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THEORY & RESEARCH

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THEORY & RESEARCH
IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

From the Editor

Elizabeth Anne Yeager
University of Florida

As I begin my three-year term as editor of *Theory and Research in Social Education*, I look forward to receiving and publishing manuscripts that represent a variety of perspectives on issues in social education. One persistent concern emerges as I take stock of the present educational climate in the U.S.: the threat that the current emphasis on high-stakes testing poses to the status of the social studies and social education in the school curriculum. If my home state of Florida is any indication, one disturbing trend is the elimination of social studies from the curriculum of numerous "low performing" schools because it is viewed as a luxury that cannot be afforded. In my view, this trend raises an issue of social justice, in that it denies access to an entire world of ideas to a disenfranchised group of children. In other states, social studies may not necessarily be on the chopping block, but there seems to be a constant struggle to keep it robust.

I believe that *TRSE* can and should play a prominent role in addressing this situation. Therefore, I would especially welcome manuscripts featuring classroom-based research that documents "wise practice" in the teaching and learning of social studies in a variety of challenging school settings. William Stanley, in *The Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, commented specifically on the lack of research on wise teaching practice, and I believe that this void still exists. Although social studies researchers have begun to focus on expert social studies teachers in an effort to describe what levels of teacher effectiveness are possible and how this effectiveness is achieved, he states, the teaching profession still has a unique problem because most records of excellent practice are lost to an outside audience. Identification of the wisdom of practice illustrated in the behavior of expert teachers, he argues, should be a central goal of researchers. Lee Shulman also argues that the "wisdom of practice" can and must be codified through an extensive case literature. One of the most important tasks of the research community, he states, is to work with these practitioners to develop empirical research representations of the practical pedagogical wisdom of good teachers.

I would like to see *TRSE* contribute to the identification and record of "wisdom of practice" in the teaching and learning of social studies by reporting specific case studies of effective teaching in challenging school settings, including the teachers' instructional methods, content knowledge, use of particular resources and information, personal characteristics in the classroom, and classroom learning environment; to provide insight into these teachers' "habits of mind" with regard to social studies content and their translation of pedagogical ideas into effective practice; to feature empirical data regarding these teachers' pedagogical content knowledge and their translation of this knowledge into forms that engage a variety of student populations; and to provide a forum for reflection upon the effectiveness of these teachers' practices and to consider the lessons they offer for the social studies field. Social studies is a potentially powerful, engaging, and relevant curriculum area for a variety of "at risk" or "difficult" students in challenging school settings, not just for students who are already motivated and interested in learning more about the world around them. I am hopeful that *TRSE* can feature research that illuminates these possibilities.

My first official issue as editor of TRSE features five excellent articles that indeed do illuminate a variety of wise classroom practice conceptions. Interestingly, all five articles also seem especially timely in light of the September 11 terrorist attacks, insofar as they address topics relevant to social educators as they try to make sense of what happened: classroom discussion, social action, global perspectives, and multicultural, anti-racist curricula. Diana Hess's article on Controversial Public Issues (CPI) discussion features powerful "snapshots" of teachers who are skilled at leading discussion, and then, from the similarities and differences among these teachers' CPI discussion conceptions and practices, she theorizes a number of viable propositions that capture what skillful CPI discussion teaching can entail. Lynn Brice's article also focuses on classroom discussion. She uses an interpretive approach to investigate high school students' participation in democratic, deliberative group discussions of public issues and the nature of those discussions, viewing the discourse through a multidisciplinary lens influenced by sociolinguistics, speech communication, literacy, and social education. She emphasizes the complex interplay of three particular cognitive strategies that support focused and sustained discussion, as well as the importance of understanding the complexity of student group discussion and the ways in which learners gradually approach deliberative tasks and talk.

Cynthia Tyson writes about the use of children's literature in urban social studies classrooms to facilitate students' engagement in literate behaviors and simultaneously develop a framework for understanding social action. The African American students' responses

to literature in this study support a development of a working definition of social action and ideas about action/inaction in their urban community contexts, and they offer guidance for how literature can be used as an extension of citizenship education with the development of critical consciousness, political identity, and social action as the objectives.

Toni Kirkwood's article examines how a large group of knowledgeable teachers in the Miami-Dade County school district conceptualized teaching about Japan and the contextual factors shaping their instructional decisions. She also illustrates how schools that developed exemplary Japan Studies programs became prototypes for meaningful collaboration among faculty, administrators, and Japan participants, thus demonstrating that effective school programs are inextricably linked to school reform. Finally, Brian Sevier provides an important historical perspective – specifically, on what curricular materials of the past have to offer today's researchers and educators with regard to the creation of relevant, meaningful, and inclusive classroom materials. He uses a contemporary multicultural framework to analyze texts produced at mid-20th century by Denver teachers, and he describes their potential for critical, anti-racist, transformative education.

Douglas Dixon reviews a book by two political scientists who delve into the issue manipulations that help determine the outcome of controversial policy initiatives in the U. S., and explain how politicians "attempt to prime the public's value systems selectively and to saturate the public forum with a carefully honed message known to resonate with the great majority of the general citizenry." The implications of this book for social educators are indeed salient to any discussion of the difference between the "real world" of politics and the content typically covered in a high school civics textbooks.

Because I wantedTRSE to explicitly acknowledge the September 11 attacks and their aftermath, I asked six prominent social studies researcher/educators to write commentaries based on their remarks at a CUFA session in Washington, D.C., in November 2001. These remarks appear in the "Viewpoints" section, and they include the following perspectives on September 11: Michael Berson on children's feelings of safety and security, Rich Diem on the perspectives of high school teachers and students, Carole Hahn on implications of the attacks for political socialization research, Merry Merryfield on global education issues, Murry Nelson on the role of social educators in educating the public, and Stephen Thornton on implications for teacher educators. I am grateful to these six contributors for responding to my request on short notice, and for trying to make sense of something that so many of us are still struggling to understand.

I am also pleased to announce the members of the *TRSE* Editorial Board. Tyrone Howard has agreed to serve as Associate Editor. For the *TRSE* Editorial Board, I have set up a rotating structure in the following manner. First, I have appointed four members who have previously served on the board for a one-year term so that they can facilitate the transition to a new editor: Kathy Bickmore, SG Grant, Merry Merryfield, and Walter Parker. Also, I have appointed for two-year terms five members from among the leaders in the social studies field who have not recently served on the board: Pat Avery, Keith Barton, Linda Bennett, Michael Berson, and Carole Hahn. Finally, I have appointed three members for full three-year terms who are potential leaders and relatively new to the field so that they can both provide guidance to other new professors and learn the ropes of a scholarly journal: Nancy Gallavan, Binaya Subedi, and Cynthia Tyson. Under this system, I will be appointing four new members later this year and five new members the year after. Of course, all appointments terminate when my editorship does. I do plan to appoint a Book Editor and am in the process of making that selection.

I am looking forward to serving as editor of *TRSE* and to the opportunity to talk with social studies researchers about their work.

Discussing Controversial Public Issues in Secondary Social Studies Classrooms: Learning from Skilled Teachers

Diana E. Hess
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Abstract

This study examined the teaching of controversial public issues (CPI) in middle and high school social studies classes. I sought to better understand the instruction and conceptions undergirding the instruction of secondary social studies teachers who were nominated by discussion experts as especially skillful at teaching their students to participate more effectively in CPI discussions. Using grounded theory, I analyzed three types of data: classroom observation field notes, interviews of the teachers, and CPI discussion teaching artifacts. First, I describe CPI discussions in the teachers' classes, then introduce six propositions induced about the teaching of CPI discussions. Next, I discuss how the propositions challenge and add to the existing literature on classroom discussion in secondary social studies, and suggest implications for the CPI discussion teaching practice of teachers and teacher educators.

Keywords: classroom discourse, controversial issues, discussion, social studies, teacher education.

Finding support for the claim that students should learn to participate effectively in small and large group discussions is easy (Dillon, 1994; Gutmann, 1998; Parker, 1996); locating evidence that students are currently provided opportunities to engage in such discussions is not. In fact, research indicates that students rarely participate in class discussions (Goodlad, 1984; Hahn, 1991; McNeil, 1986; Newmann, 1988, Nystrand, et al., 1998). Findings from the Nystrand et al. study are especially illustrative of the rarity of classroom discussion. Investigating 48 high school social studies classes, the researchers found that discussion[1] averaged only half a minute per class period. Moreover, 62.5% of the class periods had no

discussion at all. These findings are startling and speak to the magnitude of the problem. There just is not very much classroom discussion in social studies classes.

When classroom discussions do occur, that discussion rarely focuses on controversial public issues (Kahne et al., 2001; Hahn, 1991; Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1980). Controversial public issues (CPI) are unresolved questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement. Discussing them can have powerful educational outcomes for students (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schultz, 2001) and for the development of a more democratic society (Barber, 1989; Parker, 1996; Yankelovich, 1999).

Though few students participate in classroom discussion of CPI, there are teachers who include such discussions in their curricula and teach their students to participate effectively in them (Miller & Singleton, 1997; Rossi, 1995). In the interest of trying to promote high quality CPI discussions, I sought and found three such teachers. I studied their discussion teaching practice and the thinking on which it was based in order to generate grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) about what constitutes effective CPI discussion teaching in secondary social studies classes.

In this paper, I begin with a description of the rationales for including CPI discussions in social studies, then provide an overview of the research questions, methodology, and analysis, followed by descriptions of an illustrative CPI discussion in each of the teachers' classes. Six major propositions induced from the data are then explained, followed by a discussion of their educational implications.

Rationales for CPI Discussions

Since 1916, when the National Education Association's Commission on the Re-organization of Secondary Education recommended the development of a course examining the problems of democracy, social studies reformers have repeatedly called for inclusion of CPI in the social studies curriculum. In recent years, the enthusiasm of social studies reformers for CPI in the social studies has not waned. Both *Social Education* (1996) and *The Social Studies* (1989) have devoted full editions to issues-centered social studies curriculum. Additionally, the National Council for the Social Studies sponsors a special interest group on issues-centered social studies and has published a lengthy *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues* (Evans & Saxe, 1996).

CPI Discussions as an Outcome for Democracy's Sake
Social studies educators have consistently been interested in the teaching of CPI discussions because of the connection between

learning how to discuss divisive public topics and preparing for democratic citizenship. Fred Newmann (1989) argues that the most important component of effective democratic citizenship preparation involves teaching young people how to deliberate about the nature of the public good. Walter Parker makes a similar claim:

> Curricula need to emphasize civic discourse, particularly face-to-face discussion. Discussion of the public's problems . . . and alternative courses of action need to become centerpieces of the curriculum—taught, modeled, studied, practiced, and assessed. This elevates democratic deliberation to the high point of the school curriculum (1996, p. 197).

The belief that CPI discussions can enhance democracy is supported by political scientists such as Benjamin Barber (1984, 1989) and Jane Mansbridge (1991), who argue that healthy democracies have many citizens engaged in high-quality public talk. As Mansbridge writes, "Democracy involves public discussion of common problems, not just silent counting of individual hands. And when people talk together, the discussion can sometimes lead the participants to see their own stake in the broader interests of the community" (1991, p. 122).

Recent research on how people become interested in public concerns (Doble Research Associates, 1999; Kettering Foundation, 1993) provides empirical evidence for the claim that CPI discussions influence the formation of a healthy democracy. Specifically, the researchers found that citizens want to participate in public talk. When they do so, they "enlarge, rather than narrow, the way they see and act on public concerns" (Kettering Foundation, 1993, p. 1). Conversation about public problems is positively linked to what people learn from other citizens and to the solution of important problems. The researchers concluded that the importance of CPI discussions to citizens and to a healthy democracy shows that "talk is not cheap to people, as the axiom goes; it is the valued currency of their public life" (Kettering Foundation, 1993, p. 2).

CPI Discussions as a Method for Achieving Other Student Outcomes

The democracy rationale claims young people should be taught to discuss CPI because it will enhance their abilities to build a more democratic society. Another category of rationale is that CPI discussions further other student outcomes, such as the development of certain values or enhanced understanding of content. I call this rationale a *method* (or instrumental) rationale, because students' learning from CPI discussions extends beyond their enhanced abilities

to participate in discussions themselves. For example, CPI discussion may help students develop an understanding and commitment to democratic values, increase their willingness to engage in political life, and positively influence content understanding, critical thinking ability, and interpersonal skills (Gall & Gall, 1990; Hahn, 1996, 1998; Harris, 1996; Wilen & White, 1991).

The first claim in the method rationale is that CPI discussions influence the development of democratic values, such as toleration of dissent and support for equality. This claim presumes that schooling can influence students' values and that the dynamics of effective CPI discussions help students form values that support democracy (Lockwood & Harris, 1985). Informed by the research of Lawrence Kohlberg (1981), the democratic values claim posits that the cognitive dissonance created by CPI discussions, as well as the likelihood that students will hear and be attracted to moral reasoning more sophisticated than their own, will combine to shape the development of democratic values.

CPI discussions are also recommended as a way to enhance students' willingness to participate in the political world. Derived from the research on the political socialization of youth (Hahn, 1996, 1998), this claim suggests a connection between participation in discussion of CPI and an interest in political participation. Discussing CPI is seen as a way to help students feel more politically efficacious. This attitude is correlated positively to people's willingness to participate in political affairs.

Participation in CPI discussions is often advocated, like writing, as a means of helping students better understand important content. David Harris (1996) explicated this claim: "The effort to produce coherent language in response to a question of public policy puts knowledge in a meaningful context, making it more likely to be understood and remembered" (p. 289). In a CPI discussion about physician-assisted suicide, for example, a teacher may hope that students will form a deeper understanding of the meaning of liberty in the U. S. Constitution - that talking with others will improve one's understanding because ideas will be challenged, broadened, and refined by the dynamics of group discussion.

Finally, CPI discussions are advocated as improving both students' critical thinking and interpersonal skills. Critical thinking is enhanced in CPI discussions by having students develop, support, and justify arguments and conclusions (Common, 1985). By examining positions and supporting evidence, students can carefully analyze their reasoning as well as their classmates', thus improving their abilities to think critically. In terms of interpersonal skills, CPI discussions may improve students' ability to work well with others, even those with whom they disagree. For example, listening attentively and

disagreeing respectfully are key interpersonal skills that research suggests may be enhanced by participation in such discussions (Johnson & Johnson, 1982).

Reasons for the Rarity of CPI Discussion

Given the breadth of rationales for CPI discussions, why is it that recent empirical evidence suggests that many students are in social studies courses without them? The press for content coverage, which has been exacerbated by the onslaught of state testing (see Ross, 2001), the high difficulty level of teaching young people how to participate more effectively in CPI discussions, teachers' lack of pedagogical confidence, and fear of community reprisal all account for the rarity of CPI discussions.

Preparing students adequately for CPI discussions is time consuming. Because of this, it is more likely they will be included in the curricula of teachers who focus on in-depth instruction on a smaller number of topics (see Ross, 1995) - the very kind of instruction that is diminishing due to required tests that cover vast amounts of survey content. Additionally, as James Dillon (1994) reminds us, discussion of any sort is difficult; CPI discussions, because of their potential to inflame emotional reactions, may be even more difficult than other types of discussion. Perhaps some teachers would rather concentrate curricular time on skills that are easier to acquire. Also, teachers often report a lack of confidence in their own abilities to teach and facilitate discussions, which undoubtedly makes discussion less likely to be used. Finally, in some communities, CPI discussions are controversial because the issues themselves are viewed as inappropriate for the curriculum or because there is pressure to deal with only one perspective on an issue.

Research Questions

The research questions driving this study were: How do secondary social studies teachers who are skilled in the use of CPI discussions teach their students to participate effectively in such discussions? What role do instructional strategies, issues, materials, and assessments play in this teaching process? And, what accounts for these teachers' approaches to CPI discussions? In particular, I was interested in the teachers' conceptions of democratic citizenship, the purposes of social studies education, and what constitutes good discussion, as well as how their rationales for using CPI discussions inform and influence their CPI discussion teaching practices.

Method

In undertaking a models-of-wisdom study (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Wineburg & Wilson, 1988), I sought to follow Shulman's (1983) recommendation that "good cases" be studied because they allow us to learn from the possible, not only the probable. To find "good cases," I solicited recommendations from experts in the discussion of CPI (professional development leaders of CPI discussion workshops/institutes and discussion researchers). Other experts who had observed these teachers verified the recommendation.

Participating Teachers

Joe Park[2] has taught middle and high school social studies for 22 years, the last five at a "break the mold" high school in a university community. Because his school does not require teachers to follow a specific curriculum, Joe is able to create courses that closely mirror his conceptions of the social studies knowledge and skills most important for students to develop. He taught *Important Supreme Court Decisions* for nine weeks in the fall and winter of 1997; this unit served as the basis for my learning about how Joe teaches CPI discussions.

Elizabeth Hunt has been teaching middle school language arts and social studies for 17 years. Her current middle school is located in a suburb. Because her school has over 1500 students, they are divided into communities, each taught by a team of teachers. As the eighth-grade social studies teacher in one of the school's communities, Elizabeth teaches a year-long course in American Studies that focuses primarily on civics and United States history. Throughout the course, Elizabeth selects CPI for her students to discuss using the 1960s model, Public Issues Discussions (Oliver & Shaver, 1974).

Ann Twain has been teaching social studies at a magnet middle school in a suburb for the past five years. Ann has created a mixed seventh and eighth grade social studies course that combines United States history, civics, and world geography, laced with an extensive service learning program and whole-class discussions of CPI in a format she has labeled Town Meetings.

Data Gathering and Data Types

Three types of data were collected for this study: semi-structured and open-ended interviews, field notes from observing and or listening and viewing tapes of CPI discussions, and classroom artifacts related to CPI discussions, such as assessment rubrics and preparatory readings. I used grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) throughout the recursive

process of collecting and analyzing data. When observing CPI discussions, I kept careful notes on such factors as participation patterns, the physical layout of the room, students' engagement, and the content of the discussion. Audiotapes and videotapes of CPI class sessions were selectively transcribed and analyzed for participation patterns and content quality.

Data Analysis

I used a four-stage process to analyze the data and generate the initial theory. In the first stage, I followed four steps: (a) transcribing interviews and audiotapes/videotapes, (b) coding and developing visual displays and conceptual memos, (c) writing portraits of each teacher, and (d) integrating categories and their properties. After these four steps were completed for the first teacher, I moved on to the second and third teacher. I then asked each teacher to review their portrait and invited critiques that I then incorporated into the ongoing data analysis. In the second stage of the process, I compared and contrasted the conceptions and practices of the three teachers to better understand the categories, their properties, and their interconnections. In the third stage of the process, I refined the categories, working to enhance both the parsimony and scope of the theory. During both of these steps, I looked for disconfirming data (which I often found) and also analyzed what I did not see (but expected to), given what was in the literature. The fourth and final stage involved theorizing the conceptions and practices of secondary social studies teachers who are skilled at teaching their students to participate more effectively in CPI discussions.

Summary of Findings

Snapshot of a Seminar in Joe Park's Class

Joe's course focused on historically significant CPI related to freedom of speech and press. He designed the course around Supreme Court cases because "you would be hard pressed to find a more authentic text than a Supreme Court decision." Although all nine of the cases the students read were about the First Amendment's speech and press clauses, Joe also hoped his students would gain an understanding of content that extends beyond the amendment. On the first day of class, he said to his students: "I want to grow old in a society that has many people understanding the way the Constitution and the Supreme Court works."

The 24 ninth through twelfth grade students enrolled in the course met three times per week, for a weekly total of four hours. Most weeks, the students read one First Amendment Supreme Court case, prepared to participate in a discussion on the case by completing

an assignment called a "ticket," worked in small groups to review the facts of the case, participated in a seminar, and wrote an issues-analysis paper.

The seminar model of discussion that Joe used was pervasive throughout New Horizons High School. Joe learned the model from the school's principal, who participates in the seminars as a model participant and, on occasion, as a facilitator. The model, labeled simply "seminar" at the school, is a text-based, large group discussion designed to help participants develop a deeper understanding of the issues, ideas, and values in the text (Gray, 1989). Joe favors the model because of its potential to enhance critical thinking and the generation of new ideas.

Preparing for the Seminar

This day's seminar focuses on the Supreme Court's decision in *New York Times Co. v. United States*, the famous "Pentagon Papers" case decided in 1971. Examining the tension between freedom of the press and national security, Joe's students read the 50 pages of the case and completed a 'ticket' assignment, a data retrieval chart that identified the basic arguments made by each of the justices in the nine separate opinions issued. Joe's ticket assignments require students to read and interact with the text; the seminar discussions are for them to understand it. The day before the seminar, the students work in small groups to review the basic facts of the case and the movement of the case to the United States Supreme Court.

As the students enter the classroom on seminar day, Joe checks whether their 'tickets' are completed. Graded as a 'pass' if completed and a 'fail' if not, the tickets determine who may participate in the discussion. Students who fail are assigned an observer role and must sit outside the circle and take notes on participation patterns. These notes will later be shared with the group during the debriefing of the seminar. Requiring completed 'tickets' is one way that Joe navigates the difficulties involved with talking across difference:

> The only thing that we know we have in common in a seminar is the text that we share. We've been raised differently. We have studied different materials in this class. We may have had U. S. History classes, but others have not had U. S. History classes. All sorts of things. But what we do know is that we all have the text in common. A good discussion, a good seminar, begins from the premise that we are talking about a shared text.

As the two-hour class period begins, Joe, 19 students, and the school principal are seated in the seminar circle. One student who didn't complete the ticket is creating a list of participants, to check off each time they talk. Before the seminar begins, Joe reminds the students to "do the work of the seminar," by which Joe means adhering to the guidelines created by the students at the beginning of the course and posted on butcher paper on the wall. Some of the guidelines include: "listen, respond to ideas out there, make the agenda yours, and refer to the text."

The Seminar

Joe begins the discussion with a focus question: "What was the most compelling argument in the case?" Joe has developed this focus question using specific criteria: it cannot be answered without using the text; it is open-ended in that there is no right or wrong answer; and it is a question about which he, as the seminar facilitator, has some genuine curiosity.

A student immediately responds by changing the question. "Well, I can tell you the least compelling argument." The student then points the class to a part of Chief Justice Burger's dissenting opinion that laments the short amount of time the Court had to spend on the case, and he says, "He is just whining here." Later, I asked Joe why he didn't direct the student to stick with the question that was asked. Joe responded, "That's a no-brainer. Just because I asked a question, doesn't mean that I asked the right question... Just because I was fishing for trout doesn't mean that I'm going to ignore the bass that bites." Moreover, Joe believed the student's response accomplished the primary purpose of his focus question: to open a door to the text in a way that would focus students on the reasoning of the justices.

None of the other students comment on Burger's reasoning; after a short pause, several chime in to say that Justices Douglas and Black had particularly compelling arguments. Joe asks the students to find where the Douglas opinion begins, and they turn to a specific page in the text. Joe immediately probes with a question to one of the students who liked the reasoning of Justice Douglas: "Betty, what was your sense of what Douglas was arguing?" She responds by paraphrasing, and Joe follows up by labeling Douglas' reasoning: "So he was a First Amendment absolutist?" Students agree, and Joe follows up again: "Talk to us more about Douglas' arguments." This type of interchange continues for several minutes; students refer to the text, locating specific points and talking about the basic tenets of the two First Amendment absolutists. During the opening several minutes of this seminar, Joe asks quite a few questions, continually reminding students to find the specific part of the text they are talking about.

Taking Minority Views Seriously
During the seminar, it becomes apparent that most of the students support the opinions of the court majority, which held that publishing the Pentagon Papers was protected by the First Amendment. One student, however, dissents. Joe then says to the class, "There's our lone conservative, this time. We actually don't have to support Logan, but let's ... pretend to do so for a minute. Okay? Let's try to construct and give credence to the argument of the government in this case." For several minutes, the seminar continues with students identifying and explaining parts of the dissenting opinions. Joe explained to me why he refocused the seminar on the dissenting arguments:

> I think a real important critical thinking skill is the
> ability to take a different position and to argue it with
> credence and credibility. I think it's an incredible skill
> for citizens, for enlightened citizens in a democracy,
> because it's rare that issues are completely black and
> white. It's important to give minority voices a really
> serious airing in a classroom. Because then people will
> give their true opinion. I think it's also real important
> to have kids take on different viewpoints as a way of
> better understanding their own viewpoints ... Doing
> the work of seminars is trying on ideas.

The fact that the Pentagon Papers were stolen government documents becomes the focus of conversation toward the end of the seminar. Joe asks the students, "So, what should the *New York Times* have done when Daniel Ellsberg came to them with boxes of stolen government documents? If Logan steals a TV and gives it to me, and I know that he stole the TV, have I done something wrong?" Several students exclaim, "Yes." Joe asks, "Is that the same thing as what the *New York Times* did with the documents?" A student replies, "They didn't know." Another counters, "Oh yes, they knew." A third says, "But they thought the public had a right to know." Joe now takes them back to the text: "Doesn't one of the justices say something to the effect that there is this right to know right now and the *New York Times* feels a responsibility to provide that information? Who said that?" After a few seconds of looking, someone shouts, "Page 749," and Joe reads an excerpt from that page. Joe then prompts, "You guys, most of you believe that what the Supreme Court did was right in this case." Several students concur, and Joe continues, "Did the *Times* do the right thing?" One student agrees, and another adds, "It's like this pull - they were publishing stolen documents, which was basically not the right thing to do, but yet it was important to let the public know what the

government was doing. I have a question, did anything happen to the *New York Times* as a result of this?" Joe answers, "The *New York Times* was fine, Daniel Ellsberg was tried for taking the Pentagon Papers - do you want to know now or later what happened to Daniel Ellsberg?" One student says, "Now, right now, Joe." Another jokingly adds, "We have a right to know." This excerpt illustrates a move Joe frequently made to spark discussion of larger moral questions - in this instance, 'Is it ever right to steal?'

In this hour-long discussion, the student observer counted 150 different contributions, 104 (or 70%) made by seminar participants and 46 (or 30%) by Joe. Of the 19 students in the seminar circle, 13 verbally participated. 20 of the 104 statements, however, were from the principal (21%). In comparing this seminar to the eight others in the course, I found that the overall participation rates remained fairly constant. Joe talked quite a bit, although most of his participation was in the form of questions to the students.

Debriefing the Seminar

While students are not required to participate orally in the seminar discussions, they are required to share their critique of the discussion during a debriefing period held immediately after each seminar ends. This particular seminar was the final one in the nine-week class. In a celebratory manner, Joe begins the debriefing session with the statement, "Give yourselves a round of applause, you guys got this thing." Following enthusiastic applause, one student exclaims, "I was terrified when I first saw it." Joe then says, "I would like to know what your sense of this seminar was as it compared to others and on its own merits." A student volunteers:

> I'll start ... I just thought this was a really comfortable seminar, not a lot of people talked, but those people who did really knew what their ideas were about the case, and that helped me, a person who didn't understand it a whole lot, to get a better sense of it all. I enjoyed the relaxed energy of it because it made it a lot more easy to get into.

Although many students agreed the seminar had a relaxed pace, views about the text differed. Some students liked the text, but a few others said it was confusing or worse. One student plainly stated, "This text sucks." Another student critiqued her own participation in the seminar:

> I finally completed my goal, which was to not talk during the seminar. I kept wanting to talk because I think this case was very confusing, but the seminar

cleared it up. I thought it was pretty good, but it is kind of weird trying not to talk. I think I listen more when I am talking because I listen in order to respond.

Assessment

Joe distinguishes between informally and formally assessing the quality of students' participation in seminar discussions. While Joe does provide each student with oral and written feedback on their seminar discussion skills, he does not factor their participation in seminars into their course grades because he believes the authenticity of the seminar would be harmed if students were graded on their verbal participation. The unique conception of seminars as discussions aimed to collaboratively create meaning makes the grading of individual verbal participation problematic for Joe:

> Seminars are about public performance [and] . . . about collaborative work. Seminars are about coming together in a public space to interact with people who are and are not like you, and that is freighted with different things, not less important, but different things than individual writing assignments are [which Joe does grade] . . . If I want us to make meaning together, I want only the contribution of authentic ingredients.

Another reason for Joe's refusal to grade seminars is his belief that students participate in seminars in various ways. He believes it would be impossible to create an assessment rubric for participation that would honor all of those forms of participation.

Summary

The seminar discussion on *New York Times Co. v. United States* typifies how seminar discussions work in Joe's classes. Before a seminar, students read a text, complete a ticket, and work in small groups to become more familiar with the basic facts of the case. On seminar day, guidelines for seminar behavior are reviewed, and Joe begins with a focus question. Although there is often disagreement about what the text means and what its implications are, the conversation is rarely heated or adversarial. Instead, the pace is relaxed, and the tone is civil. Frequent references to the text pepper the conversation, although both Joe and the students use non-text-based metaphors and analogies as well. Each seminar ends with a debriefing in which the verbal participation of all students is required. This critique focuses not on the issues or ideas in the text, but on students' reactions to the text and their opinions about the quality of the seminar.

Joe informally assesses his students' participation in the seminars, though he does not grade it. After most seminars (but not this one because it was the end of the class), students are required to write a paper about the issues in the text.

Snapshot of a Public Issues Discussion in Elizabeth Hunt's Class
During the 1997-98 school year, Elizabeth's eighth-grade social studies students participated in nine CPI discussions. Interspersed throughout other instructional activities, the discussions usually focused on issues directly connected to the unit of study. On occasion, however, a CPI was inserted because it was related to an important current event, as was the CPI discussion showcased in this snapshot. Shortly after two boys in Jonesboro, Arkansas, killed four of their classmates and a teacher with hunting rifles, Elizabeth prepared her students to participate in a discussion of the question, "Should the United States place more limits on guns?"

The Public Issues Model
Elizabeth used the Public Issues model, developed as part of the Harvard Social Studies Project in the 1960s (Oliver & Shaver, 1974/ 1966). The model, which involves selecting issues that bring to the forefront some of the tensions between core democratic principles (such as liberty vs. property), uses three different types of sub-issues within the discussion: definitional, ethical, and factual. Although some teachers use the model in small-group discussions (Miller & Singleton, 1997), Elizabeth learned and uses the model in a large group discussion format. Elizabeth taught the Public Issues model to her students at the beginning of the school year by explaining the different types of sub-issues and working as a large group to practice identifying the sub-issues in an article they read together. Additionally, each of her classes developed a list of discussion guidelines that she compiled into a master list posted in her classroom.

Preparing for Discussion
Three days before the discussion occurred, Elizabeth distributed various articles on gun control to her students. Some articles were chosen to accommodate students who were reading well below grade level; others were more challenging. Students were instructed to read the articles and create a chart listing arguments both for and against placing more limits on guns ownership and identifying ethical, definitional, and factual issues undergirding the issue. Almost all of the students completed this assignment, which was, as with Joe's 'ticket,' required to participate in the discussion.

The Discussion

As Elizabeth's 30 students enter the room for this CPI discussion, they take seats in either an inner or outer circle. Only students in the inner circle are allowed to participate orally in the discussion. When students in the outer circle want to participate, they must tap the person in front of them on the shoulder and change seats. Because Elizabeth's students have difficulty inviting one another into the discussion, she hopes that the physical movement will cue them to yield the floor and invite others to participate. Moreover, she thinks the new seating arrangement will cut down on the airtime of students who monopolize discussions, a goal which she explains to the class.

Elizabeth begins the discussion by reminding students about what is on the rubric that she is using to assess their participation in the discussion:

> Please remember that I am still observing for all of the things that I have before in discussions: that you bring in your background knowledge, that you state some of the issues you have read about this week - the definitional, factual, ethical issues - that you build on or challenge someone else's comments, that you question when you want more clarity, and also inviting others in is a big one this time.

Next, Elizabeth directs her students to read the board, where she has written the discussion guidelines previously developed by the class. The guidelines state: "listen, participate, invite others in, be responsible, be open-minded, and show respect."

Elizabeth begins the discussions by stating the topic: "Should the United States place more controls on guns?" For the next forty minutes, students have a wide-ranging discussion on gun control that focuses on various proposals to regulate gun ownership, such as requiring stricter background checks, requiring people to take training courses, requiring secure storage of guns, and mandating a total ban on all guns except those used by the police and military. Throughout the discussion, students use various kinds of evidence to support or challenge other students' views.

The first several statements in the discussion include direct references to the assigned articles the students read. For example, one student says, "In one of those articles I read it said it is better to protect your life than your property," which introduces a value tension and becomes a major focus of the discussion. Although students occasionally talk about using guns for hunting, most think of guns as protecting owners and their property.

