaken during his first years as a developing teacher. Projecting the image of a first year teacher, "with all the pressures ..." Jim says, "you can get into the trap of relying on a workbook ...instead of ...developing materials and new lessons and stuff." Whereas, Rachel sees the possibility of strengthening her teaching abilities in the future, Jim envisions the future as a potential conservative trap.

The preservice teachers' projections about how they would teach were not as easily predicted by their apprenticeship of observation as one might have thought. They both presented evidence of an objectivist-style apprenticeship. However, neither felt that they necessarily would teach this way simply because that was the way they learned history. Instead, both seemed to question objectivist history and the teaching of it didactically. Rachel questioned it as an approach, but was not sure she had any liberty to go about teaching history any other way. For her, more influential were curriculum guidelines set by school districts. And she also lacked confidence in teaching the discipline of history due to her lack of background knowledge and little guidance in her social studies methods class. The important question then is where or how will Rachel develop an adventurous approach to the teaching of history to elementary students? The opportunity to discuss what she feels is important has been neglected. She seems to be more influenced by what she perceives her future will be then what her past had been. Most likely she will default to the image of history projected by the school district curriculum guides. But all of this simply does not result from her apprenticeship of observation. Rather it appears to be more closely related to her lack of knowledge of history and her desire to fit into school practices common to her first job.

Jim says he won't let outside influences affect his teaching, but does recognize the possibility. He articulates his desire to teach history interpretively, but does not qualify his responses with any indication of how this might be done. Again the strength of the apprenticeship of observation is in question. Jim has had some challenges to his objectivist apprenticeship and leans towards interpretivist approaches to teaching history, but does he know what the picture of

interpretive history teaching looks like? Does he know how to paint the picture?

The Apprenticeship of Observation in Teaching History

Rachel and Jim's desire to be able to teach history in ways different from their own experience is puzzling. How is it that they can both talk about interpretive history being taught constructively, but say so little about where these desires come from? As I noted earlier, Rachel and Jim's teacher education program was largely based on constructivist tenets, and some of Jim and Rachel's views of history teaching may be attributable to these tenets. However, it is also interesting to note the time in which we live. The general revisionist air of American history has permeated our culture for the past decade. One only needs remember the five-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus and the backlash of anti-Columbus events, publications, editorials, and movies. Recall also Oliver Stone's conspiracy version of the assassination of JFK, and, in the more recent past, the controversy surrounding the Enola Gay commemoration. Is it likely that American mass culture and its tendency to rewrite history influenced Jim and Rachel? The possibility is both intriguing and plausible. Because of this present tendency to revise the past, contemporary culture continually offers ideas for Jim's and Rachel's teaching history more interpretively without them having to have been taught that way themselves. Is this the case? One can only speculate without empirical evidence.

Grant (1996) also offers suggestions for understanding this phenomenon. Rachel and Jim cite their school history experiences, "as an impetus not to do what their teachers did" (p. 245) Grant elaborates this point in his research concerning influence and authority. Social studies teachers he interviewed expressed contrary feelings and a desire not to teach as they were taught because they thought what they experienced was ineffective. Their struggle was locating the authority to teach in a different way, as they wanted to do.

The present study also points out the variety of influences on teaching and learning beliefs. Past experience does influence, but not necessarily in a predictable way, the claims of researchers notwithstanding. Instead, past experience that is not consistent with future outlook may cause a dissonance within a preservice teacher's belief system. During this phase of dissonance is when the preservice teacher may be most susceptible to new learning. If not actively guided, preservice teachers may develop a range of beliefs about pedagogy, exacerbating their uncertainty and undermining their feeling of authority. Possibly, direct guidance may help preservice teachers shape *new* beliefs about teaching and learning American history. As they proceed farther and are bombarded by other "cross current influences,"

early guidance may be a stabilizer (Grant, 1996, p. 241.). The prepared preservice teacher, able to envision and trust new possibilities, will better be able to handle future tremors detected in the fragile framework supporting their beliefs about teaching and learning American history. But is this enough?

Preservice elementary school teachers also may need to witness exemplary models of American history teaching. This may also help preservice teachers gain confidence when combating the fear that is associated with learning that they have considerable autonomy in deciding what and how to teach. Although this is contradictory to what an apprenticeship might predict, it does demonstrate the need for Rachel and Jim to obtain extra guidance during the formative preservice experience and into the inservice experience as well. Teacher educators and mentor teachers need to assist preservice teachers in examining preliminary beliefs about teaching and learning history, actively helping preservice teachers construct new beliefs, lest they revert to what they learned in their apprenticeship.

What is apparent is that both Jim and Rachel search for and may benefit from extra guidance concerning their future. Researchers have extolled the virtues of challenging beliefs developed during the apprenticeship of observation (Lanier & Little, 1986; Lortie, 1975). Jim and Rachel have obviously been challenged; they now teeter between teaching history from a more constructivist and interpretive angle and a more direct, objectivist one. We would like to think that this challenge is enough, but this seems shortsighted. Rachel and Jim are open to new guidance—what this new guidance looks like may weight Jim and Rachel towards a more interpretive or a more objective approach to history teaching.

Wilson and Wineburg (1993) provide a useful example to help illustrate Jim and Rachel's possible paths in the future. In their study, Wilson and Wineburg provide readers a detailed glimpse of two very different teachers of history; (1) Mr. Barnes—a veteran history teacher of 27 years, and (2) Ms. Kelsey, a new history teacher with three years of experience. Mr. Barnes' and Ms. Kelsey's different approaches to teaching history are illustrated through their performative actions in this article. It is the difference in Barnes and Kelsey's epistemologies of history that provides a useful background on which to overlay the possible futures of Jim and Rachel.

Mr. Barnes, being a veteran teacher, had solid perceptions about the nature of the history curriculum and his role as knowledge provider. Also, his judgments of student capabilities in learning historical knowledge were linked to the school tracking policies. Mr. Barnes, "fluid approach recalls the kind of scripted processing often described in the literature on teacher expertise." (p. 745) When asked about the

role of primary source materials in his history class, Mr. Barnes responded;

> Well, to begin with, I wouldn't use them in my regular history classes,... because I think the reading level is too difficult for the typical average... student that I deal with. I know my AP students could deal with it even though they would object to the ambiguity and to the fact that they would have to make ... judgments. They would rather just be told what happened and then remember it for a test. (p. 744)

Considering the role Mr. Barnes plays when teaching history, one is reminded of the objectivist history teaching approaches present in Jim and Rachel's apprenticeship of observation. Students are given clear descriptions of historical events, and memorization—not interpretation—generally drives the learning process.

Ms. Kelsey on the other hand believed that, "[historical] knowledge is constructed...that students need help in constructing their historical understandings." (p. 743) When asked how she would use primary sources in her classroom, Ms. Kelsey exclaimed documents would be used:

> To really get down and mess with it, and start working on some critical skills in determining what really happened. But also how each account might vary and why. One purpose that just jumps out at me is the question of historical interpretation and bias that appears in our interpretations over time.... With lower level kids, I might just let them think for awhile: Which document really tells you the most detail.... I could couple that with an exercise where they build an explanation of something. (p. 745)

Teaching students about the interpretive nature of historical knowledge courses through Ms. Kelsey's conduits of instruction.

The pertinent question then is: If Jim and Rachel "teeter", what influence would a Mr. Barnes or a Ms. Kelsey have if they mentored Jim and Rachel? Would a Mr. Barnes' gravitational force redirect Jim and Rachel back to their objectivist apprenticeship of observation? Is it likely a Ms. Kelsey would provide the additional thrust Jim and Rachel need to break free from their apprenticeships and rendezvous with more interpretivist-type approaches to teaching history?

Conclusion

The process of sorting out the complex factors that influence preservice teachers' future teaching practices is an arduous task. There are a host of things that press on teachers to abide by their apprenticeships of observation (see Cuban, 1991; Jenne, 1997; Ross, 1992). In attempting to dissect the related influences of the apprenticeship of observation and the first part of the professional teacher education experience, I hoped to uncover issues critical in understanding the pedagogical development of preservice teachers. As is the case with impressionistic studies such as this one, many more questions were raised than addressed. Here are two: How strong can the experience of the apprenticeship of observation—such as that with an objectivist history teacher—be in influencing future teaching practice? After the first year of teaching professionally, how would former preservice teachers respond to questions regarding their current approaches to teaching history?

The nature of a preservice teacher's apprenticeship needs further analysis to see if any one aspect of the apprenticeship is more influential. For example, if a preservice teacher goes through grade school and courses in college witnessing objectivist history teaching approaches, and then during the phase of professional teacher education the program combines a didactic, objectivist-oriented social studies methods course, with a mentor teacher who powerfully and effectively models a more interpretive approach, what would be a likely result for the preservice teacher? The above question could be reconfigured in a myriad of possible ways: What are the likely teaching approaches learned if preservice teachers face a didactic objectivist "apprenticeship of observation", a more interpretive approach in their professional education courses, and then fact-oriented, didactic mentors in their practica experience? What if a student encounters all objectivist approaches through grade school, college, professional education courses, and internships, but is mentored into their first job by a history teacher with a strong interpretive approach, such as Kelsey? Which influences produce what results? Do any help alleviate the ambivalence of authority new teachers often are plagued by? These questions need much future study if social studies teacher educators and mentor teachers are to understand how to help preservice teachers become adventurous social studies pedagogues, adventurous in the sense of the recommendations suggested by many of the latest teaching and learning standards.

Note

[1]Although the findings do not take into account the gender difference of Jim and Rachel, it should not be assumed that these differences did not influence the reported findings. However, in the scope of this research, the gender variable was not examined due to the exploratory nature. If pursued further with gender as a guiding principle a wider depth of understanding of this phenomenon would be developed.

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Learning to Teach Social Studies: A Case Study of Belief Restructuring

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Abstract

Research has shown that outcomes of social studies teacher education are shaped by the interaction of prospective teachers' beliefs, the meanings they assign to methods course content, and their interpretations of social studies curriculum encountered in student teaching. Through observation, description, and analysis of two elementary teaching candidates' experience in social studies methods and student teaching, I have probed the interaction between program experience and existing beliefs. Margaret's case suggests that beliefs can facilitate professional growth if they are articulated as tools for reflection. Holly's story demonstrates that existing beliefs can represent obstacles to new conceptualizations of teaching. The cross-case analysis supports two generative hypotheses: (a) when similar messages issue from multiple sources in a teacher education program, the overlap enhances the influence of program ideas on prospective teachers' existing beliefs, and (b) the individual's willingness to consider change is a key variable in belief restructuring.

Research on teacher cognition conducted since the mid-1970s has prompted a rethinking of teacher education that focuses on understanding how prospective teachers learn to teach, rather than how they should be taught (Kennedy, 1991). This shift in focus reflects a constructivist perspective, which posits learning as an active creation of knowledge, an interpretive process in which the learner uses previous experience and existing beliefs to negotiate new meanings in social contexts. Teacher education researchers have consistently found that prospective teachers' perspectives—their beliefs, assumptions, and theories of teaching and learning—mediate the process of learning to teach as they engage in course work and student teaching (Adler, 1984; Hollingsworth, 1989; Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1989; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Grossman, Wilson, & Shulman, 1989).

In addition to preprogram beliefs about teaching and learning, prospective teachers may have predispositions towards specific subject matter—beliefs about the nature of a subject, how it should be

taught, its significance in the total school curriculum, and the teacher's role in a particular domain (Amarel & Feiman-Nemser, 1988; Grossman, 1990). Domain-specific beliefs warrant particular attention in social studies teacher education, where prospective teachers encounter a curriculum replete with competing value claims and conflicting strategies for fostering democratic values and beliefs among students. There is considerable research evidence that the outcomes of social studies teacher education are shaped by the interaction of individuals' existing beliefs, their interpretation of methods course content, and their experience of social studies in schools where they practice teach (Goodman & Adler, 1985; Johnston, 1990; Ross, 1987; Wineburg, 1987).

From an interpretive case study of two elementary teaching candidates in a post-baccalaureate program, Johnston (1990) concluded that social studies methods and school experiences had partial and differential influences on the individuals' evolving definitions and practice of social studies, and that the particular backgrounds and beliefs of the individuals "interact[ed] with new influences in unpredictable ways" (p. 230). In this case study, I focus on the experience of two prospective elementary teachers during a senior semester in which they were enrolled in social studies methods and also engaged in a half-time student teaching practicum. Drawing on interviews with the prospective teachers and analysis of their reflective writing, I make an effort to understand how their beliefs interacted with new experience and to explore possible explanations for belief change.

A comparative analysis suggests several variables that mediate the interaction between program influences and existing beliefs about social studies. Ideas advanced by the program appeared to influence existing belief structures when the same idea or message emanated from several sources, a variable I call "overlap." When overlapping messages were introduced into the individual's field of experience, the learner's receptivity or level of willingness to consider change appeared to be a key variable in the extent to which belief restructuring occurred.

Using Case Study Methods to Investigate Beliefs

Beliefs are mental constructs within the personal world of meaning (Tobin, 1990) that structure an individual's perspective or "theory of action" (Ross, 1987). Generally subjective and affective in nature, beliefs color interpretations of social actions and shape the intentions and purposes of behavior (Wilson, Shulman, & Richert, 1987). Green (1971) argued that believing can be regarded as a special case of knowing, but that believing and knowing represent different kinds of internal logic. Whereas knowledge is based on objective standards of truth, beliefs are based on subjective standards of reasonable evidence gained

through experience. Boulding (1972), on the other hand, did not distinguish knowledge from beliefs, but rather suggested that what we know is simply what we believe to be true, for subjective or objective reasons. Indeed, Grossman (1990) found that student teachers often regard their beliefs as knowledge. Although individuals operate with unique sets of subjectively reasonable beliefs, they expand, revise, or restructure their beliefs within the context of social interactions (Boulding, 1972; Rumelhart, 1980; Vosniadou & Brewer 1987).

I rely on case study methodology here in order to develop a holistic interpretation of the way personal biography and beliefs influence belief restructuring within the multiple social contexts that compose a teacher education program. Beliefs may sometimes be explicitly expressed, but are more often implicit and must be inferred from observations, face-to-face encounters, and personal documents—primary sources of data in case study methodology (Abelson, 1979; Merriam, 1988). Accordingly, the data sources for the development of these case summaries were: (a) individual interviews conducted before, during, and after the semester; (b) observations of each participant teaching social studies on three occasions, with informal conversations before and after observing; (c) reflective writing produced by the individuals during the semester; and (d) concept maps of social studies drawn at the semester's beginning and end. I also observed many sessions of the students' course work and interviewed all of the supervising adults—course instructors, field supervisors, and supervising teachers—to broaden my understanding of their goals and the students' experience.

Participants

From the group of prospective elementary teachers enrolled in a social studies methods course, I chose to study two[1] individuals whose student teaching placements afforded regular opportunities to teach social studies. The teachers selected were white, middle class, female undergraduate seniors who were beginning their second year in the teacher education program at a private southeastern university. They had previous course work in American education, educational psychology, teaching exceptional children, mathematics methods, reading instruction, and language arts.

Prior to conducting this research, I had been a graduate student in the teacher education program, an instructor of the social studies methods course and the teaching seminar, a classroom supervising teacher, and a college field supervisor. My previous involvement at different program levels motivated my interest in understanding how preservice teachers integrated the content they encountered in the program and how the program design influenced their beliefs about teaching social studies. Throughout the semester of this study, I acted as a participant

observer, attending the students' classes often and informally getting to know them as well as observing and interviewing them more formally. The prior roles I had taken required me to constantly reflect on my personal beliefs about the program and how they influenced my interpretation of the students' perspectives on their experience.

Analysis

At the first level of analysis, I compiled individual case summaries that the participants read and discussed with me to clarify my interpretations of their experience. Pre-semester belief profiles were based on the reflective writing the participants produced in response to a diagnostic questionnaire that was administered during the first session of the methods course and the initial interview data that included a cognitive mapping of social studies. In these data, I regarded recurrent expressions, metaphoric language, episodic memories, idealized realities, and strong emotional tone as indicators of beliefs (Abelson, 1979; Morine-Dershimer, 1983). In the deliberate process of seeking both confirming and disconfirming evidence of the persistence of pre-semester beliefs over time, I found that the participants appeared to hold beliefs with varying degrees of certainty. Whereas frequently expressed beliefs sometimes did not seem to influence teaching behavior at all, ideas encountered in the program might be tentatively endorsed, but later appeared to motivate teaching behavior, suggesting that new beliefs were taking shape.