The factual issue of whether people are safer if they have guns in their homes becomes the next point of dispute when a student says, "I read an article that said that gun owners are more likely to kill themselves than the attacker." The students talk about whether that is accurate and, if so, why. One student remarks, "To add on to what was said, many people who shoot themselves are not trained to use a gun, and I read an article that with training anyone can learn to use a handgun, but I think they should still be banned or regulated, but hunting rifles should not be."

In addition to drawing on the articles in support of their claims, the students also make liberal use of personal experience. When talking about whether people should be required to participate in training to use a gun, a student comments, "I know how to use a gun because my Dad taught me. We have a bunch of them in our house, but if a kid, like, if kids aren't taught how to use them, then we'll have what happened in Arkansas." Another student responds by saying, "Kids do know how to use guns; the kids in Arkansas sure did."

Throughout the discussion, students challenge the views of their classmates. During one exchange comparing gun-related crime in the United States to that of other nations, a student states that crime in Great Britain has increased on a percentage basis more than crime in the United States, even though Great Britain has stricter gun control laws. A student immediately corrects that statement by pointing out that, overall, gun-related crime is still much more prevalent in the United States.

A few students take on the roles of compromisers, attempting to synthesize the views of others and forge a middle ground. For example, one student says, "We need to compromise and figure out a solution; guns are good for protection but only in the right hands, but a lot of the problems in society today are young teens using guns in the heat of the moment . . . so there needs to be some kind of control."

During the discussion, Elizabeth rarely intervenes; when she does, it is usually to moderate participation. For example, about midway through the discussion, Elizabeth says, "Okay, I am going to interrupt for a minute because some of you guys are monopolizing again. Bob just opened his mouth to talk and you talked right over him, so Bob, what did you want to say?" A few minutes later, she encourages participation by saying, "I am going to ask that the people who have not yet been in the inner circle move to the inner circle." Later, she encourages careful listening and reinforces the goal of inviting others to participate. Only once during the discussion does Elizabeth say anything about the content. In response to a student's direct question about the Brady Bill, she references the chalkboard, where the Brady Bill is summarized.

Closing the Discussion

Near the end of the period when Elizabeth points out that time is limited, many students groan, indicating that they do not want the discussion to end. With just a few minutes left, Elizabeth ends the discussion by asking students to assess their participation in the discussion by filling in a copy of the discussion rubric. Additionally, she asks them to write down anything they had wanted to say but did not, to comment on the inner/outer circle seating, and to identify a goal for the group for future discussions.

Debriefing the Discussion

Because the class periods are so short (forty-eight minutes), students rarely have time to debrief the discussion until the next class, when they spend 10-15 minutes talking about the quality of the discussion and identifying what they need to work on as a group in future discussions. By then, Elizabeth has assessed the students' participation in the discussion and each has received her feedback.

Elizabeth's rubric for assessing discussions draws on the work of other discussion experts (Harris, 1996; Miller & Singleton, 1997). She completes a rubric for each student after the discussion, using notes taken on a specially designed class roster. While it may seem difficult to both facilitate and assess the discussions, Elizabeth says that is not the case. Students receive points for their participation in the discussion and for the discussion itself. Students who do not participate orally in the discussion but do complete the assignment receive some points, but they are penalized for not talking.

Summary of Gun Control Discussion

Although the quality of discussion varied from class to class, the gun control discussion typified Elizabeth's approach to CPI discussions. Students prepared for discussion by reading several articles and completing a written assignment. When the class period began, Elizabeth reminded the students of what she was assessing and of the discussion behaviors they had previously developed as a class. She prompted the discussion with a statement of the issue and rarely intervened in the ensuing discussion; when she did, it was usually to moderate participation. Students used evidence from their readings and personal experience to support and challenge one another's views. The discussion ranged over a number of specific proposals with no expectation of students' reaching consensus. The discussion was then debriefed during the next meeting of the class.

Snapshot of a Town Meeting in Ann Twain's Class
        During the 1997-98 school year, Ann Twain's students participated in eight Town Meetings on issues ranging from whether it was right to drop the atomic bombs to gun control. One criterion Ann uses to select discussion topics is whether an issue is currently a matter of public deliberation. In the spring of 1998, an initiative banning local and state government affirmative action programs based on race and gender was being planned for the fall election ballot. Ann decided that this initiative would be an especially good topic for a Town Meeting.

The Town Meeting Model
        While a first-year teacher, Ann developed the Town Meeting discussion model, which she defines as "a public forum where participants air their views on an important controversial issue as a way to either affect public policy, or educate others, or persuade others to come around to their point of view." The primary reason she uses Town Meetings is her belief that it helps her students better understand multiple perspectives on an issue.
        The Town Meeting model is a large group discussion in which each participant assumes the role of a person with a particular perspective. Ann and her students craft the roles to cover a broad spectrum. Ann encourages students to pick roles that represent positions other than the ones they currently hold. Additionally, Ann makes sure there is a relatively equal distribution of roles among the various points of view on the issue.
        Before the first Town Meeting in the fall, Ann taught the model to her students by explaining its assessment rubric and showing them a videotape of an especially good Town Meeting from the previous year. Ann occasionally stopped the videotape and pointed out students' contributions that met the exemplary standards of the rubric. Thus, students first learned the model by viewing a positive example. Ann followed up with a negative example, showing a videotape of adults participating in an ineffective policy discussion. She had her students identify what the adults were doing wrong, such as monopolizing, not using evidence to support their opinions, and talking over one another.

Preparing for the Town Meeting
        One week before the Town Meeting, Ann's students received a packet of background material on the affirmative action initiative. After one class period of didactic instruction on the issue, Ann and her students created the roles, which included: Governor of the state, a university admissions officer, a newspaper reporter, a white business owner, a minority student, and representatives of education and

advocacy organizations. After selecting a role, each student was given specialized reading packets that focused on the particular position of her/his role and a sheet that required him/her to state the position and identify pro and con arguments. For the next three class days, the students worked individually and in pairs reading the articles and preparing for their roles by watching videos, hearing speakers, searching the World Wide Web for information, and calling advocacy organizations.

The Town Meeting

As Ann's 29 seventh- and eighth-grade students enter the classroom, they immediately notice that the furniture has been reconfigured for the Town Meeting. The tables are arranged in a large circle, and Ann has placed name tents listing the various roles on the tables. The students take their places, interspersed in pro and con positions.

Because Ann assesses each student's participation in the Town Meeting, she begins the class period by reminding students of the categories on the assessment rubric: knowledge of subject matter, portrayal of role, and effectiveness as a participant. Ann briefly explains traits in each category while holding up the tally sheet.

The Town Meeting officially begins with each student stating her or his role and its corresponding positions. Ann does this as a verbal warm-up and to remind students of the many roles. Next, Ann tells the students to "stand behind that character; give him the benefit of your voice," and she states the purpose of the Town Meeting: "We're here to get the facts on how you feel about the initiative." She then asks, "What does the initiative say?" Several students quickly respond, explaining its major points.

For the next ninety minutes, all but two of the 29 students participate orally in the discussion about the affirmative action initiative. This is an unusually long Town Meeting; typically they last fifty minutes. Throughout the Town Meeting, students raise their hands and Ann calls on them, going back and forth between roles that support and oppose the initiative.

Because the initiative addresses affirmative action based on both race and gender, the discussion alternates between the two. For example, in the beginning of the discussion a student says, "The initiative says you can't discriminate [by preferring racial minorities and women]," and another student responds, "But sometimes people are naturally racist, so affirmative action is really just trying to even out [the playing field]." A student immediately shifts the focus to gender when she says, "To add to that, 95% of management jobs in this state and in the nation are taken by men."

This shifting between race and gender continues throughout the Town Meeting, though several students contribute statements that contextualize the initiative within broader tensions, such as equality vs. merit, and equality vs. safety. One lengthy interchange about firefighters exposes the latter tension. A student remarks, "I don't think we should risk people's lives. Fire departments are forced to hire women because of affirmative action and they can't do the job." Another student agrees and adds, "Many women couldn't pass the physical tests that men had to pass to become firefighters, so they changed the tests. Again, that is risking people's lives." A few statements later, another student challenges this view, shifting attention to merit by telling a long story about how women are discriminated against in the local fire department even when they score the highest on the tests. Another student agrees, saying, "They [the fire department] should hire the person who is the most qualified."

The students' conflicting opinions on the affirmative action initiative parallel those in the larger public debate. Some students think there is still a lot of discrimination against racial minorities and women, while others disagree. A student raises this issue by quoting from a study he has read: "A women or minority has only a 2% chance of being hired by a company that is run by white men." Another student immediately challenges that statistic and asks for its source. The first student points to an article he has in front of him. Another student uses stipulating language when he says, "Well, if what he said is true [the 2% statistic], that's why we need to keep affirmative action." Several students elaborate on this point, which finally causes one boy to ask, "Why do people discriminate when we're all one race - the human race?" This rhetorical question momentarily silences the entire class.

Ann's Stance as Facilitator

Ann is incredibly busy throughout the discussion. She calls on students who have their hands raised, assesses by marking on the tally sheet, and, on occasion, redirects the content of the discussion by asking clarifying questions and raising new issues. When there are factual disputes that need to be clarified, Ann often inserts very short questions, such as "Are quotas legal?" and "Is the playing field level?" At other times, she helps students who are having difficulty by rephrasing their questions or comments.

With a few minutes left in the period, Ann ends the Town Meeting by directing the students to turn to the person next to her/ him and say anything about the initiative that he/she has not had time to contribute during the discussion. They do this, hand in their role sheets to Ann, and exit the room.

Debriefing and Assessing the Discussion

Similar to Elizabeth's, Ann's discussions often occur on Fridays, so the debriefing waits until the following Monday. Ann reported that two things typically occur after Town Meetings. First, the students talk about what went well and what did not. Second, Ann gives students her assessment of the Town Meeting, focusing on the traits listed in the rubric. Students also have their role sheets returned with comments from her, find out how she assessed their participation in the Town Meeting, and sometimes get individual feedback.

Summary of the Town Meeting

Although the Town Meeting described in this snapshot was lengthier than usual, in other ways it typified all of Ann's Town Meetings. Ann usually solicits her students' input when selecting the issue that will be the focus of the Town Meeting and always co-creates the various roles with her students. Students select which roles they want to adopt for the discussion and spend several class periods preparing for their roles. On Town Meeting day, the students sit in a circle behind name tags that state their roles. Ann begins the discussion by reminding students of the traits on an assessment rubric and asking them to go around the circle stating their roles and positions. Students control the content of the discussion, although Ann does not let students speak unless she calls on them. Throughout the meeting, most students participate orally, in part because Ann has signaled the value of talking in discussion through her assessment rubric. The next class session includes a short debriefing, in which Ann explains her assessment and feedback to the students, and solicits their feedback.

Description and Explanation of the Propositions

From the similarities and differences among these teachers' CPI discussion conceptions and practices, I induced statements (or propositions) that capture theoretically what skillful CPI discussion teaching can entail.

1. *Teachers teach for, not just with, discussion. Discussion is both a desired outcome and a method of teaching students critical thinking skills, social studies content, and interpersonal skills.*

Teaching *for* discussion means that these teachers strive to teach students how to participate effectively in discussions in school and in other public situations. Joe, for example, talks about the importance of scaffolding discussion instruction so that students can participate in the "great conversations" of democratic society. Ann's emphasis on preparing her students to participate actively in solving

problems in their community drives her use of Town Meetings. She wants her students to feel that they are citizens now - not just citizens in training. Thus, as an outcome of her use of CPI discussions, students are familiar with and skilled at engaging in public discourse. Elizabeth's teaching of CPI discussions is rooted in the First Amendment. She notes, "The First Amendment is what allows us to have, or helps us maintain, a healthy democracy; that people are able to talk about it, are able to criticize the government, or are able to get their feelings out." By providing her students with instruction on how to participate in public discourse about CPI, Elizabeth believes she is helping them learn how to exercise their First Amendment rights to speak.

Teaching *for* discussion cannot be achieved through the use of other instructional strategies. Put differently, students cannot learn to participate more effectively in discussions by writing papers. As Joe explains, "There has to be some sort of environment in society where kids practice [discussing]. They practice baseball batting, for God's sake, why can't they practice talking?"

Teaching *with* discussion, by contrast, represents a panoply of other reasons the teachers have for foregrounding CPI discussions in their curriculum, such as learning important social studies content and developing the belief that many perspectives are necessary to fully understand a CPI. By teaching *for* and *with* discussion, the teachers direct the full resources of their pedagogical content knowledge to the lesson planning process, and they devote a generous amount of classroom time to teaching students how to prepare for discussions, how to participate in them, and how to debrief them.

2. *Teachers work to make the discussions the students' forum.*

This proposition means that students share some power with the teacher when key decisions about CPI discussions are made. For example, all three teachers involve their students in creating guidelines that will be followed throughout the discussions. These guidelines are made public and are referenced periodically as a way to hold students accountable for following them and to remind students that the guidelines represent the group's will.

The teachers' roles as facilitators of the discussions most clearly demonstrate how the teachers work to enhance the likelihood that students will view the discussions as their own forum. Even though the teachers' facilitation styles differ, their common emphasis is on encouraging students to speak to one another directly. Furthermore, while students are encouraged to hold and state opinions on the issues, the teachers' opinions are not explicitly stated. In all of the discussions I observed, viewed, or listened to, never did I hear a student ask the teacher his or her opinion on the issue; nor did I hear the teacher

volunteer a position. This suggests that the teachers viewed CPI discussions not as a soapbox for themselves, but as a forum for their students.

3. *Teachers select a discussion model and a facilitator style that is congruent with their reasons for using discussion and their definition of what constitutes effective discussion. However, this creates tensions and tradeoffs that influence the type and quality of discussion in teachers' classes.*

To illustrate this proposition, I will limit my focus to Joe. Joe believes that effective discussions involve a setting that promotes equality among participants, a sense that the participants "own" the content of the discussion, intense preparation on common content, active facilitation, and the creation of new ideas. Although he has many reasons for including discussion in his courses, he is most interested in promoting critical thinking and teaching students to participate in democratic discourse. His selection of the seminar model is closely aligned with how he conceptualizes the attributes of effective discussion. In seminar discussions, the creation of new ideas and understandings is paramount. But, unlike the models used by the other two teachers, with Joe's model, the precise content that is being examined, challenged, analyzed, and extended must be shared in common. Instead of providing students with many different articles on various free speech issues, Joe selected Supreme Court decisions that he believed all students needed to read. Reading a common text is one of the primary attributes of the seminar model and is intrinsic to how Joe thinks about the primary goal of discussions, which is to teach students how to think. Without a common text, Joe fears the students would not have anything in common about which to think.

Joe's emphasis on improving students' critical thinking skills is also linked to the active facilitation role he takes during seminars. Joe's facilitation, primarily through questioning, took up approximately 30% of the seminar time. An apparent contradiction arose between Joe's desire to have students view the discussion as their own and the fact that such a high percentage of the time is taken by his questions. Joe, however, does not recognize a contradiction because he believes that his active facilitation scaffolds instruction on critical thinking. Joe sees his responsibility as the facilitator as both acting as a traffic cop and leading students in critically examination of the ideas in the text.

4. *Decisions about whether and how to assess students' participation in CPI discussions pose a set of persistent dilemmas for teachers, the most significant of which is a tension between authenticity and accountability.*

One of the clearest differences in how the teachers approach CPI discussion teaching emerges in the decisions they make about

assessment. All three assess their students' participation in discussion. Both middle school teachers use codified rubrics to assess their students' preparation for and participation in CPI discussions. Both of them also count how their students prepare for and perform in discussion as a formal part of their grades. Holding students accountable for their preparation and performance in CPI discussions and rewarding oral participation reflect the middle school teachers' concern about aligning their assessment procedures to what is valued in their classrooms. Conversely, while Joe does assess his students' seminar participation, he is adamantly opposed to the grading of seminar participation, because he believes that "paying kids to talk" is inauthentic. That is, it does not represent the way public discourse operates in the world outside of school. Moreover, Joe believes that grading oral participation would be at odds with the creation of effective seminars, in which participants should talk because they have something to say, not because they are being rewarded by an authority figure.

Thus, comparing and contrasting the assessment practices of the three teachers makes apparent a tension between accountability and authenticity. Ann and Elizabeth have chosen to privilege accountability because they believe that, if they value discussion, assessing it in a fairly formal way with a rubric reinforces the message of its importance. Additionally, formal assessment gives them the opportunity to provide specific feedback to students about what they do well and what they still need to improve. Both Ann and Elizabeth have made a choice about the issue of whether students should be required to participate orally in CPI discussions. They have decided that requiring such participation and formally assessing it are important for communicating the message that democratic discourse is a critical outcome of their curriculum.

Joe, on the other hand, has chosen to privilege authenticity. Because he believes that "paying kids to talk" will compromise the genuineness of students' contributions, he allows some students to remain silent. While students in Ann's and Elizabeth's classes can also make that choice, there is a cost involved. No such cost exists for students in Joe's class.

5. *Teachers' personal views on CPI topics do not play a substantial, visible role in classroom discussion itself. However, teachers' views strongly influence the definition and choice of CPI for discussion.*

This proposition suggests that the disclosure of teachers' personal views on issues is not what is significant to the practice of these skilled discussion teachers. As mentioned in the explanation of Proposition 2, in the many discussions I observed or listened to, there was not a single example of a student asking a teacher for his or her

personal opinion on an issue. Moreover, none of the teachers ever volunteered personal opinions on an issue. While this lack of disclosure is evidence that the discussions are the students' forums, it does not mean that teachers' personal views on issues do not matter in their CPI discussion thinking and teaching. The teachers' personal views on what counts as a CPI in the first place, and their views on specific CPI, clearly influence what issues are discussed and the materials that students are exposed to when they prepare for discussion.

An example of how teachers' personal views on CPI influence their discussion teaching is found in the different reasons the three teachers gave for not including gay rights as a CPI in their curricula. Joe does not believe that gay rights issues are CPI. Instead, he likens such issues to human rights issues, on which there are no legitimately differing views. Thus, he does not select gay rights as a CPI because his personal value system directs him to treat such issues as moral issues that have one clearly right position. About gay rights, Joe stated, "The correct answer is that people should not be discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, sexual preference, physical disability." Likening the denial of equal rights for gays to historical abuses of human rights, such as slavery and Nazism, Joe advocates including gay rights in the curriculum, but as an example of the denial of civil rights, not as a CPI.

Elizabeth's and Ann's decisions not to include gay rights as a CPI discussion topic also reflect personal views, albeit different from Joe's. Elizabeth's personal discomfort with gay rights issues, which stems from the conservative community in which she teaches, keeps her from including this topic as a CPI open for discussion in her classroom. Elizabeth worries that the inclusion of gay rights issues would spark too much controversy and community disapproval. Her fear of community disapproval seems reasonable; a teacher in her school who taught a unit on the Salem Witch Trials was castigated by some community members who thought she was encouraging the practice of witchcraft. On the other hand, Ann does not include gay rights issues because she worries that her students would not discuss them with sensitivity and that gay students in her classes would feel uncomfortable.

6. *Teachers receive support for their CPI discussion teaching from school administrators, the overall culture of the school, and the school's mission. Thus, their CPI discussion teaching is aligned with, not in opposition to, what is expected in the school.*

Representations of skilled teachers in popular culture, especially in film, often portray them as remarkable because they differ from what is valued in their schools. This proposition suggests the opposite: these skilled discussion teachers are supported by the larger

school environment and teach in alignment with what is valued by others in the school community. To illustrate this proposition, consider Ann's situation.

Ann has found a school that is particularly well-suited to her conceptions of the type of education that young people should experience. Like Joe's school, hers was formed as an alternative to the traditional schools typical of her school district. Her school values innovation and provides support for the curriculum she has created. For example, the school's daily schedule can be rearranged to allow a longer period for Town Meetings, the discussion model Ann has created. Her principal advocates the use of Town Meetings and participates in at least one per year. In their other classes, Ann's students are frequently asked to participate in various kinds of discussions, which results in a school-wide norm that supports the behaviors that Ann is teaching.

All of the teachers in the study are fortunate to work in settings that reinforce and support their teaching practices. As is the case when buying real estate, the lesson here may be that the essential factors in the skilled teaching of CPI discussion is "location, location, location."

Significance of the Research for Social Education

Teachers, teacher educators, and researchers know well the difficulty of teaching students to participate effectively in CPI discussions. Below are the contributions I believe this study can make to all three groups. This study elaborates, specifies, and challenges the existing literature on classroom discussion in social studies in three areas: teachers' conceptions of discussion, assessment of discussion, and the influence of teachers' personal views on CPI.

Teachers' Conceptions

Recent research on teachers' conceptions of classroom discussion has shown that high school social studies teachers have multiple conceptions of discussion and that these conceptions are variously implemented based on the objectives of a lesson (Larson, 1997). Moreover, teachers use discussion to accomplish varied goals, which can be separated broadly into process and product (or outcome) categories (Larson, 2000). This study confirms, challenges, and adds to these empirical findings on classroom discussion. As explained in the first proposition of the theory, teachers use CPI discussions as both an avenue to accomplish multiple objectives (such as critical thinking and interpersonal skills) and as an outcome. The result echoes what Larson (1997) found in his study.

Larson's (1997) finding suggests, however, that teachers use a variety of types of discussion, with each selected to achieve different

goals. This study found the opposite - that each teacher uses just one model of CPI discussion, and that it is selected on the basis of the teacher's rationale for discussion and his or her definition of what constitutes effective discussion.

Assessment of Classroom Discussion

Literature on classroom assessment suggests that the most valuable assessments of students' learning are classroom-based (as opposed to district or state level-based) and tightly aligned to curriculum and instruction (Miller & Singleton, 1997; Stiggins, 1997). Additionally, assessment experts (Martin-Kniep, 1998; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995) recommend that teachers assess students' progress toward goals that are valued in the world beyond school - one aspect of authentic assessment. Educators who specialize in the assessment of CPI discussions (Miller & Singleton, 1997; Harris, 1996) recommend formal assessment of students' participation in discussion as a way to communicate to students that discussion is valued and to provide students with the specific feedback they need to improve their discussion skills. As explained in Proposition 4, skilled discussion teachers vary in how they approach the assessment of students' participation in CPI discussions. Framed as a tension between accountability and authenticity, this proposition both reinforces and challenges the literature on classroom assessment.

The teachers in this study who gave precedence to accountability over authenticity did so because they believe that formal assessment of discussion participation (e.g., using rubrics and grading) communicates to their students the importance they place on discussion. It also provides their students with a sense of how they are progressing toward the discussion goals the teachers had identified and codified in the discussion rubric. Equally important, however, is the explicit decision the teachers who formally assess have made about whether oral participation is required of all students. In short, all students must talk or pay a price for their silence. The advantage of this stance toward the "choice" issue (i.e., whether students may choose to be silent without penalty) is that it reinforces high and common standards. Unlike some classrooms where only the already verbally proficient students participate orally in classroom discussion, these teachers recognize the connection between practice and progress. Grading students' participation orally in discussions is, therefore, an example of the connection that assessment experts see between what is assessed and what is communicated about the importance of all students' learning.

As mentioned above, though, there is a downside to formal assessment of discussion participation, which is captured in the phrasing of Proposition 4 as a tension between authenticity and

accountability. Joe refused to formally assess students' oral participation in discussion because he believed that to do so would jeopardize the authenticity of the discussion. This reasoning directly challenges the literature on authentic assessment because it underscores the problems associated with common standards for all students. Common standards only work if there is agreement about what good performance looks and sounds like. It may be that discussions, especially those that occur in a large group, work best if participants are behaving in different ways. Authentic examples of CPI discussions that occur in the world beyond school do not demand that all participate in the same manner or with the same frequency. Think of a particularly good discussion among community members about how to solve a public problem. We would expect that some people would talk more and some less. We would expect that some people would use analogies to explore the problem, while others would use statistical evidence. We would expect that some people would ask many questions, while others would use examples from their personal history to explore the problem or suggest solutions. In short, we would expect difference. Yet, discussion rubrics that are specific enough to be helpful to students often do not allow for these types of difference. They explicitly identify common ways that people should behave in a discussion.

Selecting CPI for Discussion

Little is known about how teachers select CPI for classroom discussion. Accordingly, another contribution this study makes to the literature is to demonstrate that, at least for some teachers, their personal views on CPI inform their selection of issues. As was explained in Proposition 5, these skilled discussion teachers do not believe that all CPI have equal curricular value. In fact, just the opposite was found. These teachers select CPI based on a variety of factors, one of which is their own view about whether the issue is really a CPI, and, if so, whether it meets enough of the criteria they have created for content selection to warrant inclusion in the curriculum. Some issues were also not selected because of the teachers' personal discomfort with the issue, concerns about whether students could discuss particular issues in a sensitive manner, or worries about community disapproval.

This is a particularly important finding because of its potential to influence the focus of scholarly discussion on how teachers' personal views on CPI influence their discussion practices. Previously, most of the literature on teachers' personal views on CPI has focused on whether their positions should be shared with their students (Kelly, 1986; Lockwood, 1996). But, that question presumes that a CPI has already been selected for discussion. This study suggests that an

equally important question for teachers and researchers is how teachers' personal views inform the decisions they make about what is discussed in the first place.

Implications for Practice

How might the results of this study inform the practice of teachers and teacher educators? When I share these results with secondary social studies teachers, they invariably exclaim something to the effect of, "These teachers make such a big deal of discussion." What they notice is that these discussions are intricately planned and that everyone involved is expected to prepare. These discussions are not ad hoc, nor are they scheduled at the last moment. The teachers then ask, "How much difference do you think that makes in whether a CPI discussion will be successful?"

As this study points out, the difference is significant. Students and teachers who prepare well for CPI discussions tend to have greater success. This does not mean that spur of the moment discussions are doomed to failure. In my own teaching and observations of other teachers, I can think of a few such discussions of CPIs that worked well. But, as a general rule, it is unwise to expect that students without exceptionally well-developed discussion skills (and there are few of those students) can create a good CPI discussion without preparation. I often point out the "hard line" that teachers in this study take on participation without preparation. Their general rule is that if students cannot demonstrate preparation by completing a "ticket" of some sort, then they do not participate in the discussion. What do they do instead? As shown earlier, they are assigned an observer role, and during the debriefing of the discussion they provide feedback to the class. In all three of the teachers' classes, however, the vast majority of students regularly completed their discussion "tickets" because they wanted to participate in the discussions. This was true even for students who did not regularly complete other course assignments.

In short, preparation for discussion enhances the equality and quality of the discussions. For classroom teachers, then, this study suggests that all students should be expected to prepare for discussions and that discussions should be planned well in advance to allow for thorough preparation.

Of course, many teachers want to teach their students to participate more effectively in CPI discussions, but they may not know how to accomplish this goal. So, what can teacher educators (both preservice and inservice) do to help teachers improve their discussion teaching skills?

First, it is important to help teachers develop an understanding of the multiple purposes of discussion. As I explained earlier, all the

teachers in this study taught both *for* and *with* discussion. In other words, they used discussion in their curricula to help students become better discussants of CPI and to help students learn important content and skills. This broad and sophisticated conception accounts for why the teachers put such a major emphasis on teaching all students to participate more effectively in CPI discussions.

Teacher educators should help teachers and preservice students to consider multiple reasons for teaching CPI discussions. In particular, it is important to put forward the democracy rationale for CPI discussions because it may result in a belief that effective participation in such discussions is a democratic good in its own right. This belief could help teachers dedicate themselves to teaching all students to participate effectively in CPI discussions, not just those students who already have the inclination or sophisticated discussion skills.

Second, teacher educators should provide teachers and preservice students with multiple opportunities to participate in high-quality CPI discussions so that they can experience the power of such discussions. Careful debriefing of the discussions can help teachers and preservice students learn the internal architecture of discussion lesson plans, and can bring to the forefront the many pedagogical issues that are part and parcel of CPI discussion teaching. For example, it will be important to make thoughtful decisions about assessment of students' participation in such discussions, the criteria that will be used to select issues, and the type of discussion model that best suits the goals of the discussion.

Conclusion

In closing, I will share a personal observation that I gleaned from the study. Before undertaking this study, I expected that the teachers who were accomplished at teaching their students to participate effectively in CPI discussions would be classroom "wizards." Tedd Levy (1998) describes such teachers as the "great exception," the individual teacher who "overcomes apparently insurmountable odds to succeed where others have failed" (p. 3). I expected this finding because the literature shows that few teachers include CPI discussions in their curriculum. Perhaps so few teachers use CPI discussions, I thought, because they are just so difficult.

While I still believe that it is not easy to teach students to participate effectively in CPI discussions, I have modified my assessment of the difficulty of CPI discussions as a result of what I learned from this study. I do believe that the teachers I studied bring to the classroom a host of skills that some teachers may not possess. Additionally, I recognize how fortunate they are to be in schools where

they are receiving support for their practice from parents, teachers, and administrators. Notwithstanding this assessment of their abilities and school settings, one of the factors that makes these teachers successful is not classroom wizardry, but well thought-out and thorough lesson plans informed by sophisticated conceptions of the purposes of discussion. While teaching people to be classroom wizards may be extremely challenging, teaching them how to develop sound lesson plans and implement them in the classroom is less so. For those educators who believe that participating in CPI discussions is an important goal for their students, this is clearly good news. In short, it may be that teaching students to participate effectively in CPI discussions, though difficult, is indeed an attainable goal.

Notes
[1]The researchers defined discussion as the free exchange of information among students and/or between at least three students and the teacher that transcended the usual initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) sequence.
[2]The teachers' names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

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Author

DIANA E. HESS is Assistant Professor of Curriculum and Instruction in the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706.

"Get Up Offa That Thing": African American Middle School Students Respond to Literature to Develop a Framework for Understanding Social Action

Cynthia A. Tyson
The Ohio State University

Abstract

The use of children's literature in urban social studies classrooms to facilitate students' engagement in literate behaviors and simultaneously develop a framework for understanding social action is an under -researched area. This paper discusses the use of literature for children and young adults in an urban middle school language arts and social studies block as a pedagogical strategy to facilitate understandings of social action. The African American students' responses to literature supported a development of a working definition of social action and ideas about action/inaction in their urban community contexts. These issues and others offer guidance for how literature can be used as an extension of citizenship education with the development of critical consciousness, political identity, and social action as the objectives.

"Get up offa that thing... and you'll feel better."
James Brown

Both participants and observers enjoy dancing and the aesthetics of that art form. Yet, observation is fundamentally passive. While many professional performers do not mind spectators, other artists want people to become actively involved. James Brown, for example, subscribed to the tenet that music should make you want to move, get up, do something, and subsequently feel better.

A strange "dance" has developed with regard to social studies instruction and social action. The primary purpose of social studies is "to develop [in children] the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world" (NCSS, 1994, p.3). Yet, social studies has also been criticized for promoting a "spectator"

or "wallflower" democracy in which most citizens observe rather than participate in democratic institutions (Ross, 2000). In such a democracy, citizens passively listen to the public discourse without contributing to it. Some educators, though, have called for a curriculum that explicitly emphasizes students' individual and collective abilities to participate actively in a pluralistic society (Alger, 1974; Alger & Harf, 1986; Anderson, L. F., 1979, 1990; Becker, 1990; Case, 1993; Center for Civic Education, 1984; Freire, 1980; Hanvey, 1976; NCSS, 1994; Ross, 2000).

McGowan, Erickson, and Neufeld (1996) maintained that children's literature integrated into the curriculum could be a vehicle for the development of an atmosphere that nurtures the development of critically conscious thinkers who, as Freire proposed, will "see- (or in this case read) judge-act" (Gibson, 1999) upon their responsibility as citizens. Indeed a number of educators (Button, 1998; Clegg & Ford, 1996; Johnson & Janisch, 1998; Krey, 1998; McGowan, Erickson, & Neufeld, 1996; Sandmann & Ahearn, 1997) have argued that children's literature belongs in the social studies curriculum.

Unfortunately, while using trade books in a social studies curriculum to understand the idea of social action seems logical, there is a dearth of scholarship around this practice, as McGowan, Erickson, and Neufeld (1996) point out:

> Curiously, most advocates do not support their claims for the effectiveness of literature-based social studies teaching with research findings. From 1929-1988, various educational journals included 164 articles exploring the association between trade books and social studies teaching, yet only four percent of these citations were database examinations of the nature, and/or effectiveness of literature-based teaching (p. 203).

While the effectiveness of literature-based teaching in social studies might be questionable, research data does support, however, a focus on *literacy* that is essential for full participation in society because it contributes to an understanding of political power, economic inequalities, and historical oppressions (Anyon, 1997; Freire, 1970, 1973; Heath, 1993; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Results from a study conducted by McGinley, et. al, (1997), for instance, reveal that children's reading and writing function in personal, social, and political ways and can help them to understand their present selves, their problems, and their futures. Students' reading and writing can serve as a vehicle for exploring self-esteem, identifying with role models, providing personal enjoyment and entertainment, and savoring past experiences

(Newkirk, 1989). Furthermore, reading and writing can assist students in understanding and considering possibilities for transforming individual, communal, and societal problems and injustices through social action. Freire, for example, proposed that educators use "see-judge-act" student-centered methods that lead to critical consciousness and an awareness of the need constantly to unveil institutions and practices that protect injustice; thus, critical consciousness serves as a foundation for action toward equality and democracy (Gibson, 1999).

Banks (1993, 1995) introduced the concept of transformative academic knowledge as a way to critique existing power relationships and improve society. While much of the current research on literacy and response to literature has amassed information that is pedagogically influential, it has excluded inquiry into literary responses that might generate student motivation to effect social change.

Purpose of the Study

Based on the aforementioned gap, the study discussed in this paper explores the use of literature to promote understandings of social action in two ways.

First, students' literary responses are explored as a step in the development of the conceptual framework for defining, acquiring, and enacting social action (Banks, 1995). The study examines how the use of literature that focuses on controversial issues can provide a framework for helping students develop a working definition of social action and think about how to make changes in their lives and their urban communities. Finally, the study identifies some pedagogical implications of the use of literature-based social studies teaching that supports the development of critical civic consciousness and political identity development as a catalyst for action (Friere, 1973; Banks, 1993, 1995).

Understanding how students, particularly African American students, connect their reading, written responses, and discussions of literature may extend our understanding of possible educational and societal functions of literature (Tyson, 1997; McGowan et al., 1998). Such knowledge not only extends our understanding of the possible functions of reading and writing engaged in by all children, but also it may provide valuable information about ways that educators might include social studies content that is more personally, socially, culturally, and politically relevant for African American students than the existing mainstream curriculum.

An underlying assumption of the present study is that literature can make a difference in the lives of African American students; that is, reading, writing, and discussing literature can help

African American children to make sense of and negotiate their life experiences. Research suggests that stories function to order our world and create both a foundation upon which each of us constructs our sense of reality and a filter through which we process each event that confronts us every day (Gates, 2000; Tyson, 1997). Because of their role in how people make sense of their lives and because the purpose of a social studies curriculum is to help children make sense of and participate in society, stories and literature can be a basis for creating socially relevant social studies learning experiences.

Tyson (1997, 1999) suggests that inquiry around literary repertoires should include the repertoire of civic competence, political identity, and participatory social justice action. While some of the social and political functions of literacy have been reported in other work (Freire, 1973, 1980; Lee, 1985; Shuman, 1986), there is a gap in the literature with regard to possible links between the use of literature and students' social action understandings and initiatives. Thus, this study aimed to discover how the use of children's literature that focuses on contemporary issues can provide a framework for helping students develop a sense of what social action means to them and others and to begin to think about how to make improvements in their lives and urban communities. This approach echoes the call of multicultural educators to create "transformative knowledge, which challenges institutionalized mainstream knowledge, and makes explicit its values, premises and its connection to action to improve society" (Banks, 1996, p. 1).

This study addresses the question: How can children's literature be used in the urban classroom as a catalyst for exploring social action issues and understandings? Earlier work investigated how elementary school African American boys, drawing on representations of social issues in literature for children and young adults, considered opportunities for urban community action (Tyson, 1997). As the boys in Tyson's study engaged with the books, they simultaneously strengthened their literary skills, increased their opportunities for academic success in classroom literary events, and initiated personal, local, and wider community-oriented social action. The present study included African American middle school male and female students as they explored the dilemmas of contemporary society as portrayed in literature for children and young adults. It investigates how students' life experiences, juxtaposed with literary representations of social dilemmas, informed and set into motion the foundations of political identity development and understandings of social action. It also explores how these juxtapositions may influence the pedagogical decisions related to the selection of literary materials, as well as how literature may be used as an instructional tool to increase literacy among African American students. Finally, it explores the

implications of the creation of a community of middle school readers who share responses in socially constructed ways with culturally specific voices and whose lives form an integral part of their responses to literature.

Research Methods and Setting

The aim of this study was to connect the participants' day-to-day experiences to literature in order to facilitate persuasive discussions about and interest in social action. Thus, the qualitative research methodology design included individual interviews (Kvale, 1996) and classroom and participant observation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000), and incorporated interpretivist, critical, and emancipatory research paradigms (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000). Interpretivist inquiry is particularly suited for this study because it is about contextualized, socially constructed meaning based on a constant interpretation and reinterpretation of the intentional, meaningful behavior of people, including researchers. Critical qualitative inquiry seeks to change the world, not just to describe it (Popkewitz, 1984). Underpinning the critical inquiry that guided the formulation of this study's research questions was the concern with not just describing events, but critically examining the ways in which the data collection and analysis served the interests of the participants. Additionally, the team of educators in this study (teacher, researcher, graduate student) worked with an emancipatory epistemelogical framework (Tyson, 1998) to develop the concept of social justice in action using literature for children and young adults. This literature includes careful attention to important issues such as race, identity, poverty, violence, and homelessness. For one academic year, the team implemented an instructional project with students in an urban sixth-grade classroom.

The project began with the students writing their own definitions of social action. Over the course of the school year, they read and discussed examples of social action in the following five books:

> *The Skin I'm In* (1997) by Sharon Flake
> Thirteen-year-old African American Maleeka suffers from low self-esteem, stemming from her economically fragile life, her mother's mental health challenges, and the taunts she receives mainly because of her dark complexion. Into her life walks Miss Saunders, a teacher whose rare skin condition also sets her apart. Miss Saunders is almost too good to be true, but the reader slowly sees her vulnerability and Maleeka's dilemma in choosing between friendship

and the responsibility to do the right thing. This book is the winner of the 1999 Coretta Scott King Honor Award, and the 1999 American Library Association Best Book for Young Adults.

Leon's Story (1997) by Leon Tillage
In this autobiography, Baltimore janitor Leon Walter Tillage reflects on his life. He recalls his childhood as an African American sharecropper's son in 1940s North Carolina at a time, only a few short decades ago, when Klansmen and Jim Crow laws ruled the South. *Leon's Story* is the 1997 winner of the Elementary School Division of the Carter G. Woodson Book Award given by the National Council for the Social Studies for Multicultural Nonfiction taking place in the United States.

SeedFolks (1997) by Paul Fleischman
An old man seeking renewal, a young girl connecting to a father she never knew, a pregnant teenager dreading motherhood. Thirteen voices tell one story of the flowering of an abandoned vacant city lot into a neighborhood garden. Old, young, Jamaican, Korean, Hispanic, tough, haunted, and hopeful, the characters are as diverse as the plants they grow. The book develops into a rich, multi-layered exploration of how a community is born and nurtured in an urban environment.

Something Beautiful (1998) by Sharon Dennis Wyeth
A poetic tribute to children and the bonds they feel with their family, friends and community, this is the story of a young African American girl's search for "something beautiful" that leaves her feeling much happier, for she has experienced beauty, friendship, and hope as she participates in an act to beautify her neighborhood.

Faithful Elephants
(1997) by Yukio Tsuchiya
This is a true story of the fate of three elephants at the Ueno Zoo in Tokyo during World War II. When the bombs began falling, people feared the cages would be broken and dangerous animals would be set loose, so an order was given to kill all the animals, even the

gentle elephants. The zookeepers face a moral dilemma.

These works were selected based on criteria developed by Levstik (1990) for reviewing books for possible inclusion in the social studies classroom. As Levstik states:

> Social studies teachers who want to incorporate literature into the curriculum cannot assume that even critically well-received books are always an appropriate or accurate depiction of the world past or present—(the goal) instead is to think of literature more broadly (p. 339).

Consideration was also given to Krey's (1998) discussion of the potential of children's trade books for social studies. She posits four ways that high quality children's literature helps educators achieve the goals of social studies:

> First, (this literature) expands a learner's knowledge about a particular human event that has not been experienced firsthand. Second, high quality children's literature provides learners with an insider's perspective that includes the emotions of human events. Third, high quality children's literature offers a holistic picture of a human event. Fourth, good books will give readers a balance between the facts of human events and the human characteristics of people involved (p. 10).

From a review of this research, and supplemented by the team members' own teaching experiences, the team negotiated a set of criteria by which we would choose the books for the study, and then evaluated many books. Table 1 summarizes the team's selection criteria.

Table 1

Criteria	Grounding
High literary merit	Book awards (e.g., American Library Association Notable Books for the Social Studies, Coretta Scott King-ALA Social Responsibility Round Table)
Accessibility and readability	Teacher and researcher experience with evaluating text for readability; publisher's suggested reading level(s)
Features social justice concepts like civil rights, peace, honesty, equity	Content analysis by researcher and teacher; book reviews
Features re(action) to conditions of social injustice such as homelessness, racism, sexism, class exploitation, pollution, law enforcement	Content analysis by researcher and teacher; book reviews
Features multiple perspectives (diversity of gendeer, class, race)	Content analysis by researcher and teacher
Stimulates debate and critique of social issues impacting community, nation, and world	Research such as Levstik, 1990, Krey, 1998; also McGowan, et. al., 1996; Tyson, 1997, 1999

The site for this study, an urban middle school, was chosen in part because of its practice of integrating language arts and social studies. The classroom teacher had both considerable expertise and flexibility, rooted in eight years of teaching and a lifetime of social activism. A graduate student and the author were involved in the life of the normal social studies/language arts 80-minute class period weekly for one academic year. Each of the 20 students was given her or his own copy of each book. Our data collection included individual interviews, audiotapes of each class session, and the collection of student-written artifacts.

The books selected for this study were incorporated as a normal part of this classroom's social studies pedagogy and curriculum. The teacher typically had used some literature in her social studies teaching in the past, but this work represented an expansion

of her use of literature in her classroom. For this teacher, this work was also a natural progression to a pedagogy with a view of social justice. Additionally, to support the teacher in her development of this pedagogy, the author assumed selected teaching responsibilities, co-planned with the teacher, and debriefed weekly with the teacher following teaching sessions. These processes were important because the teaching, the books, and the classroom discussions *collectively* contributed to the environment that supported student development of a social action perspective (Tyson, 1997, 1999).

Students read assigned texts and participated in the associated activities (journal writing, story boards, drama, small group discussion, internet research). The research team facilitated in-class discussions on the social issues raised in each book. The class also discussed conceptions of social action and responses through social action. The researchers wanted to determine whether: 1) after reading the books and participating in classroom discussions and related activities, the students would make connections to their own lived experiences; and 2) these connections would then lead students to develop understandings of social action and ways of thinking about social action in their own communities.

Using Miles and Huberman's (1994) qualitative technique of analytic induction, all the data were organized, analyzed, and coded for emerging themes across all student responses, as well as for disconfirming data and anomalies. Outside of class time, the research team met for joint planning and ongoing analysis of data. The students' written artifacts were collected for document analysis and triangulation of further coding, reduction, and categorizing of data. Member check sessions included weekly consultation with the students and the classroom teacher to discuss the representation of analyzed data.

Findings and Analysis

Social Action: Initial Definitions

A body of research (e.g., Wade, 2000; Wade, 1997; Wade & Warren, 1996; Shumer, 1994; Conrad, 1991) focuses on school-based community service learning that encourages students to take social action: to give of their time and energy on behalf of a cause, or to do something for people in need. As noted by Wade (2000), "True service is more than an action; it is an attitude, a relationship, and a way of being in the world." Service of this type is an attempt to meet the needs of others as well as to learn about social issues and problems and to develop a commitment to the greater good. Some forms of community service practiced in schools, however, may not address the essential relationship between the server (a person with relative privilege) and the served (people who are "lacking" in some way).

Nor do they address the social structures that create the differences between the server and the served. Finally, the people being served remain disenfranchised from the process by which they are being helped; the servers are placed in a position of being more knowledgeable about what the served need. Like the observers of the dance, the served are essentially placed in a passive position.

Children are often the focus of these acts of service. The question arises, however: Do children who are disenfranchised because of issues of poverty, geographic location, ethnicity, and race—those who are deemed in need—have the means to act? Can literature written for children and young adults facilitate an opportunity for these children to conceptualize, define, and then take social action on behalf of themselves and others? Moreover, might this action help children avoid the passive role of being served by the benevolent others? To return to the metaphor at the beginning of this paper, might children create their own dance to meet their own needs?

Before the initial interviews, the twenty students in this study participated in a classroom discussion in which they were asked to define the term "social action." Although a lively discussion ensued where students talked of experiences such as court actions or social interactions at parties, only three students demonstrated a sense of the meaning of social action.

Sunny[1]:	The way a person acts or interacts... you know how you act.
Jameelah:	Standing up for yourself.
Michael:	The way that you interact with others, with those around you. How you interact with people around you to help someone else.

Sunny and Jameelah defined social action as elements of social behavior such as interaction and standing up for oneself. Of all the students' initial definitions of social action, only one, Michael's definition, focused on the notion of helping someone else.

These three students were on their way toward developing a conceptual framework that began from the inside out; that is, they were looking at themselves as the initiating point of action. The research team wanted to facilitate for the other students the development of similar perspectives. Ultimately, this differentiated awareness required further formulation of a conceptual definition of what it means to "help someone else."

Social Action: (Re)Definitions
        As the study progressed, so did the students' evolving definitions of social action. After reading and discussing *Seedfolks* and *The Skin I'm In*, the students were asked to define social action. This time 19 of the 20 students were now able to offer definitions, with Michael, Jameelah, and Sonny amending their definitions.

        Sunny: It's still like I said before the way you act, but it is what other people do with you too. Like with the garden all those people were social acting together.

        Jameelah: I want to add that you can like stand up for yourself and take care of the environment too. You could take care of older people too.

        Michael: It is like how you help someone, I still mean that, but it is an action taken on behalf of yourself too, or others in the community.

        Additional students shared their definitions, characterized by the following examples:

        Brandy: I learned from *Seedfolks* that social action is taking part in something.

        Carla: Social action is like working with others with a problem you have, and learning to solve it with others, so they can help.

        Chris: It's just showing leadership in a community, like Kim.

        Jameelah's initial definition revealed her sense of social action as a stance that now includes others. Sunny expanded her definition to include environmental concerns and older people. Michael's definition evolved to that which was later adopted by the whole class. He began with an idea of social action as interactions with others and helping someone; he moved toward specificity in defining action taken on behalf of oneself and others in the community. Some students, much like Carla, Chris, and Brandy, began to view social action as something

that is part of collaborative community problem solving that is connected to leadership. Further class discussions helped to uncover influences on this stage of student definitions. For example, Michael stated:

> When I read *The Skin I'm in*, Maleeka finally stood up for herself, and by doing that she was like taking up for other kids that might get clowned that way at school. That's why I think social action is part of taking up for yourself and for others too. And in *Seedfolks* too. All those people stood up for something and for each other too.

Discussion around the literature led to the emergence of specific issues and components of social action. The students began to see social action as a more complex issue, one that would involve the taking of a stance from which others may benefit. For example, the students responded to the more complex question of who really benefits from social action, the giver or the receiver? To facilitate the discussion, the students listened to a passage from *The Skin I'm In*. Maleeka, the African American female protagonist, refuses to help another student cheat on a test.

Researcher :	Any social action in that piece? Let's talk about it.
Sunny:	She did it for herself.
Grad Student:	Did what?
Sunny:	Social action.
Michael:	She was just building up her character. Her own social action.
Sunny:	Social action was how she stuck up for herself. And how she started putting together who she was, like she wasn't no cheater so she let that come out as her action.

Thus, the students agreed that refusing to help another student cheat on homework primarily benefits the person who refuses to help the cheater. Here, the students' responses focused on Maleeka acting

"for herself"—the initial point of social action with herself as the benefactor.

The students also began to understand, however, that social action can be two-fold: action for oneself and action for others. In discussion around another passage from *The Skin I'm In*, student interpretation of social action was again pursued. In this selection, Maleeka reveals to her classmates in a classroom discussion the challenges that her single mother faced after the death of Maleeka's father and her mother's mental breakdown. The students participated in the following discussion:

Researcher: Social action?

Michael: She's taking another chance to say that her mom fell apart.

Sunny: She stands up for Maleeka.

Jameelah: People should start respecting her.

Teacher: Who is she taking social action for?

Sunny: On behalf of the class.

Researcher: Right, on behalf of the class, her mother, herself...Social action for someone else really helped her and a lot of people. The class, the mother, herself. Sometimes social action can be tricky. You may be helping someone else and yourself at the same time.

Sunny : Yeah, she was telling them what happened to her and her mom and that was like how she stood up for herself like social action for her, but it helped them too, 'cuz now they knew that sometimes to love people and stuff can be painful. That was her action for them and for her.

Jameelah: So, it's like okay then we can be doin' social action for us and then a little more and do social action for

	somebody else and we may not even know we doin' it.
Teacher:	Can you think of other times this might be the case?
Sunny:	Well, like we talked about the election and voting. You vote but it really is like for everybody else too, it's for other people too 'cuz you need to support your candidate, something like that—
Jameelah:	Yeah, like when you follow the law, like driving and stopping at a stop sign even thought ain't nobody around. And like the civil rights times when people helped and didn't nobody know.

In this manner, the students began to explore who benefits from social action. They examined the idea that social action was not only for oneself; instead, it could have broader benefits. This development of a conceptual framework for social action motivated the students in this social studies class to reflect on what kinds of help were available to Maleeka and her mother, whom they viewed as living on the margins of society with little support from institutional social service programs and agencies.

Social Action: Deepening of Understandings through Literature

The use of literature in social studies, in this case literature written for children and young adults, provided opportunities for these students to develop of a sense of social and political identity (Strehele, 1999) that could potentially facilitate social action. Literature in the social studies classroom serves multiple purposes for children and young adults, among which, when read critically, helps students to develop an extended view of social reality. It also may enable them to construct and synthesize their own interpretations and to foster a recognition of the need for participation in social action. This idea was demonstrated throughout the responses of the students to *Faithful Elephants*:

Researcher:	Okay, let's think about this book in terms of your definition (written on the chalkboard): Social action is

	action taken inside or outside the community on behalf of yourself and others. Given that definition, who in this book was involved in social action?
Kenyatta:	Oh, the elephant keepers.
Researcher:	What was the social action? How were they involved in social action?
Ashay:	Trying to save the elephants.
Researcher:	Okay. Who were they acting on behalf of?
Kenyatta:	Theirselves and others.
Researcher:	Who are the others?
Ashay:	The elephants.
Researcher:	Why?
Kenyatta:	They didn't want to kill them so they were like on a personal - they acted for themselves but also for the rest of the world. They wanted to save them from if the elephants got loose.
Ashay:	Yeah, the law said they had to. You know the government said. But they made a choice to try and save the elephants at first. They let them die anyway but they [the zookeepers] took a stand.

In this exchange, the students identified multiple beneficiaries of social action. In the story, *Faithful Elephants,* both the zookeeper and the elephants were viewed by the students as beneficiaries of the zookeepers' initial decision not to starve the elephants despite government direction to do so. As the discussion continued, the students were asked to imagine social action that they might have taken in the story, *Faithful Elephants,* and the following discussion ensued:

Jameelah:	If I were the zookeeper, I would try to convince the army to order some trucks or something to take the animals to a different zoo.
Carla:	I would try to take them back to their natural habitat.
Researcher:	What happens to animals that have been fed by humans all their lives? Can you just put them back in the wild?
Students:	(Several students speaking at once) No... You have to teach them how to find food and water on their own... They could have done that.
Kenyatta:	They could have put them back in their habitat, but they would have to put them somewhere else because if they put them somewhere in Tokyo or Japan, it wouldn't have worked because they were bombing Japan.
Teacher:	So as a zookeeper you have done what?
Kenyatta:	Send them [elephants] somewhere else. Send them to Europe. I would have to do something. I couldn't live with myself if I just killed them—a person gotta do something.
Teacher:	What do you mean do something?
Kenyatta:	Sometimes it's just your responsibility like you gotta help or not help. I guess, like we said— anyway you gotta peep[2] what's going on and stand up and do something. It ain't always about just you. It's about other people and stuff. You gotta make a decision to do

something or you will just go crazy
not being able to sleep and stuff.

Researcher: So have you ever had to do some
thing because it was just your
responsibility?

Kenyatta: Yeah, lots of times, in school every
day, with my friends, but I didn't
never think of it like this, you know
responsibility and social action and
stuff.

As the students continued to read and write about social action,
they identified its essential components, which can be summarized in
the following list:

- Identify the issue(s)

- Use critical thinking

- (Re)act alone or with others

In other words, student- and teacher-led discussions helped the
students to think about the idea of developing individual agency,
identifying and weighing particular issues, and (re)acting for change
based on the individual's perception of a common good. For example,
an entry from Sunny's journal read:

I think that sometimes you just gotta stand up. And
then when you know something is wrong, just dead
wrong, you gotta make a plan to do something about
it. Sometimes wit (sic) some of your peeps[3] and
sometime alone but sometimes you just gotta socially
act.

Social Action as Inaction

The concept of social inaction was also explored; for example,
the fact that many people make an informed decision not to vote
seemed an especially timely issue in light of the 2000 presidential
election. In a larger sense, discussion also focused on those who choose
not to participate in the mainstream of social action. After reading
Faithful Elephants, our discussion shifted to inaction as part of social
action:

Researcher:	We have in our definition that social action is action... Is social action ever doing nothing?
Students:	(several speaking at once) What?... Doing nothing?... Huh?
Researcher:	What if a zookeeper said, "I'm not killing the elephants and I'm not saying nothing about it"?
Sunny:	Yeah, because maybe they are doing nothing, but something, for the sake of the elephants.
Researcher:	Okay, so we need to do something with our definition that shows that sometimes taking no action is also social action. Not doing what someone tells you to do?... I need some help.
Kenyatta:	Taking action or nothing.
Researcher:	Social action . . .?
Kenyatta:	It don't make sense though. How can you do something and nothing? That girl in the other book saw some tagging and did something about it.
Researcher:	Well, that gets us started. "Taking action or... " - do we need something else? Can somebody help here?
Sunny:	Or no action. It makes sense, you do nothing and then you are saying like, look I am doing nothing because I believe that that is doing something.
Nia:	Non-action. Like when in the civil rights time. The people sat at the counter and that was something, but they just sat there doing nothing and that was some action. Is that right?

Researcher:	You got it. Taking a stand sometimes means just sitting down. So now going back to our definition, "Social action is taking action or non-action inside and outside the community on behalf of self and others." What about that?
Nia:	Cool. Yeah, that'll work.

In the discussion above, the students began to view inaction as a manifestation of social action, and they discussed the idea of passive resistance as one of the traditions of social action. As they read the various literatures, they began to identify the social and political context in which they found themselves, and within this context, to develop a framework for an identity that involves social action. They were able to determine the types of work within their communities that would involve help from the local government, their families, the community, and from themselves. Jameelah stated:

> I am able to do some stuff in my community. We need a drug rehab place, but nobody will build one. They have never put the right stuff that's needed near where we live. But what I can do is not take drugs and when I can vote and be in politics and stuff and make sure that somebody does somethin' around here.

The development of a social studies curriculum with relevant literature fostered a classroom environment that helped to generate the analysis of social problems. Literature with themes that reflect contemporary issues fostered a "metadiscourse" that helped students to define social action and their own positionality and identity with regard to potential social action (Giroux, 1991). Within this process, the creation of a framework through which the students could see themselves as change agents was necessary as an initial step. These children found ways to create their own dance.

Conclusions and Implications

"The greatest sin of our time is not the few who have destroyed but the vast majority who've sat idly by."
-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rosa Parks is often affectionately referred to as the Mother of the Civil Rights Movement; many of us know her fateful story, as well as that of the Montgomery bus boycott. If Ms. Parks is the Mother of the Civil Rights Movement, then today's students are the movement's children and grandchildren. As this study explored the links among the selected literature, the nature of response to this literature, and the initiation of social action, the "children of the dream" (Holliday, 1999) became an inspirational metaphor for the researchers. These children, in story after story, highlight the ways in which their classroom curriculum stimulated their thinking about social action.

In this study, the students engaged in literate behaviors, developed and redeveloped their definitions of social action, and acted and reacted to their own environments and lived experiences. They began to make intertextual connections between the texts and their lived experiences. The students who participated in this study were able to speak of social change in their classrooms, in their families, in their communities, and in their futures.

As with teaching and learning everywhere, there were starts and stops in student growth among all the participants. Not all of the students' understandings of social action developed in parallel to their peers. In fact, one student never became engaged in any of the material throughout the study. Another student participated, but did not move beyond his initial definition. Overall, however, the students who participated did so consistently and demonstrated growth and development in their understandings throughout the process.

The findings of this work have significance for the field of social studies education as a model for the development of civic identity and engagement in urban community social action that is student-centered. In teaching the social studies in middle grades, teachers are often attempting to develop civic competencies that promote democracy. Students involved in learning to question, express views and have opinions, learning through the experience of others how to deal with injustices, begin to plan for current and future involvement in participatory outcomes for social change. Teaching for social change ofen takes the form of service learning in the curriculum. Some service learning projects taking place in today's schools follow a model of "savior" and "voyeurism." Seldom is service learning steeped in principles that help the "served" find self-empowerment, to need the service no longer, and to participate in their civic "ideal"

for change. The use of the sort of literature featured in this study adds to existing curricula and pedagogy in social studies to meet these needs. For example, the social studies standards adopted by the National Council of Social Studies encourage interdisciplinary opportunities to reach the goals of teaching about culture, people, places, environments, and global connections.

Clearly, the use of literature helped students articulate concepts of social action, both hypothetically and realistically in their own lives and communities. A next important research step is to explore the possibility that such literature could serve as a springboard for students to become involved in social action projects that impact their lives and communities. Literature that helps students learn how to question, express views, have opinions, learn through the experience of others how to deal with injustices, and begin to plan for current and future involvement in participatory outcomes for social change may indeed be a useful component of this process. Using children's literature to teach with a view to social justice has the potential to help students "recognize various spheres of influence in their daily lives, analyze the relative risk factors challenging discrimination and oppression in... friendship networks and institutional settings and identify personal or small group actions for change" (Adams, Bell and Griffin, 1997, p. 38). It also allows for a critical approach to social issues that focuses on student experience, student cultural understanding, and opportunities for students to reconstruct their understanding, thereby creating a "grand conversation" (Strehle, 1999, p. 219) that encourages social action.

Further implications for this research are compelling. Demographic information on urban teachers reveals that many are white, female, and often living outside the urban centers where they teach. This may render some of them unable to analyze critically the multiple forms of cross-cultural oppression that many of their students face in the forms of racism, sexism, and class exploitation. Some may view "teaching for social justice as a grim responsibility" (Kohl, 1998, p. 287). The use of literature written for children and young adults supports pedagogical principles that create opportunities for teachers and students, working together, to understand the world in its social and political contexts. As students develop this understanding, their teachers, who are "outsiders" to many communities by virtue of geographic location and race, can use literature to find a place in the curriculum in which they explore with their students ideas about social action in the communities in which they teach. These initiatives, by definition long-term commitments, help teachers to create a culturally, socially, and politically responsible pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Such pedagogy "enables students [and teachers] to transform existing

social and economic inequities while working toward a more just society" (Densmore, 1995, p. 410).

In 1916, John Dewey suggested that school is like a miniature society that cannot escape broader social ideals (Dewey, 1916). In that spirit, the students in this study, during the final class discussion, decided to create an after-school club that would focus on social action initiatives, operating as a "laboratory for social justice" (Peterson, 1999, p.xiii). This "new dance" they created, stimulated by the integration of literature and the social studies, may have planted the seed of their political identities, their identification of significant social problems, and their expressed desire to be social change agents. With the ongoing sustenance of good literature and good teaching, these students may well grow into involved citizens who will get up, do something, and *make* the world better.

Notes

[1] All names are pseudonyms.
[2] In this instance, "peep" means surveying a situation.
[3] Student colloquialism for friends.

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Author

CYNTHIA A. TYSON is Assistant Professor of Integrated Teaching and Learning in the College of Education at The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210.

Deliberative Discourse Enacted: Task, Text, and Talk

Lynn Brice
Western Michigan University

Abstract
This paper is drawn from a larger study investigating high school students' participation in group discussions of public issues and the nature of those discussions. An interpretive approach was adopted to research democratic, deliberative discussion, viewed through a multidisciplinary lens influenced by sociolinguistics, speech communication, literacy, and social education. Deliberative discussion is described through identifying emergent forms of discourse moves, textual relationships, and participatory norms that groups constructed. Identified in a microanalysis of small group discussions was a complex synthesis of intellectual, relational, and textual dimensions of group talk. A key finding was the complex interplay of three particular cognitive strategies that supported focused and sustained discussion. Transcript excerpts from one group's focused discussions are shared to illustrate the key findings. The findings point toward the importance of understanding the complexity of student group discussion and the ways in which learners gradually approach deliberative tasks and talk.

Traditional democratic education in which students hear about the discussion of public issues rather than engage in that discussion is insufficient to prepare students to assume their roles as citizens in a contemporary, pluralistic society (Barber, 1989; Brandhorst, 1990; Giarelli, 1988; Parker, 1989; Stotsky, 1991). What is needed is a revitalized curriculum in which students learn the skills of deliberation in order to engage in the discussion of public issues (e.g. Evans, Newmann, and Saxe, 1996). A revitalized curriculum is grounded in social constructivist theories of learning that emphasize student discourse in the classroom. Learning the skills of deliberative discussion involves others in a relationship in which communication

skills are practiced and guided. Small group classroom settings can engage students in discussion and ideally help students to socially construct personal meaning, assume responsibility and ownership of their learning, and practice cooperation and communication.

Small group discussion can potentially facilitate constructive, generative democratic practices. We should not assume, however, that the small group context for learning and practicing deliberative discourse is simple and straightforward. It is not enough to simply arrange students in small groups and assign a task. Small group discussion is complex. Therefore, teachers must understand the complex web of intellectual, relational, and textual dimensions of group discussion in order to guide their students' learning.

Many models of group discussion impose tasks that minimize the complexity of discourse. Group tasks can constrain the group's ability to act with autonomy and authority in its discussion process. For example, Harris' (1996) model for group discussion can be characterized as "final draft" talk in which students are expected to present fully reasoned arguments and to adhere to debate-like standards for discussion. Such models may actually squelch the emergent and improvisational nature of deliberative talk. Tasks can also be constrained when the structure is amorphous and unsupported by the teacher's instruction, much like Lensmire (1994) and Calkins (1986) found in "laissez faire" approaches to group instruction.

Small group discussion, according to research on civic education, provides a necessary starting point in democratic education for the larger tasks of revitalizing and sustaining a democratic society (Giarelli, 1988). The value of students' active participation in discussions of issues and beliefs has also been touted in the literature on literacy (e.g., Phelps & Weaver, 1999). While significant progress has been made in understanding students' abilities to write about civic issues (e.g., Stotsky's 1991 work on students' civic/political writing), no comparable research exists on the role of oral discourse (Chandler von Dras, 1993; Harris, 1996). The need remains for a clearer sense of the processes that students use to think about and discuss issues. These processes are not self-evident, nor have they been widely investigated (King & King, 1998).

The Complex Nature of Deliberative Discussion

Students need opportunities to participate in public deliberation on major societal concerns if they are to learn the norms of communication skills essential to their full participation in adult civic life (Barnes, 1993). Gutmann (1987) argues that the goal of democratic education is to instill in students the capacity for deliberation. Students need to learn to think logically, argue coherently

and fairly, and consider relevant alternatives before making judgments about public issues. Other important abilities include the capacity for in-depth inquiry, questioning, examination, and reflection (e.g., Mercer, 1995; Merryfield & White, 1996; Newmann, 1988; Stotsky, 1991). Further, students should learn to question assumptions (their own and those of others) and identify competing arguments (Onosko, 1996). They can learn to elaborate, clarify, and explain statements, use real information, subject their ideas to scrutiny (Goodlad, 1996), and weigh alternatives and consequences (Parker, 1996) of potential solutions to persistent public problems. Students also need to develop the ability to recognize, examine, evaluate, and appreciate multiple perspectives (Merryfield & White, 1996), to appreciate the complexities of a problem or issue, and to be comfortable with the uncertainty of outcomes (Evans, et al., 1996). Through development of these various intellectual aspects of deliberative discussion, and their relationship to a larger conception of democratic values, students learn that these values can be manifested in how we conduct ourselves in communicative relationships with others (Burbules, 1993; Tannen, 1989).