The need to describe finer distinctions among kinds of beliefs led to the adoption of Spiro's (1966) levels of ideological learning—exposure, understanding, belief, cognitive salience, and internalization (p. 1163). The participants' beliefs also interacted with new ideas in different ways, suggesting three kinds of belief changes: (a) addition or expansion, which reinforces existing beliefs; (b) clarification or fine tuning of existing beliefs; and (c) reorganization or restructuring of existing beliefs (Boulding, 1972; Rumelhart, 1980; Vosniadou & Brewer, 1987). Boulding's (1972) concept of images was associated with composites of related beliefs.

At the second level of analysis, kinds of beliefs and belief changes inferred from the individual case summaries were compared across cases. The data were also examined for instances in which participants attributed changes in their beliefs to particular aspects of their experience. Patterns of attribution and belief changes identified in the comparison generated several hypotheses regarding the nature of the interaction between program influences and participants' beliefs. To help readers judge the relevance of these hypotheses in other contexts, I have outlined the primary components of the teacher education program.

The Social Context: Semester Course Work and Student Teaching

During the semester, the preservice teachers participated each week in two 90-minute class meetings of social studies methods, a two-hour teaching seminar, and 20 hours of student teaching in local area classrooms. In both social studies methods and the teaching seminar, preservice teachers were encouraged to reflect on their prior experiences and pedagogical beliefs in relation to their experiences as student teachers.

The methods professor advocated an issues-centered approach to teaching social studies. She introduced human rights and environmental issues from a global perspective, encouraged the preservice teachers to examine the relevance of social science content for issues-centered teaching, advocated controversial issues discussions, and emphasized the role of teacher as decision-maker and reflective practitioner, often verbalizing her own intentions and teaching rationales. She frequently modeled instructional strategies that the preservice teachers later developed as assignments and were encouraged to teach in their field settings.

The professor began the first class session by talking briefly about the role of prior beliefs in shaping new learning. Class members then completed a diagnostic questionnaire that asked them to reflect on previous social studies experiences, on the relationship between teaching and learning, and on their image of themselves as teacher as well as assessing their background in the social sciences and their beliefs about social studies goals. The remainder of the first class was devoted to shared recollections of social studies. Throughout the semester, class members wrote weekly reflections in which they related prior experiences to class activities, assigned readings, or current events. The professor or the teaching assistant read and commented on the reflections each week, but did not grade them.

The teaching seminar addressed general pedagogical strategies, classroom management, unit planning, and teacher assessment. With the intention of developing reflective skills for self-evaluation, the seminar instructors required the preservice teachers to write journals about their field experience, focused by the weekly seminar topic. Journal entries were scored for completeness in three sections: (a) descriptive examples from field experience, (b) reflections on behaviors and values implied in the examples, and (c) personal solutions or alternative courses of action. Student teachers were supervised directly by an in-class supervising teacher who was either an extern (a teacher currently enrolled in the university's graduate supervision program), or a former extern (who had previously completed both the supervision program and the social studies methods course). The field supervisors (who were also the seminar instructors) periodically observed, conferenced with, and evaluated the preservice teachers.

The case summaries of Margaret[2] and Holly begin with sketches of their pre-college social studies experiences and profiles of their pre-program beliefs about social studies teaching and learning. After reconstructing a narrative of their semester's experiences, I compare the beliefs each espoused at the beginning of the semester with beliefs that appeared to be cognitively salient or internalized six weeks after the semester's end, shortly after they had begun a second student teaching assignment.

Margaret

Margaret recalled her elementary teachers with affection and regarded herself as a successful student throughout her pre-college schooling. In social studies she remembered studying different regions and cultures of the world, projects like making mountains and deserts, and an international food festival. She recalled that sixth grade social studies was "very dull" because "it consisted entirely of reading a book entitled Long, Long Ago." Overall, however, she had positive associations with social studies:

> The highlight was most definitely high school. We had an excellent [social studies] department, filled with learning, different media, mock trials, and the highlight—a mock congress. A mock congress is truly the best way and most interesting [way] to understand American government. I portrayed Patricia Schroeder and can still remember discussing bills, issues, committee meetings. I also remember the importance and emphasis my teachers placed upon current events and discussion. I now realize how important that was. There are so many young people who have no knowledge of what goes on in our nation, let alone our world. [Diagnostic questionnaire, 9/90]

Not surprisingly, politics, government, and current trends figured prominently in Margaret's pre-semester concept map of social studies (shown in Figure 1), which also included culture, history, and geography as organizing categories. Her discussions of teaching and learning emphasized interaction and participation. "From my experience," she wrote, "it seems the teacher who questions and discusses. . .who interacts, probes, and creates participatory experiences sets the stage for the greatest amounts of learning to occur." Margaret's description of the ideal teacher included awareness of world events, independent thinking, the ability to adapt instruction to the situation, knowledge of new teaching methods, and the courage to try them out.
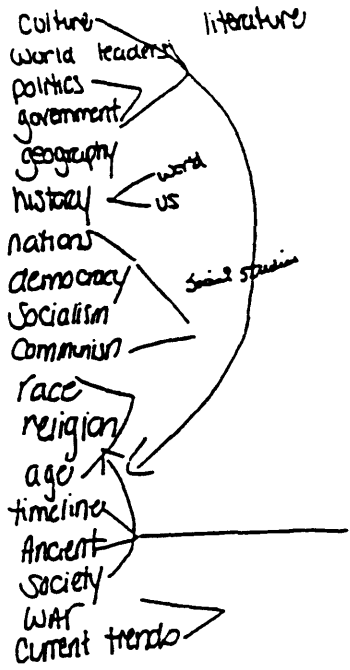
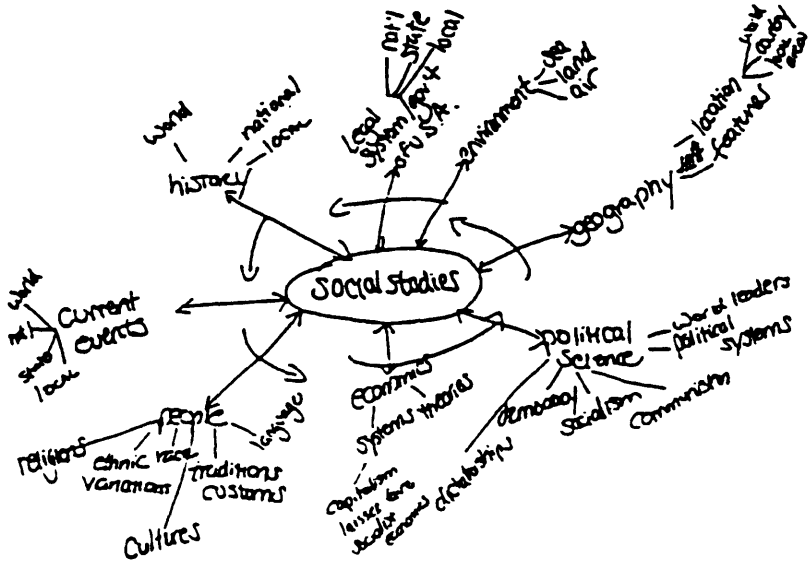*Figure 1.* Margaret's pre-semester image of social studies.

Figure 2. Margaret's post-semester image of social studies.

The positive social studies experiences Margaret recalled, together with her commentary on related issues, indicated pre-semester beliefs: (a) that social studies has value in the school curriculum, (b) that it has meaning for students when they are invited to be active participants, and (c) that American government and politics is an important content area in social studies. Describing what she thought were the most important things for students to learn in social studies, Margaret wrote: "An understanding of their own culture, and the variety of others in the world. A basic government understanding. Geographical knowledge."

In her early discussions and writing, Margaret framed two problems that she debated in her journals throughout the semester. First, she wondered whether teaching models introduced at the university would be practicable in the classroom, given the constraints of curriculum guidelines and state requirements. Second, although her own experience and the goals of the methods course supported discussions about contemporary issues, Margaret questioned whether elementary students could reason about current events and controversial issues.

Straddling the Gap: Methods Lessons Interact with Student Teaching

As United States troops were shipping out for Saudi Arabia in the fall of 1990, Margaret was driving four days a week along roads bedecked with United States flags and yellow ribbons to the new suburban school where she was student teaching in a fifth grade. To Margaret it looked like "the perfect school," but she was "shocked that the students were almost all white, middle class, and Protestant." Margaret described the fifth graders as "pretty homogeneous" in ability and "very well behaved," which she attributed to the teacher's "clear and consistent expectations."

Margaret said that from the beginning she could communicate openly with her supervising teacher, a former extern who also acted as her field supervisor and had been teaching for six years. Margaret was deeply impressed with the teacher's ability to implement innovative methods such as the language arts activities Margaret had studied, while also planning instruction to meet the county's curriculum requirements. She noted that the teacher often held open discussions with the students who were eager to discuss "practically anything." The teacher encouraged Margaret to try lesson plans assigned in the methods course, and Margaret found that they "really worked."

She began teaching social studies mid-semester with a four-day unit on the New England colonies. Building around a chapter in the social studies textbook, Margaret included a variety of instructional strategies in her plans. On the first day of the unit she played a tape of songs about colonial life and invited the students to make predictions about "what life was like then." She assigned individual projects, which

the students undertook with enthusiasm and imagination. In a fol-
low-up study of the Middle Colonies, Margaret conducted a lively
discussion about visits to Williamsburg and then introduced a writ-
ing project she had found in the journal Social Studies and the Young
Learner, which suggested writing letters to historical characters. Mar-
garet explained to the students that the purpose of the project was "to
see things from a different perspective than just your textbook."

The fifth graders in Margaret's class "love[d] to offer opinions
and answers" in a discussion. As she recalled in February:

> Well, they pretty much could discuss anything. I mean,
> they were just totally enthused with that, probably more
> than usual. But they were excellent kids for discussion. I
> think they must be by now up to the Civil War, and they've
> been waiting to discuss that all year. [Interview, 2/91]

Despite the students' enthusiasm for discussion, Margaret
wrestled throughout the semester with the problems of whether and
how to handle social issues with elementary students. She explained
that the problem was keeping the conversation "on track" and know-
ing when to cut it off. In her reflective writing, she argued the case for
reflective inquiry and supported controversial issues discussions and
global awareness. She contended that "global understanding. . .should
begin early." However, after attending a lecture on "Iraq and the West"
with the social studies methods class, Margaret wrote "I wonder how
you deal with something like that in the [elementary] classroom?"

As the threat of war in the Middle East escalated, Margaret wrote
in her journals with increasing conviction that young students should
discuss current events and develop an awareness of global issues. Re-
viewing a journal article that proposed reading historical narratives
to young children, she wrote: "There is no reason why first graders
should be stuck learning about the neighborhood. . .These children
need to learn skills to help them think in a more global perspective."
She was impressed by a presentation she attended at a state Social
Studies Council conference that demonstrated law-related education
strategies for discussing drug abuse with elementary students, an is-
sue Margaret had previously thought too difficult for them. When the
United Nations condoned the use of force in the Persian Gulf, Marga-
ret found herself engaged in a discussion of current events with the
fifth graders:

> I had planned to do a lesson on current events using the
> publication Scholastic News. . .The students were much
> more excited and asked to stay on the topic of the Middle
> East rather than go ahead with the other topics. The cur-

rent crisis in the Middle East is somewhat of a sensitive issue and I was a bit leery of discussing it in the classroom. But, this lesson and discussion went so well that I overcame that fear and learned that fifth graders do just fine on controversial material. [Journal, 12/90]

On the other hand, Margaret wrote that she was disturbed by the absence of criticism among her fifth graders of the role of the United States in the Persian Gulf, asserting that "students who never question or reflect on what they read or hear will probably never question our country's involvement, for example, in the Middle East or Central America."

Margaret found that the lesson strategies introduced in the social studies methods course were applicable in "every other area." At the time of the final interview, when she had begun her spring internship in a kindergarten class, Margaret said that "concept lessons [had] seemed kind of ominous" when they were presented, but "now I can see concepts everywhere." Other lesson models seemed equally useful in planning instruction:

I'll kid around with my friends—I'll be like, well, shall I do this or shall I do that?—and we'll go like, oh that's a value analysis question. You know, it's surprising how many of those things come up once you know what they are. You see them all over the place. [Interview, 2/91]

Post-semester Beliefs about Social Studies

Margaret's pre-semester belief that discussion and other participatory activities make social studies meaningful appeared to be reinforced and expanded in her post-semester image of social studies instruction. Whereas her fall semester experiences reinforced commitment to discussions and student-centered projects, Margaret indicated that she had clarified and expanded this belief to include reflection, critical thinking, and the exchange of different viewpoints as discussion goals. Concern with questioning strategies that promote critical thinking was a repeated theme in her conversations and written commentaries, and also appeared to guide her instructional planning and delivery, indicating an internalized belief. "As a whole," she wrote in her final reflection for the methods course, "I feel that most important is helping our students to become more reflective and active."

The post-semester cognitive map that Margaret drew (see Figure 2) included many of the same terms she had used in her pre-semester mapping of social studies, but the terms were reorganized as a web of interrelated categories that spun out of the term social studies. Both the concept map and her explanation of it indicted that she had restructured her pre-semester image of social studies.

I think that if you look at any one of these, they could
interrelate to—I mean, the geography of a region could
have an effect on the lives of the people a:id their economy
and their, you know, all of these. . .I think each one of
these is interrelated with each other one. But it would be
a mass of arrows... [Interview, 2/91]

Reorganization of beliefs about social studies was also suggested
by Margaret's post-semester emphasis on teaching from a global per-
spective. On her final exam Margaret wrote, "It is hard to believe I
have reflected and realized that I actually have my own philosophy/
approach to teaching social studies."

Holly

From the first interview, Holly shared her experience and opin-
ions at length, often explicitly stating her beliefs about education with
certainty. Characterizing herself as a competitive student, she recalled
knowing the right answers in "social studies bees" and staying ahead
of her best friend in a social studies class where students progressed
at their own pace through a series of work sheets. She remembered
being angry and frustrated—in both high school and college courses—
when teachers were "sidetracked" by student questions or otherwise
diverted from delivering the content she thought appropriate for the
class.

Holly described the ideal classroom as a place where the stu-
dents are gifted and the teacher can concentrate on "conveying the
information" rather than having to "deal with discipline problems."
When students want to learn, a teacher could act as a facilitator, she
asserted, "which is what a teacher should be." However, Holly re-
garded such a classroom as "a fairy tale," a set of conditions she didn't
expect to find. Holly was emphatic that the way to have "a great class"
is to manage the classroom so that students stay on task, and that
teachers are accountable for "what's handed down by the administra-
tion about what needs to be accomplished day by day, month by
month."

Geography, history, anthropology, and society organized Holly's
pre-semester concept map of social studies, with textbooks as a sepa-
rate category that she explained "has to do with all of them." (See
Figure 3) Holly also emphasized that social studies should help stu-
dents develop tolerance and appreciation for differences. In the dia-
logical essay written early in the methods course, Holly argued for
global education, maintaining that "teachers should provide students
with opportunities to understand other cultures and countries."

On the diagnostic evaluation, Holly rated herself as "not prepared at all" to teach social sciences. Nevertheless, she repeatedly asserted that the methods course should offer great teaching ideas, not content:

> I'm not looking for content out of social studies even though I may not know the facts. I can get the content on my own—what they say about Spain in the book, I can read it then. The week before, go ahead and read the chapter. And so I think content is really easier to pick up on, especially when you're dealing at a level so low, especially like K through 4, which is what I am. (Interview, 10/30)

Throughout the semester, Holly's quest was for "great ideas." She reported that brainstorming with peers often gave her great ideas for her lessons, but she regarded peer presentations on the social sciences a waste of time because, "they were going over things [she] could have read in a book." She approved of the time spent on teaching strategies in the methods course and was surprised at the success of lesson models she tried out (cooperative learning, value analysis) that she first regarded as "impractical in the real world." Holly complained, however, that she always left the methods class in a bad mood due to the crowded conditions in the small classroom. She also believed that the grading practices were unfair, citing disparities between professor and teaching assistant, the absence of scores on weekly reflections, and failure to impose grade penalties for late assignments.