While specific tasks often guide the intellectual work of group discussion, equally important and interwoven throughout the tasks is the emergent relational work essential to effective group discussion. Effective discussion typically demonstrates values of involvement, respect, and concern (Burbules, 1993). Trusting relationships are framed by the contexts in which discussion participants are asked to relate, and where trusting relationships occur, exploration and learning are possible (McDermott, 1982). The values of trust, involvement, and concern are democratic, marked by an open-mindedness to others' perspectives, and are essential to group members' willingness and ability to deliberate. Willingness to participate does not necessarily precede discussion, but evolves and emerges within the discussion as participants develop norms and rules for interacting (Cragan & Wright, 1991). Habermas (Young, 1989) points out that rules and standards (the formalized discourse) must be situated within the communicative relation. The situation grounds the emergent norms as well as the imposed standards and rules of discussion in the communicative process. Within a discussion, rules that make sense conceptually must also be flexible to accommodate a range of ways to fulfill them. "Rules indicate a general direction; how we pursue that direction is open to a diversity of approaches" (Burbules, 1993, p. 79). Within the discourse of a group, unique and emergent patterns of interaction evolve. Groups typically have a need to set their own goals, develop their own norms for interacting, and find their own means of communicating (Luft, 1984).

"[Discussion] is related to our capacity for thought, especially for our ability to solve problems, to think sensibly toward conclusions,

to weigh competing considerations, and to choose reasonable courses of action" (Burbules, 1993, p. 11). A Vygotskian conception of learning holds that students learn first in interaction with others, and secondly, through internalization of their learning. All higher levels of learning originate as actual relations among people (Bayer, 1990). Obviously, one cannot deliberate alone, devoid of other perspectives or of context. In democratic classrooms, students have opportunities to develop deliberative dispositions and practices. As students interact with one another, they share ideas and questions, explore new theories, and engage in active learning.

In democratic classrooms, authority is shared; participation in them entails commitment to active involvement so that any participant is able to pose questions, challenge perspectives, and be a full partner in the discussion (Burbules, 1993). Participants in a democratic discussion must perceive authority as fluid. This perspective does not deny authority or expertise, but opens it to questioning. Viewing authority as fluid, and the roles of authority as flexible, are part of a commitment to democratic participation. Without this fluidity, students' abilities to pose questions, explore ideas, challenge perspectives, and weigh evidence – and thus, their ability to deliberate - are impeded.

Bloome and Bailey (1992) theorize that learning happens through a process of coming to know what information is relevant, how knowledge is viewed, which intertextual connections are valued, and what rhetoric is appropriate for presenting one's ideas. The metaphor of "intertextuality" is a useful tool to aid our understanding of the complex and multidimensional nature of public discourse in the small group (Lemke, 1985; Plett, 1991). When intertextuality is put into motion within a social interaction, participants give voice to multiple perspectives relevant to a discussion of complex social issues. The construction and maintenance of the discourse through intertextuality depends on who makes which intertextual relationships and how they are made (Bloome & Bailey, 1992). From a sociolinguistic perspective, intertextual links are made by group members as they interact around various texts that focus their discussions (Hartman, 1995). This is not a disembodied exercise, but a social one. Participants collectively manage thinking in their social relations. The moment-to-moment negotiation of both social norms and the textual content of talk comprise deliberative discourse. Thus, the analysis in this paper illustrates the intellectual, textual, and relational dynamics of negotiating tasks, talk, and texts as they evolve in small group discussion.

The Study

In order to study how students engage in deliberative discussion, I sought out a social studies curriculum specifically designed to engage students in the public discussion of social issues in cooperative group settings. Participants in the study were high school juniors and seniors enrolled in the Hartford Global Studies course. Hartford is a medium-sized community with an economically diverse and increasingly ethnically diverse population. The principles of cooperative learning were infused into the course to foster the learning of communication skills for democratic participation. Small group discussion was a central feature of the course.

As students participated in small group discussions, they entered into the public discussion of issues, exploring and constructing their own understandings, as well as critically exploring the perspectives of others they read and viewed. Underlying the development of the reasoning and analytic skills fostered in the course was the idea that these are the skills students need to think independently and to create their own reasoned, informed opinions about an issue that, directly or indirectly, has consequences for their lives. An inseparable and substantial aspect of the students' development as reasoned decision-makers was the development of the communicative skills necessary for participation in public discourse. Ideally, through a variety of reading and writing assignments and small group discussions, students would engage in democratic deliberation.

Following the Hartford Global Studies students through a full ten-week instructional unit, I collected and analyzed data that included field notes of participant observations, audio tapes of small group discussions, videotapes of selected small group discussions, photocopies of group written work, photocopies of the written texts that students read, and interviews with some group members. Drawing from sociolinguistics, speech communication, and literacy, the analysis in this study moved between what multiple theories tell us about discourse and what students actually did in their small group discussions. Based on multiple theories and models of group discussion, special attention was paid to five aspects of discussion in the analysis: 1) the task as assigned; 2) the intended purpose of the assigned task; 3) the group and task roles negotiated among group members to complete the task; 4) the texts (oral, written, assigned, and emergent) linked in the discussions; 5) the nature of the discussions in terms of what scholars describe as elements of democratic discourse, with particular reference to conversational strategies employed by group members. The approach provided the means for addressing the complexity of group discourse and for providing thick description,

triangulation, and the generation of grounded theory using the constant comparative method. Identified in the analysis were the multiple and diverse texts and textual relationships students constructed in their discussions and how they functioned in students' negotiation of both social relations and content knowledge within the group.

In the illustrative transcript excerpts that follow, deliberative discussion is described through emergent forms of discourse moves, textual relationships, and participatory norms that group members constructed. The various ways of participating that group members constructed yielded a kind of focused talk consistent with descriptions of deliberation in the literature. This talk was characterized by the complex integration of talk about tasks, texts, and ideas. Revealed in the sociolinguistic analysis of the Hartford students' discussions were exchanges of focused and sustained discussion that synthesized intellectual, relational, and textual dimensions of group talk. Because these episodes of focused discussion were rich from the perspective of democratic deliberation, I turned my attention to these particular episodes of talk for microanalysis. Excerpts from one group's discussions are used to illustrate the findings. The group's discussion excerpts were selected on the basis of several factors: 1) the group consistently engaged in sustained, focused discussion; 2) the group effectively applied the thinking skills fostered in the course curriculum; and 3) the group had well-established social norms of participation that enabled them to move from discussing the assigned task to actually engaging in it.

Key Findings

A key finding of the microanalysis is the complex interplay of three particular cognitive strategies that support focused and sustained discussion: 1) ventriloquation of voices; 2) idea-evolution; and 3) appropriation of textual resources. As students engaged in the discussion task assigned to them, they selected, connected, and organized information and ideas from across multiple textual sources, including themselves. As the group discussed ideas, they brought the voice of the author to the conversational floor as a voice to be explored rather than as the voice of authority. Ventriloquating (Bahktin, 1986) was a way for students to engage in the ideas presented in the texts in less face-threatening ways (Goffman, 1959), as well as explore ideas without having to commit to them.

A key characteristic of the deliberative discussions was the exploratory nature of the discourse. Barnes (1976) calls exploratory talk "rough draft" talk; speakers are not making conclusive assertions or questioning other speakers. They are, however, questioning ideas.

Exploratory talk is full of hesitations, overlapping talk, and repetition. Also evident in the group's discourse was the process of idea-evolution (Hirokawa & Johnston, 1989). This process of linking and extending ideas was recursive and spiraled forward (Britton, 1990; Gavelek & Raphael, 1996; Hirokawa & Johnston, 1989) as students constructed, critiqued, and revised ideas, both their own and those of authors they read. In this process, group members jointly developed meaning, which was accomplished as individual members contributed ideas that were synthesized into a coherent understanding (Edelsky, 1981). Within this process, students appropriated concepts and strategies for deliberating from the texts they read, the task structure for discussion that they learned, and each other, transforming these concepts and strategies for their own use (Gavelek & Raphael, 1996).

The intellectual and textual work of discussion described above was interwoven with the relational. Participatory norms and the conversational strategies employed by group members were adapted across different discussion tasks, which enabled the group to engage in focused, sustained discussion. A key relational dynamic among group members is a sense of group cohesion. Cohesion is the bond that group members construct to protect the discursive boundaries through which a group identifies itself as a "we" (Goffman, 1959). The relational work among group members also could be seen in talk that functioned as invitation, praise, agreement, disagreement, and encouragement. Such talk cannot be understood as merely commenting on the substance of the discussion, but rather as creating and maintaining the bonds of trust, respect, and appreciation that are crucial to maintaining a group context that fosters deliberative discussion.

In the analysis below, I describe one group's focused discussion chronologically, highlighting the forms and functions of oral and written discourse as the students work to complete their academic tasks in democratic ways. The group comprised four male and two female students. Mark, the only junior in the group, was a Caucasian male and an academically able student. Mark was consistently present and actively participated in the group discussions. Kate, a Latina/Native American female, was also an academically able student, consistently present, and an active participant. Shelley, the other female in the group, was Caucasian, an exceptionally academically able student and an active participant. Hitoshi, a male student, was a Japanese exchange student with limited English proficiency. Though he was a highly capable student, his participation in discussions was limited. Mike, a male Caucasian student, was frequently absent, and his participation was sporadic. Mike also had difficulties with writing and was considered to be an at-risk student. The last group member, Steven, was a hearing-impaired Caucasian

male of average academic ability. Steven's attendance was sporadic throughout the unit due to a bout with bronchitis and broken hearing aids. When he was present, Steven participated in the discussions.

The Discussion Task

The discussion described below occurred early in the Global Studies unit on global population. The students had interacted only a few times prior to this discussion. Although the topic of global population was not unfamiliar to many of the students, engaging the topic as a group and applying the analytical and reasoning skills learned in the course were new to the students. In addition, the written texts the group members read and discussed were new to students. The structure of the assigned discussion task influenced the movement and flow of the talk within each discussion. All discussions in the unit were tied to students' inquiry into the broader issue of global population. Within each discrete discussion, however, different task structures shaped the patterns of discourse around the texts the group discussed, and they influenced the types of intertextual relationships that group members constructed. Implicitly, the roles and norms negotiated by the group shaped how the group proceeded with each task.

In the transcript below, the group discussed Joel Cohen's (1996) article, "Ten Myths of Population." In the article, Cohen outlined what he considered to be ten persistent myths about the issue of global population. Mr. Grant, the Global Studies teacher, directed students to focus on identifying how Cohen framed the issue, questioning his arguments, and analyzing evidence presented in support of those arguments. Then, the group was to respond in writing to the set of questions below:

1. How balanced is the article; how biased is it?

2. How serious do you think the issue of population is?

3. What do you think was correct, and what was incorrect, about the myths presented by Cohen?

In the analysis that follows, a process is described in which students discuss the issue of global population by linking various texts in order to construct, critique, and revise arguments. Engaging in deliberative discourse, they employ and reference many texts. These include the overarching framework of the curriculum, previous whole class and small group discussions, and various texts they read and

created as a group. Illustrated in the exchange is the complex interplay of the three cognitive strategies described above.

The Discussion Begins

Shelley (starting at 19 below) began the discussion, proposing to "look at the statements" that Cohen presented, facilitating the group's engagement in the task. She paraphrased the third question, an intertextual move that brought the explicit task to the discussion floor. The first exchange with Shelley and Mark served to shift the focus from talk about how to proceed with the task to actually engaging in it.

> 19   Shelley - So, should we <u>look at the statements</u>
> and just decide whether we think they're correct or
> incorrect? (rephrases Mark's earlier suggestion and
> the third question)
>
> 20   Mark - All right. Um. (confirming)
>
> 21   Shelley - Um. This first one is <u>that he's saying</u>
> population does not grow exponentially. <u>He's trying</u>
> to disprove Thomas Malthus', um, hypothesis about
> exponential growth of human population. Do you
> think that's right? (voices the author Cohen)

Shelley (21) then took up the discussion task, addressing the first myth presented in the article, "The human population grows exponentially" (Cohen, 1996, p. 42). Cohen began his article with a brief overview of the issue of population, followed by his arguments, myth by myth. The assigned question asked students to determine what they thought was correct and/or incorrect about the myths, implying that they take one myth at a time. The group began to examine the text one myth at a time, evident in Shelley's (21) reference to "this first one."

Ventriloquating the Author

Engaging in the ideas of others is a key feature of deliberative discourse, and the group showed evidence of this in its talk. Shelley (21) referred twice to "he," that is to Cohen and the point he put forth, that exponential growth of population was a myth. Her reference to "he" functioned to ventriloquate - bring Cohen's voice to the discussion floor - as another participant in the discussion, an intertextual move. The discursive strategy was to bring the idea to the floor without the speaker's having to commit to it. Commitment to the idea remained with the author, but Shelley and the other group members did not

assume that Cohen had the authoritative word on the issue. In the process of deliberative discussion, the group first worked to identify Cohen's stance on the myth before either refuting or committing to the idea.

Commitment, as a dimension of involvement, is relational. It is the willingness to participate in the discussion and interact with others in ways that facilitate the group's involvement with the task. Shelley (21) stated Cohen's argument and then asked (21), "Do you think that's right?" Her question indicated a tone of tentativeness that reflected her neutrality on the idea she presented. The engagement in the task at this point in the discussion was to examine the author's idea. Her question also invited other group members to respond, and they accepted Shelley's invitation to engage the idea.

Linking Texts and Idea-Evolution

Shelley's move was a type of task involvement strategy that opened the floor to discussing Cohen's ideas. Following Shelley's initiating move about Cohen's argument, Kate shifted the focus of discussion to the term "exponentially" (22 below). Her question also served as an invitation and as a textual link to Cohen's articulation of the first myth, "the human population grows exponentially" (Cohen, 1996, p. 42). Group members were encouraged to clarify terms they did not understand as part of the reasoning and analytic skill development promoted by the curriculum. Thus, in asking what "exponentially" meant, Kate helped the group to develop a clearer understanding of the Cohen passage. These shifts or associations were an integral part of the group's construction of textual understanding through talk. They are also characteristic of the emergent and fluid nature of deliberative discussion.

As illustrated below, discussion of the first myth was sustained as group members engaged in a recursive process of constructing an understanding of the term "exponentially." Group members jointly constructed a response to Kate's question. Shelley (23 below) began to illustrate "exponentially," drawing a graph on the margin of her copy of the article (see figure below).

Figure: Shelley's Graph of Exponential Growth
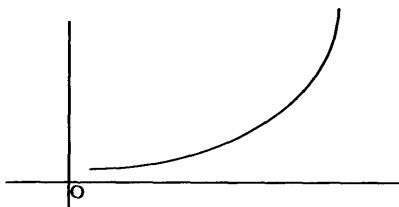
As Shelley (25) narrated her drawing of the graph, Steven (26) put into words what she was drawing, saying, "Growing exponentially goes up." Shelley (27) repeated Steven's idea. They took Kate's question and constructed an explanation with overlapping talk and overlapping thinking as they linked ideas, thus illustrating ideational evolution within exploratory talk. The overlapping speech was not interruptive; rather, it revealed the relational work of participation and cohesion among group members. Brackets ([[) between speakers' turns indicates overlapping talk.

22 Kate - What does <u>exponentially</u> mean?

23 Shelley - <u>Exponentially</u>? Um... <u>it means like</u> the graph. If you were to like -

24 Mark - <u>It means like</u>, yeah.
          [
25 Shelley -   graph out population over time on a thing like that. It would end up kind of going. It would kind of, <u>goes like this.</u> And like here it's like off. (*draws graph on margin of article; group members lean in*)
                    [
26 Steven - Growing <u>exponentially goes up</u>.

27 Shelley - It kind of <u>goes straight up</u> at a certain point.
                    [
28 Kate - So that's what he's saying?

29 [Shelley - It stays pretty level and then all of a sudden it <u>goes straight up</u>. And then it will end up leveling off. With like Thomas Malthus' thing. And that's what. And that's when population checking goes in.

In the example above, the construction of the explanation of "exponentially," in both a social sense and in the substance of their response, revealed a cooperative and collaborative effort among group members. Repetition of key terms occurred across turns and speakers (22, 23, 26). Phrases like "it means" (23, 24) and "goes like this" or "goes up" (25, 27, 29), as well as the accompanying sketch of a graph, illustrate the improvisational nature of deliberative discussion. Through talk, the group manipulated text and ideas in ways that

transformed their meaning into a group-constructed understanding of the term "exponentially."

Appropriating Textual Resources

The above exchange illustrates how the group's joint response centered on the graph Shelley drew. Shelley, Mark, and Steven did not define "exponential" per se, but drew a representation of what exponential growth looked like. The graph linked the immediate discussion of the group to a previous whole-class discussion in which Mr. Grant drew and discussed a similar graph on the board. Just prior to this group discussion, the class also had viewed a video, produced by Zero Population Growth, that showed a similar graph depicting the exponential growth of global population. The graph that Shelley drew, and that the group explained together, linked previous whole-class discussions to the ongoing text of the group's discussion. The exchange illustrates how the group appropriated concepts and strategies from various sources and transformed them for their own use.

The next exchange described below illustrates that the evolution of ideas continued. Kate (26 below) reiterated both the initial question and the Cohen text, saying, "So what's he saying?" Shelley (27) then linked the group's explanation of "exponential" to Cohen's text, referencing Malthus and population checking. According to Cohen, "Thomas Steven Malthus wrote that any human population 'when unchecked,' doubles in a certain unit of time, and then keeps on doubling in the same unit of time" (Cohen, 1996, p. 42). Shelley (31) referred to Malthus, stating that he believed some disaster would limit human population growth when it reached certain levels. Mark (32) seemed to have a similar idea and elaborated on the reference to Malthus with a more specific example. Shelley (33) added that Malthus had provided an illustration of population checking:

> 25 Shelley - It kind of goes straight up at a certain point.
> [
> 26 Kate - So that's what he's saying?
> [
> 27 Shelley - It stays pretty level and then all of a sudden it goes straight up. And then it will end up leveling off. With like Thomas Malthus' thing. And that's what. And that's when population checking goes in. Like.
>
> 28 Kate - Like the end of the world or something?

29 Shelley - No. It's just that, it means...

    [
30 Mark - <u>Thomas Malthus</u>.

31 Shelley - once there gets to be so many people on earth it, <u>he [Malthus]</u> believes there will be some sort of epidemic or something to start limiting growth so that people can continue living or whatever.

32 Mark - <u>Thomas Malthus</u> thought that like, the food would run out before we even leveled out.

33 Shelley - Mhmm. That would be <u>a population check</u>. (slight pause) That would be <u>population checking</u> because it would be limiting the people who could live on earth.

The above exchange further illustrates the group members' appropriation of textual resources. In my interview with her, Shelley recalled having learned about Malthus' theory in a previous statistics class. Mark also mentioned having seen something about Malthus earlier in the instructional unit, although he did not recall the specific circumstances. Shelley and Mark drew upon textual sources outside the immediate discussion, constructing intertextual links of their own prior learning to the evolving text of the group's discussion. "Population checking," a term they encountered throughout the texts and the instructional unit, linked Cohen's account of Malthus' ideas and the group's explanation of "exponentially." Shelley's use of "population checking" illustrates the appropriation of authoritative language to clarify meaning and extend the ideas that evolved in the group's discussion.

Juxtaposing the Voices of Cohen and Malthus

Characteristic of deliberative discussion, the group jointly engaged in identifying, defining, and examining alternative perspectives about the issue at hand. The group maintained Cohen's voice on the floor as another voice in the discussion. In the exchange above (27-33), Shelley and Mark also brought Malthus' voice to the floor, as evidenced in their saying "he [Malthus] believes" (31) and "Thomas Malthus thought" (32). Bringing Cohen and Malthus to the floor helped the group to juxtapose two alternative positions on the idea of exponential population growth and allowed the students to appropriate the reasoning and analytic skills promoted in the

curriculum. In particular, students were able to examine how an author, as a participant in the public discussion of an issue, frames an issue.

Jointly Forming a Response

At this point in the discussion (33-42 below), the talk shifted to explicitly address the task of deciding whether Cohen was correct or incorrect and writing a response. The group worked through their thinking together to construct a response to the third question (see above). Consistent with deliberative discussion, the group members revised their views on the first myth in light of the line of thought they had constructed. Kate (24) asserted that if population checking were to occur, "man would probably die when that happens." She put forth her own idea that was linked to the ongoing topic, but not directly to Cohen or Malthus. Shelley (37) hypothesized that, if population checking were to occur, the population would level off and decline. This statement created a juncture point in the discussion. Mark shifted from discussing the ideas to formulating a response to the question, marked by "Soooo?" Shelly (39) repeated Mark's "so" and paraphrased the question, helping the group to shift its focus to writing a response.

> 33 Shelley - Mhmm. That would be a population check. (slight pause) That would be population checking because it would be limiting the people who could live on earth.
>
> 34 Kate - Man would probably die when that happens.
>
> 35 Shelley - Mhmm. (agreeing)
>
> 36 Kate - I mean really.
>
> 37 Shelley - So it would end up leveling off and going down. (summation of what has been said)
>
> 38 Mark - Sooo?
>
> 39 Shelley - So do we think that he's right by saying that that's not necessarily the case?
> (pause)
>
> 40 Mark - No. Um.
> (pause)
>
> 41 Kate - Let's see. Um.
> (slight pause)

42 Shelley - <u>Um.</u>

43 Kate - <u>I think it's</u>, I think it's <u>um</u> -

44 Mark - Doubling?

45 Kate - Yeah. <u>I can</u> see that a lot. <u>Know what I mean?</u>
At least what's in front of us.
　　　　[
46 Mark - Yeah. <u>I think that</u> too. <u>I think</u> that, that if
we don't do something by then, <u>um,</u> population
checking may occur. After a long time. <u>Ya know?</u>

47 Shelley - Mhmm. (agreeing)

48 Mark - <u>Is that what you think?</u>

49 Others - Yeah. Yeah.
(As Mark writes down answer for group, group reads
through article.)

Pauses and hesitations are frequent in exploratory talk in
which meaning is jointly constructed. The exchange above illustrates
that the extended silences and pauses functioned to sustain high
participant involvement. The hesitations and pauses in the group talk
also indicate a shared sense of meaning and purpose among group
members. Shelley (39) began the exchange with an invitation, "So do
we think?" She combined her question and the inclusive "we" to move
the group toward its explicit task. With the shift to formulating a
response to the third question, group members offered their own ideas,
as indicated by "I" language. As noted above, group members brought
the voices of Cohen and Malthus to the discussion floor as other
participants in the discussion of the issue. In turning to their response
to the task question, the group's use of "I" and "we" language
discursively moved Cohen and Malthus off the floor. This shift also
illustrates the group's ownership of the task and its autonomy relative
to the authority of the author and the teacher.

As group members put their ideas forward, they sought
confirmation and affirmation from other group members, following
their statements with "know what I mean?" or "ya know?" This
process facilitated the group's assertion of ideas and joint construction
of responses. The fact that group members were willing to offer ideas
on the floor and affirm each other indicated a cooperative and
supportive group context, one that emerged as group members created

and maintained productive norms of participation. This relational work was essential to the group's capacity to deliberate. As the group process evolved, the students became more adept and more willing to question, challenge, and extend each other's ideas. The excerpt below illustrates this development in the group. The group drew upon the relational norms, textual strategies, and intellectual skills they had developed in order to construct their own argument. In the process, they disagreed with each other, thus engaging in ideational conflict.

Ideational Conflict and Cooperation

In contrast to the discussion of the Cohen article, the explicit task in the discussion that follows did not include a specific text to focus the discussion. The task for students was to frame an argument of their own as part of a research project that followed the earlier discussions. Thus, this particular discussion occurred toward the end of the unit. This task was more open-ended in its purpose and allowed for more latitude in negotiating the task structure. As in the first discussion above, the group engaged in ventriloquation of others' ideas, appropriation of textual resources, and idea-evolution. How group members accessed and used these discursive resources in their talk together differed, however. The analysis below highlights the adaptation of norms to the different task, the varied textual links the students constructed and used, and the conversational strategies they employed in order to deliberate.

In the previous discussion of the Cohen text, group members brought the voice of the author to the floor for examination. In this discussion, they critically and constructively engage one another's ideas. Idea-evolution in this exchange involves ideational conflict – that is, conflict is not interpersonal, but ideational. The group members observed norms of discourse etiquette, as illustrated in the following excerpt. While their task involved disagreement over ideas, it was situated within the relational work of the group and the positive norms of participation they had developed that enabled them to disagree respectfully.

Steven (73 below) proposed limiting families to two children. Kate disagreed and cited the consequences of the birth rate policy in China. Kate (74, 78), in support of her counter-point, introduced information from an article she had read for a different class assignment. She cited Hildtich (1995), who reported that girls were put in orphanages and left to die as a result of China's one-child birth rate policy. Steven (75) responded by paraphrasing Kate, which functioned to clarify and elaborate on her statement.

> 73 Steven - I think <u>we should limit it</u> to um, maybe
> two kids per family.

[
74 Kate - <u>I know, but what does that do</u>? When <u>you</u>
<u>put a limit on that</u> like that then farmers are drowning
their children. Children are killed every day and
they're put in orphanages and they're treated like crap
because of that and that's not right either. I mean that's
what they're doing in China right now.

75 Steven - <u>So are you saying</u> that the birth rate policy
on that like if parents don't get the kid they want
they're going to drown them or throw them in an
orphanage?

76 Kate - Because...
                    [
77 Shelley - A lot, that's what happens a lot of the time
when they set a limit. People set limits and -

78 Kate - Since 1979 when, when it went into effect in
China. There's orphanages filled with girls because
they want boys. I mean kids are going to die because.
It's horrible. I don't know. I don't like it.

79 Steven - I'm not taking it that way. But I'm saying
that, um -
                    [
80 Kate - I know that you may not, but tons of other
people are doing that. You know what I mean? That
will be a side effect of that.

Steven linked his idea about a birth rate policy and Kate's
assertion of the negative consequences of such a policy. His
reformulation served simultaneously to clarify and challenge Kate's
assertion. It also to brought the ideational conflict they had constructed
to the floor and shift the focus from a point-counterpoint exchange
between Kate and him to a more "public" statement. Thus, his move
(75) was also an inclusive discourse move. The idea brought to the
floor became the group's idea and facilitated critical examination
without the students' criticizing each other.
    Evolution of ideas is further illustrated in this discussion.
Steven (79) sought to clarify his position, asserting that he did not
condone disposing of children. Kate jumped in before Steven was
able to articulate his point fully. She (80) acknowledged that he would
not condone disposing of children, but continued to assert that it was
a consequence. Shelley (81) offered a more tentative position, saying

disposing of girls *could* be a consequence of a birth rate policy. The exchange continued as a point-counterpoint about whether disposing of girls *was* or *could* be a consequence of a birth rate policy. It seemed to Kate that any circumstance resulting in situations like that of Chinese orphanages was reason enough to object to birth rate policies. Steven, and then Shelley as she modified her stance in the discussion, seemed to argue that birth rate policies were not necessarily the causal link to disposing of female children when a limit on childbirth is in effect.

> 79 Steven - I'm not <u>taking it that way</u>. But I'm saying that um -
> [[
> 80 Kate - I know that you may not, but tons of other <u>people are doing that</u>. You know what I mean? That <u>will be a side effect</u> of that.
>
> 81 Shelley - It<u> could be a side effect</u>.
>
> 82 Kate - That <u>will be a side effect</u>. Right.
>
> 83 Steven - That <u>could be a side effect</u> of maybe one or two places but not all. I just think that, you know?
>
> 84 Kate - I know. I know what you mean.

Group members were willing to commit ideas on the floor to be explored and questioned. One defining characteristic of democratic discussion is participants' willingness to offer tentative views with an open mind and to be flexible enough to adjust those views in light of others' ideas. As the discussion here evolved, group members challenged each others' ideas, and in some instances, modified their assertions. The exchange was bracketed by Steven's initial proposal (73), and by Kate's (84) response to his closing "you know" with "I know. I know what you mean." Thus the exchange ended not with agreement, but with an acknowledgment of each others' viewpoints.

Discussion and Conclusions

Within a participatory approach to democratic education, the engagement of students in deliberative discussion of social issues (Newmann, 1988) is central to their learning the discourse of a democratic society. The best setting, according to Corson (1988), is one that invites students to use their own language to engage in dialogue with others so that they use knowledge and talk to understand issues of importance to them and to society (Rossi, 1996). The findings of

this study offer a number of insights for educators and researchers about the interconnected dynamics and processes of deliberative discussion in a small group setting.

Identifying the importance of texts and intertextual references in group discussion is a key finding of this study. It offers teachers insight into the complex, multiple ways of speaking that group members construct as they engage in deliberative discussion. Learning that is democratic in both style and content happens through a process of 1) engaging information and deliberating collectively on how knowledge is viewed, 2) understanding what intertextual connections are valued, and 3) employing the appropriate rhetoric for presenting one's ideas and oneself (Bloome and Bailey, 1992). This analysis shows that as group members constructed intertextual links within and across events from among multiple textual sources, they gave voice to multiple perspectives relevant to a discussion of global population. One implication of the findings is for teachers to view the content of discussion as the ongoing text of a group-constructed deliberative process. Viewed in this way, the content of such discussion helps students to use and connect information and concepts, including their own ideas. This finding further suggests that teachers assess students according to how they use and connect information as a group, as well as how they cooperate and participate.

This analysis of focused and sustained discussion identified a process in which students linked various texts in order to engage in deliberative discussion. The process was textually-based, multi-layered, and complex. For example, the "myth by myth" organization of the Cohen article influenced how the group proceeded with the task. The assigned question required the group to determine whether they agreed with the author. The task structure provided a framework within which the group could explore ideas about global population. The task structure, however, did not determine how the group should proceed with the task. The group constructed and negotiated its procedure, and constructed norms of participation to engage in the discussion of the text. Throughout their discussion of the text, they appropriated ideas from various textual sources. They engaged in an idea-evolution process through which they linked prior class discussions, the reasoning skills of the curriculum, personal knowledge, and the ongoing text of their own discussion. This work was complicated, and it required the group to synthesize multiple texts and to negotiate and sustain group cohesion in order to fulfill the task requirements and engage in deliberative discussion.

The findings point to the importance of teachers' understandings of the discussion process and of how students appropriate textual resources from multiple sources as they deliberate. Possibly, groups that struggle to engage in focused and sustained

discussion may lack the ability to construct intertextual links from among varied sources. Teachers may need to listen carefully to determine whether groups are constructing such links in their talk. The findings also suggest that teachers view students' abilities to construct intertextual links as an important competency in deliberative discussion. Further, the study suggests that teachers pay attention to the complex textual dimensions, as well as the interrelated intellectual and relational dimensions, of the tasks they assign to groups.

Some classroom models of group discussion assign task roles to group members (e.g., leader, reader, scribe) in order to foster equal participation. However, imposed roles may actually impede a group's ability to negotiate the relational issues that are integral to deliberative discussion. Participants in group discussion manage thinking collectively in their social relations. The moment-to-moment negotiation of both social norms and the content of talk comprise deliberative discourse. In the exchanges above, the discussion floor functioned as a common space for the group to construct shared understanding and fostered cohesion among group members. This process stands in contrast to other conceptions of the discussion floor, which view the floor as a commodity to be competed for among group members, as in Harris's model, for example. In other models, assigning task roles implies that a "leader" controls the discussion floor. This conception of the floor can impede the relational work of the group, because it squelches the necessary emergence of group norms. In the birth rate policy discussion, for example, challenging ideas while maintaining positive group norms was sophisticated relational work. In that exchange, the ideational conflict that arose required group members to adopt productive participation norms as they acknowledged their differing positions without "getting personal."

The potential exists for ideational conflict to be confused with interpersonal conflict; participants may view the ideas of others as "wrong," and participants may feel "attacked." This issue points toward the need for a more sophisticated conception of group relational dynamics than most models offer and shows how the relational dynamics of group discussion are interwoven with the task. Thus, simplistic conceptions of cooperation and participation (i.e. "getting along," "doing your share") undermine the process of negotiating positive norms of participation. This process is a necessary dynamic through which the group can become cohesive and productive. The implication for teachers is that they may need to attend to the implicit and explicit norms of group participation in the tasks they design and to they way they guide students in those tasks.