Student Teaching in the Real World
Holly taught in a neighborhood urban school where "minority" students comprised more than 50% of the population, and many came from low-income families. She observed that peer groups were racially defined and seldom interacted. Holly's supervising teacher, a current extern at the university who taught sixth and seventh grade language arts, was teaching world geography for the first time; and she admitted to feeling uncertain and disorganized at the beginning of the year. Holly was frustrated by "all the peon work" the teacher expected her to do, by the teacher's apparent disinterest in Holly's lesson plans, and by her lack of attention to things Holly regarded as important: creating new bulletin boards, responding to students' journals, and grading papers promptly. Holly did admire the teacher's good relationships with students and her ability to command their attention, which Holly found difficult. She also thought that the teacher's routine for beginning classes-having two sentences to correct and a journal topic written on the blackboard-was "a great strategy" that she planned to use in the future.
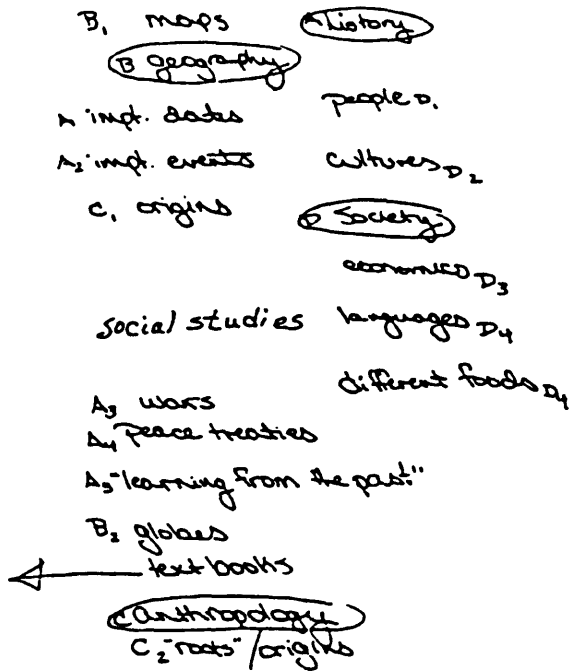
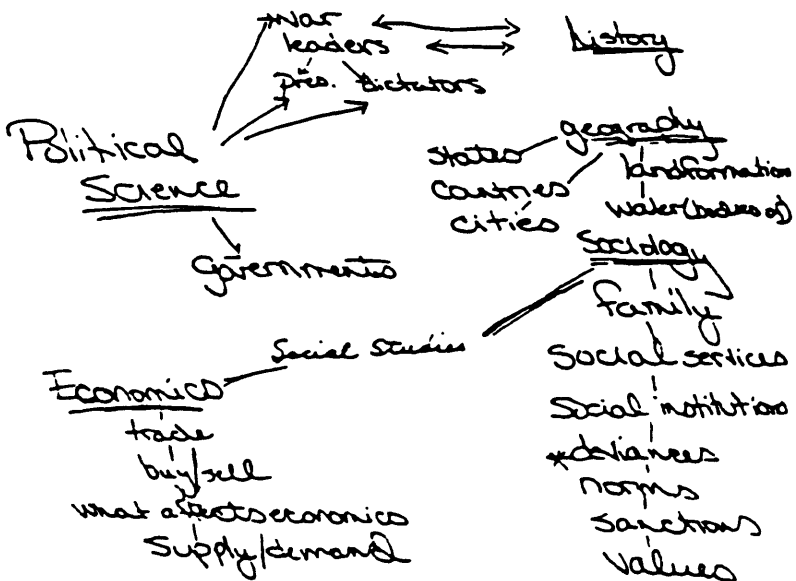*Figure 3.* Holly's pre-semester image of social studies.

Figure 4. Holly's post-semester image of social studies.

Holly was critical of the teacher's social studies instruction, which she described as having students work through a study guide or answer questions at the end of the chapter. When Holly planned a unit on the reunification of Germany, she gathered books, pictures, articles, and a documentary video, lined up a guest speaker, included cooperative learning in her plans, and prepared a study guide.

> I'm giving them a study guide at the beginning because nothing is written down for them, nothing is in a book, and everything is what I talk about, what they see in a movie, what they hear from the guest lecturer and what they read in those articles. So I'm giving them a study guide at the beginning, and I'll just say everyday, 'put that study guide out there and it goes right in order. You hear the answer to one of those questions, write it down.' And then at the end go to the study guide, and then test them on it. [Interview, 11/90]

Several times Holly wrote in her journal that her lessons had been "especially creative" ideas and had captured the students' attention. She was surprised at student behavior on a videotaped lesson and admitted that "[m]y classroom management skills as seen in the videotape need improvement. I honestly thought that all of the students were on-task and that the lesson went extremely well until I viewed the videotape." Later, although both the supervising teacher and the field supervisor made suggestions to Holly about improving her classroom management, she dismissed their criticisms, saying they mistook student enthusiasm for off-task behavior.

Post-Semester Beliefs about Social Studies

Holly's experiences during the fall semester seemed to reinforce and clarify the beliefs about teaching social studies that she articulated in September. Despite her criticism of the supervising teachers' reliance on textbook questions and study guides, the teacher's practice added support for Holly's belief that content knowledge consists of a discrete set of right answers usually found in textbooks. Holly's utilization of multiple resources for the unit on German reunification suggested that she had expanded this belief to include alternative sources of right answers. However, her belief in social studies content as a discrete body of knowledge—a set of questions to be answered—appeared to be salient and internalized. Holly's pre-semester comments also suggested beliefs that social studies content for students in grades K-4 was simple to master and easy to teach. Exit interview comments indicated that she had clarified that belief:

> For the elementary grades I think it should emphasize
> more of your sociology—more of your values and family
> systems—something that's more personal to them. If
> you're going to touch government, I kind of think they
> should just study our government. And then they'll have
> something to compare the other governments they study
> with. [Interview, 2/91]

Holly's pre-semester emphasis on the teacher's responsibility to help students develop tolerance and an appreciation for differences did not persist as a theme in her conversations over the five months of the study, despite the fact that these ideas were emphasized in the social studies course text and discussed several times in the class. This was also surprising, given that Holly, a white, middle class individual, spent her fall semester at a school where minority students comprised more than 50% of the population, and where substantial numbers of students came from low-income families. Although Holly described the student population as a mixture of "professor's kids" and "kids from the projects," she seemed to regard the composition of the student body as unusual and didn't demonstrate a concern for promoting positive interaction between the diverse groups of students, who, she said, "mostly kept to themselves."

Holly's post-semester concept map was remarkably similar to the one she had drawn in September (see Figure 4). Both maps suggest a compartmentalized image of the field structured by the social science disciplines, although her increased use of discipline-specific language suggested greater clarity about the concepts related to each discipline. Her school experience, where seventh grade social studies was "geography," lent support to this organization and reinforced her existing image of social studies curriculum. In her last reflection and on the final exam, however, Holly espoused support for the stated goals of the methods course.

Discussion

In a study of student teachers' perspectives on social studies, Adler (1984) distinguished two dominant profiles: the constructivist and the realist/traditional perspectives. Student teachers who viewed social studies from a constructivist perspective regarded social studies knowledge as personally meaningful, tentative, and constructed through personal experience, reasoning, and the development of empathy. Their view of teaching emphasized process, including a variety of learning activities, encouragement of critical thinking and inquiry, and integration of knowledge and teaching methods. On the other hand, student teachers who viewed social studies from a real-

ist/traditional perspective valued public over personal knowledge, regarding information developed by scholars as both certain knowledge and the appropriate content of social studies instruction. Their view of instruction was textbook-centered and aimed at student absorption of pre-structured language.

The belief profiles drawn here of Margaret and Holly provide further examples of these two contrasting perspectives. Margaret's emphasis on participation and interaction indicated a process-oriented approach to teaching social studies aimed at providing students with opportunities to construct personal meaning through discussion and student-centered activity. Margaret's experiences during the semester reinforced and expanded her beliefs to include commitments to reflective inquiry and discussion of global events and controversial issues. Moreover, her interpretations of program experiences contributed to a reorganized image of social studies instruction as an integrated field of knowledge and teaching methods. Holly, on the other hand, appeared to view social studies from the realist/traditional perspective at the beginning of the semester. There seemed to have been little change in her beliefs, although she appeared to have expanded her textbook model of social studies instruction to include supplementing the text with a variety of alternative resources. Her experience during the semester seemed to reinforce her belief that social studies is a category of school knowledge that should be delivered by teachers and absorbed by students.

Even though Margaret's initial image of social studies appeared to reflect a constructivist perspective, one that was reinforced both by the methods course and her supervising teacher, I would argue that Margaret's beliefs changed in a way that involved the creation of new structures, or belief restructuring (Rumelhart, 1980; Vosniadou & Brewer, 1987). Comparing Margaret's pre- and post-semester maps suggests a reconceptualization or construction of new schema with which to think about social studies. The change in Margaret's maps is particularly striking when compared to the high degree of similarity between Holly's two maps. As Margaret's changing beliefs about teaching social studies began to inform her behavior as a student teacher, there was evidence of increased cognitive salience and internalization of her beliefs. Margaret herself remarked with a mixture of astonishment and pride that she had reflected and developed her own philosophy of social studies.

How can we explain the change in Margaret's beliefs? What components of the program influenced that change, and what variables mediated the influence on her existing beliefs? First, it appeared that there was significant overlap between the goals of the methods course and Margaret's initial beliefs about social studies. There was further overlap and compatibility of beliefs between Margaret and her super-

vising teacher. Margaret, the methods instructors, and the supervising teacher all agreed that active participation and lively discussions of real issues, especially political affairs, were key components of social studies instruction. However, there also appeared to be an overlapping of new program messages that contributed significantly to the direction of Margaret's belief changes. Both the methods and teaching seminar instructors appeared to regard reflective writing as a useful tool for professional development, requiring students to reflect weekly on their program experience. In the case of the methods course, students were also encouraged to reflect on their own experience in relationship to current events. Margaret's developing belief that elementary students can discuss controversial issues reflects a series of program experiences that gave her assurance and encouragement. She was asked to reflect on controversial and global events in the news; she attended a university lecture that raised controversial questions; she read an article in *Social Studies and the Young Learner* that advocated challenging topics for elementary students, and she encountered practicing teachers at a professional education meeting who advocated tackling difficult issues with young students. Those experiences, together with the supervising teachers' confident leadership and the students' interest in discussing everything, combined to help Margaret overcome doubt and conduct a discussion about the impending war in which the students "did just fine." The program elements combined to give Margaret's belief in discussing controversial issues cognitive salience, and her experimentation in practice further internalized the belief. A similar combination of overlapping program experiences appeared to contribute to her growing conviction about the importance of global issues—the invitation to reflect on the news in her journals, attending the lecture, and course experiences such as reading the text and class discussions, all within the larger context of a world on the edge of global conflict.

Margaret's discovery that she had reflected and developed her own philosophy of social studies suggests a second variable that mediates the influence of program experience on existing beliefs. Margaret was willing to spend time considering her beliefs, to hold them reflectively up to the light so that she could consider new ideas and possibilities introduced through her program experience. In contrast to Holly's certainty during the first interview, Margaret expressed doubt about having anything to say about social studies, but she expected to gain understanding through the methods course. Margaret's apparent willingness to consider change in her beliefs and knowledge about social studies appeared to play a key role in the dynamics of her belief restructuring and her reconceptualization of social studies. Occasionally she described moments of insight such as suddenly seeing a lesson as a potential value analysis question or finding that con-

cept lessons were "everywhere," insights that suggested an expanding and changing image of teaching social studies. Margaret's insights also suggest the effectiveness of teaching strategies that were practiced in the methods course.

Holly, on the other hand, took the new teaching models lightly, viewing them more as academic exercises than as useful teaching strategies for the "real world." Holly's second drawing of a map of social studies and her post-semester interview indicate minimal change in her beliefs about social studies, despite the fact that she encountered many of the same program experiences that Margaret did.

How could two individuals emerge from the same program with such different sets of prior beliefs largely intact and, arguably, reinforced and expanded? In fact, many aspects of these individuals' program experience differed considerably, and even where they had common experiences, the meanings they assigned to those experiences often differed. The most notable program difference was the supervising teacher for each. However, both Margaret and Holly shared a set of beliefs, expectations, and goals with their supervising teachers, an overlapping compatibility that appeared to reinforce each teacher's existing beliefs rather than inviting critical examination or change. Hollingsworth (1989) found that student teachers paired with supervising teachers whose beliefs were different from their own were more likely to examine their beliefs, a finding that may be supported here.

The background and beliefs of Margaret and Holly also contributed to different interpretations of program requirements and content. Whereas Margaret perceived the reflective journal writing as an opportunity for professional growth, Holly regarded it as an effort made without academic reward. Margaret's receptivity to new ideas and assignments was apparent in her reflective writing and in the ways she incorporated those ideas into her student teaching. Holly, who also carried out the assignments to read journal articles, attend workshops and lectures, design microlessons and a unit, seldom reflected on these events in her writing and often expressed skepticism about their usefulness in "the real world of school." Holly expressed a high level of certainty about her beliefs from the beginning; she saw the reflective writing as busy work; and she gave no indication that her objectives for the semester might include belief change. She was on a quest for great ideas, but only those that fit her initial images of teaching and social studies.

Conclusions

The experiences of Margaret and Holly provide further support for the hypothesis that preprogram beliefs play a powerful role in the process of learning to teach. Whereas Margaret's story suggests that beliefs can facilitate professional growth if they are articulated as tools for reflection, Holly's case suggests that existing beliefs can represent obstacles to new conceptualizations of teaching. Belief restructuring appeared to be influenced by program elements that overlapped, giving force to new ideas, and by the extent to which the individual was willing to consider change.

Planning for overlap in goals, language, and teaching principles across program areas may enhance students' perception of the relevance of ideas that are new or incompatible with their existing beliefs. Although invariant redundancy can be counterproductive, similar messages originating from multiple sources appeared to have substantial force for Margaret. Among the many ways to improve the possibilities for overlap are placements with supervising teachers who have had recent methods course work, and collaborative efforts between schools and universities that articulate common principles to guide the development of prospective teachers. Improved communications within teacher education departments might also establish shared pedagogical principles in an effort to enhance the possibilities for overlap.

Overlapping messages, however, must also find receptivity in the individual learner, a willingness to expose vulnerabilities, to admit incomplete understandings, and to consider change. Although the extreme of utter flexibility is doubtless self-destructive, a willingness to consider change appears to be essential to learning. Margaret's engagement in reflective writing appeared to be genuine and intentional; she was willing to reflect on her beliefs, to think them over and consider change. Whereas reflective writing may increase awareness of beliefs and may contribute to the clarification or reorganization of beliefs, it is also clear that opportunities for reflection do not necessarily lead to belief restructuring nor even consistently bring existing beliefs to light. From this we might conclude that reflective writing assignments must be supported by guidance in developing the skills, language, and attitudes of reflection. Preservice teachers might engage in activities such as biographical interviews with peers to help them identify existing beliefs. Moreover, it seems prudent to spend time discussing the propositions that learning involves belief change and that beliefs can operate as barriers or building blocks for learning. These ideas might be introduced through discussions of case studies of other preservice teachers such as those presented here. Prospective teachers might also be alerted to the problem of certainty, which

has been noted by others as a potential obstacle to conceptual change (Gil-Perez & Carrascosa, 1990; Nisbett & Ross, 1980). Nisbett and Ross (1980) point out that a person's confidence, or subjective certainty, may bias the processing of new information such that new ideas will appear to be congruent with existing beliefs. This may explain how Holly could have planned her unit as an inquiry and then organized it around a study guide.

Margaret, who expressed uncertainty about her beliefs at the beginning of the semester, used her journal to pose questions, debate alternative answers throughout the semester, and finally to arrive at her own philosophy of teaching social studies. Her approach to journal writing was only one indication of a willingness to consider change. If the willingness to consider change is the constructive alternative to certainty, then the nature of willingness to change merits further exploration.

Notes

[1] The two case summaries presented in this article are taken from a more comprehensive study of belief restructuring in the experience of three prospective teachers (Angell, 1991). Describing only two cases here made it possible to provide the rich detail that should be persuasive in qualitative research. The two cases were chosen in part because they illustrate contrasting patterns of belief change.

[2] Pseudonyms are used throughout in order to protect the confidentiality promised the participants.

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Adapting Problem-Based Learning to Social Studies Teacher Education

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Abstract

In this paper we describe how we have adapted Problem-Based Learning for use in Social Studies Teacher Education. The background of PBL as used in various professional Faculties, particularly medicine, is reviewed and a curricular justification offered. Specific difficulties experienced in adapting PBL to the circumstances of teacher education are examined taking into account the perspectives of both prospective teachers and teacher educators.