Campbell (1996) suggests that the classroom is one arena in which democratic practices can find expression within a local setting. Despite the importance that many researchers and educators have

placed on social issues discussion as a central component of civic competence, some models of group discussion may minimize the complex, sophisticated deliberation that this study shows is possible. The discursive dynamics highlighted in this paper offer a richer understanding of group deliberative discussion. Further study across multiple kinds of tasks and with students from different age groups could enhance our understanding of these dynamics with regard to students' abilities to engage in deliberative discussion of social issues.

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Author

LYNN BRICE is Assistant Professor in the Department of Teaching, Learning, and Leadership in the College of Education at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008.

Teaching About Japan: Global Perspectives in Teacher Decision-Making, Context, and Practice

Toni Fuss Kirkwood
Florida Atlantic University

Abstract

One pressing issue that students in the new millennium must know more about is the uneasy bilateral relationship between the United States and Japan. In this study, I examined how 33 teachers from 21 schools, who participated in the Japan Today *Program, taught about Japan, continued teaching about Japan after a one-year commitment, chose a specific pedagogy, and shared their knowledge and experiences with peers. In order to examine emerging themes, I used the constant comparative methodology to examine a large qualitative database collected over two years. The findings provided salient insights into how teachers conceptualized teaching about Japan and contextual factors shaping their instructional decisions. Despite increasing demands placed on teachers in the curriculum reform and standards movements, these teachers shared significant similarities, differences, and unique ways of teaching about Japan. Schools that developed exemplary Japan programs became prototypes in the district. These programs were characterized by extensive collaboration among faculty, administrators, and Japan participants, thus demonstrating that effective school programs are inextricably linked to school reform.*

In the new millennium, educators face great challenges in preparing American youth for an increasingly interdependent world. One pressing issue that students of the twenty-first century must know more about is the uneasy bilateral relationship between the United States and Japan. The tension between the two countries continues to threaten the leadership position of the United States in the world as it struggles to redefine its relationship with Japan. To improve communication and cross-national understanding between these two nations, future generations must acquire a deeper understanding of the complexity of Japanese history and culture and the essence of what it means to be Japanese.

Japan has emerged as one of the world's most powerful nations. Its quick recovery from its status as a conquered nation after World War II to that of a highly competitive economic world power astounded the world community. Educators know that the curriculum in American schools does not place emphasis on non-western history (Krakow, 1974; Mehlinger, 1989; Romanowsky, 1996); yet, existing textbooks often feature Japan's rapid rise to a world economic power and its potential threat to U. S. security as the single most important rationale for learning about Japan (Grossman, 1992; Wilson, 1990). Indeed, foreign policy statements made by industrialized nations such as Australia, Canada, and the United States are virtually indistinguishable from each other in their reasons for teaching about Asia and the Pacific (Cogan & Grossman, 1991; Grossman, 1992; Wilson, Grossman & Kennedy, 1990). Mike Mansfield, former U. S. ambassador to Japan, referred to the Japanese-American alliance as "the most important bilateral relationship in the world, bar none" (Gluck, l991, p. 438). Former President Clinton has stated that there is no more important relationship in the world than that which exists between the United States and Japan (Mondale, l993). However, the portrayal of Japan as an economically threatening nation prevents students from learning about the rich cultural heritage of the Japanese that would prepare students with new knowledge and understanding about Japan to make informed decisions in matters important to future U. S. - Japan relations.

    In contrast to serving the national self-interest in teaching about Asia and the Pacific in American classrooms, Hayden (1979) proposed teaching about culture in alternative ways to promote cross-cultural understanding. Two of Hayden's four approaches lend themselves ideally to the study of Japan. First, the cultural-spiritual approach suggests that education must promote open-mindedness and cultivate an appreciation for people of diverse human cultures. Second, the democratic citizenship approach addresses the development of competent citizens of the twenty-first century who own up to their full responsibilities as citizens of the world capable of interpreting and responding to global challenges and opportunities. There may not be a single best answer to the question of providing a rationale for teaching about Japan, however. For example, in a study of 32 U. S. global education programs at the secondary school level, Merryfield (1991) found that the conceptualization of these global programs was strongest in the teaching of human values and cultures. Furthermore, the fact is that teachers play an important role in what is being taught in the classroom (Thornton, 1991). They exercise considerable influence in what is being included or excluded in the curriculum. This is especially true in countries that have decentralized educational systems like the United States. Besides, teachers may have their own

reasons why they want to teach about Japan. Teachers who have been exposed to other cultures through travel study-abroad, inservice workshops, readings, and personal contacts may prioritize teaching about Japan.

Few scholars have studied how teachers teach from a global perspective in actual classroom settings or attempted to analyze the contexts of their instructional decisions (Merryfield, 1998). One study of elementary teachers in Missouri found that the absence of teaching global perspectives in schools stemmed from teachers' lack of academic preparation and exposure to other cultures rather than lack of interest in teaching global perspectives (Wright & Van Decar, 1990). The social studies field, however, shows an increasing number of studies addressing infusion of a global awareness into instruction (Anderson, Nicklas, & Crawford, 1994; Cruz, 1996, 1998; Gilliom, 1993; Kirkwood, 1999a, 1999b, 2001; Kirkwood & Tucker, 2001; Merryfield, 1995, 1997, 1998; Wilson, 1997). The literature also points to the impact of teachers' international experiences on the instructional process (Wilson, 1982, 1983, 1993a, 1993b), illustrating teachers' abilities to teach with greater accuracy, authority, creativity, and enthusiasm. Germain (1998) analyzed the deep transformation of returning teachers from overseas teaching experiences and their impact on global content, pedagogy, student empathy, school environment, and professional opportunities. In a major study of preservice and practicing teachers who were trained in global perspectives, Merryfield (1998) found that teachers wanted students to examine their own culture before studying other cultures and to define the world as a global system directly connected across time and space to historical antecedents, contemporary events, and students' lives. Typically, global educators teach about the interconnectedness of global and local issues such as inequities, human rights violations, colonialization of indigenous people, and cross-cultural experiential learning.

Professional Opportunities to Teach About Japan

A history of progressive professional development opportunities for teaching about Japan has developed since the 1960s. The U. S. Department of Education funded a series of NDEA projects at various universities to improve precollegiate teaching materials for classroom use. The Ohio State University established the first Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies, with its widely read publication, "Focus." The first American teacher visit to Japan took place in 1960. Nonprofit organizations, notably the Japan Society and the Asia Society, have played significant roles in education about Japan. One of the most ambitious educational projects of the 1970s took place under the auspices of The United States Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange (CULCON). In 1976, the Asia Society

completed the largest examination of the treatment of Asia in U. S. textbooks, which eventually led to the U. S. - Japan Textbook Study Project. The creation of federally-funded outreach programs in the 1970s and 1980s requiring East Asia Resource Centers at universities to "outreach" to schools encouraged widespread teaching about Japan. One of the earliest efforts was the Project on Asian Studies Education at the University of Michigan. A plethora of educational opportunities exists for American teachers to learn about Japan through teacher exchange programs, travel study tours, and summer institutes (Cogan, 1992; Parisi, 1998; Wojtan, 1993; Wojtan & Spence, 1992). These opportunities represent the collaborative efforts of the United States Department of Education, universities, outreach centers, and Japanese and American foundations (e.g., the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE) (Heinz, 1991).

As trade across the Pacific has increased, many American and Japanese corporations are subsidizing teacher travel and exchange programs. Three well-known professional opportunities for teachers to learn and teach about Japan are the Japan Foundation Program, Keizai Koho Center Fellowships, and projects funded by the United States-Japan Foundation. Alumni of these programs can be seen at annual meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), where they hold sessions to share their knowledge and experiences gained about Japan. More recently, the Fulbright Memorial Fund (FMF) Program and Toyota Fellowship and Programs (TFP), funded by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, expanded opportunities for professional development of teachers. The promotion of teaching and learning about Japan in public schools has been significantly enhanced with the establishment of the National Clearinghouse for U. S. -Japan Studies, based at the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Science Education at Indiana University and the National Precollegiate Japan Projects Network (Wojtan & Spence, 1992). One of the more recent programs in promoting teaching and learning about Japan has been the *Japan Today* Program at Florida International University, which is the setting for this study.

Teachers as Curricular and Instructional Gatekeepers

In the field of social studies education, scholars have studied teachers as instructional decision-makers and have identified contextual factors that explain instructional decisions. Teachers often vary in their perceptions of their role in planning curriculum and instruction (Brown, 1988; Marsh, 1984; Stodolsky, 1988; Thornton, 1991). Some base their curricular decisions on the availability of instructional materials such as textbooks (Lydecker, 1982; McCutcheon, 1981) and on concerns about classroom management (Parker & Gehrke, 1986). Others are influenced primarily by the methods that are best

suited for their students (Cornbleth, Korth, & Dorow, 1983; Kagan, 1993; O'Loughlin, 1995) or by what their peers value (Levstik, 1989). Additional studies show that particular issues within the school building and community influence teacher instruction (McNeil, 1986; White, 1985), while still other studies point to teachers' underlying beliefs and professional and personal experiences as the dominant influences in shaping their instructional decisions (Cornett, 1990; Cornett, et al., 1992; Shaver, Davis & Helburn, 1980; Thornton & Wenger, 1989; Wilson, 1982, 1993b). Thornton (1991) called for more qualitative studies of exemplary classroom practice to shed light on how teachers make instructional decisions within the realities of the classroom. Despite considerable studies on how teachers perceive their roles in planning curriculum and instruction, Armento (1996) commented that the field of social studies education is in need of research that gives greater attention to relationships between teacher education, professional development, and the social contexts of teachers' lives and work. This call was seconded by Ross (1992), who argued that the reconstruction of self-as-teacher must include reflections on the impact of social and institutional contexts on teacher practice. In her extensive work on cross-cultural experiential learning, Wilson (1993b) showed how internationally experienced individuals "gain a global perspective that contributes to substantive knowledge, perceptual understanding, and the development of self and relationships" to teach global perspectives (p. 16).

Purpose of Study

In response to the calls for more research, this study examined how teachers who participated in the *Japan Today* Program over a three-year period taught about Japan, continued teaching about Japan after a one-year commitment, chose a specific pedagogy, and shared their experiences with peers.

Methodology

The research design was interpretative (Erickson, 1986; 1998), employing methods from cultural anthropology, particularly prolonged engagement in the field as a participant observer (Spradley, 1980). I chose this perspective because I had no preconceived notion of what the participants would learn from their experience in the Japan Today Program or how they might or might not incorporate those experiences into their pedagogy. Thus, it was necessary for me to understand the participants' point of view, or the emic perspective. Interpretative research is designed to gain the emic perspective in the study of human endeavor.

Setting

The *Japan Today* Program, under the leadership of Jan L. Tucker, Professor of Social Studies Education and Director of the Global Awareness Program, College of Education, at Florida International University, comprised a comprehensive global education project between 1994 and 1997 to promote teaching and learning about Japan. Funded by the U. S. - Japan Foundation for $565,000 over a three-year period, the program was designed to (1) train Miami educators in Japan Studies, (2) infuse content about Japan into the existing K-12 public school curriculum, (3) integrate Japan content into the teacher education program at Florida International University, and (4) strengthen the long-term partnership between the Miami Public Schools and Florida International University (Public Information, 1994, 1995, 1996). Tucker had gained a national and international reputation as a leading educator in social studies and global education. The Global Awareness Program, with over two million dollars in funding, has been cited among the top 6 of 32 exemplary global education programs in the nation (Merryfield, 1992). Since its inception in 1979, the program has maintained a long-standing partnership with the Miami Public Schools. University faculty has offered innovative programs and inservice training, and schools have served as centers for program development and placement of social studies interns. Between 1979 and 1997, thousands of Miami teachers were trained in infusing a global awareness into curriculum and instruction. With the assistance of a cadre of global teachers selected by the program director and the district social studies supervisor, schools received consistent clinical support in implementing global education programs. Six of Miami's 24 feeder patterns implemented global education programs in their families of elementary and secondary schools. The Miami Inner-City Site Training (GIST) Program became a prototype in global education for effective school reform. At the time of Tucker's death in 1997, two-thirds of Miami's 300 schools had integrated global awareness into curriculum and instruction (FIU Archives, 1994-1997).

Participants

A purposive sample of 37 classroom teachers from 21 Miami public schools participated in the *Japan Today* Program. They included 14 elementary teachers, 5 middle school teachers, and 18 senior high school teachers representing 8 elementary schools, 2 middle schools, 10 senior high schools, and 1 correctional institution. The teachers were chosen on the basis of (1) the director's contact with them either through attending classes at the university or serving as cooperating teachers for FIU's social studies interns, (2) competency in applying a global awareness to instruction and learning, (3) leadership in curriculum development related to global education, (4) professional

reputation in the district, and (5) recommendation of their principal or district social studies supervisor.

The teachers represented an outstanding sample of global educators in the district and reflected the ethnic and racial diversity of Miami's urban community, including teachers of students with limited English proficiency. Ten teachers were African American, 9 teachers were Anglo-Saxon American, 12 teachers were Cuban American, 1 was German American, 2 teachers were Haitian immigrants, 1 teacher was of Japanese-Hawaiian descent, and 2 teachers were Jewish American. The Miami Public Schools represent the fourth largest school district in the United States with over 350,000 students and approximately 25,000 teachers (Public Information, 2000). For three years, an average of 20 teachers, media specialists, administrators, and district curriculum specialists were selected to participate in the *Japan Today* Program. They were chosen in the fall of each year and were taught about the history and culture of Japan in ten full-day workshops during the spring semester. The principal of each school committed all necessary release days for the teachers to attend the seminars.

Role of the Researcher
Initially, I had become involved in this project through my affiliation with the program director, who was my husband. One of his major goals was to integrate Japanese studies into the teacher education program at Florida International University and in Miami's public schools. Together, we spent many hours planning, organizing, and selecting participants for the program. I had worked for almost twenty years in the Miami schools as a teacher, social studies coordinator, and director of the district's International Global Education Program. Subsequently, I worked closely with the Global Awareness Program in training Miami's elementary and secondary teachers in global perspectives. I collaborated with lead teachers and school-site administrators in implementing global programs in individual schools and entire feeder patterns.

For this study, I assumed the role of participant observer (Spradley, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). I was introduced to teachers in the *Japan Today* Program as a program participant and researcher. As a participant in the program, I observed the enthusiasm of the first-year participants during the seminars we attended prior to our trip and, again, during our travels in Japan. I increasingly became more curious about how the teachers would actually teach about Japan when they returned to the classroom in the fall. So often in my role as teacher and coordinator, I had found that teachers' enthusiasm and commitment to implement new content or strategies had been impeded by the realities of schooling. My interest further developed as I kept a

journal of daily activities and experiences in Japan that comprised both reflection and participant observer field notes. I collected rich stories describing the experiences of the teachers' travels in Japan. I continued my journal entries on all subsequent meetings held during the second and third year of the program.

Data Collection

Data were collected over a two-year period. Participants were volunteers who signed informed consent agreements. I conducted face-to-face interviews with 33 of 37 teachers at their school sites following a formal protocol. As to the other four teachers: one teacher had moved to Colorado, one teacher was on sick leave, and two teachers could not be reached. The length of each interview ranged from one to two hours. To establish a measure of validity, I modified the protocol to include suggestions from the external evaluator of the program. I randomly sampled two teachers to validate the instrument. One year later, I conducted follow-up telephone interviews with 17 of these teachers. A third data source was lesson outlines and unit plans that teachers intended to use upon their return from Japan. The program director required these plans to be completed prior to the travel study, because he had learned from previous experience that this helped participants to focus on the purpose of the study trip (Tucker, 1997). A fourth data source was individual school plans outlining a formal Japan Studies Program for each participating school, either in specific grade levels or on a department- or school-wide basis. The school plans were distinct from lesson and unit plans in that they required endorsement by the principal or assistant principal, lead teacher, and grade level chair or department chair. A fifth data sourcewas my field notes. Finally, I analyzed several additional documents that included the funding proposal, public information press releases, seminar agendas, travel itineraries, program schedules in Japan, and evaluation reports by the external program evaluator (FIU Archives, 1994-1997). These sources provided me with a wealth of independent data to find answers to the research questions.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data, I employed the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This method is recommended in interpretive studies that involve large data sets with multiple sources (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It "combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed and coded" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 256). I examined all teachers' questionnaires and color-coded responses on the hard copies of the questionnaire data. This process is described as "open coding," a stage in data analysis when "the data are broken into discrete parts, closely

examined, compared for similarities and differences, and then questions are asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62). Strauss and Corbin cautioned, however,that during this stage of data analysis, the researcher "may come up with dozens, even hundreds of conceptual labels," thus requiring another stage of data analysis when the "identification of specific phenomena in data" leads to the discovery and naming of new categories" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 65). The categorization process involved the reexamination of the data that I had coded and labeled as I collapsed categories into themes. The multiple data sources were employed to help "prevent the investigator from accepting too readily the validity of initial impressions. They enhance the scope, density, and clarity of constructs developed during the course of the investigation" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 48). I cross-checked (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) my findings with participants in order to confirm or disconfirm emerging interpretations.

Findings and Discussion

Six dominant categories emerged from the data analysis: curriculum taught in schools, instructional methods, curricular impact, exemplary programs, collaboration, and resources in teaching about Japan. I collapsed these categories into the two themes of *instruction* and *curriculum impact*. In teaching about Japan, teachers displayed certain similarities in how they conceptualized teaching and in the contextual elements they identified as influences on their curricular and instructional decisions. Teachers also displayed some significant differences in howthey perceived teaching about Japan and in the ideas that shaped their instruction. Further, exemplary practices and programs emerged in the implementation of the project. Hence, the two themes of instruction and curriculum impact will be discussed for similarities, differences, and exemplary practices and programs.

I. Instruction

Similarities
       Elementary and Secondary Teachers. Teachers acted upon the premise that students must be able to make in-depth comparisons between the Japanese and American cultures to promote cross-cultural understanding (Case, 1993; Hanvey, 1976; Merryfield, 1997; Tye, 1990, 1999). In conceptualizing how to promote cross-cultural understanding, teachers used elements of family, values and beliefs, education, traditions, and way of life of the Japanese and other cultures for comparison. Teachers believed that understanding one's own culture provides the basis for understanding other cultures and vice

versa (Cogan, 1992). They taught cross-cultural understanding as value-free, as neither good nor bad, but as simply different (Merryfield, 1998). One teacher required student teams to examine and report on their country of origin. Her classroom contained seven distinct groups: African Americans, Anglo-Americans, Chinese Americans, Haitian Americans, Cuban Americans, Colombian Americans, and Russian Americans.

From their experiences in Miami's diverse classrooms, teachers were convinced that cross-cultural understanding promote reconsideration of a group perceived as inferior or strange (Case, 1993; Hanvey, 1976). Teachers worked to dismantle Japanese stereotypes (Finkelstein, 1991; Germain, 1998; Tobin, 1991), some of which have surfaced as "Japan-bashing" during downturns in the U.S. economy. They also sought to help students understand how deeply held beliefs shape the culture and daily life of a people. One teacher explained the Japanese meaning of "saving face," describing how most Japanese Americans in American detention centers during World War II did not speak about their humiliating experiences after their release. The deeply ingrained Japanese cultural belief not to bring shame on oneself, family, or nation had shaped their silence.

Teachers also acted upon the premise that teaching about Japan must include global history (Kniep, 1987, 1986) and the inherent interconnectedness of history (Anderson, 1979; Alger & Harf, 1986; Becker, 1979; Hanvey, 1976). Global history teaching was demonstrated through an exploration of Japanese immigration to the United States, economic development between the two nations, prominent Japanese American citizens in American communities, war between the U. S. and Japan, and internment of Japanese Americans. Teachers wanted students to comprehend the universality of suffering by comparing the plight of Japanese American children in internment camps with children victimized in various nations today (Case, 1993; Coombs, 1989; Darling, 1994, 1995; Hanvey, 1976; Boulding, 1988; Spindler & Spindler, 1994). Next, teachers compared contributions of major civilizations to show how cultural perspectives shape historical events over time (Pike & Selby, 1995) and space. A secondary teacher illustrated this point by comparing Commodore Perry's intimidating arrival in Japan to force Japanese trade with the west with today's daily shipments of freshly caught New England cod to Japan to demonstrate the results of changing attitudes and economic interests between the two nations.

Teachers also addressed political and moral implications of the U. S. nuclear bombing of Japan. Whereas elementary teachers concentrated on its consequences for children, secondary teachers placed students in decision-making groups (Anderson, 1979) to determine short- and long-term effects of nuclear radiation on human lives, American motives in dropping the bombs, and recommendations

for alternatives to making war. Teachers discussed the issue of future nuclear wars and held student debates on how to create a more peaceful world. One middle school teacher established a powerful linkage between Hiroshima and Miami when he told his students that Colonel Paul Tibbits, pilot of the *Enola Gay* bomber that dropped the nuclear bombs on Japan, had attended their school. This teacher also kept a meticulous diary of his experiences (Asher & Smith Crocco, 2001) during the study trip. He told his students:

> During my stay in Hiroshima, both my host and I were celebrating our birthdays. My host was a survivor of the nuclear bombing. His entire immediate and extended family died from the attack. He shared his experiences with me. Before I went to bed, I wrote his story in this diary...Today, I will share parts of my diary with you.

The teacher read page after page of piercing recollections experienced by his Japanese host, who had found himself alive under the rafters of a demolished house on top of a hill surrounding Hiroshima.

Contextual factors shaping both elementary and secondary teaching. The major contextual factor influencing the teaching of cross-cultural awareness was the teachers' commitment to teach about respect for all cultures and nations. Living and working in the largest multicultural region in the United States where over 140 nations are represented in schools, teachers had witnessed name-calling, teasing, verbal abuse, expressions of cultural superiority, and violence against minority students in their schools. Miami's student population represents countries from around the world ranging from large nations, such as Russia and Brazil, to small nations like Haiti and Sri Lanka. These students come equipped with their own language and culture, and their contact with students of different backgrounds frequently results in ethnic tension. Teachers believed that developing tolerance for culture is necessary, but not sufficient in promoting cross-cultural understanding. Rather, they suggested that acceptance of other cultres is needed to foster appreciation of individuals of all backgrounds.

A second contextual factor shaping the teaching of global history by both elementary and secondary teachers was the state-mandated social studies standards, which require the teaching of U.S. history in fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade. Teachers were determined that the teaching of United States history must be infused with the teaching of Japanese history where historical events of both nations intersect. A third contextual factor was the teachers' conviction that they had a moral obligation to teach about man's inhumanity to man. They felt responsible for teaching about the horrors of nuclear war, the controversy of Japanese American internment, and the impact of

conflict and power struggles among government leaders. Their overarching goal was to develop competencies that would equip students to be able to work toward a more peaceful world.

Differences

Elementary Teachers

In contrast to secondary teachers, elementary teachers taught about Japan with language, literary, and interdisciplinary approaches that provided an ideal strategy to introduce students to global content. The comparative literature-based approach they used incorporated folktales, story plots, characters, scenery, and haiku. Trade books easily accessible from schools, public libraries, and the Global Awareness Program facilitated a solid grounding in global literature. In identifying multiple perspectives expressed in the trade books, teachers expected their students to learn about similarities of cultures (Hanvey, 1976; Merryfield, 1998) and universal values common to all members of the human family. Foreign language teachers engaged children in penning Japanese characters, matching them with letters of the Arabic alphabet, comparing and contrasting sounds of the French Creole, Japanese, and Spanish languages, and learning to count and greet each other in these languages. Teachers perceived themselves as preparing students for multiple language acquisition in a world characterized by rapid globalization and opportunities for multilingual careers. They manifested a particularly strong commitment to their Haitian students; as one teacher stated: "Using Creole and French as the medium to teach global content improves children's self-esteem as they learn that their language can be used to teach about Japan."

Contextual factors shaping elementary teaching. Several contextual factors influenced the instructional decisions of elementary teachers in teaching about Japan. First, in the ever-widening circle of multiculturalism in Miami's schools, global education has proved to be an effective method in reducing ethnic tension in classrooms (DeVarona, 1998; Tucker, 1997; Bermudez, 2000). Teachers perceived themselves as agents in helping students adjust to Miami's overcrowded school communities. Second, language, literature, and interdisciplinary approaches lie at the heart of elementary instruction and lend themselves ideally to the hands-on, integrated nature of elementary instruction (Bruner, 1960). Teachers acted upon the premise that their students must learn about Japan from multiple sources of knowledge. Further, easy access to materials and guest speakers available from a growing Japanese community in South Florida was an important factor in the elementary teachers' decisions to teach global content.

Secondary Teachers

Differences among elementary and secondary teachers in teaching about Japan were manifested in the secondary teachers' instructional decisions to teach about the economic and political interconnectedness between the United States and Japan. Secondary teachers wanted their students to understand that the world is an integrated system of subsystems (Anderson, 1979; Hanvey, 1976) interacting across time and space and resulting in cause and effect relationships and unanticipated consequences (Botkin, Elmandjra, & Malitza, 1979; Hanvey, 1976). Their instruction aimed to develop a heightened awareness of the economic implications of trade issues and imbalances between Japan and the U. S. and to understand the underlying causes that have often led to Japan-bashing. Their ultimate goal, however, was for students to understand the role of Japan and United States in the larger world, where their leadership impacts the economic and social conditions of other nations.

A second instructional goal of secondary teachers was to help students understand the similarities of the Japanese and American political systems and the framing of the Japanese constitution by the victors of World War II. A third goal was to examine why Japan's lack of military assistance in political wars and ethnic conflicts must be understood within the context of World War II. One teacher had students analyze the *Ochikubo vs. The State of California* case in which a young Nisei was denied early release from the camp because he was among the dissidents who protested their internment while simultaneously recruited to join the Army. She told me of her accidental discovery of the case: "Can you imagine, as a veteran history teacher, that I had no knowledge of the Japanese American internment during World War II?" This teacher also had students analyze the *Korematsu vs. United States* case in which the U. S. Supreme Court approved the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II on the grounds of fear of espionage and sabotage. Class discussions highlighted the cultural reasons why Japanese American internees, upon their release, kept silent about their internment in contrast to Nazi concentration camp survivors who told of their suffering.

Contextual factors shaping secondary teaching. One major contextual factor shaping the way these teachers taught about Japan was the traditional organization of American secondary schools (Sarason, 1982; Tye, 2000). Generally, secondary teachers teach five classes in two or three subject areas. Since most teachers participating in this program taught three or four classes in American or world history and one or two classes in economics, government, or an elective, they chose to integrate the teaching of Japan into all of these subjects. Despite the additional preparation involved, their teaching about Japan

also provided graduating seniors, who are required to take economics and government in the twelfth grade, an opportunity to learn about Japan. Furthermore, in contrast to elementary schools, compartmentalization acts as a barrier to interdisciplinary ventures in most secondary settings. Such ventures were not evident in the secondary schools in this study. Another contextual factor was the teachers' commitment and enthusiasm to teach about Japan. Teachers acted upon the premise that students must understand the critical role the United States has played in the historic, political, and economic developments that have shaped contemporary Japan. These teachers had attained a high level of sophistication in their subject knowledge, classroom experience, and professional training, which motivated them to provide students with an equally high level of understanding about Japan.

Exemplary Teachers

The study revealed that some teachers conceptualized teaching about Japan in unique ways. These teachers concentrated on specific content, skills, and lived experiences (Asher & Smith Crocco, 2001) in ways that differentiated them from other participants in the program. First, these participants formed a cadre of global teachers who themselves became teacher educators in implementing global programs in Miami schools. They moved from teaching about culture to teaching about pressing global issues such as child labor, war, moral dilemmas, interconnectedness among nations, and alternative solutions for a sustainable future. They challenged students to understand how decisions in this country impact an increasingly interdependent world (Goodlad, 1986). Second, these teachers' direct experience with the Japanese culture had a profound impact on them. It increased their substantive knowledge and perceptual understanding, and it affected the authenticity (Germain, 1998), creativity, enthusiasm, and authority of their teaching (Wilson, 1993a, 1993b). It also enhanced their teaching through the use of concrete examples in the classroom (Gilliom, n.d.) with slides, artifacts, and stories of first-hand experiences from the study trip.

One such teacher taught five classes of regular and honors world history in a high school of over 3000 students. His major instructional goal was to challenge students on their moral position on controversial issues during World War II. At appropriate intersections when teaching American and Japanese history, he infused these challenges by having students ground their moral positions in analytical thought. His first challenge addressed the lack of prosecution of Japanese involved in medical experiments on American prisoners of war in exchange for the release of secret Japanese documents. He confronted students with questions such as: "Why would the United

States prosecute Nazis for their crimes during the Holocaust and not the Japanese for similar atrocities committed against American prisoners of war? Why was the American government not interested in exchanging the prosecution of Nazi criminals for their top secret documents?" Another issue regarded the underlying motives of the American government in testing the effects of nuclear bombs in Japan as a deterrent to the Soviet Union's strategic interest in East Asia. The teacher asked: "Was the American government justified in dropping the bomb on Japan as a show of power to the Soviet Union? Was it necessary to drop a second nuclear bomb within two days of the first bomb?" Another challenge addressed Japan's ruthless invasions into Southeast Asian nations during the World War II. He asked: "Why does the Japanese government not take an official position today, like Germany for example, and offer a public apology to all those nations in which its armed forces committed terrible crimes?" At the end of the school year, the teacher revisited the moral issues infused into the curriculum throughout the year, challenging students to compare the moral dilemmas of World War II with others throughout history, such as the Armenian genocide and the brutal treatment of slaves and indigenous peoples in the Americas. Student teams were charged with delineating commonalities and thinking deeply about reasons for man's inhumanity to man. This teacher's overarching goal in the classroom was to demonstrate to students the impact of war and the need for social justice (Merryfield, 1998), thus addressing the issue of his students' moral development (Boulding, 1988; Coombs, 1989; Darling, 1994, 1995). The teacher acted upon the premise that, if students address the ongoing themes of abuse of power, military aggression, and moral issues regarding the waging of war, they will develop analytical minds that will help them to look critically at the world and think of alternative ways of solving human problems.

II. Curriculum Impact

Similarities

In this study, curriculum impact is defined as a definitive change from delivery of traditional curriculum to new content evident in curriculum and instruction. Regardless of how teachers perceived their overall roles in planning curriculum and instruction (Brown, 1988; Marsh, 1984; Stodolsky, 1988) of global content, both elementary and secondary teachers promoted cross-cultural understanding, global history, and economic, political, and contemporary interconnectedness between the United States and Japan. The specific content and extent to which both elementary and secondary teachers taught about Japan were reflected in lesson plans that were finalized prior to the opening of the school year.

Contextual factors shaping similarities. The general structure of contemporary schooling in the United States is such that complex administrative arrangements must be made for teachers to leave the classroom for professional development. Unless an administrator took a special interest in implementing a Japan Studies program in his/her school, neither elementary nor secondary Japan participants had the opportunity to teach about Japan beyond their own individual classrooms.

A second contextual factor contributing to the impact of Japan studies in classrooms was teacher empowerment. The teachers developed a high level of sophistication and confidence in their knowledge about Japan, whether infusing, postholing (Taba, 1967), or teaching discrete lessons about Japan in the existing curriculum. Furthermore, Japan participants represented some of Miami's exemplary global teachers who had years of experience with integrating new content into mandated curricula. The experiences they had gained from the ever-changing political and social climate in Miami's school system had equipped them with the ability to adhere to curricular mandates without losing academic freedom. A third and equally important contextual factor was teacher enthusiasm generated by ten days of extensive academic and cultural preparation prior to the travel-study to Japan. Their enthusiasm spread to students who were intrigued by the way their teachers implemented the Japanese classroom model and curious about the knowledge and understanding of Japan that their teachers had gained. Teachers' lived experiences (Asher & Smith Crocco, 2001) in Japan had a profound influence on how they perceived teaching about Japan. Travel and study experiences reveal how cultural context and values can create a new sense of what is educationally significant and thus impact school programs (Wilson, 1993b).

Differences

The study showed that major differences existed in how teaching about Japan impacted individual elementary and secondary curricula. In the elementary schools, teachers "postholed" interdisciplinary units from 3 to 16 weeks in length. Postholing (Taba, 1967) is a technique in which teachers pause at appropriate moments in instruction to interject new ideas without jeopardizing the continuity of the curriculum. Since there are often good opportunities to implement new content in the less structured configuration of the elementary curriculum, elementary teachers were able to teach about Japan in-depth over extended periods of time.