In spite of its increasingly widespread use in virtually all realms of professional education, especially the health related professions, Problem-Based Learning has inspired little enthusiasm, or even interest, on the part of teacher educators. For example, a recent internet inquiry from Australia circulated to members of PBL-LIST asking "is anyone else on this list working in this area" resulted in "nothing of any consequence" (White, 1995); and a posting from Malta in 1997 produced similar results (Camilleri, 1997). And yet, our conclusion based on a half-decade of experience with PBL in teacher education is that it offers as much to those of us concerned with teachers and teaching as it does to our colleagues in other professional faculties. But why has PBL kindled so little interest among teacher educators? Our suspicion is that rather than having been tried and found wanting, PBL in the teacher education context has simply not been tried in any widespread or sustained basis. In this article we consider how our use of PBL has evolved. In particular, we identify difficulties encountered with PBL in early trials and we describe initiatives developed collaboratively with our students and school-based teacher colleagues to optimize its potential. Our current assessment, based on an extensive period of reflection and action, confirms both the desirability and

feasibility of PBL as an approach to initial teacher education. In formulating our ideas, we have been conscious of Reason's admonition to find ways of "sidestepping one's own and others' defensive responses to the painful process of self-reflection." (1994, p.332) Consequently, we have drawn on multiple data sources including the records of formal debriefings involving instructors and students, students' written responses to particular experiences, our own observations, and the reactions of students and teachers to our initial interpretations.

Background and Context

We began to examine PBL's possibilities after considerable experience with a range of instructional approaches that demanded a more active commitment by our students to their own learning. This included inquiry teaching, simulation, case-based teaching, micro-teaching and guided design. Each approach contributed to making the teacher education experience somewhat more active. Students explored basic issues in teaching, examined related research, developed tentative plans for teaching, tried them out in simulated and actual situations, and interviewed and shadowed professionals with whom they would be working. Still, the basic structure of our courses remained similar to others at the University: a series of classes with the agenda set by the professor. PBL seemed to push the envelope a step further; it demanded that students address issues that they are likely to confront as future professionals and that they address them using the tools, resources and capabilities likely to be available. It appeared to provide greater authenticity in both its substance and its form.

In many respects, this venture into the realm of Problem-Based Learning was a response to our observation of the reality shock that student teachers and young teachers experience when they encounter the real world of teaching. Quite simply, the ideals and principles that have begun to shape their conceptions of good professional practice are often sacrificed to the contingencies of their day to day responsibilities, a phenomenon associated as much with beginning lawyers, doctors or architects as with teachers. (Veenman, 1984) One of our students captured the issue in a poem entitled *Low Point*:

> If this is as bad as it gets
> then here I am
> on rocky bottom
> with all the eagerness
> knocked out of me.
> I thought I was here to teach
> but such a far off goal
> Is out of reach. (Fulton, 1990)

By approximating the working conditions of the professional school teacher as closely as possible in the learning environment, we were hoping to make a preemptive strike against the problem of reality shock. So, our quest for authenticity involves real teaching problems (in our case, those related to the teaching and learning of social studies), collaboration in teams (almost all teachers in our region now work as members of small teams up to and including grade 10), with feedback provided not through the private correspondence of student and professor but from children, teacher colleagues and school supervisors. The feedback constitutes the sort of authentic experience that all teachers undergo in schools; our difficulties in deciding whether and how to integrate this information into the broader assessment of individual students is a matter for another article.

At the same time as we were beginning to experiment in our own courses, we were becoming increasingly impressed with the research literature emerging from Medicine (Albanese & Mitchell, 1993; Norman & Schmidt, 1992; Walton & Matthews, 1989) and also from the field of Education (Bridges, 1992; Bridges & Hallinger, 1991; Stepien & Gallagher, 1993; Stepien, Gallagher & Workman, 1993; Savoie & Hughes, 1994). We were intrigued by the hypothesis that through the use of PBL we might be able to assist our students to develop proficiency not only in good instructional practice but also in team work, pedagogical reasoning and continuous professional learning. We decided, therefore, to commit the core element in a program for prospective social studies teachers to a PBL format. Students would continue with non-PBL courses in such areas as history of education, child and adolescent psychology, and school law, but those parts of their program concerned centrally with learning and teaching would be given over to PBL. This required approximately forty percent of their course load commitment for a single semester. The classes have comprised students specializing in all levels (elementary, middle and high school); equally divided between genders; mainly white but with a small group of First Nations students each year and a few from developing countries in Africa and Asia.

Problem-Based Learning

As developed in medical schools, beginning with the work in the new Faculty at McMaster University in the mid-1960s, PBL has sought to reorient the way in which physicians are introduced to their craft. Instead of the traditional approach in which "the study of basic sciences predominate initially and are then followed by clinical studies," (Scheiman, Whittaker & Dell, 1989), a sort of theory into practice paradigm, PBL makes the resolution of a professional problem the central educational event. It requires a problem that is typical of those

that the professional will encounter in practice, and it is the problem that must be encountered first in the learning process. Beyond that, there can be considerable variation in the types of learning objectives, the degree of teacher directiveness, and the size of the learning group. Indeed, the variety of forms that PBL can take has led Barrows (1986) to develop a taxonomy of problem-based learning methods.

The curricular justification for problem-based learning in medical education lies in both the patent deficiencies of traditional programmes (Muller, 1984; Walton & Matthews, 1989; Barrows, 1985) and in the possibilities afforded by PBL itself. Certainly, the preliminary evidence suggests that PBL curricula can enhance the transfer of concepts to new problems, it can heighten intrinsic interest in the subject matter, and it can strengthen self-directed study skills (Norman & Schmidt, 1992). Furthermore, a potentially important mechanism to explain the effects is to be found in contextual learning theory (Coles, 1990). Simply put, the problem establishes a context for learning, engages students' intrinsic interest in the subject matter and by encouraging the self-directed quest for the knowledge and insight needed to resolve the problem, establishes the learning habit. The *prima facie* evidence for the effects of PBL is sufficiently compelling that it has become the dominant mode of instruction in leading Faculties of Medicine worldwide and has managed to find its way through all of the other health professions and into virtually every professional field. (Wilkinson & Gijselaers, 1996)

Problem-Based Learning and Pre-Service Teacher Education

The approach that we have employed with our prospective social studies teachers conforms to the essential attributes advocated by Barrows (1996) and others in medical education: problems form the organizing focus and stimulus for learning; learning is student centred; learning occurs in small student groups; teachers are facilitators or guides; problems are a vehicle for the development of ... problem-solving skills; and new information is acquired through self-directed learning. (pp. 5-6)

Our work with students, then, takes the form of a series of units, each one commencing with a problem. Problems are presented in person by experienced social studies teachers, or in video, in the form of letters from parents or from educational professionals, as well as through scenarios presented in written format. The essential attribute that we seek in each problem is authenticity; that is, it has to be one that these prospective teachers are likely to face in their daily work in school. For example, one of the early problems that our students confront comes in the form of a letter received by the school principal who passes it along to the social studies department asking "How

should we handle this." (See Appendix A.) The problem was selected because it catapults students into a consideration of the role of social studies in the school curriculum.

This particular problem constitutes a threat to the mind set that our students typically carry about the role of social studies in the total educational enterprise. Keep in mind that they are all history and social science specialists, some with graduate degrees in their disciplines. They are dedicated to their subjects and they have associated with like-minded people for the past several years. They tend not to question the right of their subject to a place in the school curriculum and are surprised that others might do so. They also tend to assume that engineers have little interest in social studies and would be likely to support any actions that would increase the amount of math and science in the public school curriculum.

Often, the learning teams begin by deciding to "check out" the problem itself. They send delegations off to interview teachers, students and engineers, and in the process they make a number of important discoveries. First, this is an authentic problem. It resonates with teachers who tell them that they often have to deal with "why do I have to take this course" questions from students and "is this really necessary" questions from their colleagues. Second, they find out that most students are not particularly enthusiastic about the history and social science they confront in school. Third, and also to their surprise, they learn that engineers are just as much concerned with social, aesthetic and environmental issues as they are with basic physics and mathematics. Their initial exploration of the problem challenges their intellectual schema of social studies and its place in the education of *their* students.

As the process evolves, they might ask, or be coached into asking, what sorts of claims or assumptions are made concerning the place of social studies in the curriculum; whether there is evidence to support the claims; how the school curriculum comes to have the form it does and what sorts of justifications can be offered to support it; what reforms are currently being proposed and whether they would constitute progress. As they work toward resolving the problem in their own minds, they begin to become more concerned about "what to tell the student and her father." What are their legal obligations as teachers? How much discretion do they have, with their principal, in shaping a students program? How can they best communicate with the concerned parent and child? On day one, many students might have conceived the answer to the problem coming in the form of a twenty page term paper. Two weeks later, none make that mistake.

This simple overview of students grappling with a single problem reflects an image consistent with the basic principles of cognition (Glaser, 1991). Students are engaged in the construction of knowledge;

they are coached toward an awareness of what they know and how they know it (metacognition); and students work toward making use of their developing understanding in a particular situation. The problem serves as a stimulus for learning; the tutor is a metacognitive coach requiring students to reflect on both the what and the how of their learning; and the requirement to demonstrate what has been learned in a real (or close to real) context addresses the difficulty that students typically experience in making use of the knowledge acquired in their professional or higher educational experiences (Gijselaers, 1996; Boshuizen, 1995).

As specialists in social studies, we are concerned, of course, that students map out the total terrain of the field; that they develop the full range of knowledge and abilities that one would expect of a good beginning teacher. But can this be done in the context of the six or seven problems that we our able to address during the course? Our experience would certainly support the propositions of the NCSS (1994) concerning "powerful" social studies and Newmann's (1988; 1990) observations on "thoughtful" classrooms. Both support an emphasis on depth rather than broad superficial coverage and certainly some of our previous work (Hughes, 1997) clearly establishes the link between PBL and a thoughtful learning environment in teacher education. As far as PBL is concerned, we suspect that the mechanism that allows depth to also become broad substantive coverage is the concept of the problem as a prototype. It is true that students address only a small number of problems but each one is a representative of a class of events. Problems are designed, therefore, to represent broad areas that beginning social studies teachers might be expected to address in any course dealing with learning and teaching in social studies; for example,

- the teaching and learning of the "ideas" of the social sciences;
- the teaching and learning of the skills of social studies;
- best practice in dealing with controversial issues;
- assessing and selecting instructional material (print and electronic);
- monitoring and assessing student progress.

In each instance, students are dealing with one specific manifestation of the class of events; but it serves as a prototype—something that allows them to build other more advanced and elaborate exemplars based on the knowledge and experience that they have gained. The topics themselves are standard fare. As instructors, what we trade away is control. Once set in motion, it is the students who decide what the relevant questions are, what the appropriate resources might be, how they can learn the material and demonstrate their competence. To be

sure, we serve as resource persons and can advise and guide and while we can accept the process being out of our hands we cannot accept it getting out of hand. The image that guides us, then, is that of the professional teacher, working collaboratively with colleagues, to solve the daily problems of social studies learning and teaching. The are certain watchwords — collaboration, life-long learning, problem-solving. However, knowing what you would like to accomplish and actually doing it are different matters. Some of the challenges that we have had to address are described in the following sections.

Difficulties Encountered in Adapting PBL to Teacher Education

While the theoretical underpinnings of PBL are sound, and the general features of the approach patently clear, we have found ourselves stumbling unwittingly into practices that have undermined our good intentions. In some respects these are difficulties that might be encountered regardless of the professional field involved; in other respects, the difficulties appear to be associated particularly with adapting PBL to the teacher education context. Here we describe three particular difficulties and the steps that we have been taking to overcome them.

Confusion about Goals

In the process of designing the course, we had assumed that the main goal was obvious. The subject matter concerned teaching and learning social studies in a K-12 environment and the goal was to ensure that the students developed a level of expertise appropriate to being a competent beginning teacher. We initially interpreted the overarching goal through a raft of specific objectives concerning such matters as the teaching of concepts and skills, the treatment of values and controversial issues, the assessment of student performance, the selection of learning materials, and so on. To be sure, we had other goals: inspiring commitment to life-long learning and professional development; enhancing the ability to work in teams; improving problem-solving skills; developing the political and diplomatic skills necessary to work in the complex social environment of schooling. We saw these goals as interests that we shared with our colleagues in the Faculty of Education and throughout the University, but our central concern was with the expertise necessary for good teaching and learning in social studies. We saw problem-based learning as the vehicle that would help us get there.

In spite of the fact that our purposes were articulated clearly both orally and in course outlines, we noticed from the very beginning that there were competing inferences made by students. When we conducted perception checks concerning the purposes of the PBL

experience, there were always some students who would say: "the purpose is to help us learn how to use problem-based learning in teaching social studies;" " ...to learn how to work together in teams;" "...to learn how to become better problem-solvers." We were initially taken aback on hearing our students' sense of what we were collectively trying to accomplish. How could they so drastically misconstrue what we were about? Actually, the students were making eminently reasonable inferences based on their experiences. The message of the curriculum-in-use was not consistent with the formally articulated intended curriculum. For example, students asked "If developing our team skills are not as important as the teaching and learning components, why do you give them equal attention in your feedback about our team products?" "Why do the tutors focus on group processing skills but are reluctant to give us direct answers about how to solve the problems?" "Aren't you trying to serve as models for what you want us to do in school?" "You talked about how important it was to solve problems from the first day of class!"

Our students were observing what was actually happening and drawing reasonable conclusions about what we considered important. Since the work was exclusively problem based and since this demanded on-going problem-solving activity, then the purpose must be to enhance problem-solving skills. Since small teams were the learning units, working well in teams had to be a goal. Since we advocated problem-based learning as a good way of learning for them, we must be aiming at having them use it in their own teaching. In effect, the students were quick to see what was happening in terms of the dynamic of the experience. As instructors and tutors we had viewed team work and problem-solving as instrumental tactics in achieving the broader goal of teaching expertise. Typically, however, a large proportion of the students we see do not have well developed skills in either area. Implicitly for some members of our team, and explicitly for others, attention to the development of team-skills and problem-solving skills were substituted for teaching expertise as the central goal in the problem-based learning experience, or were at least given equal status.

This development has been the focus of considerable consternation and debate among the members of the instructional team. To be sure, the effective use of PBL demands both effective team skills and competent problem-solving. The dilemma is whether the PBL experience should assume responsibility for developing these basic competencies. We have argued a number of propositions. If the PBL experience takes on these additional responsibilities then something else must be sacrificed; namely the intended heavy emphasis on teaching and learning. If potential students do not have the skills, and attention is not given to developing them, then PBL cannot be a viable instruc-

tional strategy for this group. If the skills are prerequisite and the strong focus on teaching and learning is not to be weakened, then only those students with demonstrable team and problem-solving skills should be admitted to the experience. The latter position is the one that has been adopted in a number of medical schools where the admissions procedures include an examination of the candidates' team and problem-solving skills. The medical educators simply point out that their work is sufficiently important that they cannot spend their time providing what they view as remedial skill building. Teacher educators are reluctant to adopt a similarly exacting position.

It seems clear that participants in problem-based learning who bring with them basic team and problem-solving skills will derive more from the experience than those who become distracted by their lack of skills or who must devote inordinate amounts of time to developing the skills. The issue is not whether students embarking upon the PBL experience should have the skills; rather it is a matter of when, where and how they will acquire them. Reflection on our experience suggests that while the PBL process can be used to refine and sharpen skills it is not the forum to begin to develop them. We must move toward ensuring that teacher education candidates are clear about the abilities that they must bring with them when embarking upon the path of professional education or inform them of the sorts of actions that they might take in order to develop at least the basic skills required.

Problem Presentation

In our initial course design, several principles guided us in selecting and designing the problems. First, we were concerned that the problems be authentic, that they represent significant problems faced by real teachers. Second we were concerned that each problem address specific issues but also represent a "general problem domain" (Norman & Schmidt, 1992, p. 19). In other words, the learning associated with a particular problem could be easily transferred to other problems of a similar type. Finally, we were concerned that the set of problems provide a reasonably comprehensive coverage of the knowledge base needed by beginning social studies teachers.

Feedback from both tutors (experienced teachers who worked with us in advising and guiding the learning teams) and students indicated that the problems were regarded as authentic and significant for social studies teachers (Hughes et al., 1994). But in spite of a general level of satisfaction with our initial attempts at PBL, we had noticed several disturbing trends related to problem construction and presentation.