At the secondary level, in their obligations to meet more stringent curricular requirements, all teachers infused Japan content into the mandated social studies curriculum. Teachers found ways to

teach about Japan by either teaching less (Sizer, 1984; 1996) about a required topic or omitting aspects of content-specific instruction from the traditional curriculum that they deemed less important. Teachers utilized any additional time they had to teach a series of discrete lessons (Woyach, 1982), posthole thematic units (Taba, 1967), and infuse content throughout the academic year (Woyach, 1982). Without jeopardizing existing mandates, secondary teachers taught an average of 16 teaching days with integrated content about Japan. Teachers clearly decided to intersperse mandated curriculum with global content, thus confirming research suggesting that teachers are the ultimate curricular gatekeepers (Thornton, 1991).

In the elementary classrooms, teaching about Japan occurred across the entire curriculum; teachers collaborated to present content with an interdisciplinary approach. For example, in language arts, trade books on Japan explained customs and traditions; in mathematics, currency was converted and land area was calculated; in science, Japan's lack of natural resources, limited space for agriculture, and its resultant dependence on other nations were explained; and in social studies, Japan's history and the effects of Japanese immigration on American society were explored. Teachers brought in guest speakers. Students folded origami paper cranes to be sent for Annual Peace Day to Japanese schools whose teachers had befriended the American participants during their trip to Japan. The overall approach reinforced holistic understanding of the interrelationships of subjects (Bruner, 1960), while also infusing global content.

In the secondary schools, curricular impact beyond individual classrooms was not achieved except in a few selected schools (described below). Notable exceptions included Japan participants' guest lectures in colleagues' classrooms, native Japanese guest lectures, and special visits by the Japanese consulate staff. In most cases, however, the integration of Japan content by secondary teachers did not affect the curriculum outside their own classrooms.

Contextual factors shaping differences. As noted above, a major contextual factor shaping curricular impact in schools is the structure of American schooling (Sarason, 1982; Tye, 2000; Tye & Tye, 1992). The structure of elementary schools facilitated teaching about Japan on an interdisciplinary level and across grade levels. At the secondary level, the compartmentalization of disciplines inhibited collaboration on the teaching of new content with teachers of other subject areas such as language arts, math, science, art, and music. The limitations on effective communication among members of a compartmentalized faculty have been documented in the literature (Bess, 2000; Kroblock & Goldstein, 1971). Clearly, in this project, the implementation of

innovative secondary programs occurred exclusively within individual classrooms.

Exemplary Programs

Among 21 participating schools in the *Japan Today* Program, six schools developed exemplary programs in teaching about Japan. Exemplary schools are defined as those schools that systematically integrated Japan Studies into the existing curriculum and provided appropriate faculty inservice, resources, and administrative support. These schools received district wide attention and served as prototypes in the implementation of a Japan program in the district. Programs of study were outlined in carefully constructed school plans developed by Japan participants and were approved by the grade level chair and principal at the elementary level, or by the department chair or lead teacher and assistant principal for curriculum at the secondary level, before the opening of school. The exemplary programs were implemented in three elementary schools, two middle schools, and one high school.

Elementary Schools

The principals of three elementary schools took a personal interest in infusing the entire curriculum with Japan content. The schools were known to operate at a high level of collaboration between faculty and administration. Two principals selected a three-member Japan Team, and one principal chose a two-member team to participate in the Japan program. Providing extensive support, planning time, and opportunities for leadership, these principals asked Japan participants to make presentations at faculty meetings about their experiences in Japan, head the curriculum writing team, develop interdisciplinary curriculum units across grade levels ranging from 12 weeks to 16 weeks, and explain the program to parents.

The principal of an international baccalaureate magnet school selected three of his most effective teachers to participate in the program. He accompanied his teachers to Japan and attended several seminars prior to the trip. His commitment to a Japan Studies program in his school, composed predominantly of children of low socio-economic status who were speakers of languages other than English, was reflected in his strong leadership. His spontaneous appearances in classrooms to share his Japanese experiences created great enthusiasm among students and piqued their curiosity about Japan. The principal of the second elementary school, which had received district attention and news coverage for an outstanding Japan program during its first year of implementation, "loaned" her two-member Japan team to the principal of a neighboring elementary school who wanted to initiate a Japan Studies program as well. The Japan team

conducted an inservice workshop for the entire school faculty using an eight-week interdisciplinary unit across grade levels. The third principal was a previous *Global Principal of the Year*, an award annually bestowed upon exemplary global administrators by the district's International Global Education Program. The school had earned a district-wide reputation as an outstanding global school prior to its involvement in the Japan program. This principal had sent a three-member team to Japan. Its team leader eventually became the 1998 *Florida Global Teacher of the Year*, an award annually given by the Florida Council for the Social Studies. The school integrated a 12-week interdisciplinary unit across grade levels. Culminating activities included a Japanese "culturefest" with the Japanese consul as guest speaker, week-long peace celebrations that included sending one thousand origami paper cranes to Hiroshima for Annual Peace Day, and visiting the Japanese Morikami Museum in Palm Beach County.

Middle Schools

Two middle schools distinguished themselves with the development of exemplary programs. In the first middle school, departmental impact was achieved with the commitment and enthusiasm of a three-member Japan team, one of whom was the department chair. This middle school was structured on the basis of departmental teaching and lacked the interdisciplinary teaming structure typical of some middle schools. Representing the subject areas of geography, civic education, and American history, this school's Japan team collaborated in teaching subject-specific content about Japan by alternating as guest-teachers in each other's classes. For example, the geography teacher taught the geography of Japan in history and civics classes. The history teacher taught his lessons on Japanese history and its linkages to the United States to all geography classes and civics classes, and so forth. Upon completion of this exchange, the Japan team rotated classes with the remaining social studies teachers in the department. The scheduling was time-consuming and complex, but the department chair was an enthusiastic Japan participant and made the full integration of Japan studies into the entire department a high priority. An extraordinary interdepartmental activity occurred with the arrival of a visiting Japanese university student who had befriended the department chair during the study-tour. The visitor became a guest speaker in all social studies classes, sometimes clarifying misunderstandings acquired by the American 'ganji' teachers who had visited her country. Her arrival brought excitement and enthusiasm to teachers and students and demonstrated how professional and personal relationships that develop among individuals from two countries are one of many benefits of a travel study (Cogan, 1992).

In the second middle school, a new telecommunication magnet school, an exemplary Japan program was achieved in all eighth grade American history, language arts, science, and math classes. The school was not among the 21 participating schools in the *Japan Today* Program. However, through the efforts of one Japan participant who had transferred from the senior high school described below, two interdisciplinary teams of four teachers were trained in Japan content and subsequently postholed a nine-week thematic unit on Japan. As one teacher expressed: "Our students will be at a great advantage knowing about Japan in their future careers in telecommunications. "

High School
        A unique curricular impact was achieved in a new technical arts high school in Miami's inner city (Kirkwood, 1996), where the Japan team played a significant role in implementing content about Japan in the Academy of Business and Finance. A member of the Coalition of Essential Schools (Sizer, 1984, 1996), the high school consisted of six interdisciplinary academies based on career interests. The Japan team comprised four social studies teachers and a media specialist. It was among the first group of participants traveling to Japan. Based on the principles of the Sizer Model that advocate interdisciplinary teaching, joint planning periods, and the strong support of the Academy leader, the fourteen-member interdisciplinary faculty jointly planned and implemented an interdisciplinary unit on Japan. Upon its completion, three social studies teachers continued the program, postholing a six-week Japan unit in their history classes. The blending of a common theme throughout different subject areas, reinforced by in-depth teaching about Japan in the social studies curriculum, resulted in meaningful interrelationships among subject areas and reinforced a holistic understanding of content generally absent in the high school curriculum (Bruner, 1960; Sizer, 1996). As the Academy leader stated: "We never had so much cohesion in our faculty. Collaborating on a joint academic venture was a highly productive undertaking worthy of time-consuming planning by the department faculty."
        Contextual Factors. The main contextual factors shaping these exemplary programs were the size of the Japan team, teacher empowerment, and a climate of collaboration. First, the size of the Japan team determined whether the program would remain within individual classrooms or penetrate the school's curriculum on a departmental and school wide basis. From the 21 schools participating in the *Japan Today* Program, most teachers were single representatives of their school. The limitations imposed by the structure of American high schools (Sarason, 1982; Tye, 2000; Tye & Tye, 1992) restricted many individual teachers from impacting the curriculum beyond their own

classrooms. However, the study clearly showed that when schools had teams of either two, three, or four teachers, they worked collaboratively with each other, their peers, and the administration to expand the program beyond the individual classroom.

A second contextual factor was the climate of teacher empowerment in the schools. Principals or departmental leaders promoting Japan Studies in their schools provided Japan teams with generous planning time to revisit previously developed lessons, unit plans, and school plans, often causing them to exceed their own expectations and those of their administrators. These teachers were empowered with the authority to make the integration of Japan Studies a reality in their school. This reinforced their autonomy and created teacher leaders in the schools. As teacher leaders, they were able to conduct inservice workshops, procure necessary materials, and meet with participants from other exemplary schools to share innovative ideas for implementation. This opportunity, in turn, reinforced their enthusiasm and commitment.

A third contextual factor in shaping the effectiveness of Japan studies in the exemplary schools was the culture of collaboration among administrators, faculty, and the Japan teams. Collaboration among administrators and faculty in implementing new programs has been shown to be an essential component of effective school reform (Boston, 1990; Sizer, 1984, 1996; Tye, 2000). Also, the fact that some principals were part of the collaboration often helped to extend Japan Studies program beyond individual classrooms to entire departments and schools.

Summary and Conclusion

Limited research has been conducted on how teachers teach from a global perspective in classroom settings or on the contexts of their instructional decisions. In part, this study aimed to contribute to an understanding of these issues. Specifically, the study adds new to knowledge of the similarities, differences, and unique ways of teaching about Japan in the elementary and secondary curriculum. The study delineates contextual factors that shaped teachers' instructional decisions. Finally, the study demonstrates how global content can be integrated into curriculum and instruction that has been prescribed by state mandates.

The teachers in this study were similar in that they addressed cross-cultural understanding, acceptance of human diversity, stereotyping and scapegoating, global issues, the interconnectedness of global history, multiple perspectives, and the influence of culture on history. Teachers articulated a moral obligation to examine the U.S. nuclear bombing of Japan and other moral and ethical issues. In terms

of differences in teaching about Japan, elementary teachers tended to use a language, literary, and interdisciplinary approach. They provided an effective strategy to introduce students to the interdisciplinary nature of global content across disciplines, thus leading students to comprehend the universal values common to all members of the human family. Foreign language teachers perceived themselves as important agents in preparing students with knowledge about Japan to promote multiple language acquisition in a world characterized by rapid globalization and opportunities for multilingual careers. On the other hand, instructional decisions by secondary teachers emphasized sophisticated cause-and-effect relationships, complex political and economic issues, and controversial issues in the history of U. S.-Japanese relations.

Contextual factors shaping teachers' instructional decisions stemmed in part from the ever-widening circle of multiculturalism in Miami's schools, where global education has proved to be an effective method in reducing ethnic tension in classrooms. Teachers perceived themselves as change agents in helping students adjust to Miami's growing school communities by promoting international understanding through emphasis on cultural commonality and acceptance. Teachers strongly believed that an understanding of multiple perspectives on culture, global history, and the human condition could help students to develop empathy and a desire to help others.

Another contextual factor in shaping the teaching of Japan was the Florida mandated social studies standards, which require the teaching of U. S. history in fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades. The teachers were convinced that the teaching of United States history could be integrated with the teaching of Japanese history. Another factor was the structural configuration of the typical American school. Whereas at the elementary level these structural elements facilitated interdisciplinary teaching across grade levels, the secondary school compartmentalization of subject matter posed a challenge to the integration of global content. Nevertheless, secondary teachers who taught three or four American and world history classes were able to integrate the teaching of Japan into economics and government classes, partly because they wanted their graduating seniors to have a basic knowledge of Japan before entering the world of work or college. Finally, probably the strongest contextual factor for all teachers was their enthusiasm and commitment to teaching about Japan and their relatively sophisticated knowledge and training that proved highly beneficial to their students.

This study also identified exemplary teaching in which teachers concentrated on specific content, skills, and lived experiences in ways that differentiated them from other participants in the

program. These teachers conceptualized teaching about Japan in a unique way. They moved beyond teaching cross-cultural understanding to teaching about pressing global issues and moral dilemmas. They challenged students to see how their nation's foreing policy decisions impact an increasingly interdependent world.

Exemplary school programs were developed at three elementary schools, two middle schools, and one high school. These schools served as prototypes of exemplary Japan programs for the district. Elementary school principals demonstrated strong leadership by taking an interest in globalizing the entire curriculum. They created a climate that allowed innovation and change to take place in the curriculum, providing support for teacher autonomy, additional planning time, opportunities for leadership, and release time for teacher professional development.

Instructional decisions of all teachers were affected by the size of the Japan team, the climate of teacher empowerment, and the culture of collaboration in the schools. While the limitations imposed by the structure of some schools restricted some individual teachers from impacting curriculum beyond their own classrooms, there were a few exemplary programs characterized by extensive collaboration among faculty, administrators, and Japan participants that resulted in innovative program implementation.

Future research is needed to examine whether teachers who participated in the *Japan Today* Program are still teaching about Japan, and whether or not these innovative programs are continuing. If not, why not? Also, have these teachers expanded their teaching about Japan to other Pacific Rim nations or other areas of the world? If so, how and why? Have Japan participants extended their enthusiasm for travel abroad to other countries and to other kinds of professional development with regard to global studies? Answers to these types of questions would enrich the literature on how organized professional development experiences, including travel study abroad programs, affect teacher pedagogy and curriculum development. Finally, future research is needed to examine student learning associated with instructional innovations by teachers who have participated in professional development experiences, including travel study abroad programs.

This study contributes to social studies teacher education in several ways. First, it addresses the connection between teachers' acquisition of new knowledge and the contextual factors that impinge upon and shape their subsequent instructional decisions. University faculty in teacher education programs also may need to examine this connection and to address it more explicitly with their students. Further, the study encourages teacher education faculty to consider the integration of global perspectives into their programs in order to

meet the challenges of a new age. Finally, it advocates the thoughtful inclusion of travel-study abroad programs as an integral component of robust, globally-oriented teacher education programs.

Notes
This study is part of a larger research study that examined the impact of the three-year *Japan Today* Program on the curriculum and instruction of teachers, curriculum specialists, media specialists, and school-site administrators in Miami schools.

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TONI FUSS KIRKWOOD is Assistant Professor of Social Studies Education in the College of Education at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL 33431.

The Creation and Content of an Early "Multicultural" Social Studies Textbook: Learning from *People of Denver*

Brian R. Sevier
University of Colorado, Boulder

Abstract

Curricular materials of the past have much to offer researchers and educators today. In this article, I examine two pieces of instructional material, a textbook entitled People of Denver *and a unit on the inequalities of opportunities available to minority groups in Denver. Both these items were written in Denver, by Denver teachers at mid-twentieth century, and were intended for use in eighth and ninth grade classrooms. In the article, I use a contemporary multicultural framework to analyze these texts and describe their potential for critical, anti-racist, transformative education. I argue that the construction and content of these texts can inform how we think about historical curricular materials, remind us that the work to achieve socially relevant pedagogy has historical precedent, and guide our research and teaching with regard to the creation of relevant, meaningful, and inclusive classroom materials.*

> The Spanish-speaking people are coming with the same hopes, ambitions, and fears that filled the hearts of other new arrivals over the years: What kind of jobs will they find? Where can they live? Will they be able to provide food and clothing for their families? Will they be protected against illness? Will their children have a better chance than their parents have had? How will other people receive them? Will they find friends? Above all, can they build a permanent, happy life here in the shadow of the Rocky Mountains?
>
> -Excerpt from
> *People of Denver: Spanish-Speaking People*, Book One.

Tucked away on one of the countless steel gray shelves in the curriculum archives department of the Denver Public schools, nestled between social studies texts that detail the glories of the old west and extol the virtues of the "Jet Age," sits the exceptionally well-preserved olive green eighth grade social studies textbook that contains the above quotation. It may surprise the reader to learn that the questions contained in the quotation were written in the late 1940s, but what may prove even more startling is the fact that these questions were designed to be scrutinized, analyzed, and answered by junior high school students. The text, *People of Denver: Spanish Speaking People*, completed in 1950, was intended to be the first in a series of social studies textbooks by Denver teachers that would examine the historical and contemporary experiences of minorities in Denver. *People of Denver* and additional teacher-created instructional materials attempted to depict accurately the inequalities and prejudices that the Spanish-speaking population in Denver confronted at mid-twentieth century. Both the substance and construction of these materials can point us toward ways in which the content of today's social studies classrooms might be made more compelling, meaningful, and perhaps even transformative.

The two primary documents I will examine in this article are the text, *People of Denver* (Kenehan, et al., 1951) and an eighth grade social studies unit entitled *Inequalities of Opportunities Existing Among People of Denver* (Kenehan & Smith, 1948). To construct these materials, the teacher-authors utilized primary and secondary source materials as well as information obtained from interviews with Spanish-speaking community members and students. From an historical perspective, the documents these teachers produced are at once unique, original, quirky, and certainly *not* representative of the "typical" classroom materials of the day. Indeed, these materials defy common contemporary social studies texts as well.

These two pieces of instructional material illustrate past efforts to include discussions of minority history and experience in schools, provide insights into multicultural curricula in today's educational system, and suggest possibilities for future social studies texts and research. To delineate these aspects of the materials, I provide a brief description of my definition and usage of the terms "multicultural" and "multicultural education" in the first section of the paper. The second section provides a brief overview of the historical events that precipitated the creation of *People* and the *Inequalities* unit. The third section focuses on the textual analysis of these two documents and, from a multicultural perspective, demonstrates the ways in which they differ from "traditional" instructional material and contradict the enduring and ubiquitous criticisms of social studies/history textbooks. The fourth section examines and juxtaposes the content of *People of*

Denver against the socio-historical context of Denver. The fifth and final section emphasizes and demonstrates the relevance of these historical documents for the publication of contemporary multicultural texts.

Multicultural Education: A Framework for Social Studies Textbooks

People with distinct and divergent educational, social, and/or political agendas have defined multicultural theory (as well as its practical outcome of multicultural education) in various ways. Its incarnations and interpretations can be essentially conservative, liberal, and even *left* liberal (Mclaren, 1995). In addition, its application runs the gamut from trite considerations of cultural celebrations and foods to active participatory involvement in social action and change (Banks, 1993). The intricacies of these various manifestations of multicultural theory and/or pedagogy are not the focus of this paper. The reality of these disparities and differences of opinion, however, require a disclosure on my part regarding my use of "multicultural." Accordingly, I will examine *People of Denver* and the *Inequalities* unit as multicultural in a critical, anti-racist, and transformative sense.

In her article, *Mirror Images on Common Issues*, Geneva Gay (1995) links multicultural theory with critical theory in terms of how they both seek critical dialogue on the part of students, give priority to student and community members' representative voice in the classroom, endeavor to make pedagogy emancipatory, define knowledge as powerful and socially constructed, work to achieve pluralism without hierarchy, and so on. For this paper, the most salient aspect of the linkage between critical and multicultural pedagogy is the idea of voice in the classroom - that is, those traditionally allowed to speak and those silenced or excluded. For Gay, the modal classroom is one where the only kinds of knowledge and information validated are ones that emanate from and perpetuate the primacy of the dominant (read White, Western-based) culture.

In order for a classroom to be critical and thus multicultural, students must be allowed to read about, listen to, and learn from people whose "sociopolitical experiences, alternative lifestyles, perpetual realities and world views...have been relegated to the margins of U. S. history, life, and culture" (ibid, p. 170). This includes the margins of textbooks and curricula. Students need to hear about these varied experiences in order to understand the effect of the historical and contemporary disenfranchisement of certain peoples and how it circumscribes the reality of and potential for our society. Only then can students comprehend and assess the myths that surround minority

peoples and how these conceptions figure in the determination of their success, or lack of success, in this country.

Congruent with and inherent in this pedagogical emphasis on our "pluralist" society is the requirement that multicultural education be anti-racist in focus. This is a crucial component of multicultural theory and of the operational definition of multicultural education used in this article. In fact, in *Affirming Diversity* (1996), Sonia Nieto asserts, "Multicultural education *is* anti-racist education" (p. 308). The consequences of inequality and the pervasive and consistent way in which racist attitudes and beliefs have and continue to contribute to unequal opportunities in our society are the focus. Multicultural education must concentrate on the ways in which preferential treatment is given to some members of society over others and how these preferences demean all involved. Accordingly, multicultural teaching cannot neglect to look at what Nieto calls the "ugly" side of history:

> Rather than viewing the world through rose-colored glasses, anti-racist education forces both teachers and students to take a long, hard look at everything as it was and is, which also means considering the effects and interconnections among events, people, and things (p. 309).

To take this hard look requires the textbooks, materials, indeed the entire curriculum to be openly anti-racist.

Underlying this desire for "voice" in the classroom, for representation of social reality from diverse perspectives, and for recognition of the origins and perpetuation of inequities is an assumption about the need to transform our society (Banks, 1993). Viewed in this way, multicultural education embodies a social and moral responsibility. Multicultural classrooms allow students to understand, appreciate, and begin to work for social change. Requisites for the attainment of this goal are quality curricular materials. Such materials will provide students with accurate, credible, and "controversial" information about discrimination and prejudice. Though classroom materials are not sufficient in and of themselves, they are necessary and powerful components of the multicultural classroom. To paraphrase Tony Sanchez's (1997) work on the effect of unbiased teaching, good textbooks may not be enough, but they are indispensable as part of the foundation for change.

It is to two such "foundational" works that I now turn. The textual analysis in the latter part of this article will consider *People of Denver* and the *Inequalities* unit in light of their manifestation of or

potential for multi-vocality, anti-racist education, and contributions toward social change.

Mid-Twentieth Century Denver , *People of Denver*, and the *Inequalities* Unit

Any analysis of these materials requires some sense of the events that precipitated and informed the creation of *People of Denver: Spanish Speaking People*, and the *Inequalities* unit. The impetus for their production is connected to specific historical developments in Denver during the first half of the twentieth century.

By the late 1940s, the Spanish-speaking population had become the largest minority "cultural group" in the city (White, 1993). Drawn to the cities in search of jobs and housing, the Spanish-speaking population in Denver increased from around two or three thousand in the early 1920's to a little more than six thousand in 1930 to more than twelve thousand in 1940 (Abbot, Leonard, & McComb, 1994). Surprised and fearful of these "newcomers," Anglo Denverites did not welcome Mexicans and Hispanic peoples with open arms. Indeed, there were many restrictions placed on the Spanish-speaking in the city in terms of opportunities and access to housing, services, etc. The Spanish-speaking were often segregated within or excluded from restaurants, theaters, and other public places (Ubbelohde, Benson, & Smith, 1995).[1]

The prejudice and unequal treatment of the Spanish-speaking in Denver resulted in growing feelings of anger, hostility, and tension within the city (Atkins, 1961; Bostwick, 1943). Thus, by 1948, the city of Denver and its new self-described "progressive" Mayor, Quigg Newton, faced a crisis. Among other promises, Newton was elected to office primarily on his pledge to mitigate citywide fears of an open explosion of racial and religious hatred (Denver Post, 2/23/47; Rocky Mountain News, 3/4/47, 6/3/47). One of his first priorities as the new Mayor was to put together a committee whose specific charge it would be to ascertain the difficulties experienced by minorities in the city and county of Denver (Roberts et al, 1948).

In late June 1947, the mayor appointed eight members of the Denver community, representing such diverse interests as St. John's Episcopal Church, the Urban League, and the Denver Public Schools, to his Committee on Human Relations. It would be the specific charge of this committee to ascertain the nature and extent of the problems caused by discrimination against minority groups within the city and to offer solutions to those problems. Six months later, the Committee delivered its findings in *A Report of Minorities in Denver With Recommendations by the Mayor's Interim Committee on Human Relations* (Roberts et al, 1948).

Accordingly, Denver's Interim Committee's report begins with an open and candid discussion of forms of prejudice and misconceptions about race. Post-war "readjustment," the high cost of living, the shortage of housing, and bitter labor disputes are described as impersonal and unpredictable enemies that produce repressed anger as well as the need to use "innocent minorities" as scapegoats. Ultimately, according to the report, the onus for changing this scenario was on Anglo Denverites:

> They are unemployed because we won't hire them, uneducated because we won't make it possible for them to go to school, ill-houses (sic), ill-fed, ill-clothed because we underpay them. They are societal outcasts because they don't conform to our standards. Their skin color, their language, their religion may be different from ours. So we set them apart. We find them easy targets for hostilities that in reality have nothing to do with them (p. 11).

Importantly, the Committee singled out education as the key to combating prejudice. Classrooms, according to the report, must become places where students learn about the cultural heritage of minority groups and gain an understanding of the problems facing minority peoples. Moreover, students should be encouraged to work in and with their communities in order for empathy to be facilitated, knowledge to replace ignorance, and the pernicious effects of discrimination to be eliminated. "The fight against prejudice," the report states, "should be a part of a general program of education for democratic citizenship in the schools" (p. 57).

The Content of *People* and the *Inequalities* Unit

In fact, several Denver Public Schools (DPS) teachers and administrators took seriously their role in improving the "intergroup relations" in their city (Taba, 1949). By the late 1940s, a few teachers had begun attending in-service workshops and participating in the University of Chicago's Project for Intergroup Education in Public Schools. Headed by Hilda Taba, teachers at these intercultural workshops learned how to create instructional materials that would help students examine the effects of prejudice and discrimination in their lives and communities (Taba, 1953). The *Inequalities* unit and *People of Denver* are two products of these efforts.

In the same year that the Interim Committee's Report was released (1948), Gove Junior High School teachers Katherine Kenehan and Maude Smith constructed the unit, *Inequalities of Opportunities*

Existing among the People of Denver. The fifteen-page unit is one-third of a larger quasi-textbook that includes a section on the cultural patterns of the people of Colorado, as well as a section on the influence of the land upon the lives of the people (Kenehan & Smith, 1948). All three units were designed to allow students to understand the extent of prejudice and inequalities in Denver, the cause of unequal opportunities, the manner in which all peoples are affected by these inequalities, and how the community can remedy these conditions. The authors distill their hopes for students into one concise sentence: "To become concerned about the inequalities of opportunities which exist among people living in Denver" (p. 21). They also list very specific objectives for students, among which are:

- Knowledge that cultures, institutions, and traditions are the result of the intermingling and fusion of many peoples from many lands.

- Awareness that there are many patterns of behavior.

- Understanding that people are what they are mainly because of the experiences they've had.

- Feeling of concern for conditions that grow out of the inequalities in opportunities existing among people of various groups.

- Attitude of respect for cultures, institutions, and traditions of people and groups (p. 6).

Throughout the document, Kenehan and Smith provide teachers with focusing ideas, content descriptions, learning activities, community projects/investigations, and suggestions for textual material that would allow them to help students complete the unit successfully.

Still, the authors did not presume that this unit alone would be sufficient instructional material. Indeed, Kenehan and Smith believed that, as teachers used the unit, they would not only gain more insight and understanding of the inequalities in Denver, but they would also become acutely aware of the paucity of materials about minorities in Denver and demand new and/or revised curricula and textbooks. When this demand occurred, the authors asserted, "Reading materials, now practically non-existent, will be prepared" (p. iii). Though they do not say from where these materials would come or who would author them, just two years later Kenehan herself would begin work on a new ninth grade textbook entitled *People of Denver*.

The Denver Public Schools Superintendent's Bulletin dated February 12, 1951, attests to the accuracy of Kenehan and Smith's anticipation of the demand for new materials. In an article about the impending release of *People of Denver*, the Bulletin (Oberholtzer, 1951, p. 1) states that, "Preparation of *People of Denver* was undertaken in response to the need of junior high school teachers for accurate, unprejudiced, and usable material." Thus, the *People of Denver* Committee was authorized by the Junior High School Committee on Instruction in 1950, and the thirteen teachers and Katherine Kenehan who made up the Committee set out to provide teachers with what they understood to be vitally needed information for ninth grade students in the Denver Public Schools.

The text, *People of Denver; Spanish-Speaking People*, was intended to be Book One of a series that would permit students to examine the position(s) of all the various cultural and racial groups in Denver and to fully comprehend the problems they faced. As mentioned earlier, by the late 1940's, the Spanish-speaking population had become the largest cultural/ethnic group in Denver. The decision to begin the series with this population seemed an obvious and self-evident one. Other profiles of minority groups were to follow the publication of *People*, once the material was gathered and arranged in "permanent form."

Katherine Kenehan and the *People of Denver* Committee used multiple sources, including the Unity Council's (1946) report, *The Spanish-American Population of Denver*, the Mayor's *Interim Committee Report* of 1948, testimonials and interviews of Spanish-speaking families, and information provided by Spanish-speaking professionals in the community to present a rather bleak depiction of the lives of the Spanish-speaking population. The topics contained in the *People* textbook range from the historical migrations and journeys of the Spaniards and Mexicans to discriminatory practices by Anglos in Denver that affected the Spanish-speaking and their ability to secure adequate housing, quality jobs, sufficient education, and safe recreation areas. In addition, the text suggested ways in which the city should endeavor to eliminate prejudicial treatment of minorities in Denver.

People of Denver and the *Inequalities* unit attempted to provide students with a comprehensive picture of the experiences of Spanish-speaking peoples in Denver (Kenehan et al., 1951). The textual analysis of both the *Inequalities* unit and *People of Denver* illuminates the significance of the work of these teachers, and it is the focus of the next section of this article.

Textbook Criticisms, *People of Denver*, and the *Inequalities* Unit

Educational research on public school textbooks, including this paper, is explained and justified by the fact that textbooks tend to be the dominant vehicle for delivery of instruction in the typical classroom (Werner, 2000; Apple, 1991). The implications of this dominance are particularly troublesome with regard to the study of history and social studies. Research has demonstrated that teachers in these subject areas are much more likely to depend heavily on textbooks for information and instruction than their counterparts in other disciplines (e.g., Schug, Western & Enochs, 1997).

Not surprisingly, the social studies textbook has been the subject of much scrutiny. Within the last decade, multicultural educators and researchers such as Sonia Nieto (1996), Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (1986), and Barbara Cruz (1994) have either conducted research and/or examined school textbooks with regard to the (contemporary) presentation of material about those outside the dominant culture. Their findings suggest that, when textbooks do not ignore the experiences and perspectives of people of color, they often perpetuate prevalent negative stereotypes. These recent analyses corroborate and reaffirm the critiques of educational scholarship from past decades (see, for example, Zook, 1949; Marcus, 1961; Kane, 1970).

Of course, multicultural educators and theorists have specific and multifaceted criticisms of traditional social studies and history textbooks. Three main themes emerge in these critiques that relate directly to critical, anti-racist, and transformative multiculturalism. They are: 1) that textbooks establish and perpetuate the preeminence of the dominant culture and language; 2) that these texts endorse or encourage only the accumulation of "factual" knowledge; and 3) that the information in these textbooks is not relevant to the contemporary lives of students and/or minority peoples. Both the *People of Denver* textbook and the *Inequalities* unit provide counter -examples to these critiques, as explained below.

The Preeminence of the Dominant Culture

The depiction of minorities groups is one crucial component in the maintenance of preeminence. Consequently, scholars have written much about the depiction(s), or lack thereof, of minorities in public school texts. In 1993, Rahima Wade summarized the research on a content analysis of 25 prominent social studies textbooks and noted that 40 percent of the texts presented biased and/or stereotypical information about minorities. Barbara Cruz (1994) found similar results with regard to the treatment of Latin Americans in secondary history textbooks. Too often, these researchers contend, public school textbooks portray minorities as passive, lazy, irresponsible, lustful, animalistic,

and even violent. Or, some texts exclude altogether any discussion of marginalized or minority groups.

What these portrayals accomplish is a subtle (and sometimes not-so-subtle) negation and denial of the contributions, cultures, and humanity of certain peoples. Paralleling these stereotypical depictions, two of the common misperceptions regarding Spanish-speaking people in Denver at that time were that they did not value education, and that they did not adequately care for their children. *People of Denver* actually attempted to debunk and/or explain these beliefs about Spanish-speaking peoples by examining these two charges in light of the prejudice and discrimination in the city.