In developing the course for that first year we relied heavily on the model of PBL developed by Bridges (1992) for use in a program to train educational administrators at Stanford. Adopting Bridges's model, our problem packages typically ran to five and six pages. We

gave the students not only the problem scenario as shown in Appendix A, but also provided them with objectives (Table 1), guiding questions (Table 2), specific product specifications, and lists of primary and secondary resources.

Table 1
Example of Objectives

[Linked to the problem scenario in Appendix A]
* describe typical reactions of students at all levels to social studies as a school subject; and compare with other school subjects;
* identify and assess the claims made about the contributions of social studies in the school curriculum;
* review the high school graduation requirements in several jurisdictions;
* outline an approach to addressing the parent's concerns.

Table 2
Example of Guiding Questions

[Linked to problem in Appendix A and objectives in Table 1]
* What does research tell us about student attitudes toward school subjects and social studies in particular?
* What specific claims can you identify in the literature concerning the contribution of social studies to the child's total education; how strong is the evidence supporting the claims?
* What are the regulations concerning high school graduation? What discretion do you and the principal have in waiving regulations?
* What concerns do the parent and the student have?
* What would be the best way to address the issue?

We noticed early, however, that when students received the initial package of materials, they typically ignored the problem and skipped ahead to check out the products they were expected to produce and the resources available to guide them in this work. They would then rush to the library. Students later admitted that the products became the focus for their learning rather than the problems. On reflection, it seemed to us that by providing so much direction and information we had turned Problem Based Learning into Product Based Learning and in the process had put at risk many of the benefits we had hoped to gain through PBL. This realization sent us back to the drawing board and the growing research literature.

Much of the literature on PBL emphasises the need for setting "ill structured" problems. That is, problems where concepts need to be clarified, parameters may not be clear, and solutions are not obvious. By providing students with objectives, guiding questions, prod-

uct specifications, and lists of resources we had told them precisely what the problem was and how it ought to be solved. Research in medical education indicates that "the use of tasks with clear procedures and right answers [is] associated with limited exchange of information among students, the generation of simple explanations, and routine learning. More ill structured, complex tasks [provoke] extended elaborations among group members and [are] associated with conceptual learning" (Wilkinson, 1996, p. 26). Clearly, the tasks we assigned fell toward the "clear procedures and right answers" end of the continuum and our observations confirmed the limiting nature of this approach for student learning.

Stepien, Gallagher, and Workman (1993) suggest a simple intellectual scaffold that students can use to begin working through a problem. In this process students consider three questions: What do we know? What do we need to know? and, What are we going to do? The way we had presented the problems eliminated the need to ask any of these questions. First, our problem packages gave such complete guidance that there was no need for students to figure out what the real problem was. For example, a guiding question like, "What does research tell us about student attitudes toward social studies?" immediately tips students off to the fact that the problem is much broader than a single student who wants an exemption from certain social studies requirements. Gijselaers (1996) points out that two key processes of PBL are conceptual clarification and problem definition and analysis, and there is evidence to indicate that working through these processes "stimulates the activation and elaboration of prior knowledge" (Norman & Schmidt, 1992, p. 560). In other words, in clarifying the problem students also begin to answer the first question: What do we know? Our presentation of the problem with learning objectives and guiding questions largely eliminated the need for clarifying the problem and therefore inhibited the activation and sharing of prior knowledge in working toward a solution. Second, by providing lists of resources for each problem we had eliminated the need to ask the second question, "What do we need to know?" The students told us that they quickly determined all they needed to know was included in the list of resources in the problem package. A key goal for PBL is the development of effective self-directed learners (Barrows, 1996) and key components of self-directed learning include being able to decide what knowledge and skills to learn as well as to identify and use appropriate learning materials and resources. Although we had intended the resource lists to be places to start, final products demonstrated that students saw the lists as definitive and rarely ventured beyond them to consider other resources. Finally, by establishing precise objectives and product requirements we had effectively answered the third question, "What do we need to do?"

Blumberg, Michael and Zeitz (1990) argue that when students set their own learning objectives "learning is more likely to be internally motivated and self directed" (p. 150). Their study of seven PBL medical schools that ranged from providing students with complete faculty generated objectives to allowing students to develop their own objectives indicates that "the process of defining and generating student-generated learning issues may be an essential element in the development of self-directed learning skills" (p. 154). Furthermore, they reported on two schools which relied almost completely on student generated objectives but carried out systematic checks to see how these correlated with faculty objectives. In one school "generally 80% to 90% of the faculty objectives were covered in the student learning issues" and the other school stopped checking after several years because there was consistently such a good match between faculty and student objectives (p. 154).

Our reflection on these issues related to problem organization led us to significantly revise how we present problems in the course. Now, instead of receiving packages complete with objectives, guiding questions, product specifications, and resource lists, students are only provided with the problem scenario itself. In the case of the sample problem in Table 1 they receive the letter and are asked to deal with it as a social studies department would. Since making this change we have noticed several things about the students' work.

First, confirming the evidence from medical education, students are able to clearly identify the problem and set appropriate learning objectives and goals. In most cases, student products have reflected both a professional and comprehensive approach to the problem. In dealing with the sample problem in Table 1 students recognize both the specific and general aspects of the case and tailor their responses accordingly. One group, for example, in addition to putting together a response to the concerned parent and child, recognized the general problem of student dissatisfaction with social studies and designed a kit for junior high school guidance counsellors on the importance of social studies in a general education and for those interested in technical careers in particular.

We also noticed that the students not only select appropriate resources for solving the problems but they also greatly expand the range of resources we anticipated. The resources listed in our original problem packages tended to be those typical of university assignments: key articles and books on the topic. While these remain important sources, students also range much further afield to consult, in the case of the sample problem, engineering firms, faculties of engineering, practising teachers, high school students, and parents. Consistent with this wider range of resources, students have approached the solutions to the problems in more diverse ways. This diversity has added to the

richness of the conferences we use to conclude the work on each problem: where groups share their solutions with their peers as well as other professionals.

In addition to this wider range in the type of solutions presented by the students, we have also noted a wider range in terms of the professional quality of the solutions. When all the learning groups used essentially the same resources and were constrained in the types of solutions they could offer, there was very little difference among student products. As more responsibility for interpreting the problems, setting objectives, selecting resources and determining solutions has been handed over to the students, we have observed more variation in the quality of products. The best work now being produced by learning groups often goes well beyond that of earlier classes both in scope and depth of coverage, while, on the other hand, some groups more narrowly construe problems and therefore their solutions are not as comprehensive. We would still describe almost all of the solutions we see as professionally competent given the students' stage of development, but the new approach helps us and the students determine areas where more emphasis needs to be placed.

Personal Experience and Professional Knowledge

We have been struck during the five years that we have worked with PBL by what seems to be a typical approach taken by the learning teams in the first few problems. When presented with a problem, these prospective teachers move extremely quickly, almost intuitively, toward a resolution. For example, when confronted with a problem dealing with difficulties that students seem to be having with learning particular concepts, the prospective teachers are able to generate a number of specific teaching and learning experiences that they surmise will overcome the difficulty. At this point, discussions with tutors inevitably go roughly as follows:

> *Tutor: I see you have identified some approaches to tackling this problem. Why don't you review your thinking for me. Tell me why you feel these are useful approaches.*

> Students: This would really get the students involved. We remember having this problem in school and this really worked for us.

> *Tutor: So, you sense that this is the sort of difficulty that teachers and students often face*

> Students: Yea, for sure.

Tutor: Have you considered looking into how other educators think about this sort of situation and what they might do about it?

Students: No, but that's a good idea. We should go and talk to some teachers about what they do.

Tutor: Good idea! Is there anything else you might want to do?

Students: Silence (blank looks).

Tutor: What do professionals generally do when they make some progress dealing with a particular problem? What do historians or scientists do? What do physicians or engineers do?

Students:They write it up! They publish it! (Smiles)

Tutor: I wonder do we follow that sort of process in education?

Students: Is there stuff in the library? We need to check out the research!

What always strikes us about this conversation (and we have had it in various forms in the early stages of every PBL experience) is that students who are often steeped in the research of their academic disciplines seem to approach the professional practice of teaching unaware that there is a professional body of knowledge upon which they can draw. What they substitute is a wealth of directly related personal experience from which they are willing to abstract general principles of teaching and learning. As instructors, we find that the situation presents us with a pedagogical dilemma. First, each prospective teacher's personal experience provides a potentially rich source of insight into the instructional problems that they will confront in the classroom; it should not be devalued. But their past experiences are unique and may not accurately replicate the experiences of the students in their classrooms. How can we place value on their personal experiences and yet encourage them to reconcile those experiences with current views concerning good practice?

The fact that our prospective teachers ask us "is there stuff about this in the library" suggests perhaps not a devaluing of the professional knowledge base in teaching but simply an ignorance of its existence. It strikes us that an engineering student confronted with the task of building a bridge will have little by way of personal experience to draw on and so will seek help from the literature and from practising engineers. It is not that they do not make use of trial and

error as a strategy; but rather that the trials are 'informed.' Beginning teachers when confronted with a problem have an intuitive sense of how to proceed based on 15 or 16 years of direct experience with formal education and so do not tend to gravitate toward authority in whatever form. What is intriguing is that these intuitions reflect, often but not always, the key principles of good practice in the class of events under consideration. Nevertheless, while we have abandoned circumscribing the problem by providing a bibliography, we are still inclined to push our students toward situating their emerging ideas in the relevant body of research. We still hope to move our profession toward a more evidence-based practice. Consequently, we remain connected to the goals of social studies education first established at the beginning of the 20th century—personal experience augmented through systematic inquiry.

Conclusion

In many ways, introducing PBL into the social studies concentration in our program has been seamless; it has been one more step in the evolution of our own teaching rather than a radical departure from our usual practice. We have always presented our students with problems and expected them to bring evidence to bear. Our students have often worked in groups — small, fluid ones during class time and more structured ones for major assignments. The difference, of course, is that we (the instructors) have always maintained control, perhaps not to the extent where the inquiries had pre-determined answers, but then again we were rarely surprised. Even in our initial PBL iterations we maintained control by circumscribing the problem, setting out the fundamental evidence to be considered and specifying how mastery of the material had to be demonstrated. But there is no simple instruction booklet to guide the day to day work of teaching and we found ourselves teaching a false lesson. As our students have assumed more and more responsibility for shaping and directing their own learning, we see them able to chart their own courses through the conceptual and empirical swamps that constitute the world of teaching. As for us and the other experienced teachers who work with us, we maintain a watching brief. Students can stumble and are expected to pick themselves up. They can get lost and must struggle to find their own ways out of the swamp. If hurt they can find a gently supporting hand; if moving toward danger, the hand might even be firm and directing; occasionally the hand can provide a hard push. Throughout the process, however, we exercise a considerable professional authority in the selection of problem scenarios, in the provision of on-going feedback, in ultimately judging whether the endeavours of students are professionally adequate.

While our transition to PBL in social studies has been ostensibly seamless, it has also been separate. In many PBL programs, whether in the health sciences, engineering, architecture, business or economics, the total curriculum assumes a problem based learning format. Others, including ours, take a hybrid form; that is, a PBL component functions alongside other regularly scheduled and perhaps traditionally taught classes. One consequence is that students find themselves conflicted, intellectually and practically, in the hybrid format. Working concurrently in both PBL and some very traditional environments, they report themselves wondering whether PBL and its concomitant features, problem-solving as well as team and self-directed learning, are simply part of a large repertoire that includes lectures and multiple-choice tests; all important but none more important than any other. At the same time, they are often overwhelmed by the practical problems associated with the hybrid arrangement. With so much dependence in the PBL component on team work, authentic involvement with teachers and students in school settings, as well as the collaborative design and assessment of responses to the problems, how can they overcome the difficulties associated with coordinating a team whose members have different class schedules, might involve commuting students not available after regular class hours , students with employment commitments, and part-time students. The practical problems in the hybrid program exacerbate the high levels of stress that emanate from performance expectations in PBL that push students beyond the need to satisfy the demands of paper and pencil testing?

One possible solution that still falls short of the total immersion PBL program is commitment to a Problem Based Learning semester. We imagine a semester in which the learning that now is pursued in the context of the separate disciplines would take place in the context of problems. Psychology and counselling, history and philosophy, testing and measurement, law and school administration, subject matters that sometimes seem so remote to the interests of beginning teachers would be situated in students' central concerns of teaching and learning. And in every instance, learning would commence with a problem; and the problem would be one that the students would be likely to face as professional teachers.

Appendix A
Example of Early Problem

Introduction: You are a social studies teacher at Lakeview High School. Mr. Williams, your principal has asked the social studies department to advise him on how to handle the following letter from a parent.

Letter:
Dear Mr Williams:

As I explained to you on the phone, I have some concerns that my daugh-
ter Rebekah is being required to take two compulsory social studies cred-
its as part of her high school program. She received good grades in social
studies throughout junior high school but she did not enjoy the subject at
all and often expressed the view that it was a waste of time. Furthermore,
her intention is to enter an engineering program after high school and hav-
ing two compulsory courses in social studies limits her opportunity to take
additional courses in advanced math and science, which she feels would
be more useful given her career choice.

Frankly, Mr. Williams, I support my daughter in her desire to substitute
math and science courses for social studies. We would like to discuss your
insistence on pursuing a program that we feel is not in her best interests.

Sincerely,
Alan M. Stevenson

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Viewpoint

History on Trial in the Heart of Darkness

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> *The thing was to know what he belonged to and, how many*
> *powers of darkness claimed him for their own. That was the*
> *reflection that made you creepy all over.*
> (Conrad, 1963, p. 121)

Gary Nash set himself apart as an other early on. He wore cowboy boots, a big pearl-studded belt buckle, and twirled a cowboy hat at academic conferences. He focused his work as a historian on the lives of people who had been written out of history: black people, mestizo people, poor and working people. He crossed an academic Rubicon and wrote books for kids. He was path-breaker, courageous, ready to move into a territory unknown in the tight circles of North American academic history. Perhaps what is more important, he made it possible for a rising group of researchers, narrators, even popularizers, to press the standpoints of the silenced into respectable history texts. Then he became a key figure in writing the U.S. and World History Standards (Nash, 1997, 1993, 1991, 1986).

Nash explored new territory with only benevolence for a compass, and as Conrad's Marlowe demonstrates, benevolence neither creates a worthy ally, nor is a good direction-finder. While Nash helped shift the historical paradigm, his notion that the sheer daring of including many standpoints, but not all, is equivalent to intellectual justice, got him quite thoroughly enmeshed in battles he never fully understood. And he began to live well by doing good. He established, at U.C.L.A., a "Center" for studying history. He wrote textbooks, one to meet California's history standards (Nash, 1993). He wrote, along with Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross Dunn, and a host of well-meaning others, the National History Standards, the mother of textbooks. He believes he got savaged for it, in a war on rationality. But Nash's ideas of war, savagery, and rationalism, are extraordinarily limited, naive. The standards live on, revised, diluted, but influential far beyond the bounds of the history profession. The history standards were a formative guide in the writing of standards in other fields, even the social studies.

Nash takes a swipe at those whom he sees as the enemy, the powerful others who got his History Standards voted down 99-1 in the U.S. Senate, in History on Trial. The historian here becomes advocate and journalist, not as introspective as one might desire, not as revealing as one might expect. Pointedly, History on Trial is not so much about a trial; Nash thinks it is a war. He uses the language of great battles, "blitzkrieg" (to describe the horrors that descended on him), "under fire," "showdown," "run for cover," and "D-Day" to depict what was really a tempest in a teapot compared to the real wars, Bosnia or Rwanda for example, that were actually killing people at the time. This is not to say the cultural wars do not influence the possibilities and conduct of war. It is to say that what Nash presents is more language than life. Even so, these history standards are important ground. Those who can muster the power to shape what people know and how they should know it, test it, on a mass scale, are inherently partisans, fair game. When partisans, even academics, use the rhetoric of carnage, they create serious tensions. To appropriate Nash's language, my project is to reconnoiter, to address the terrain, to ask these questions: Why do this? Who did it? Who did not do it? What was done? How was it undone? Who undid it? Should we do this at all? What to do next? Those who prefer Sinatra's do-be-do-be-do, should cut loose now.

Why?

I don't deny there is a remarkable quantity of ivory. We must save it at all events—but look how precarious the position is— and why? Because the method is unsound. "Do you," said I looking at the shore, call it "unsound method?" "Without doubt," he exclaimed hotly. "Don't you?"....'No method at all', I murmured after awhile." (Conrad, p. 138)

"Gary, why a textbook for national history standards?" I asked Nash in December 1997. Here is his public response: "I wrote the standards because the train was leaving the station and I wanted to be on board. They [the far right] were going to do this. They're voluntary standards."

"How voluntary?" I asked.

Nash: "Why have standards if you have no way to evaluate them? You need a test."

In History on Trial, Nash elaborates his response. He says students are doing poorly in history (p. ix). Teachers may be too incompetent to know what history is or how to teach it (p. 176). The standards are designed to demonstrate a common legacy and to develop responsible citizens and voters (p. 91). Nash wanted to enact his brand

of history, one which elevates the relativity of standpoints over the bleak collection of falsely objective facts. He wanted, above all, to promote his form of nationalism, the idea that we are all in the same boat—despite remarkable differences of culture. Clearly, an element of his nationalism is designed to bolster national economic development. "...established democracies that lacked highly skilled and literate populations might do poorly indeed in the dog-eat-dog arena of international trade." (p. 129)

The *National History Standards* open with the comment that "knowledge of history is a pre-condition of political intelligence" (p. 1). More is promised: "...fulfillment for all citizens of the nations democratic ideals." Nash believes smarts have a great deal to do with economic and political power—for everyone—and he wants to believe that having good ideas, like his history standards, can create equality and democracy. For him, national standards in education would offset the rise of competing economies, those producing incoming Toyotas for example (p. 151, 164). With this nationalism driving his practice, Nash aligns himself with a range of elites, from the backers of the Carnegie Foundation to the top leadership of the National Education Association, the national Chamber of Commerce, the National Alliance of Business, and the American Federation of Teachers. They share a common goal, patriotism, differing over tactical direction from time to time, as did the standards authors. Their debates are sometimes bitter, as *History on Trial* testifies, but the emphasis on the struggle over how to better manufacture nationalism gets in the way of a careful historical examination of the material interests that the shrill talk mystifies, an in-depth look at the real stakes the personifications of the sides of the debate hold. The internal dispute about the structure and substance of history obscures the stake the authors hold in trying to create a certain kind of student.

And this has been one of the darkest places on earth.
(Conrad, p. 67)

Nash thinks his form of patriotism, and his form of history, is richer, more informed, more effective, inclusive, and a better motivator, than that of those who follow Dickens' character, Gradgrind, in *Hard Times*, who insists, "...facts alone are wanted in life" (Nash, 1998, p. 10). Nash wants a patriotism more carefully and gently constructed, interpretive facts woven to demonstrate the commonality and importance of all potential contributors. "History without analysis, without interpretation, is barren chronicle" (p. 9). His standards, "Evaluate the continuing struggle for *e pluribus unum* amid debates over national and group identity, group rights vs. individual rights, multiculturalism, and bilingual education" (p. 253).

So Nash is the patriot of the center. Patriots of the right, in contrast, seek to beget national identity by fabricating standards which canonize the constricted values, disguised as facts, of mostly old white folks—obliterating the patriotic potential of those whose history Nash and his coauthors have specialized in. If there is a left in *History on Trial*, it is well underground. Indeed, the standards Nash wrote are so centrist, in his view, that they stand above and beyond the political/ economic fray. Those who launch salvoes on the standards are the ones who politicize them.

Who Did This?

"I always ask leave, in the interests of science, to measure the
crania of those going out there." (Conrad, p. 75)

Nash understands that textbooks are typically designed to meet the politics, fears, and desires of the lowest common denominator of the citizenry (p. 70). He never quite girds himself up to suggest they are written for one reason, profits. But he suggests that his history standards are the default drive of historical understanding, neutral, reasonable, and only politicized when under attack. One way of accomplishing this impartiality is to show that the process of writing the standards was fair, inclusive, reasonable.

Nash says that all the, "major stakeholders," had a hand (p. x, 163). The cast of players is impressive. The leadership of what the right calls the Educational Elite was all there. The NEA (both), the AFT, the American Historical Association, the National Council for History Education, the Organization of American Historians, the Organization of History Teachers, the Council of Chief State School Officials, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the National Forum for History Standards, and National Council for the Social Studies.

But what was really afoot? As is so often the case, a private body, consisting of many people, most of them vetted as at least middle class by years of passing through the academic selection process, sought to assemble a form of official knowledge, which Nash acknowledges had to be measured by standardized exams. They wanted their document to be the curricular guide for public schools, and Nash represents the process of development as democratic. It wasn't.

Nash approvingly sites the prominent Cambridge historian, E. H. Carr in *History on Trial* (p. 10). But Carr was a Marxist. He never would have made the cut. Neither would the socialist Albert Einstein, left off the Manhattan Project because of his leftist sympathies and who we shall soon see is wrongly described as formative in originating the kind of history Nash prefers. The left was systematically excluded from

the project (p. 159). Feminist historians I interviewed in October 1998 claimed they were moved away from the table. Despite Nash's claims to the contrary, the right was there, well represented by its own ideologues like Albert Shanker and Ruth Wattenberg of the AFT, whose intellect and social practice helped organize the decay of urban education. Chester Finn was there, making his customary racist and demagogic appeal for national testing, and severe penalties like withholding work permits for bad scores. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese made her nativist points ("That slavery is evil is a Western idea," p. 212).

Indeed, in more subtle ways, the educational elite sought to hide from public view. For example, Mary Hatwood-Futrell is the three-time president of the two million member National Education Association and now the president of the merged international organization of the NEA and AFT. Nash records her credentials as a representative of the "Quality Education for Minorities Network" (p. 163). Perhaps more elusive still, the leadership of the National Council for the Social Studies was there, ostensibly full of propriety, but really a group whose faculty organization suffered the resignation of its key black leadership in 1997 because of their perception of the institutional racism of the body. More: the key leadership group of twenty-eight people, the National Council, was selected by Nash, Crabtree, and active rightists Lynn Cheney and Dianne Ravitch. The funders, according to Nash, approved of the decision to exclude, "fervent ideologues." Eight of the leaders are presidents of private membership organizations. Two of them identify themselves as active K-12 educators, the only ones remotely likely to suffer the democratic lifestyle of earning less than $50,000 a year (p. 159).

This process of selection seems as natural and democratic to the authors as the rising of the sun. Nash is this naive: "The federal government had taken no part in developing the history standards, except for the funding" (p. 261). The indictment here is that this is not a non-partisan democratic public body. In my eyes, it is a private right-center coalition pretending its objectivity about history and pedagogy—seeking to impose its limited understanding of what has been and how it can be understood on people who have interests in war-like competition with the elites this coalition personifies.

What is History?

"The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion..is not a pretty thing when you look at it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretense but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer sacrifice to..."
(Conrad, p. 70)

E.H. Carr wrote the classic, *What is History*, in 1961. Long before Nash, Carr specifically attacked Grindgrind's history-is-just-the-facts-repeated approach. Carr counsels that history is a continuing process of unveiling, interpretation, moving from appearances to the essence of things, testing and studying causes (a search imbued with political and economic values), a social process enabling people to comprehend the past and transform the future. Carr insists that every historian has a standpoint, itself needy of deep investigation. Beyond why, the historian asks, "whither?" (Carr, p 143). Let me add to Carr: embedded in every bit of history is an analytical scheme for action.

Did our squad of the earnest twenty-eight improve on Carr's little book? Let's see. After all, Nash defends the World History Standards, a companion project he operated as well, which took on the heady task of aiming to highlight the events and topics of greatest moment to all of humankind. Not only will we be offered what to know, but the analytical framework to know it (p. 210, 177).

"There is a taint of death, a flavor of mortality, in lies..."
(Conrad, p. 94)

Nash comes at this in two ways. He historicizes the history standards. He defines historicizes and defines good history.

Nash's review of how the standards came to be is an unfortunately barren journalistic chronology of what appeared to be going on, the movement from the 1983 *Nation at Risk* report to *America 2000* under Bush and the passage of *Goals 2000* in 1993. For Nash, this progression toward more and more regulation of curriculum and instruction is propelled, mostly, by well-meaning people who simply want to improve education and support national economic development. Missing here is something absent in all of Nash's work, a good understanding of schools and social change. He demonstrates that a "sheepskin curtain" fell between the K-12 world and the professorate over the last thirty years, but he cannot seem to see that it clouded his vision as well (p. 92).

On the one hand, Nash fails to recognize that this period, following the Vietnamese victory (in part caused by U.S. soldiers so insufficiently nationalist that they shot their officers), U.S. campus uprisings, ghetto rebellions, and the shift in the U.S. from the world's greatest creditor nation to a debtor nation, saw the rapid expansion of economic inequality in the U.S. and throughout the world. The demands for standardization came from companies and foundations that looked at this reality, cringed, and sought to establish hegemony on more reliable grounds (McCollum-Clark, 1995; Shannon, 1998). Nash misses a growing body of education literature that attacks the standardization of curricula as the regulation of knowledge, drawing on

social history methods to investigate the underlying economic and political interests of those very real elites who profit from governing ideology. For example, the Scandia Report insists there is no real crisis in the U.S. education system, that it is doing a reasonably good job for some sectors of population. The report suggests that it is disingenuous to shift the blame for a lack of competitiveness in world production and trade onto education's back (Schneider, 1992; Berliner, 1996). Others doubt that the future will go to the educated. Indeed, given the downward trends in income distribution, some see the future composed of desperate competition between well educated people—for monotonous jobs (Noble, 1994; Shannon, 1998).

On the other hand, Nash does not note that elites in inequitable nations are rarely interested in creating critical citizens, and he is apparently unaware of the body of research that says that standardization will only exacerbate inequality (Anyon, 1998; Apple, 1993). Nash does not understand that the combination of rising inequality and a future barren of occupational reward and meaning might cause elites to re-establish new grounds for nationalism. His apparent naivete reaches to his repeated claim that his national standards may require tests, but no one would ever have to take them. Still, Nash does understand this: answers about whose history should this be must first be couched in terms of us versus them: "...rich countries were only going to stay rich if the working population became increasingly... skillful" (p. 106).

If his historical work in *History on Trial* is thin journalism, Nash's understanding of what history is, or should be, is not. He represents a significant, dominant, academically popular understanding of how things came to be. History is, "...the study of change in human society and how developments in the various spheres of human experience—not only political and intellectual but also social, economic, scientific, environmental, and so on—combine to make the world what it is today" (p. 165). While Nash's practice would indicate that some things are patently true, for example that Marxists, or "rogue scholars," should not participate directly in the standards creation, he argues that history is only relative (pp. 12, 13). For him, there is no preferred linchpin, no wedge, that offers an entre to historical understanding—except perhaps, beneficence.

Nash historicizes the position that all history is tentative, relative, attached to the subjective-but-honest historian. For Nash, there is no systematic centripetal or organizing principle that can be used as a sextant to make sense of the past—a relativist idea Nash says came to birth with Einstein's theory of relativity in the 1920's. In the theory, Nash reads only half of Einstein, who wrote that despite relative standpoints, some things are absolutely true (in science the speed of light—or in society the anarchy of capitalism). The essence of

bourgeois science is (virtually) immutable particles running around in an empty void. The right wing of social history takes a similar stance, isolated people, or distinct groups, toddling along in a social void, with nothing discernible, or even coherent unintended consequences, guiding the way. This is the kind of history Nash theoretically likes. But, in historical practice, Nash misses the origins of social history, in Hegel and Marx. Indeed, in *History on Trial*, as in most of U.S. education, the ABCs mean Anything But Class.

This absence of theoretical substance (though I reiterate that Nashís relativism disintegrates in his practice, just as one who really believes that all scientific understanding is relative would have trouble taking a step) leaves the standard's author with only form as a tool for understanding. Nash sets up five standards for thinking historically: chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research capabilities, and historical issues analysis and decision making (p. 177). He does suggest we need to know why events occur, but makes no distinction, say, between the geneticist arguments of E.O. Wilson and Carr's Marxism. How are we to know why something happened if we have no hypothetical interpretation of what causes things to change?

What Was Done?

> *Once I remember we came upon a man-of-war anchored off the coast...she was shelling the bush. There she was, incomprehensible, firing into a continent.* (Conrad, p. 78)

Of course, the standards are portrayed as the embodiment of the cutting edge of relativist understanding. Let us look at but one section to understand what was done.

The U.S. invasion of Vietnam gets two pages of the standards, not as an invasion, but "involvement." As is the pattern throughout, the section leads with a grade by grade header: "Students should be able to:" (NCHS, 1997, p. 218). Students are urged to view the documents, the Paris Peace Accords for example, to review the roles of class and race on the military, to look at the constitutional issues of the war. Nowhere is the student asked to take the view of General Giap, or Ho Chi Minh, or an NLF sapper at Dien Bien Phu. Nowhere is the historical role of the NLF as an ally during WWII, urged for examination. This is the imperial gaze under construction. For example, the question, "Why was the Tet offensive a military victory but a political disaster for the United States?", sets up the false dichotomy of politics and military affairs that in part created the U.S. flight from Vietnam in 1975. Giap knew these factors to be one. U.S. General Westmoreland did not. Westmoreland and his troops finally ran away, abandoning

their allies. Typical of U.S. mainstream analysis, the student is inveigled to see the anti-war movement as self-propelled, rising out of liberal feelings of guilt, never driven, fundamentally, by the remarkable tactical capabilities, courage, and strategic foresight of the revolutionary NLF leadership. The student is never offered the chance to question whether she may have more in common with an NLF sapper than with Westmoreland.

Who Undid the Standards?

"...in the great demoralization of the land he kept up his appearance. That's backbone. His starched collars and got-up shirt-fronts were achievements of character."
(Conrad, p. 83)

The right went nuts. Nash, in his words, "...trained to look backward," was ambushed by those with the sense to know that looking back involves peering forward (p. 193). Lynne Cheney, who initially commissioned the standards as the chief of the National Endowment for Humanities (Nash calls her "chairman"), bushwhacked Nash and his collaborators. She made a series of TV appearances, using a sound-bite guerilla attack that toppled the academic Nash. She aimed at the student achievement and teacher activities sections and claimed the standards ignored the Constitution. Nash, unable to grasp the TV terrain, tried to offer long, thoughtful responses, left on cutting room floors. She said the standards forget about Congress and focus on the National Organization for Women. Nash wanted to discuss Congress. Al Shanker, arch-nationalist of the right, adopted the criticism that the standards focused too little on the West, and that white folks got short shrift.

Rush Limbaugh had great fun with Nash, urging his listeners to flush the standards down the "sewer of multiculturalism" (p. 5). Oliver North and G. Gordon Liddy called them "standards from hell." *The Wall Street Journal* called Nash a "history thief." Popular author Joy Hakim hit below the belt, calling the standards, "boring," as if they could be as "sprightly and lavishly illustrated as her textbooks," huffs Nash (p. 230).

Nash feels set up as the chief author of the standards, which he contends were written by the masses. Once set up, he was pummeled down. Clinton, the president Nash so trusted, the once-governor of Arkansas who fervently supported the concept of standards (though that support was somewhat undermined by his state's school system), panicked and left Nash alone on the battlefield, wounded. Nash produces his press clips to demonstrate that he is just as much of a patriot

as the next guy—to no avail. The senate shot him down 99-1 (the one wishing to attack the standards more forcefully.) He went back to the drawing board, deleted some of the objectionable stuff (like the teacher activities section) and, with help from the Rockefeller Foundation, printed the new revised standards. By then, Limbaugh's attention span was exhausted. The new new standards drew a yawn (but Cheney still hates them). Better still, Diane Ravitch, who had torpedoed the first set of standards, said, in the *Wall Street Journal*, she liked the new ones, heading rightist criticism off at the pass. "The guns of the history war fell nearly silent" (p. 258). Nash is tickled that Cheney's book about the showdown was "a non-starter" (p. 257). And Harvey Kaye, perhaps the most left of those who participated in the standards process, was critical of the absence of the study of socialism, but on the whole thought the standards were okay (Kaye, 1995).

Thus, in analytical-chronological fashion, the standards were written by a select collective who sought to make them neutral, by actively culling against their vision of neutrality. Thus established, the standards were politicized, bombed. The first set of neutral standards were subsumed by a new set of more neutral standards.

What About Us?