With regard to the first charge, the authors of *People* do not argue with the notion that Spanish-speaking children drop out or leave schools at higher rates than their Anglo counterparts, but they insist that this is not because the Spanish-speaking do not value education. Rather, the text offers an economic explanation. The authors argue that Spanish-speaking peoples are excluded from certain jobs, are paid less than other workers, and that some families require the income of their adolescent sons and daughters in order to survive. The authors also use interviews with Spanish-speaking high school students to illuminate another aspect of the dropout rate. The students with whom they spoke were well aware of the fact that Anglo discrimination would make it difficult for them to secure the kind of employment for which a high school diploma would prepare them. They often saw no need to finish school. The authors conclude that only equal employment opportunities can secure economic well-being and sustain a belief in education as a worthwhile endeavor (p. 36).

As to the second negative stereotype, the inadequate care of children, the authors of *People* again provide an economic and social context. They admit that it may be true that some Spanish-speaking children "roam the streets." To reveal the causes behind this apparent lack of care for children, however, the textbook provides graphic details as to the sub-standard and overcrowded housing in which most Spanish-speaking peoples in Denver were forced to live. The authors present Denver as a city where de facto segregation in real estate practices and absentee "landlords" result in situations where anywhere from eight people to four different families live in the same decidedly unsafe room (p. 24). Thus:

> Space may prevent the family from eating their meals together, and children may be wandering the streets at all hours of the night because there is no room for them at home. Such practices result from overcrowding and are not cultural traits (p. 52).

The emphasis in *People of Denver* is clearly on understanding the realities behind the negative misconceptions.

Consistent with challenging stereotypes, the teacher-authors present ways in which the Spanish-speaking are integral to and inseparable from the culture, society, and lifestyle of Denver (p. 107-109). The text claims that through their innovations in and understandings of placer and load mining, farming and animal husbandry, land grants, and barter practices, both Mexicans and Spaniards laid the groundwork for the economic structure of the entire southwest and Denver (p. 109-110). In addition, *People* provides examples of the ways in which the Spanish language has enriched English. The teacher-authors attribute the correct linguistic origin to common words such as bonanza, vaquero, ranchos, placer, and many others (p. 110-119).

Another aspect of the maintenance of the dominant culture within social studies texts is the notion of the primacy of the English language and its role in relation to the Americanization of "immigrants." Accordingly, textbooks were part of a curriculum designed to assert the dominance of the Anglo-American culture, specifically the English language (Gonzalez, 1990). The standard curriculum in this country views any language other than English as somehow of lesser status (Nieto, 1996). Here too, the words of *People of Denver* challenge the traditional. The authors present their vision for the future of Denver as a place where the maintenance of both Anglo and Spanish-speaking cultures will allow each group to interpret its culture to the other group to their mutual benefit. They even argue that all Anglo Denverites should acquire a "speaking use of the Spanish language" (p. 115). Indeed, the authors express hope that one day Denver will become a center for Spanish culture, and that student and teacher exchanges will occur between the city and Latin America.

The Accumulation of Factual Knowledge

The second major criticism that multicultural theorists/educators make of traditional social studies textbooks is that they stress the importance of the accumulation of historical facts rather than critical thinking abilities (Rose, 1990). The information in the textbooks implies an "objective" and therefore unquestionable representation of a chronological and linear reality. By focusing on the specifics of wars fought, the election(s) of presidents, and the steady march of "progress," history textbooks become catalogs of minutiae, or warehouses of data, details, and dates. The learning they promote is rote and routine, not a critical examination of peoples' actions, exploits, and motives. *People of Denver* differs from this model.

One of the ways in which traditional textbooks deny students the opportunity to critically examine historical and/or social

phenomena is through the omission of what Nieto (1996) calls the "ugly side" of history. Many textbooks convey an implicit assumption that racism and discrimination are not relevant or appropriate topics for the classroom. By omitting the history and continuation of racism, discrimination, and prejudice, these texts portray a world in which equality of opportunity exists for all members of society, and they describe racism and discrimination as things of the past that are now resolved (Lamott, 1988). Indeed, textbooks tend to emphasize harmonious relations among racial groups. Two examples from *People* demonstrate that the authors did not necessarily share this view.

In order to illuminate discriminatory practices in the workplace, the authors include the story of a Spanish-speaking man named "Louis." Louis tells how, after years of employment in a foundry, he finally worked his way up to the position of foreman. However, he continued to receive his "ordinary laborer" wage, not the salary of other foremen. In addition, Louis was instructed to train an Anglo assistant who, upon completion of training, was eventually given Louis's position (p. 47). As with previous examples, the authors use this story of discrimination to debunk the alleged lack of motivation on the part of some Spanish-speaking peoples. Why should they try, the authors wonder, when they cannot hope to succeed?

The authors also address another issue: When the Spanish-speaking do obtain the kinds of jobs and income possessed by their White counterparts, discrimination does not disappear. In the final chapter of *People*, the authors discuss other kinds of restrictions and obstacles facing Spanish-speaking peoples in the city. "Many restaurants and amusement places do not admit them," the authors argue. Moreover, "Anglo children tend to believe that they do not need the friendship of different ethnic or cultural groups" (p. 97). Further, the authors assert that Spanish-speaking people are largely unable to gain admission to higher education institutions (p. 31), to live where they choose (p. 62), and to join and/or participate in labor unions (p. 91). Discussion of the existence and consequences of racism and discrimination is clearly alive and well within *People of Denver*.

A second way in which this text encourages students to critically consider their world is through the presentation of different perspectives. In a chapter entitled, "America's First Families Labor to Change the Rich Resources of Colorado and the Nation into Goods and Money," the authors of *People* present two decidedly conflicting views on the treatment and subsistence lifestyle of Colorado sugar beet workers. In the first part of the chapter, the authors present their research alongside three workers' personal stories that document horrific working and living conditions. For their wages, all of the able family members, including children aged ten and up, would spend between twelve and fourteen hours a day thinning, hoeing, weeding,

and topping the beets. They usually returned home to poorly lit, poorly ventilated one-room shacks (p. 87). Farm owners increased their wealth while the laborers shared relatively little in the prosperity produced by their "stoop" labor (p. 92). Then in the next section of the chapter, the farm owner provides a contrasting opinion of the working and living conditions of his employees. The farmer describes a "typical" working family's house as a four-room bungalow in "fairly good condition." The families all have a garden plot where they can raise vegetables, pigs, goats, and chickens. The character and consequences of the work only complement this idyllic setting. "The Spanish-speaking people have many advantages on a farm," the farmer states. "Close family ties are kept in a farm community," and what's more, "there is healthy outdoor work for all" (p. 90).

Rather than simply providing a sanitized description of sugar beet farming, *People* allows students to glimpse the life of a sugar beet worker as he sees it and as the sugar beet farmer sees it. The student/ reader must figure out whose version is a more accurate representation of reality.

The Relevance of Curricular Materials to Students' Lives

A prominent and recurring criticism of traditional textbooks is that the information they provide has nothing to do with either the lives of students or the realities of their communities. In a study of secondary students, Sleeter and Grant (1986) found that one third of their participants stated that the school curriculum, including textbooks, had nothing to do with their lives outside of the school. Their "outside" lives and concerns focus on issues of family life, money, work, food, safety in the streets, housing, etc. These are subjects that the traditional social studies and history textbooks do not touch. Ignoring the topics that matter the most to students, the criticism goes, actually promotes and perpetuates the idea that school is separate from life (Shor & Freire, 1987). In its culminating activity, the *Inequalities* unit provides a response to this criticism.

Fully one half of the *Inequalities* unit outlines the procedures and suggestions for a "Neighborhood Block Investigation." The unit requires students to investigate their own neighborhoods and answer questions about the kinds of people who live there, the types and conditions of the houses, the proximity or availability of resources such as stores, hospitals, churches, recreation facilities, etc. After collecting this data, the students use their experiences and maps of Denver to determine where and how conditions differ in other parts of the city; then students, teachers, and parents take field trips to the various areas. On the field trips, the students take notes about what they observe in the neighborhoods and interview residents (e.g.

shopkeepers, people on the street, young people). Finally, students prepare class presentations to answer questions such as:

- How do the conditions in the neighborhoods differ from yours?

- Are there areas in the city where people of different races or nationalities live segregated from one another?

- Are the same services available to all?

- Do you know how people feel when they are discriminated against? (p. 28)

The goal of this activity and of the unit overall is to establish the classroom as a place where the lives of the students and the realities of the community intersect as an integral part of the anti-discrimination focus of the unit.

A corollary to the lack of meaningful textbook content is the matter of who "speaks" in traditional textbooks. Minority and/or underrepresented voices are consistently present in *People of Denver*. The authors include complete transcripts of interviews as well as quotations from Spanish-speaking doctors, teachers, wage-laborers, and students across grade levels. In fact, every chapter begins with a quotation from one of the teacher-author's Spanish-speaking students.

Content, Context, and the Creation of *People of Denver*

The textual analysis offered thus far reveals that both *People* and the *Inequalities* unit provided students unique opportunities to examine their own positions and experiences in society as well as those of others. The analysis also suggests that current texts often do not measure up with respect to their critical, anti-racist, and transformative potential. Further consideration of the contextual factors that shaped *People*, however, illuminates additional issues. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) explain that as "cultural artifacts," textbooks in their creation and content are shaped not only by instructional objectives but by political and economic considerations as well. *People of Denver: Spanish-Speaking People* is certainly no exception. Like all curricular materials, this historical text reflects specific social exigencies of its time and place, and embodies a combination of political and educational interests.

In *The Culture and Commerce of the Textbook*, Michael W. Apple (1991) affirms the link between the content of instructional materials/

textbooks and the capitalist world beyond the classroom walls. Accordingly, "the choice of particular content and of particular ways of approaching it" reflects specific relationships within and the demands of the larger society (p. 23). The substance of textbooks invariably represents ideological choices regarding what should be taught (Romanowski, 1996; Greer, 1972). This is not solely a contemporary phenomenon. In fact, historians of education such as David Tyack (1974) and Carl Kaestle (1983) have shown that, as a central feature of the social institution of schooling, textbooks have always revealed connections to concerns outside the classroom. This scholarship invites us to consider how the larger socio-political concerns of 1950s Denver were reflected within the pages of this text.

In a previous section, I situated historically the creation of *People of Denver* within the 1948 *Mayor's Report on Inequalities* that charged schools with combating prejudice. The report offers vivid examples of discrimination in the city. It also articulates the specific concerns of city leaders regarding the ramifications of discrimination for Denver. Within *People*, the authors articulate these same concerns. Specifically, the text contains recurring themes that echo these larger concerns regarding the *economic* costs of unequal treatment.

The Inefficiency of Discrimination

As previously noted, in 1948 Denverites elected as mayor a 35-year-old native Coloradoan named Quigg Newton. During his campaign, Newton attacked the previous mayoral "machine" for its inefficiency, cronyism, corruption, and lack of responsiveness. To demonstrate his commitment to efficient and modern governance, Newton ran as a self-proclaimed progressive. For minority groups in Denver at the time, Newton's mantra of efficiency had distinct ramifications. Consistent with his concerns regarding preferential treatment, Newton positioned himself against discriminatory practices within the city and advocated what he termed "civic unity" (*Rocky Mountain News*, 10/24/47). According to the new mayor, civic unity was a necessary component of any modern city. He insisted that his Mayor's Committee on Human Relations advise him about racial strife and "all problems threatening the harmony of community life" (Newton, 1948).

As we have seen, the Committee's report (1948) deals at length with prejudice. Throughout the report, however, runs a central theme that reflects the specific concerns of the mayor's campaign platform: the notion that prejudice exacts an incalculable and immense fiscal toll on the people and city of Denver. Discrimination, the Committee claims, wastes potentially useful citizens and forces them to live unproductive lives on the fringe of society (p. 11). At numerous points in the report, appeals are made to the people of Denver to imagine

and weigh this economic loss that results when prejudice is allowed to thrive. Prejudice is bad business, the Committee members reiterate, and they offer this warning:

> One part of the community spends time, effort, and money trying to keep the other part "in its place." The minority spends time, effort, and money fighting for its rightful place. This futile struggle represents an appalling waste of human resources - resources that should be used in the service of the community, the state, and the nation (p. 71).

In *People of Denver*, the theme is repeated that prejudice and disregard for each person's abilities has a negative effect on the economic well-being of the city. One especially effective illustration again relates to the book's discussion of Louis, the foundry foreman who suffered discrimination in promotion. In the authors' final analysis, Louis's treatment at the hands of his Anglo employers not only negates his individual skills but is also detrimental to the entire population of Denver:

> For all the people, the result in wasted skills, lowered income, and lowered social and moral standards cannot be calculated...The loss in dignity does untold damage to the ambition and self-respect of laborers as a whole (p. 47).

In addition to the effects on the standards of the city, the text argues, discriminatory hiring practices also drain Denver of talented and accomplished people. Spanish-speaking people, the authors claim, were being forced to leave the city to find employment in "coastal cities and foreign countries" in order to do the kind of work for which they were qualified and to receive the same compensation as their Anglo counterparts in Denver (p. 67). The authors also assert their hope that the elimination of prejudice and discrimination will establish a "more equitable and prosperous future for all Denverites"(p. 3).

People of Denver: Further Issues and Dilemmas

Still, the text's association of discrimination with inefficiency and with impediments to progress does not establish a unilateral relationship between *People's* content and the political/ideological world of Denver. Instead, it allows us to understand the textbook as a unique synthesis of political and educational progressive thought. As this multicultural textual analysis suggests, the teacher-authors

displayed a deep commitment to the analysis of social inequities in the curriculum.

In fact, Denver Public Schools has had a long history of such commitment. As Larry Cuban (1993) has shown, by the 1940s, Denver was "a national pacesetter in progressive education"(p. 91). Denver schools participated in the Progressive Education Association's Eight Year Study, in which one of the main goals was the development and implementation of what was termed the "social sensitivity" curriculum (Taba, 1936). Social sensitivity was defined as "the development of behavior and attitudes guided by certain social values, such as democratic living and cooperation"(Taba, 1963, p. 1). The curriculum focused on achieving social understanding, awareness, responsibility, and action. Indeed, in *Curriculum Development*, Hilda Taba (1962) made clear her beliefs about the "social reconstructionist" nature of progressive education. Citing Harold Rugg and his textbook work as an example, Taba argued for the necessity and viability of the combined child-centered and community-centered curriculum (p. 30).

The content of *People* carries on this progressive educational legacy. The in-service training the teacher-authors received at the Project for Intergroup Education emphasized starting from where the students were in terms of their "social understanding" in order to develop their critical thinking skills, civic participation, and democratic/social interactions (Bernard-Powers, 1999; Taba, Brady & Robinson, 1952). Importantly, however, alongside the progressive examinations of prejudice and discrimination, *People* also reified the dominant progressive political discourse that emphasized the fiscal drawbacks of discrimination.

For example, despite its discussions of stereotypes, *People of Denver* is not free of conventional assumptions regarding Spanish-speaking people. An initial glance at the text discloses a belief commonly held at the time about the similarity of Latino experience – that is, the authors discuss the backgrounds, beliefs, and experiences of Latinos as if they constituted a homogeneous group. *People of Denver* never attempts to tease out class and/or cultural differences between, for example, Mexicans and other Hispanic peoples in Denver in the 1950's. Instead, as with most curricular materials, *People* essentializes the Spanish-speaking as a unified group (Gonzales, 1990). Moreover, consistent with prevalent stereotypes, the authors culturally define the homogenized Spanish-speaking as a simple yet hard-working people (Gonzales, 1990).

This essentialism also allows the teacher-authors to categorize the experiences of the Spanish-speaking in terms of what contemporary multicultural scholars call the "immigrant model"(Cornbleth and Waugh, 1995). Accordingly, despite recognizing the Spanish-speaking as indigenous, the teacher-authors of *People* frequently speak of them

as the latest "nationality group." They represent the newest arrivals whose experiences reflect those of the waves of immigrants that preceded them. The authors argue that the Spanish-speaking "are faced with the same problems of adjustment that previous groups encountered in making their way"(p. 10).

An additional component of the immigrant model that often surfaces within textbooks is the meritocracy myth and the idea that equality and freedom are progressively attained for all groups in America (Laspina, 1998). This is true of *People*, and it illuminates yet another juxtaposition of traditional and non-traditional content within the text. Although the authors recount the dire employment, education, and housing prospects for the Spanish-speaking, the reader often gets the sense that the authors believe that the Spanish-speaking, like the immigrants that preceded them, will "make it." This quotation from a discussion of education in *People* illustrates both the authors' recognition of barriers to success and their devotion to a typical "bootstraps" mentality:

> There are always some Spanish-speaking students who are able to rise above conditions and overcome obstacles. These boys and girls finish high school and often work to make a better place for all Spanish-speaking people in the community (p. 87).

Much of the material published by the organizing committee for the Project for Intergroup Education likewise perpetuates the idea of America as a nation of immigrants and as a place where hard work results in success (Taba, 1949; Taba, 1950).

Implications for the Production of Curricular Materials Today

If we consider *People's* endorsement of some traditional beliefs together with its more critical aspects, we can understand the text's connection to both "existing relations of domination and to struggles to alter these relations"(Apple, 1991, p. 23). This simultaneous presence of both kinds of messages within the same text, however, is certainly not unique to this textbook. In fact, contemporary scholars have noted the prevalence of this phenomenon. As cultural products, textbooks necessarily reflect an amalgam of often-conflicting ideological and political messages. Textbook writing, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) state, "can be retrogressive or progressive (and sometimes some combination of both) depending on the social context" (p. 9). If *People* is not distinct in this regard, however, it is unique in other ways. Not only does its multicultural content differ from - and offer possibilities for - contemporary textbooks, but the manner of its production does

as well. The creation of *People of Denver* contradicts many of the contested aspects of the writing and publishing of textbooks today. Specifically, this text suggests alternatives to the production of contemporary curricular materials in terms of the involvement of teachers, the emphasis on the local setting, and the method of its publication.

The Involvement of Teachers

Elizabeth Brady (1992), a founding member of the Project for Intergroup Education, asserts that the notion of the teacher as a major agent in curriculum development was one of the two fundamental principles that guided the work of the Project. Moreover, Violet B. Robinson (1992) argues, "In reviewing the work of the Intergroup Education Project, there is much to be gained not only in the content but also in the process that the Project employed in working with teachers"(p. 67). Indeed, the work of the teacher-authors of *People* anticipated the calls for increased teacher participation in curricular reform by at least two decades. Today, educational reform advocates regularly suggest that any meaningful attempt at educational change must begin with the inclusion and involvement of teachers (Fullan, 1991; Sarason, 1996; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

In reality, this kind of involvement by today's teachers is rare. Brady (1992) states that the decades since the Intergroup Project "have seen a gradually accelerated movement toward a curriculum generated elsewhere and imposed on a school, a faculty and their students"(p. 26). Contemporary scholarship has also attested to the current lack of teacher participation in curriculum development and reform. J. Dan Marshall's (1991) examination of textbook adoption in Texas, for example, describes the immense bureaucracy surrounding the adoption of curricular materials that effectively excludes teachers. This exclusion reflects specific historical beliefs and assumptions regarding the incompetence of teachers. Teachers, within this framework, are viewed as civil servants whose duty it is to implement the curriculum of others, not to create it (Aranowitz & Giroux, 1993). As Giroux and Aranowitz point out:

> The increasing tendency to reduce teacher autonomy
> in the development and planning of curricula is also
> evident in the production of prepackaged curriculum
> materials that contribute to a form of deskilling among
> teachers (p. 38).

The work of the teacher-authors of *People* and the *Inequalities* unit contradicts the notion of teacher-as-technician. The creation of these materials represents the continuation of a legacy of DPS teacher

involvement that stretches back to the early 1930s. Teacher participation in the creation and/or revision of curriculum was a regular, if not ubiquitous, feature of the school district (Cuban, 1993). Still, the teacher-authors of *People* were the first DPS teachers to write their own textbook. Indeed, the text represents a benchmark for the involvement of teachers in curriculum.

Serving Local Needs

Contemporary ideologies that negate teacher autonomy also deny teachers the opportunity to addresses the social and cultural issues relevant to their specific classrooms and communities (Aranowitz & Giroux, 1993). However, the second goal of the Project for Intergroup Education identified the individual school/school district as the essential locus of curriculum development (Brady, 1996). In *Intergroup Education in Public Schools*, Hilda Taba et al. (1952) argue that though the basic issues regarding discrimination and prejudice might be similar across contexts, their manifestations will be different in each community. Thus, schools with large "Negro or Jewish" populations will necessarily have to create curricula and texts different from those with largely "Spanish-speaking" communities (p. 62). Taba believed that instructional materials must incorporate local problems and issues and should build learning activities on the needs of the specific children for whom they are intended (Brady, 1992). Both *People of Denver* and the *Inequalities* unit attend to the unique circumstances of Denver at midcentury.

This attentiveness to context stands in stark contrast to the production of most multicultural texts today. As an example, the recent scholarship on the Houghton-Mifflin textbook debates in California illuminates the way in which many textbooks eschew the local setting in favor of "coverage." Accordingly, rich description of the cultures and histories of any one group outside the dominant culture are omitted in favor of broad characterizations of the experiences of multiple minority groups (Laspina, 1998; Gitlin, 1995). Within this paradigm, breadth clearly wins out over depth, and the limitations with respect to local issues are clear. Speaking to these limitations, Gary Nash, one of the creators of the Houghton-Mifflin series, asserts:

> You can't emphasize the Chinese in San Francisco *and*
> the Armenians in Fresno *and* the Portuguese in San
> Pablo *and* the Italians in North Beach *and* the Koreans
> in L.A. You can't write the histories of every ethnic
> group in California (Gitlin 1995, p. 19).

Certainly, within the constraints of traditional textbook production, Nash is no doubt correct. However, this illustration demonstrates

precisely what makes *People* unique. The text is designed to tell only one story, the story of the Spanish-speaking in Denver.

Publishing People of Denver

The fact that Denver teachers were able to create a textbook that in many ways was ahead of its time begs the question: How was this textbook published? The answer to that question lies in the history of Denver as previously discussed. As a district that was committed to the involvement of teachers in curriculum planning and creation, DPS was willing and prepared to publish the textbook. The school district committed itself to printing copies of the text for any teacher who requested it (Oberholtzer, 1951). Unique for its time, this kind of operation dramatically contradicts the mechanisms that drive today's world of textbook publishing.

In *The Culture and Commerce of the Textbook*, Apple (1991) shows that textbook publishing is inextricable from both socio-cultural expectations and market demands. In today's marketplace, the variety and range of textbook choices is fairly narrow. As Apple demonstrates, the economics of the adoption process virtually guarantees the selection of certain textbooks. In essence, local school districts receive monetary compensation for choosing textbooks approved at the state level. Thus, textbook publishers often make content choices based on the political and ideological climates of larger state markets, particularly California and Texas, that may comprise "over twenty percent of the total sales of any particular book" (p. 32). The increased homogenization of textbook content and the centralization of textbook production are the consequences of this model of production. Also, in order to maximize profits, textbooks must appeal to a wide audience. Neither the involvement of local teachers, the emphasis on specific regional and/or community issues, nor the inclusion of multiple, alternative perspectives figures into this cost-effective calculus.

Apple also argues that textbooks represent choices regarding what counts as knowledge. Historically, White middle class men have made these choices from their editorial positions within textbook publishing houses. Their positions do not always necessarily predetermine content choices. It is, however, fair to suggest a connection between the content of traditional social studies textbooks, which tend to emphasize the accomplishments of powerful White men, and the perspectives of the people in decision-making positions (Boyle-Baise, 1996).

Denver teachers created *People of Denver* for use by local teachers. Denver Public Schools published the text, thereby removing it from the demands of the marketplace. Profit was not a motive, much less a realistic possibility. Yet, despite the various ways in which this

text defied traditional textbook production, there remains one problematic issue: the question of perspective.

Limitations of this Study

Though *People of Denver* does present the experiences of the Spanish-speaking, the voices of the Spanish-speaking are mediated by the fourteen White women who authored the text. We have no way of ascertaining the accuracy of the quotations and stories the authors attribute to Spanish-speaking people interviewed for the book. Moreover, because DPS officials could not locate any surviving member of the *People of Denver* Committee, we cannot investigate the possible ways in which the subjectivity of the authors might have informed their construction of the text and unit. Further, because there are no newspaper accounts of the publication of *People*, we do not know how members of the Spanish-speaking community reacted to this textbook. It would be unwise to assume that they saw this text as a fully accurate depiction of their experiences.

That I was unable to locate teachers who even remembered using the text also limited this study. I cannot make any claims as to how the text was actually used in the classroom. Among other things, we do not know if *People* supplemented other texts or if it was the primary instructional material. Nor do we know how students responded or interacted with the textbook. These kinds of investigations are difficult undertakings in contemporary studies of textbooks (Apple, 1991). The difficulties associated with locating ninth grade teachers and students from fifty years ago compounded these problems. Finally, I was unable to find out either how many copies of *People* the district produced or how many teachers actually requested a copy. Exactly how widely the text was used and/or how influential it was are questions beyond the reach of this particular study.

Conclusion: Historical Exemplars and Research in Social Studies Education

Historians of education often contemplate the relevance of history to contemporary practice and research (Sevier & DuBrow, 2000). This article suggests that the history of textbooks and curricular materials has much to offer educators and researchers today. *People of Denver* and the *Inequalities* unit provide unique insights into both the work of former teachers as well as the content and substance of yesterday's classrooms.

In these materials, we can see both the successes and shortcomings of the teacher-authors and their work. However problematic their understandings of multiculturalism or critical

pedagogical skills, the efforts of these teachers to depict the real lives and experiences of Latinos in Denver challenges us to reconsider what we think we know about past social studies curricula. The substance of these materials also allows us to better understand what critical, anti-discriminatory texts might look like. They illuminate the commitments, conditions, and beliefs that are necessary for the inclusion of teachers and community members in the creation of curricular materials.

People of Denver and the *Inequalities* unit also invite us to consider the publication of multicultural social studies texts. They simultaneously show connections between content and the larger social world and suggest ways in which the production of today's texts might proceed differently. The intra-textual contradictions in *People* remind us to recognize the paradoxes that lie within all curricular materials. *People of Denver* also provides a glimpse of how we might publish texts that are relevant to local needs and that mitigate the demands of the marketplace.

In the intent of the authors of *People* and the *Inequalities* unit, we can find much inspiration. Their efforts to help students examine prejudice and discrimination; to encourage them to analyze the viewpoints of myriad peoples of different racial, cultural, and social groups; and to help them see the perspectives of minorities in American society demonstrate the teachers' desire to depart from the traditional social studies textbook. Moreover, these curricular materials remind those who strive to create critical and transformative classrooms that their work has historical precedent and continues the efforts of past educators.

Finally, researchers and educators have suggested that students be given the opportunity to critically analyze and interrogate the creation and authorship of social studies texts (Bigelow, 1995; Werner, 2000). In this paper, I argue that historical curricular materials can provide the same opportunity for educators and researchers. Exemplars such as *People of Denver* and the *Inequalities* unit can facilitate a broader view of the origins and enactment of critical, multicultural education. In addition, they open avenues for investigating the complexities of textbook production, raising questions such as: What are the materials supposed to accomplish? What socio-historical factors influence and/or precipitate the creation of these materials? Who participates in the process? In this article, I have attempted to answer these questions about a specific set of historical materials and to demonstrate the ways in which examples from the past can inform contemporary efforts to create powerful, relevant, and inclusive curricular materials.

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Notes

[1] Of course, other minority groups in Denver, especially African American, Asian American, and Jewish populations were subjected to these and other forms of prejudice.
[2] I emphasize the experiences of the Spanish-speaking people only because they are almost exclusively the focus of *People* and the *Inequalities Unit*.

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Author

BRIAN R. SEVIER is a doctoral candidate in Educational Foundations and Policy in the School of Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309.

Viewpoint

A Counter-Response to Terrorism: The Hope and Promise of Our Nation's Youth

Michael J. Berson
University of South Florida

On September 11, 2001, a collective shock was felt throughout the United States as our nation witnessed a tragic assault. The terrible destruction of human life was intensified as the tragedy also attacked our sense of safety and security. Television and technology disseminated the horrific visual impact of the event, and even children who were not geographically present became immersed in the violent images and emotions.

As a result, the work of schools became distracted and often overwhelmed by the compelling events of September 11. Few educators have had specific training or experience in responding to acts of terrorism, and many have struggled to address the feelings and emotions associated with the images of devastation and loss.

Whatever their level of advanced preparedness, teachers were placed in a special role to help children in a time of tragedy. The dissemination of resources and information to the schools was critical to assist teachers in understanding the varied reactions of children to these events. Young people, who were experiencing other crises in their lives, including preexisting mental health and behavioral problems, often exhibited intensified anxiety. Others appeared unaffected. These feelings were also related to the developmental stage of the child, with young children concerned about separation and safety, and older elementary school students focused on fairness and caring for others. Adolescents grappled with the ethical dilemmas about violence and the resolution of conflict. Meanwhile schools not only had a teachable moment, but also an obligation to be prepared to help children and adolescents cope with this disaster by attending to their words and actions and responding to signs of distress.

Based on the developmental level and age of the children, teachers sought ways to structure the classroom to be comforting and responsive to the needs of their students. When teachers talked about

the events and identified feelings, provided understandable explanations to counter rumors and embellishments of the facts, explored the forces of hate and the power of compassion, and offered comfort and reassurance, they helped children flourish even when ongoing threats interrupted their lives.

Our reaction to the events has been guided less by empirical understanding of the dynamics of the event and more by a compelling need to connect with others. In this context, some educators embraced the opportunity to expand students' global understanding of the world while integrating into the formal curriculum important topics such as the beliefs of Islam, the geography of Afghanistan, the history of US-Middle East relations, security strategies, antiterrorist initiatives, and tolerance activities. Continual guidance has been needed on how to infuse these events into instruction so that students' understanding of global interconnections and multiple perspectives is optimized while minimizing an approach which bombards students with images of the world in a constant state of conflict without solutions.

One way of filling the void in the classroom was a broad focus on sentiments of patriotism, pride in the selfless actions of many, and a powerful need to take action on behalf of the country. Patriotic symbols highlight our solidarity and sense of community. They also represent democratic concepts such as liberty, justice, tolerance, and freedom, and offer a relevant context to highlight these values.

In subsequent weeks, teachers have contended with the often slow sequence of processing an experience which is too caustic for a child to integrate all at once. Whether or not children will exhibit traumatized responses over an extended period of time is still unknown and partially depends on reactions to ongoing events. The future will continually redefine the new danger and transform children's responses to the threat and the opportunity for recovery.

Many educators have shifted the focus of their efforts from the specifics of the attack to initiatives that may restore the faith of young people in the promise of their future as Americans who can live in safety and security. As fear over the event has transformed to anger, the intensification into hatred can feed stereotypes and prejudice. In such an environment, atrocity and counter-atrocity can flourish, thereby highlighting our struggle to tolerate differences but also feeding our desire for revenge. Dehumanizing the perpetrators of the attack minimizes children's stress, but teachers must be wary of the danger of inappropriately socializing children with fear, violence, and hatred. The isolation of individuals based on racial, ethnic, and/or religious differences can be countered by adults who model acts of acceptance and community. Empathy mitigates aggression and prejudice in the face of difference by highlighting the commonality of our lives.

Our nation's citizens have defied their powerlessness through words and actions. Although the tragedy of September 11 has caused deep sorrow, amid the horror we can observe the heroic acts of so many people. The generosity and encouragement of those who have taken time from their lives to make up for the damage done is perhaps the most constructive image for children. Children should be encouraged not only to observe and celebrate the efforts of others, but also to engage in outreach and participatory service in their schools and communities.

Fostering children's courage in the face of terror does not require that all their fears be allayed, but rather that despite their fears, their resolve to grow and strive for the promise of the future remains intact. Survival does not mean insulating our youth from further trauma, but rather providing them with skills to positively impact their own lives and that of others. Children can find strength through efforts to repair the world. The simple kind deeds that people do for others represent personal acts of goodness that counterbalance the horror. The ultimate goal is to combat the darkness of despair by instilling in our youth the idea that people have the power to spread compassion, understanding, and hope throughout our nation and the global community.