"The last word he pronounced was—your name"
(Conrad, p. 157)

National Council for the Social Studies gets mixed review from Nash. After years of divisiveness, history versus the social studies, Nash feared NCSS would have nothing to do with writing history standards. Of course, they finally did. But Nash says that NCSS leaders lobbied hard to include the social studies in those fields requiring national standards, and, moreover, tried to replace the history and geography standards with their own (p. 157). He laments for the halcyon days when history, not social studies, was the focus of the K-12 curriculum, and worries that "history haters" may have taken over the schools. Even so, Nash is open to the possibility that the social studies made important contributions—in opening a more panoramic view of the past, and thus helping to expose how little students in the early 80s, when calls for standards became loud, knew about it. Social studies educators, at least in this area, will gain from seeing the take on them from the official historian's viewpoint.

Should We Do This?

"It is impossible to convey the life-sensation of a given epoch of one's existence—that which makes its truth, its meaning—its

subtle and penetrating essence. It is impossible. We live as we
dream, alone...What I really wanted was rivets, by heaven!
Rivets!" (Conrad, p. 95)

Following Nash's language, a standard is a rallying flag on a battlefield. But what educational standardization amounts to is the regulation of knowledge, especially in a society of accelerating inequality and authoritarianism. The regulations typically operate as dream censors, constructing narrow cognitive horizons, fracturing crucial affective ties between school workers and students, and, as consciousness depressants, deny people both the content knowledge and investigative methods requisite to discovering their own interests.

School is the place where elites strive for a skillful, if uncritical workforce. It's where the ideology that sent thousands of young men to Vietnam, witless nationalism, racism, obedience, is fabricated. Our schools now divide children by class and race, and often sex, geographically, in tracked classrooms, in the curricula, and in varying forms of directiveness in pedagogy. School is huge marketplace for everything from textbooks to architects and bus companies. But it is also where hope, real or false, is fashioned. Now the last remaining real community center in de-industrialized North America, schools are a battleground for education for democracy, which Dewey suggests is, in part, "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further consequences to which it leads" (Dewey, 1995, p. 6). The opposition seeks an education that manufactures acquiescence.

Schools are also the canaries in the mine of society, measuring available freedom. There is a remarkable convergence of the orthodox left, represented from Paulo Freire to Stalin, the center, as portrayed by Nash, and the many pockets of the right, from Limbaugh to Ravitch to Shanker's inheritors in the AFT: all agree on the need for standards, what truth shall be known and how it shall be tested in school. The boundary they all agree upon is philosophical and practical. On one hand truth is located somewhere other than in the exploratory work of educators and students. On the other hand, revolutionary questions about the permanence of elites, questions about the meaning of democracy and equality, about the material interests behind ideas, are silenced. Standards like Nash's prescribe a constricted universe, create a false and stunted horizon. Standards reify the movement from appearance to essence which girds historical understanding. This deepening probe into reality becomes a one-sided study of form: how might we set up a convenient fiction to establish key eras in history, for example. Absent a unifying theory, absent the interplay of form and substance, like what it the relationship of the means of production in a given era to its ideology, there is no way to test for causation: how

come there is a relationship between the rising cries for standards and increasing inequality? These standards recognize neither that change continues, that we may not have reached the highest stage of human development, nor why it is that change occurs: one chunk of causation is as good as the next. In sum, standards are myopia encoded as educational vision.

Standards underline the body-mind dichotomy that prevails in so many fields predominately composed of women workers. The body is stripped from the mind. The standard, alien and distant from student-educator interaction, becomes the mind in the classroom, the body is the classroom teacher serving as a salesperson of the dominion. It matters little how non-directive the initial standards might be. As soon as a test is attached to them, and every standard is finally merely a scaffold for a test, they become extraordinarily directive—and divisive. The test of reality is set up away from the students and educators, in the mind of the test-makers.

Standards are, moreover, veiled literacy tests. Those students whose class background matches the authors, and examiners, will have a powerful advantage over those whose background make it necessary to translate and retranslate material. As such, the standards not only reflect the reality of intensified inequality, they recreate it. Students and educators will be pushed further apart still, as more and more teacher time is stolen by exam preparation. In Michigan, for example, my surveys indicate that in 1997, nearly thirty percent of teacher-student contact time was being used for test preparation (Gibson, 1997).

Finally, standards developed as these were, have the force of political and economic power behind them. The standards do not stand apart from the milieu in which they are born. Once set loose, the standards become profitable to a variety of types, like real estate agents churning property values, none of them primarily interested in the critical abilities of kids. Teachers become Sorcerer's Apprentices, chasing a moving norm on test scores, ever scrambling to prove their kids are better than the others.

Exterminate all the brutes. (Conrad, p. 123)

The burning fuse in education is not that students are ill-prepared and the teachers unfit to teach. This crisis ahead is that, very soon, about 95% of the teaching force will be white and middle class, while a majority of the students will be kids of color and poor. Rising inequality, coupled with authoritarianism, demonstrate that Nash's, "we are all in the same boat," patriotism, simply is not a rational alternative. The correct answer to Rodney King's question, "Can't we all get along?", is: "No." Some people are living well, because others are

living in misery. At issue to educators, whose jobs are more working class than professional as more and more standardization invades the field, is the age-old union saw: Which side are you on? Will you take the side of poor and working class kids and parents, who have the greatest stake in democratic education, or the side of elites, who camouflage even their positions of privilege?

Should educators, at best, adopt Nash's missionary credo of benevolence, rather than solidarity, they will find themselves rightly seen as missionaries of an evil god, invaders, on hostile turf. The history of standardization is a good textbook in the sense it demonstrates the progression of an injury to one only preceding an injury to all: standards which de-skill teachers buttress exams which underpin teacher and school evaluations which underpin reward and punish funding systems, from wages to transportation. Jean Anyon has made it clear that school reform that does not include economic reform is "like cleaning the air on one side of a screen door," and is likely to simply deepen economic and social divisions (Anyon, 1998, p. 164).

When I address educators, students and parents, criticizing the regulation of knowledge through standards, I am usually accused of wanting to substitute my own regulations. I do think there are key issues in any society which give a focus to all the others. For elites, in an increasingly unjust and inequitable world, it is important to pacify a population through ideology, along with the usual divide and conquer tactics—and sheer force. Imperial schools would want to hide benchmark questions for understanding, to make people so short-sighted that they could not distinguish a centripetal matter from a peripheral annoyance. Then, it would be vital to demonstrate to people that they cannot comprehend or transform the world, just the message of the form and content of nearly every educational standard I have seen.

The centripetal issues schools commonly obscure are: (1) how value is created, the role of production; (2) how coherent methods of inquiry into understanding change are developed and tested; (3) the role of passion and responsible sexuality—and the relationship of fearing pleasure to obsequiousness; and (4) how it is that people are estranged from their productive lives, active intellectual growth, and creative sensuality. I think educators need to deal with these issues. Every social studies teacher should be prepared to answer the question, "What is the motive force(s) of history?"

But I have opposed the standardization of education everywhere I have gone. Of course, I raise the issues above and stick them in my writing. But I opposed the writing of standards in the Grenadian revolutionary period and in the U.S. I am against standards, against textbooks, everywhere, always. Good teaching comes from a meeting of very specific ingredients which is ruptured by standardization: the particular passions and expertise of a teacher, the unique individual

student, a community with singular resources, all wrapped in an atmosphere of critical love, a classroom where the risk of critique is privileged—and the educator's paradigm made clear and open to question. Standards, alien to all of this, promote an employee consciousness, which I have no interest in supporting.

What is To Be Done?

"No fool ever made a bargain for his soul with the devil; the fool is too much the fool, the devil too much the devil—I don't know which. Or, you may be such a thunderingly exalted creature as to be altogether deaf and blind to anything but heavenly sights and sounds. Then the earth for you is only a standing place..."
(Conrad, p. 122)

Hilda Taba and Laura Zirbes, years ago in the pages of the *First Yearbook of the John Dewey Society*, said, "Textbooks are the utter enemy of intelligent teaching" (Kilpatrick, p. 105). To establish a social studies curriculum, they suggest we step outside and look at society, a whole text not easily broken into constituent, alien, parts like economics and history and civics. Good teachers will find ways to subvert any textbook they are handed. However, deepening regulation, this veritable time and motion approach to standards, will be tougher to resist. The kids are going to have to take those exams. Whitehead's wisdom, "The best education is to be gained from pulling the utmost information from the simplest apparatus..," is demolished by the urgent sweep of information that standardization typically foists on the curriculum (Whitehead, 1985, p. 22) . A critical read of Carr and Whitehead is a far better guide to democratic pedagogy than the National Standards for History—shorter too.

Standardization is upon us, that is, unless we do something. There is historical precedent. Near the turn of the century, Margaret Haley, an early feminist and founder of U.S. teacher unionism, united kids, parents, and educators around the issues of class size, academic freedom for curricula design, and fair taxes to fund the schools. She often won. On her deathbed, she called for a more class-conscious, critically aware, movement of school workers (Zitron, 1968, p. 97).

British teachers faced similar standards in this decade. They went on strike. In Michigan, in 1997, the students in entire school districts refused to take the state's standardized exams. Students near San Francisco, in October 1998, went on strike against their schools which they identified as both their present and their future: prisons. Canadian teachers led one of the largest strikes in the history of North America in 1997, uniting kids, parents, and educators. Teachers create, collectively, enormous value: hope. To gain control of the creation, educa-

tors need to act collectively, in conjunction with reliable allies. This is where choosing sides becomes significant.

"The horror! The horror!" (Conrad, p. 147)

Nash has become what he set out to oppose. His many contributions to the development of a more inclusive history can never be written away. The history standards he guided are not the usual unctuous, toadying, fashionable, color-splashed documents that make high-profit textbooks. But his outlook, a relativist paradigm driven, not by the solidarity that a class analysis can offer, but by benevolence, the motive of the missionaries, turned him into his own opposite. *History on Trial* offers up a decent explanation of how that came to be.

Notes

¹   I distinguish textbooks, like Nash's *The American People*, or the original *National History Standards*, from texts, like Dubois' *Black Reconstruction in America*. A textbook is a directive instructional manual, designed to fix the curriculum and methods of teaching—usually including questions to be asked, formats for essays, related resources to be utilized, tests, etc.

²   These organizations and the Business Roundtable, the U.S. Department of Education, and the National Governors Association, a remarkable convergence of business labor and government all offering corporate state solutions to the foreshadowing of international economic crises, co-sponsored a full page ad in *The New York Times*, October 2, 1998. The ad supports grade retention, tough testing, intensified grading practices (p. A24).

³   For Einstein's take on socialism, see *Monthly Review*, May, 1998, p. 1-7. Writing in 1948, he describes, in clear and sharp terms, the inhumane, anarchic, debilitating nature of capitalist development, and suggests that socialism is the only way out.

⁴   Nash jumped into this stream in 1988, setting up the National Center for History Standards, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, at U.C.L.A. In the early 1990s Nash wrote a textbook purchased by Houghton Mifflin addressing the California History Standards. The book was attacked as racist. It was revised. California adopted the textbook in 690 districts (Nash, 1998, p. 115-117).

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The Long Revolution of School Reform

Tyack, David and Larry Cuban (1995). *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 184 pages, $22.50 (hardcover), ISBN 0-674-89282-8.

Reviewed by: KENNETH TEITELBAUM, State University of New York at Binghamton, 13905.

Two decades ago, when I was a high school social studies teacher in upstate New York, an article was published in a local alternative (radical) newspaper which argued that the only thing to do with public schools was raze them to the ground and use them for landfill. Authors of other articles suggested that students were being "processed like pringles" and that they should "quit school as soon as you can." Parents were advised: "Don't Just Abandon Ship: Sink It." For these critics, who implicitly embraced elements of what became known as correspondence theory in academic circles (e.g., Bowles and Gintis, 1976), meaningful school reform within current political and social arrangements was an oxymoron, an impossibility, a delusion, a fairy tale. (It is at least sobering to recognize that it is now the Right that is excoriating public education and progressive groups that find themselves having to defend the institution.) I responded with an article of my own, entitled "Work With What You've Got." I argued that while many of the prevailing radical criticisms were compelling, good educational practices could in fact be introduced into public schools. I pointed to my own attempts to teach about such issues as prejudice and discrimination, poverty, the plight of migrant workers, and the Vietnam War in what I thought were honest and responsible ways (even though the textbook available to me was probably similar to those critiqued by Loewen [1995]). I mentioned my efforts to expose students to the work of such writers as Michael Harrington, James Baldwin, Robert Coles, and John Holt. I also included this "stinging" critique: "To criticize . . . schools as they exist today is wholly justified; to advocate ignoring them or to urge people to use them for landfill is, at best, unrealistic. Those ideas will only find an audience with those who read [this paper] and papers like it. How many people do you reach?"

Twenty years later I would adopt essentially the same position, with at least two important modifications. First, I would highlight more the contradictory and contested nature of public schooling, that is, the ways in which it serves to reproduce social inequality, a market economy and conformist thinking at the same time that it functions as a site for the promotion of democratic values and practices and creative and caring experiences (e.g., Apple, 1996; Nieto, 1996; Apple and Beane, 1995; Greene, 1995; Martin, 1992). Relatedly, I would point out that conflicts over public school goals and policies among competing social and educational groups have taken place in this country for a very long time (e.g., Kliebard, 1995; Apple, 1993; Reese, 1986). And second, my basic reference point would be a less individualistic one. By this I mean three things: Rather than just focus on my own classroom practices, I would address the need for collaborative groups of teachers, administrators, parents, community members and students to work together for school reform. I would also emphasize that improving the everyday practices of classrooms must be accompanied by a commitment for serious and lasting structural changes. And finally, I would highlight the relationship between educational reform and social change, that is, the struggle for institutional change as being self-consciously and sensitively linked to a larger social vision and larger social movements, what Michael Apple (1996; 1982) has referred to as "non-reformist reforms."

For those addressing the general issue of school reform, from either scholarly or more practical interests, an excellent starting point would be David Tyack and Larry Cuban's *Tinkering Toward Utopia*, which nicely weaves together historical and contemporary subjects. Some of the concerns in this book have been addressed by other observers, as I am reminded when I think of such memorable phrases as "the cult of efficiency" (Callahan, 1962), "the imperfect panacea" (Perkinson, 1968), "the predictable failure of educational reform" (Sarason, 1990), and others like Tyack's own "one best system" (1974). What *Tinkering Toward Utopia* provides is an updated, accessible and comprehensive (though not exhaustive) account of school reform during the last century so that the cumulative effects and failures of these efforts are more clearly apparent. Indeed, the book makes clear that the local critics of twenty years ago that I mention above were not so off the mark in their appraisal of attempts to reform public schools.

The reader first confronts the book's title, which for me is a catchy but also somewhat confusing one. "Tinkering" seems like a pejorative term, connoting a particularly fragmented and piecemeal agenda for change as distinct from one that evidences a more thoughtful and comprehensive approach. Does it accurately describe the reform efforts discussed in this book, for example the NEA's Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies, the Cardinal Principles of Sec-

ondary Education report, the junior high school, the kindergarten, the graded school, the Carnegie Unit, the Dalton Plan, the Eight-Year Study, the "High Schools of Tomorrow," etc.? "Gradual and incremental" (p. 5) many of these reform proposals may have been, but I am not convinced that they were the products of "tinkering." As for the word "utopia" in this context, it connotes to me rather lofty, idealistic aspirations for large-scale changes in the ways we educate our children. Have we been deluged by such efforts, or has it been more often the case that reforms have emanated from a perceived need to find immediately practical solutions to the everyday dilemmas of American education, often with the intent of having students adapt more efficiently to how schools (and society) operate?

On the surface, then, neither primary word of the title works as an apt descriptive term for "a century of public school reform." But what appears to be the case is that the authors are actually referring to "tinkering toward utopia" as a viable strategy for school reform today. The conjunction of the two words in the title is used not so much to represent the past that dominates the book as much as policy recommendations for the present hinted at throughout the book but mainly discussed in the final chapter. Tinkering becomes a commonsense strategy to remedy critical everyday problems, and utopian thinking becomes a visionary approach grounded in the realities (and tinkering) of school practice. The authors seem to have in mind something akin to Raymond Williams' classic reference to "the long revolution." As Williams suggested, "we must keep trying to grasp the process as a whole, to set it in new ways as a long revolution, if we are to understand either the theoretical crisis, or our actual history, or the reality of our immediate condition and the terms of change" (1961, p. 13).

One of the central arguments of *Tinkering Toward Utopia* is that the past century has been marked by the promotion of a succession of educational innovations that have left relatively unchanged the structure (or "grammar") of public schooling. Tyack and Cuban begin building this argument by focusing on two pervading belief systems at the turn of the century that took as axiomatic the continuous improvement of the country's public schools (and therefore the nation itself): first, the religious and political faith that underlaid the development of the common school system in the mid-nineteenth century; and second, a faith in the new "science" of education, which promised the expertise, precision and rational planning needed to successfully address any "bumps called 'problems'" that might be experienced (p. 17). Opposition did arise during the early 1900's to the "Rockefellerized" education being promoted in the public schools, by the American Federation of Labor and, as I have discussed elsewhere, socialist and other progressive groups (Teitelbaum, 1995). But the assumption of "progress" prevailed, characterized by greater access,

more services, more differentiation, more standardization, more professional expertise and efficient management, and greater (attempts at) predictability. As the authors make clear, changes were experienced quite unevenly across social groups, but for those observers and participants who enjoyed more influence over educational policy it still seemed like progress. Such faith remained relatively sustained in the culture until the last few decades, during which time public schools have not been immune from the crisis of confidence that has affected virtually all social institutions. While "citizens have not lost their faith in the importance of schooling both for the individual and for society" (p. 30), faith in the progress and quality of the nation's public schools has declined. In turn, particular national and local leaders have exploited these shaken beliefs for their own political and social agendas, serving to further weaken the public's optimism toward the possibilities of educational improvement.

In examining reform efforts during this century, the authors make a crucial differentiation between policy talk, policy action, and implementation. Thus, for example, while reform periods can be identified, selected examples help to illustrate that what actually occurs in schools is not nearly so straightforward. There was, for instance, more racial desegregation during Nixon's "benign neglect" period than during the more activist 1960's. And per-pupil expenditures increased more sharply during the conservative 1920's and 1950's than the more liberal 1960's. Indeed, "[t]he journey from policy talk at the national and state levels to what occurs in schools and classrooms is long, often unpredictable, and complicated," with compromise often the result (p. 44). This points to several problems in any historical examination of reform efforts, such as time lag, uneven implementation, and differential impact. Some changes that take place in relative silence are actually quite consequential (e.g., coeducation in the early 19th century); some reforms that are heralded as panaceas are implemented only in token, symbolic ways; and some reform efforts are ignored entirely. The authors conclude that the history of public school reform is "neither an ineluctable evolution—progressive or otherwise—nor a set of fitful repetitions." Instead, it is "an interaction of long-term institutional trends, transitions in society, and policy talk," emanating from the "conflicts of values and interests that are intrinsic to public schooling" (pp. 58-9).

What may seem most worth examining is the extent to which reform proposals actually change schools, but in an interesting twist, Tyack and Cuban highlight the importance of considering how "schools change reforms." Two examples in particular help to make their point: the kindergarten and the junior high school. Although both did have some influence on the school structure that existed, what is particularly noteworthy is how these reforms became institutional-

ized in ways that departed from their original intentions. A process of "hybridization" occurred, whereby the reform changed to fit the demands of the institutional context. This is an historical insight that the authors believe must be grasped more clearly by adherents of school reform today. Relatedly, other reform proposals have fared less well than the kindergarten and junior high school, in part because they have been viewed as less compatible with past reforms that became institutionalized. Examples discussed briefly are school governance proposals in New York City, which have resulted at best in a kind of "fragmented centralization," and recent calls for "restructuring," which the authors conclude is "a vague word [that] has also become a vogue word" (pp. 76-82).

The key for Tyack and Cuban is that there is a grammar of schooling that helps to define the institution similar to how the more commonly thought of usage of the term grammar helps to define a language. Features of this grammar of schooling include the shape of the classroom, the division of time and space, the classification and allocation of students, the splintering of knowledge into "subjects," and the awarding of grades and "credits" as evidence of learning, all of which have remained "remarkably stable over the decades." These "habitual institutional patterns" become identified as a "real school," accepted by the public, with little questioning, as "the way schools are" (pp. 85-6). Some of these features were in fact themselves reforms that proved to be easily hybridized to the prevailing structure, such as the graded school and the Carnegie unit. Other suggested innovations, such as the Dalton Plan, the practices of the schools in the Eight-Year Study, and the "High Schools of Tomorrow," were less successful in disrupting the grammar of schooling as we know it. What Tyack and Cuban conclude about such efforts is that educational reform is not impossible, but "actual changes in schools will be more gradual and piecemeal than the usual either-or rhetoric of innovation might indicate" (p. 109). This is in direct contrast to Theodore Sizer's conclusion in *Horace's Compromise*, that "[p]iecemeal reform is no reform" (1985, p. 227), and his reassertion of this point in his next volume: "Because the design comprises necessarily interlocking parts, a piecemeal reform strategy will not work" (1992, p. 196).

In recent years there have been more vigorous attempts by "outside" groups who are dismissive of the educational "establishment" (including teachers and their unions) to introduce innovations into schools. Business elites play a particularly significant role here, even though they know little about the organizational culture of the school or the lives of teachers and students. Like their predecessors during the Progressive era, they adopt technocratic solutions to educational programs. Two approaches in particular guide the attempts of business-oriented reformers to transform what they see as "antiquated

public schools into centers of efficient learning" (p. 114): first, adopting new managing and budgeting techniques (e.g., Management by Objectives and the Program Planning and Budgeting System); and second, treating schools as a marketplace of instructional services in which corporations can compete in teaching children by using the latest technologies of instruction and behavioral engineering (e.g., performance contracts and teaching machines). In general, these reform efforts have been introduced with much fanfare and extravagant claims but have had little real effect on the fundamental characteristics of schools and classrooms. Their effects on the public's perceptions of schools, however, may be more pernicious and lasting.

In the Epilogue to their book, Tyack and Cuban address the policy implications of their research. They state that they "do not believe in educational Phoenixes and do not think that the system is in ashes." They suggest that the positive aspects of the themes of utopia and tinkering be embraced and that "reformers take a broader view of the aims that should guide public education and focus on ways to improve instruction from the inside out rather than the top down" (p. 134). The resilient character of school as an institution must be more fully taken into account and teachers' knowledge and participation must become an integral part of reform efforts. Reforms should be "designed to be hybridized, adapted by educators working together to take advantage of their knowledge of their own diverse students and communities and supporting each other in new ways of teaching." Parents and the public should also be involved "when reforms challenge cultural beliefs about what a 'real school' should be and do." Schooling debates should be constructed so as not to be related just to "international economic competitiveness" but also as part of "a broad civic and moral enterprise in which all citizens are stakeholders" (pp. 135-6). Democratic life and the public good need to guide schools more than a narrow focus on economic ends.

An argument can be made that *Tinkering Toward Utopia* deals too selectively with reforms during this century (e.g., there is relatively little about more recent curriculum reform efforts) and suffers from a lack of detail about individual reformers and reforms in specific locations. In addition, the authors only briefly address the vital question of, "How might one go about improving schools from the inside out, a kind of adaptive tinkering that preserves what is valuable and remedies what is not?" (p. 136). Indeed, I am uncomfortable with the authors' interpretation of "improving schools from the inside out" as simply "to ask teachers what bothers them the most and to begin reforms there" (p. 139). While occasionally they make note of the resistance of teachers themselves to progressive reform efforts, they avoid confronting this thorny issue head on. Relatedly, in examining past reforms and proposing new ones, Tyack and Cuban could give more

attention to the political, economic and sociocultural developments within which schools operate. For example, with regard to issues of diversity, the race and cultural/economic backgrounds of teachers may be a significant factor in creating reforms that will be appropriate for the local student population and embraced by parents and community groups (Delpit, 1995).

Nevertheless, the authors' stated intention is in fact to provide "a broad interpretive work aimed at a variety of readers" (p. 146), including perhaps the local school critics mentioned earlier, and they are certainly very successful in doing so. *Tinkering Toward Utopia* is helpful in making more comprehensible many of the reform efforts that have taken place during this century and the reasons why the typical (top-down) approach has so often failed to take hold. While the authors' cogent portrayal of past efforts to re-think and revitalize our public schools can seem depressing, in fact they remain hopeful that meaningful improvement can take place that "preserves what is valuable and remedies what is not" (p. 136). This can happen if school reform efforts emphasize a more comprehensive and realistic accounting of the resilient character of the institution, the important role to be played by those whose knowledge of local school practice is most intimate, and innovations that can be hybridized onto the current structure of schooling. What is vital as well are "resources of time and money, practical designs for change, and collegial support" (p. 10), and a clearly articulated vision of democratic educational practice and social relations. As Roberto Mangabeira Unger and Cornel West suggest, perhaps the tinkering approach to reform is in fact the way to go, that a "motivated, sustained and cumulative tinkering with institutional arrangements is an indispensable tool of democratic experimentalism, of improvisational reform, of jazzlike public action" (1998, p. 11). By linking such recommendations to past efforts at improving schools, *Tinkering Toward Utopia* provides an important perspective on why schools' resistance to innovations in the past need not vanquish our hopes for reform in the future.

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Teaching and Passionate Desire for the Good

Garrison, Jim. (1997). *Dewey and Eros*. New York: Teachers College Press. 209 pages, paper. ISBN: 0-8077-3624-4.

Review by JUDITH A. DORNEY, State University of New York at New Paltz, 12561.

Jim Garrison wants teachers to take teaching seriously, very seriously. He ties the work of teaching to questions of ultimacy: "What is life (or teaching)? How shall I live or teach?" (202). He believes that everything we do as teachers matters and reflects what we value, what we give highest regard or what we love. In *Dewey and Eros* he argues for the education of eros, by which he means educating teachers to desire the good for their students and schooling students in the knowledge of what is genuinely desirable.

He locates the meaning of eros, historically and philosophically, in conversations between Socrates and the prophet Diotima. Their discussions link desire and love to goodness and beauty. In order to desire what is genuinely good, though, the critical capacities of poetry and prophecy are essential. Poetic capacity brings forth imagination and the ability to call into being what is needed, while prophecy involves wise discernment and the gift for naming "the values needed in needful times" (p. xvi). With these roots and his understanding of Dewey, Garrison develops an explication of eros that is not unlike the description of the erotic given by poet and essayist, Audre Lorde. Both see eros as a passionate desire for the good, a dynamic and creative "poetic force" (p. 2) that joins what has come to be seen as oppositional such as theory and practice, thought and feeling, poetry and technology, spirit/mind/body. Throughout the text, Garrison emphasizes the point that challenging such dualisms, with a goal ultimately of healing them, was central to Dewey's educational thinking.

Our capacity to work for growth among our students, which should be the highest aim of education according to Dewey and Garrison, is dependent on our ability to love or bestow value on them. This aim, however, introduces a central paradox which Garrison identifies. The bestowal of value on students is ineluctably linked to the value we bestow on ourselves. The growth of students is tied to the growth of teachers, and their expansive possibilities are linked to our abilities to imagine and create an environment that will foster growth. Growth in this context means attending to relationship. Garrison quotes Pappas, another Dewey scholar, who notes, "...the opportunities and demands for growth are found in relations.... The kind of char-

acter that is interested in growth...is one and the same with the one that is interested in the expansion and deepening of relationships" (1993, p. 87). In developing this relational argument Garrison illuminates and builds on Dewey's claim that teaching is not simply a cognitive endeavor. Indeed, both Dewey and Garrison believe that such a limited perspective undermines the development of both students and teachers.

In light of the claim that student development cannot be distilled from that of teachers, Garrison suggests, "The most important thing practitioners can do to improve the quality of their practice is to improve themselves...Becoming an expansively more competent practitioner requires disciplined practice and eventually self creation, that is, calling into existence a new and better self " (p. 73). This assertion is not only convincing, in my judgment, but more, an implicit indictment of schools and programs of teacher education and development. Two points are particularly relevant in this regard. First, current and future teachers are not always encouraged in schools and programs of teacher preparation and development to see their own growth as central to the work of teaching. The focus more often is exclusively, or largely, on the student and/or curriculum. Consequently, prospective and current teachers are rarely offered opportunities to explore and acquire the skills and relationships that will nurture their growth. Also, in order to bestow value and to imaginatively call forth the best possibilities in their students, teachers need such value bestowed upon them. Where and how in schools of education and in district teacher development programs do we honor the spirits and souls of teachers? In making his case Garrison speaks to the paradox identified in feminist critiques of an ethic of care, that is, that care cannot only be other-directed. Simply put, the spirits, hearts, minds, and bodies of students cannot be tended by people whose own spirits, hearts, minds, and bodies are burnt out and exhausted. This is a critique that schools of education, school administrators and educational policy makers need to take seriously.

In the meantime, teachers cannot wait for others to bestow value on them. They need to find ways to do this for themselves. This is a point I would like to have seen Garrison explore more fully. He doesn't speak to how the practice and relationships of teaching might be altered to respond to his critiques. Nor does he address how teachers might engage in self care and self development. Given that the challenge he extends is directed largely to individual teachers, he does not account for the energy required to meet it and to resist the demands to operate dualistically. While meeting this challenge is necessary, it is also a daunting task for individual teachers to tackle in isolation.

The related point of emotion's role in the process of inquiry and one's ability to do poetic and prophetic teaching is examined more fully, though. Inquiry is an essential element in a harmonious life. It mediates between knowing and not knowing, between things as they are and things as they might be. Thus, for both Dewey and Garrison inquiry is a creative endeavor which "introduces conscious, reflective mediation into the rhythm of life" (p. 99). In Dewey's thinking, inquiry has three prime moments. First, it is born from "precognitive background" or from emotional desire or dissonance. It then develops into a "statable cognitive problem" and "concludes with the solution of that problem, the answering of the question, and the satisfaction of that need" (p. 101). In other words, while inquiry certainly has a critical cognitive dimension, the affect is its mother, the well from which it springs. Consequently, an education that does not attend to, develop, and offer critical scrutiny of feelings stunts the imaginative exploration and cognitive growth of individuals and cultures.

In this regard, Garrison also draws on the work of Alison Jagger, specifically exploring her notion of "outlaw emotions" and analyzing their place in the work of teaching and learning. Such emotions, according to Jagger, are those that take us beyond convention. They are feelings we often deny or dismiss, but if attended to hold a potential to call for some kind of response challenging the status quo. Anger, in women in particular, often tends to be an outlaw emotion, serving as a sign, almost visceral, that all is not right, that there is need for change. If this anger is recognized and admitted it can thereby help to generate the other two elements of critical inquiry, and thus become a creative social force. Dualistic restriction of such feelings, on the other hand, all but assures the continuation of the status quo.

One of the ironic tragedies inherent in denying or outlawing emotions in educational work is that it leaves much with which to be angry, and sad. This is the theme of Garrison's final chapter. When teachers are discouraged from feeling their potential for social advocacy is never fully realized. Garrison illustrates this concluding point with a story about a young student named Tony. Tony, Garrison relates, enrolled in school as a full time student for the first time at age eleven, and was placed in a fourth grade classroom. His teacher, unfortunately, had been trained to view him almost exclusively through a lens colored by "mandated standardized testing" (p. 183). This is an all-too-common educational vision that she, and the larger educational system, has come to value to a degree disproportionate to its actual significance. In her classroom Tony predictably descended more and more deeply into a place of inadequacy. This downward spiral was reversed, however, by Tony's fifth grade teacher who was able to see his best possibilities. The problem, as Garrison makes clear, was not with Tony but with a restricted perspective of teaching and learning.

The teachers who were able to call forth the best in Tony were the women who were able to exercise the poetic and prophetic capacities of teaching, that is, the ability to name what was needed and to begin to create ways of bringing it into being.

Garrison presents a passionate argument for the education of eros. Despite my strong personal concurrence with much of what he says, I nevertheless have two concerns. The first involves his emphasis on the teacher as someone who must take responsibility for her/his own development by challenging the entrenched dualisms of the educational system. While I agree that teachers need to do this, I wonder what is offered them as support for such a difficult, transformative task. My second concern is with the text itself. While the book is well reasoned and deeply felt and illustrated with enlightening examples of erotic inquiry, it requires slow and extended digestion, and in general, therefore, is probably not particularly accessible to the average practitioner.

These concerns notwithstanding, I hope Garrison's central ideas find their way into schools of education, in particular into programs for teachers and school administrators. Garrison's final words, "We become what we love" (p. 202), should be seen by all teacher educators as an inspiring, however daunting challenge, one which if understood and met may well point a way to truly effective educational practice.

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Theory and Research in Social Education is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. Its purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge and understanding of the purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations. Manuscripts reporting conceptual or empirical studies of social education are welcomed.

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