MICHAEL J. BERSON is Associate Professor of Social Science Education in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Some Reflections On Social Studies and One High School: Post-September 11

Richard A. Diem
The University of Texas at San Antonio

As I write this, nearly three and one-half months have passed since September 11. In the interim, much has been published and discussed about the effects of the day on our children and our learning environments. There have been interviews with teachers, reviews of how schools dealt with both the academic and affective residue of the day, discussions with publishers on how they will present the event, and a host of historical and social science critiques.

In this brief essay, I will attempt to add to the record by offering a brief synopsis of how one secondary school's social studies students, teachers, and curricula dealt with September 11. These comments are based on observations and discussions that took place in the days and weeks after the event. All occurred in a high school in San Antonio, Texas.

The Day After

While the immediate shock had begun to wear off both students and teachers in all social studies classes on September 12, 2001, all lessons centered on the previous day's events. The focus was somewhat different depending on the class.

For example, student interactions in government classes concentrated on the question of a military draft and how selective service legislation might affect each of them, as well as on the types of disruption to civil liberties that might unfold in upcoming weeks. In United States history courses, parallels between the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the World Trade Center and Pentagon were noted, including the notion of racial and cultural profiling that followed in 1941. World history class discussions mentioned culture and religion

as well as why Afghanistan might harbor the perpetrators of this act. Those in world geography classes were concerned about bio-terror and how it might be used against ordinary citizens.

In all classes students seemed to personalize each nuance and bit of information. The idea that the United States had been attacked and that the President had told the nation that we were in a war seemed to strike hard at all of the students.

Blending throughout was the constant drone of television news left on in all classrooms that seemed to form a white noise background. At the same time both students and teachers constantly looked for new information via in-class Internet connections, fearing that the reports on television were not being updated fast enough. Local and national newspapers were also strewn throughout the building, thus adding to the urgent, "need to know" environment.

Rumors about more bombings and fears about new attacks were addressed by teachers in a calm and reassuring manner. Students were told not to come to conclusions before hearing the facts. They were reminded that they needed to verify data before drawing inferences.

Following Days and Weeks

As more information and pictures of the World Trade Center and Pentagon became available, interest and talk increased. A daily current events regimen that focused on issues related to September 11 took hold in all of the social studies classes in this school. Teachers sensed their students' need for perspective and constant reassurance. This was especially true with the increase in stories about bio-terror and anthrax in the news media.

Within a week of the attack, however, limits on how these topics would be dealt with surfaced. Teachers, as if by fiat, began to return to their regular curriculum content. The need to voice opinions about daily events was subsumed within the context of ongoing classroom activity. While no one told teachers and students to stop concentrating on September 11, it seemed as though all had a need to "get back to normal." The initial fears of more attacks or a widespread war were now abated, and talk about September 11 seemed to be part of everyday life instead of an aberration.

This development may have occurred in part because the events of September 11 did not fit neatly into any one of the compartmentalized social studies curriculum areas, their curricular timetables, or their scope and sequence. In world geography, for example, Afghanistan is normally not studied until late in the spring semester, and even then it is only briefly noted within a geopolitical framework limited to how it relates to other nations in Central Asia.

In world history limited mention was made of the British and Russian incursions into Central Asia, but no inquiry was conducted into why these powers tried to control this area or why they were forced out. Although in this course a considerable amount of time is usually spent on the historical and cultural influences of Islam, it stops short of noting the tremendous growth of the religion in modern times. Likewise, in U. S. history classes, American foreign policy and diplomatic efforts in both the Middle East and Asia are minimally noted and usually placed within issues related to the world wars, Vietnam, or the Cold War. Government students were offered the broadest opportunities to discuss scenarios often related to constitutional questions on rights and liberties that unfolded as a result of September 11.

Lessons For Secondary Social Studies Educators

While September 11 may have begun to raise the collective consciousness of social educators about geopolitical conflict, our long history in teaching about these concepts still has gaps within it. If we are to truly educate our secondary social studies students about these issues, we need to:

- teach beyond our borders
- provide instruction in cultural understanding
- help students understand the effects of propaganda
- develop historical perspectives
- show the effect of changes in interpreting the concept of civil liberties
- develop critical thinking skills

As we know, all cultures are a tangled web of human relationships. Any social organization from the most simple and primitive society to the most complex civilization is built on the premise that no person is an island living unto himself. Behaviors and dispositions are learned in order to lubricate the frictions of social life. American society, with its political dedication to individual freedom, is constantly wrestling with the problem of finding equilibrium between that freedom and the common good. In the growing shadow of September 11, and with all of the attendant international and domestic problems that have arisen as a result, social studies educators cannot forget this simple premise.

RICHARD A. DIEM is Professor of Education and Vice Provost for K-16 Initiatives and the Honors Program at The University of Texas at San Antonio 78249.

Viewpoint

Rethinking our Framework for Understanding The World

Merry M. Merryfield
The Ohio State University

In many ways the September 11 attack was an authentic assessment of global education in the United States. Did teachers possess sufficient knowledge of relevant cultures, their beliefs, felt needs, histories, political economies, and their past and present relationships with the United States to be able to provide students with the necessary background information? Were teachers able to use their skills in cross-cultural communication, perspective consciousness, and resistance to stereotyping to help students engage in meaningful dialogue and interaction with people of different backgrounds and worldviews about the issues arising from September 11? Do American students today understand their interconnectedness with people in other parts of the world who are experiencing poverty, intolerance, and repression? Has their education since September 11 increased their knowledge of global issues and their ability to see the world from diverse peoples' points of view? Will these students grow up interested in global issues and involved with others around the world?

As Americans responded to the tragedy, constraints to global education became evident. The educational legacy of colonialism and imperialism continues to serve as a blinder that narrowly views mainstream academic knowledge through a framework of opposition, divides the world, and constructs others through its "scientifically underwritten racism" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 4). Whether the dichotomous terms are First World/Third World, democratic/totalitarian, or Christian/Muslim, in colonialist thinking there is always an "us"– usually the white, Christian, middle class descendants of Western Europeans – and "them," the "Others" who are divided from Americans by their culture, skin color, language, religion, politics, or other differences. In our language, literature, and culture, many

imperialist ways of thinking are perpetuated through basic divisions (East is East and West is West), perspectives (Europeans are civilized, and Orientals are barbaric), phrases (the mysterious East), and images (a scantily clad Oriental woman as courtesan in an Egyptian harem). It is an inherently imperialist presumption that Europeans were the experts, and the peoples they colonized were not able to define themselves (Said, 1978, pp. 26-28, 216). Others have noted how imperialism survives in schools through the teaching of "European diffusionism," racialized identities, and reliance upon American and European constructions of other peoples and the world (Blaut, 1993; Freire, 1995; Harding, 1998; McCarthy, 1995, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1993; Pratt, 1992, 1996).

How does an imperial framework restrict learning in the social studies and affect the way young people understand the events of September 11? First, most American students have learned to see Muslims, Afghans, Arabs, and Islam through European and American perspectives, interests, and scholarship. Teachers rarely challenge these perspectives by having students examine the ideas and experiences of diverse Arabs, Asians, or Muslims to see events or issues through their eyes. In twelve yeas of schooling, students rarely, if ever, are required to read literature written by Muslims, examine websites for news by people in the Middle East or Indonesia, or study historical events and people valued by Arabs or Afghans. American students learn rather quickly that Muslims, Arabs, Asians, or Africans are rather insignificant on their own, since they only study these peoples when they come into contact or conflict with Europeans or Americans. After all, the only times they have studied Korea, Vietnam, or Somalia were when Americans came in to "save" people there. Students not only do not learn how other people make sense of the world, but also they are taught that they only need to see the world through mainstream American perspectives.

This imperial pattern teaches students that people of Africa and Asia serve as a backdrop for those who are really important — the Europeans and Americans. Although some progress has been made in producing better instructional materials, Muslims worldwide and people of the Middle East in general are still taught about as different from Americans in some negative way – uneducated, destitute, violent, dirty, undemocratic, or cruel. Just as the American media hangs on to its Arab stereotypes, teachers often choose to teach a colonial version of "pure" or traditional culture instead of the realities of dynamic cultural change. The inequities and oppression of European colonialism and imperialism are frequently glossed over and rarely connected to contemporary problems. Consequently, American students have no basis for understanding the perspectives of people today in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, or the Muslim world.

If social studies is to be world-centered, it is critical that students learn from the knowledge and experiences of people who, because of their race, gender, class, culture, national origin, religion, or political beliefs have been ignored, stereotyped, or marginalized in mainstream academic knowledge. As students analyze this knowledge and synthesize its connections with the legacy of imperialism, new global understandings begin to emerge that have less to do with divisions among people or nations than they do with the borrowing of ideas, the evolution and blending of cultures, and the shared nature of human experience and conflict.

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said (1993) articulates pedagogy for countering the legacy of imperialism that is particularly relevant for the post-September 11 classroom. Students can "look back at the cultural archive" and "reread it not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (1993, p. 51). By adding Muslim, African, Asian, and Arab perspectives and knowledge to American or European constructions of history, culture, political, or economic systems, contrapuntal writing and reading can illuminate other world views and provide insights into how identity, power, and history interact (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989). Contrapuntal pedagogy in the social studies is not simply the introduction of different perspectives. It is teaching the interaction and integration of cultures, the dynamic process in which the colonizer and the colonized were changed as they experienced each other's lifestyles, technologies, goods, and ideas about the natural world, community, spirituality, and governance (Said, 1993). Teaching about the blending of cultures counters the imperial legacy of dividing the world and provides complex and dynamic knowledge about two major characteristics of globalization: increasing cultural hybridism and the interdependence of political, military, health, economic, and religious ideas that once were isolated from each other. It is this interconnectedness in the lives of Africans, Arabs, Asians, and Americans that provides a foundation for understanding our world.

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MERRY M. MERRYFIELD is Professor of Social Studies and Global Education at The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210.

THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION   *Viewpoint*

Teaching and Teacher Education in a Time of Crisis

Stephen J. Thornton
Teachers College, Columbia University

Material learned in isolation seldom sticks with people. Perhaps social studies teaching and teacher education violate this maxim too often. As new issues press upon us, sometimes we respond by tacking on new material, making it an annex rather than part of a coherent whole. For example, in New York City and vicinity, I have seen added to the scope of teacher education in recent years injunctions for teachers to detect and report drug, alcohol, and child abuse, to instruct about genocides, to embrace (and then to abandon) authentic assessment, to teach about the Irish famine, to use document-based questions, and so on. This is a crude approach to teacher education, as it can elicit grudging compliance rather than productive implementation. A more generous and integrated approach to teacher education may yield better results.

Even the urgent educational task of treating the world crisis generated by the September 11 attacks will be better served by something other than an annex approach. Immediate responses to recent developments, both domestically and abroad, such as keeping up with the news, experiencing sympathy and support for casualties, and monitoring the balance between civil liberties and new security precautions in deadly times are, of course, right and proper. So are efforts to teach youngsters that not all members of currently hostile groups are "evil" (Noddings, 2002, p. 116).

From a longer-term perspective, however, the immediacy of the present crisis will fade. Increased attention to Afghanistan and Pakistan is only a partial educational response. It is unlikely to outlast the crisis, just as "air-age" geography devised during World War II failed to outlive that crisis. How then should teachers and teacher educators respond to current conditions?

A deliberate approach to teacher education is needed. In particular, teachers should be prepared to think flexibly about the

purposes and functions of subject matter. Although this is hardly an original suggestion, perhaps it is now more important than ever because, as some observers have noted, the crisis may be used to stifle dissent and to undermine critical thinking (Gordon, 2001). This also seems all the more reason to treat the current crisis in tandem with established purposes and subject matters, rather than as a disconnected special topic.

Whether through discipline-based courses such as world history or more integrated courses such as Problems of Democracy, the study of the present crisis will necessarily have to draw material from across conventional subject boundaries. For example, a study of current events in Afghanistan requires attention to material such as its religions, cultural groups, diplomatic history, economic development, gender relations, and how Afghans and others have interacted with the country's physical landscape. Teacher educators should address not only which of this potentially bewildering array of material should be taught but also and more importantly, which principles should guide such selection. For example, particular current events might be selected for study based on their connection to important historical developments such as the development of Islam, the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and European imperialism, or to geographic phenomena such as the effects of the monsoon on South Asian agriculture or the distribution of ethnic groups within Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The criterion of disciplinary importance, however, fails to exhaust the educational potential of the study of Afghanistan. Teacher educators should underscore that what is currently of most interest to disciplinary scholars may not always be the most pressing educational need for children. Their curiosity about the crisis should be an important starting point for the selection of subject matter. The teacher must, of course, eventually link this spontaneously generated subject matter to formal bodies of knowledge. Perhaps just as important as subject matter arising from children's curiosity, however, are their feelings of fear, anger, tolerance, and so forth. These need to be treated sensitively and placed in context.

Both children's curiosity and feelings should be considered in deciding what to teach. Children learn far more from social studies lessons than from the material explicitly taught. As John Dewey (1998) put it: "Collateral learning in the way of formation of enduring attitudes of likes and dislikes, may be and often is much more important than the lesson on geography or history that is learned. For these attitudes are fundamentally what count in the future" (p. 49).

It is also important to develop the lateral connections of subject matter (see Thornton, 2001). Again, ideally this would capitalize on students' curiosity. A skillful teacher can make educationally productive use of material that at first may not seem that significant.

In the case of Afghanistan, for instance, I doubt that many sixth graders' interests will naturally run to diplomacy. They may well, however, be curious about what they have seen on television about combat or the treatment of women or children in the face of danger. Questions that arise out of children's curiosity are far more likely to engage them. "Any experience, however trivial in its first appearance," Dewey (1966) wrote, "is capable of assuming an indefinite richness of significance by extending its range of perceived connections" (p. 217). Perhaps those connections will even extend to diplomacy, but even if they do not on this occasion, an important network of understandings and their relationships will have been developed.

In sum, the current crisis shows why going beyond discrete courses in history, geography, etc. may sometimes be necessary for the study of complex real world problems. Addressing real world problems in a holistic fashion was, of course, a central reason for the creation of social studies as a school subject. The challenge now for social studies educators is to actualize the ideals for which they have long purported to stand.

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STEPHEN J. THORNTON is Associate Professor of Social Studies Education in the Department of Arts and Humanities at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION   *Viewpoint*

Responding to the Crisis: Reflections on Educating the Public

Murry Nelson
The Pennsylvania State University

When I spoke on this topic at the CUFA meeting in Washington, I noted that I felt very unqualified to be making comments of this type since there were clearly people who were more qualified and knowledgeable than I. As I write, I know that this view is truer today than it was then. The difference is that I cannot avoid writing, as no social studies educator should when asked to do such a task. We are all public educators in a sense, and it is our obligation to work with the public to clarify and shape such controversial and defining issues as this, the aftermath of September 11.

I believe that we need to make ourselves available for public foray, for gatherings of citizens who come together to wrestle with the confusing and catastrophic issues our country now faces. Some of these gatherings might be informal, some more structured (such as formalized Public Issues discussions), but whatever the arena, we need to be in the forefront of it. This does not mean that we know more of the "right" answers, but it does recognize the various special abilities that we have as social educators: recognizing and explicating a variety of viewpoints, supporting or clarifying potentially unpopular views, helping to separate "noise" from actual information, and helping to provide some historical or cultural foundation for the issues at hand.

Other crises have brought our country together in both discussion and action in ways that subsequently affected both daily life and the school curriculum. Having a command of and a perspective on these historical situations helps us respond appropriately to situations that raise the specter of racism, cultural stereotyping, and so forth. For example, sharing perspectives on World War II when Japanese Americans or, to a lesser extent, Italian or German Americans were subjected to a variety of discriminatory actions can provide insights on events of today. A second example would be recalling

some of the extreme reactions to Iranians in the United States during the hostage crisis of 1980.

One of the difficulties people face is the overabundance of information without sufficient guides for interpreting this information. With the Internet, 24-hour news channels, and extensive newspaper coverage, the problem is often not lack of information but lack of knowledge. This is another area in which social studies educators can be of assistance, separating the grams of knowledge from the tons of available information. This issue also highlights the need for better education about the media. Too little time is spent on this in schools and social studies classrooms, and the result is a public inundated with information but often unable to discriminate and evaluate the utility or truthfulness of such information.

Some media took the September 11 crisis as an opportunity to provide knowledge and information while demanding critical assessment from purveyors of the medium. One of the best examples was the NBC television series, "The West Wing." Using the plot device of high school students on a White House tour being detained during a "lock down" of the building, the show's writers had various White House staffers raise the issues of discrimination, critical analysis of a situation, and the need to draw from all sorts of data sources and perspectives to try to understand and act responsibly. This episode richly illustrated the place that social studies has in synthesizing the various issues that need explication as well as in providing a context for assessing them. Interestingly, this episode did not get good critical reviews. It was viewed as heavy-handed and almost turgid by some reviewers. The show's producers evidently were willing to suffer these criticisms in order to fulfill what they saw as a vital need for deliberation and education. Clearly, our school curriculum and general education have failed to provide much understanding of either Afghanistan or the Islamic communities around the world. Many news magazines, newspapers, and television shows tried to provide information that long had been neglected, but again, there remains a profound need for social educators to be intentional in addressing these issues calmly and knowledgeably.

Some public figures (most notably Chester Finn) took the opportunity in the crisis to blame social studies as an inadequate area of study for providing needed insights into the issues and argued that more traditional, discipline-based approaches to the issues were appropriate. As public educators, we know that we must view the world in a variety of perspectives and contexts, but holistically. The artificial fragmentation of knowledge created by 18th century academics has organizational advantages in some instances, but this synthetic parsing would only cause us to miss the larger conceptual concerns of the September 11 crisis.

In an October visit to Puerto Rico, I spoke to a faculty of English instructors. Knowing my background, they shifted the discussion to what they as parents and citizens could do in this crisis. These were educated and concerned citizens looking to social studies educators for guidance and suggestions. We need to respond to such questions, rather than simply talking among ourselves. We can lead discussions, serve as resources, broker academic views, write guest columns in local newspapers, speak out forcefully for civil rights and the threat to them, among a number of things. We can also make ourselves available to audiences outside this country in order to promote discussion about American actions around the world. By doing so, we can reinforce the notion that part of our country's greatness comes from our belief in the strength of knowledge, not just military might.

MURRY NELSON is Professor of Social Studies Education and Chair of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in the School of Education at The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16804.

THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION   *Viewpoint*

Implications of September 11 for Political Socialization Research

Carole L. Hahn
Emory University

The events of September 11, 2001, and its aftermath have affected many dimensions of life. In this brief essay I will comment on the possible effects on one area of scholarship that informs social education—that of political socialization.

Research in political socialization has ebbed and flowed over the years. In the 1960s and early '70s, there was much interest in the field among both political scientists and social studies education researchers (Ehman, 1980). But by the mid-'80s, interest had waned to the extent that one scholar decried "a bear market" in political socialization research (Cook, 1985). Recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in youth political engagement and related research (Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg, & Hahn, 2001; Conover & Searing, 2000; Mann & Patrick, 2000; National Association of Secretaries of State, 1999; National Center for Education Statistics, 1999; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Hahn, & Amadeo, 2000; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). My task here is to reflect upon how future work in this area might be influenced by recent events.

Political Attitudes and Beliefs

Political socialization researchers study the process by which children and youth acquire civic-political knowledge. They are also interested in the development of skills, attitudes, and behaviors that are relevant to citizenship and political life. For example, researchers study the development of skills such as the ability to comprehend information about politics and government in various news media. Attitudes that have frequently been studied by political socialization researchers are political interest, political trust (or the reverse, cynicism

and alienation), and political efficacy (the belief that citizens can make a difference). Another attitude that is of interest to researchers is civic tolerance—a willingness to extend rights to groups with which one disagrees.

In addition to knowledge, skills, and attitudes, researchers study a number of behaviors exhibited by youth. They include: following news events, discussing politics and current events with others, and participating in quasi-political activities, such as student government and other extra-curricular activities. Finally, political socialization researchers are interested in young people's expectations of future political activity. Although early researchers tended to assume that young people were passive recipients of messages from family, school, media, and society, today political socialization researchers are more likely to emphasize the ways in which youth construct political meanings in particular contexts (Conover & Searing, 2001, Torney-Purta, et al., 2000).

With respect to knowledge, in the days following the September 11 attack, students were likely to be more aware than they were before of the president's role as commander-in-chief. Some students may have learned about Congress' role in declaring war and about civil liberties from news coverage surrounding related issues. With respect to behaviors, many students followed national and international news more than they had in the past. They discussed such topics with friends, family, and teachers more than they had previously. The important point, however, is not whether we can detect changes in political behaviors in the short run, but as Conover and Searing (2001) asked earlier: Are students developing lifelong patterns of political discussion [and] staying informedÖthat can sustain a full practice of citizenship? Similarly, are attitudes such as political interest, political trust, and civic tolerance likely to be affected over the long run?

Following the September 11 attacks, one national survey reported that 60% of college students said they trusted the government to do the right thing all or most of the time. That figure compared to 36% a year earlier (Fletcher, 2001). In the same survey, 79% of college students said they trusted the military, 69% said they trusted the president, and 62% said they trusted Congress. All of those percentages were considerably higher than ones obtained from samples of college students surveyed in the years since the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. Researchers have not yet studied representative samples of pre-collegiate students since September 11. When they do, they are likely to find that middle and high school students, like adults and college students, report higher levels of trust in government and government institutions, as well as patriotism, than did comparable samples in the past. As with recent changes in knowledge and

behaviors, we should not merely determine that increased trust, decreased cynicism, and increased patriotism exist, but ascertain whether or not they signal a generational shift in youth political attitudes. For the past 25 years, declining levels of political trust had become an accepted truism among political socialization researchers. We may now be witnessing a reversal in that trend.

I hope that in the future political socialization researchers will use both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Whereas quantitative analysis with representative samples is important to detecting the generalizability of trends, qualitative studies can provide insights into how students think about civic-political matters. We need to explore how young people in different communities acquire their beliefs and attitudes and whether they attribute their ideas to the events of September 11 and their aftermath. Do they seem to think about their roles as citizens differently than earlier cohorts of youth?

Controversial Issues Discussions

One of the consistent findings of political socialization researchers over the years has been the importance of "classroom climate" to the development of positive civic-political attitudes. Students who report that they are encouraged to investigate controversial issues and to express their views in an open classroom climate in which they feel comfortable expressing their views have higher levels of civic-political knowledge than other students (Torney-Purta, et al, 2001). They are also more likely to report high levels of political interest, political efficacy, political trust, and civic tolerance than other students (Hahn, 1998). However, in classrooms in which students perceive a "closed climate" for discussion, students report low levels of those attitudes.

The implications are clear. If since September 11 students have been encouraged to investigate a number of issues, consider differing views, and express their own views—whether or not they are popular ones—then they are likely to develop high levels of political interest, efficacy, trust, and civic tolerance. Where that does not occur, however, the reverse may follow. In the weeks after September 11, some classes used materials such as those developed by Brown University's "Choices for the 21st Century" project to consider alternative public policies that could be implemented. Some classes considered alternative views on issues from a variety of international news sources with differing perspectives, as recommended on the Constitutional Rights Foundation's website.

However, such investigations were not the norm everywhere. Several beginning teachers told me that in the schools that they observed, students were encouraged to write about their feelings in

their journals, write letters to fire fighters, and collect money for the Red Cross. Beyond that, however, the trend was to "get on with business as usual," to say as little as possible about the attack and its aftermath. Most important, teachers tended not to encourage discussion of controversial issues such as those related to possible foreign policy alternatives and civil liberties. Teachers, as well as other adults, admitted that they felt uncomfortable raising points that might be construed as "unpatriotic." They read in the newspaper of organizations that were naming professors who had spoken against the war in Afghanistan or had encouraged Americans to look to their own country's policies as well as to terrorists for needed changes in behavior (Eakin, 2001).

This chilly climate for the expression of differing views is reminiscent of the McCarthy era—a period in which the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) asserted its commitment to controversial issues exploration. NCSS recommended then:

> that it be the explicit policy of the nation's public schools to encourage and maintain the study of the unsolved problems and the current, controversial issues of our society. Only through this study can children develop the abilities they will need as citizens of a democracy—to analyze a problem, to gather and organize facts, to discriminate between fact and opinion, to draw intelligent conclusions, and to accept the principle of majority rule with due respect to minorities. The school has the responsibility for helping every boy and girl to develop and to apply these abilities. Hence, the school must uphold the freedom to learn (NCSS, 1950 in Cox, 1977).

It is time once again for NCSS and social studies leaders to assert the importance of controversial issues investigation and discussion in our schools. The NCSS task force on civic education is undertaking an ambitious program to encourage civic engagement in youth. It is time that they heed political socialization and social studies education research by giving greater attention to the freedom to teach and to learn about controversial issues.

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CAROLE L. HAHN is Professor of Educational Studies at Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322 and a past president of NCSS.

THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION   Book Review

Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Shapiro, Robert Y. (2000). *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 339 pps., $17.00, paper. ISBN 0-226-38983-9.

Review by DOUGLAS A. DIXON, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Western Illinois University, Moline, IL 61265.

        Edgar Wesley once wrote that the social studies are the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes. Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro's new book *Politicians Don't Pander* lends support to Wesley's claim. Jacobs and Shapiro provide us with a glimpse of how major new U.S. domestic policy initiatives are contested in the national arena as political actors themselves describe it, documents recount it, and polls reflect it, not as students engage it in civics classes. Through extensive interviews with Democratic and Republican politicos, content analyses of presidential statements and media reports, and reviews of public opinion polling data, these two political scientists delve into the issue manipulations and machinations that help determine the outcome of controversial policy initiatives (e.g., public issues). Specifically, the authors attempt to derive a "theory of political motivation," rooted in empirical data, that explains lapses and recent declines in politicians' adherence to centrist opinion (p. 25). Centrist opinion is what some political scientists have described as the consensus reached among most Americans regarding issue positions rooted in values such as freedom and individualism, privacy, and the right to due process in legal proceedings. The book's central thesis revolves around "the interconnections of politics, news reporting, and public opinion" (p. 156)—all critical to knowledgeable citizenship participation.
        Jacobs and Shapiro identify factors that have led to a decline in national politicians' responsiveness to centrist public opinion and describe how political actors attempt to sell their policies to the same politically unsophisticated centrist public. They note that prior theories—median voter or retrospective voting—do not wholly explain the variation in democratic responsiveness, especially since the 1970s, and conclude that variants of a policy-oriented theory, "party vote"

or "strategic shirking," also fall short (p. 16). The median voter theory suggests that the American public evaluates politicians' proposals and actions in terms of centrist opinion. Retrospective voting is thought to reflect voting behaviors tied to the public's evaluation of elected representatives' past proposals, promises, and/or actions while in the public eye. Political scientists also posit that some politicians' actions parallel the desires of their party's core supporters—liberals for Democrats and conservatives for Republicans—thus the term party vote. On other occasions, candidates for office can propose policies, according to political observers, that do not align with the centrist public's views on some issues (strategic shirking). According to the authors, recent changes in political and institutional conditions—"partisan polarization, institutional individualization, incumbency bias, interest group proliferation, and divisive national elections" are partly to blame for the manipulative issue framing cycles (p. 28).

Unlike social studies curriculum proposals that emphasize straight talk (and open forums), information gathering to judge issues on the merit, and consensus building, or social studies curriculum-as-taught (i.e., the functions and structures of government), Jacobs and Shapiro note that in the real world of politics, politicians attempt to prime the public's value systems selectively and to saturate the public forum with a carefully honed message known to resonate with the great majority of the general citizenry. Journalists, in turn, frame debates in ways that evoke public fears over, or gather support for, policy initiatives, many times thwarting the intent of policy originators. Private pollsters are hired to elicit the public's salient value sets in order for politicians and their allies to more skillfully sharpen the message in the political struggle. One can almost hear Wesley from the grave: Centrist opinion? Median voter theory? Issue priming? Media saturation? Such topics are rarely, if ever, the focus of social studies civics lesson.

Politicians Don't Pander outlines the strategic battles that Clinton, Gingrich, and their allies waged over two major policy initiatives: health care reform and the Contract with America. Data from the study provide not only empirical support for their conclusions, but also extensive material that may be useful to teachers in a classroom simulation or activity. For instance, the authors note specific news stories that reflect different approaches to public policy reporting and various criteria to evaluate those differences (e.g., volume of coverage, content categories, conflict among government officials and others, efforts to change/reform policy versus generic coverage, and the sources of information reported) (pp. 158-159). In their study, for instance, the authors tracked news stories on health policy across media such as the Associated Press, magazines, and newspapers. Social studies teachers could provide students with a

representative sampling of health care newspaper stories between September 1993 and the summer of 1994, a period marking the shift in media issue framing and public opinion, according to the authors. Students could be guided to review a sample of articles and to categorize the stories on the basis of criteria similar to those used by Jacobs and Shapiro, thus inducing the relationship that emerges between press coverage, public opinion polls, and policy failure.

One of the most insightful sections of the book details the rhetorical contest between Clinton and Republican leaders over the meaning of health care, welfare, debt reduction, and Medicare policy proposals. Jacobs and Shapiro detail the "language, symbols, and arguments" that proponents and opponents used to woo public opinion (p. 108). For example, Clinton and his allies framed the health care reform proposal in the language of "security for all," health "alliances," universal coverage, expanded access, personal benefits, and preservation and protection of the best aspects of the current system (pp. 109-112). Moreover, Clinton unveiled a "health care card" to link his new initiative in the minds of Americans to another widely popular program, Social Security (pp. 109-110). The Administration's media blast of these themes began in earnest in September 1993 and won nearly 60% favorable public opinion ratings.

By the summer of 1994, however, health care reform was dead. Jacobs and Shapiro attribute a large measure of its defeat to a successful Republican counteroffensive and the media's emphasis on a conflict and strategic framework (pp. 232-233). Engaging in "crafted talk," public priming, and media saturation, Republican leaders and health care insurers reframed the health care debate, defining it in terms of "a problem, not a crisis," big government, more bureaucracy, and too much, too fast (pp. 137; 271-274). The symbolism of "Harry and Louise" and Rube Goldberg highlighted the disadvantages of Clinton's proposal (pp. 123, 142). The media also reframed the health care debate from a "national problem" to a political conflict, thereby adding to the public's fears and uncertainty of how the proposal would affect them individually.

In spite of all the political intrigue described by Jacobs and Shapiro, they are not cynics. They propose changes in political activities that may serve to increase democratic responsiveness, or what they term "responsive leadership" (pp. 298, 303). Social studies teachers may pass along these insights to their students. But possibly the most powerful lesson this book teaches is rooted elsewhere. Instead of teaching students what some have suggested is critical - how to poll (Pobst, 1999) - or where students' ideological location is on a liberal to conservative continuum (Sansone, 1999), or how to sift through volumes of information to reach an elusive 'best' solution for everyone (Engle & Ochoa, 1989), Jacobs and Shapiro point social studies

educators toward a new political curriculum. They advocate teaching students how to frame issues that resonate with fellow students, to build coalitions, to form parties, and to win policy debates (Dixon, 2000). Putting students in the driver's seat of sophisticated political maneuvering may make them more conscious of the strategies they face in the real world and, in turn, less manipulable. It may also teach them the virtue and necessity of political compromise and a more accommodating attitude toward the activities of various political interest groups and political party organizations. Reading *Politicians Don't Pander* should give interested teachers the background to teach civics with added insight and curricular material.

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THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION   *Information for Authors*

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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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THEORY & RESEARCH

IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

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Mary Haas
West Virginia University

Carole Hahn
Emory University
Greg Hamot
University of Iowa
Angela Harwood
Western Washington University
Diana Hess
University of Wisconsin-Madison
John Hoge
University of Georgia
Neil Houser
University of Oklahoma
Joel Jenne
Salisbury State University
Bruce Larson
Western Washington University
John Lee
Georgia State University
Gaea Leinhardt
University of Pittsburg
Andra Makler
Lewis and Clark College
Merry Merryfield
The Ohio State University
Suzanne Miller
State University of New York at Buffalo
Petra Munro
University of Maryland
Murry Nelson
The Pennsylvania State University
Susan Noffke
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Sandra Oldendorf
University of Montana-Western
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San Diego State University
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University of Washington-Seattle
Jeff Passe
University of North Carolina at Charlotte
Steve Preskill
University of New Mexico
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Auburn University at Montgomery
John A. Rossi
Virginia Commonwealth University
John Saye
Auburn University
Avner Segall
Michigan State University
Peter Seixas
University of British Columbia

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National Council for the Social Studies
8555 Sixteenth Street, Suite 500
Silver Spring, MD 20910

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