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THEORY & RESEARCH IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

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THEORY AND RESEARCH IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

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IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

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This issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education* features five research studies that focus on ways of thinking about both content and process in the social studies. First, Andrew Milson's case study of a sixth grade world history classroom investigates the integration of inquiry learning and the Internet through the WebQuest approach, examining students' differing perspectives on the value of both inquiry and Internet sources. Especially intriguing were the implications for learning disabled students in the general education social studies classroom, a greatly overlooked area in social studies research. Next, Christine Woynshner's article, after arguing that the existing school history curriculum and educational research favor political history that either excludes women or overemphasizes the importance of the suffrage movement, describes theoretical developments in the field of women's history that allow women to be viewed historically as political activists, thereby bringing about a more inclusive history in the schools. In a focus on current political activism, Todd Kenreich explores how geography teachers participating in a leadership academy construct their identities as teacher leaders with political advocacy skills. He argues that other professional organizations should consider this approach to professional development to advance their respective agendas of reform.

Walt Werner's article draws from the field of cultural studies to suggest three instructional conditions for developing in students the agency they need to read visual texts: (1) authority, (2) opportunity and capacity, and (3) community. He also outlines seven ways of reading images—instrumental, narrative, iconic, editorial, indicative, oppositional, and reflexive—and illustrates each with instructional questions. Finally, Philip Molebash presents results of a research study that investigated the characteristics of a social studies methods instructor whose practice was guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. In particular, the article describes how the instructor's

constructivist philosophical beliefs influenced her integration of technology as encouraged by the CUFA Technology Guidelines.

I am pleased to announce that, with this issue, Kathy Bickmore of OISE/University of Toronto has fully assumed the role of *TRSE* Book Editor with her review of *Making Spaces: Citizenship and Difference in Schools*, by Tuula Gordon, Janet Holland, and Elina Lahelma. This notable book addresses social dimensions of citizenship education in schools. She also features a review by Margaret Smith Crocco of two books on peace education from a gender perspective, one by Betty Reardon and the other by Ingeborg Breines, Dorota Gierycz, and Betty Reardon; and finally, a review by Ian Wright of S.G. Grant and Bruce VanSledright's new social studies methods textbook, *Constructing a Powerful Approach to Teaching and Learning in Elementary Social Studies*.

Also with regard to the Book Review section, Professor Bickmore wishes to announce that she will pass along books she receives to anyone who agrees to submit a review. Whether or not the review is accepted and published, the reviewer will be able to keep the book. *TRSE* book review guidelines may be found at: <http://www.socialstudies.org/cufa/trseguidelines.shtml>.

Linda Symcox's new book *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in American Classrooms* (New York, Teachers College Press, 2002, 228 pp.) has been received and is available for review. Symcox is on the College of Education faculty at California State University-Long Beach and is former Assistant Director of the National History Standards Project. She examines how education policy is made, focusing on shifting history education reform initiatives in the 20th century United States, especially in relation to multiculturalism debates, and the particular case of the National History Standards Project.

Finally, an error was made in the spring 2002 issue regarding identification of one of the authors. Nina A. Asher, as she was listed in that issue, should be correctly identified as Nina Asher.

The Internet and Inquiry Learning: Integrating Medium and Method in a Sixth Grade Social Studies Classroom

Andrew J. Milson
Baylor University

Abstract

Social studies educators have long promoted inquiry learning as a valuable method of instruction. Specifically, research into the use of inquiry methods in the teaching and learning of history has demonstrated that this method has much to offer. Recently, the use of technological tools, including the Internet, has received attention as a means of transforming social studies instruction. This case study of a sixth grade classroom investigates the integration of the inquiry learning method and the Internet medium through the WebQuest approach. Three findings are presented and discussed: 1) students have differing perceptions of the value of Internet sources and print sources, but many find print sources preferable to Internet sources; 2) students' strategies for gathering and organizing information are initially characterized by a quest for the 'Path-of-Least-Resistance,' but the teacher can successfully guide students to more productive approaches; and 3) students of varying academic ability levels can conduct inquiry-oriented investigations, but they approach and perceive the value of such investigations differently.

Computer-assisted instruction (CAI) is frequently described as a powerful medium and method for realizing the goals of social studies education (Braun, et. al 1998; Braun & Risinger, 1999; Rose and Ferlund, 1997). Within the CAI domain, hypermedia environments, such as the Internet, are a rapidly expanding force in education. The increasing popularity, reliability, and availability of the Internet in schools point to the Internet as a potential means of transforming social studies education (Braun & Risinger, 1999). As a repository of resources, the Internet offers significant opportunities for social studies learning in the form of data collection and analysis.

The Internet provides teachers with access to materials that may be used for activities such as critical thinking, problem-solving, civic participation, and service learning with the goal of building the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for civic competence.

Although researchers have begun to turn their attention to the effects of CAI and the use of the Internet in K-12 classrooms, classroom-based research in this field is lacking. In an analysis of the literature on telecommunications in the classroom, Fabos and Young (1999) found that “much of the current research is contradictory, inconclusive, and possibly misleading” (p. 218). They noted that research in the field is often overwhelmed by non-research-based discourse in technology-friendly journals that offer optimistic views based on cursory and anecdotal evidence. A similar deficit exists in the field of social studies education (Berson, 1996; Diem, 2000).

In a discussion of the status of social studies research in general, Leming (1997) observed that researchers have become detached from school settings and the task of identifying best practices in social studies teaching. He argued, “In the field of medicine the equivalent would be to bring new medicines to the marketplace in the absence of clinical trial research” (p. 503). It is important that social studies educators base their arguments regarding the use of technology for social studies teaching and learning on K-12 classroom-based research. In an effort to contribute to the research base regarding technology in social studies education, the present study is an investigation of the WebQuest technique as an approach to Internet-based inquiry learning in a sixth grade social studies classroom.

WebQuest as an Integration of Medium and Method

Social studies educators have long promoted inquiry learning as a desirable method of instruction (e.g., Banks & McGee-Banks, 1999; Beyer, 1971; Hunt & Metcalf, 1955; Massialas & Cox, 1966; Nelson, 1970; Parker, 2001). Levstik and Barton (1997) explained, “People learn when they seek answers to the questions that matter to them; their understanding changes only when they become dissatisfied with what they know. The process of asking meaningful questions, finding information, drawing conclusions, and reflecting on possible solutions is known as inquiry” (p. 13). More specifically, researchers have noted many advantages to studying history by engaging in historical inquiry (e.g., Barton, 1997; Brophy et al., 1992; Downey & Levstik, 1991; Foster, et al., 1999; Gabella, 1994; Seixas, 1993; VanSledright & Brophy, 1992). This research base has indicated that students learn history most effectively when they are engaged in asking historical questions, collecting and analyzing historical sources, and determining historical significance.

Critics of traditional history instruction (e.g., Loewen, 1995; Zinn, 1995) suggest that the transmission model of instruction results in students who are misinformed and bored. Although research offers much to support an inquiry model of instruction and to discount a transmission model of instruction, it appears that relatively few classroom teachers have adopted historical inquiry as a primary method of instruction. Loewen (1995) speculated that this situation occurs because of the traditional system of schooling and the nature of the relationship between teachers and students:

Some social studies and history teachers try to win student cooperation by telling them, when introducing a topic, not to worry, they won't have to learn much about it. Students happily acquiesce. Students also invest a great deal of creative energy in getting teachers to waste time and relax requirements. Teachers acquiesce partly because, as with much day-to-day resistance during slavery, yielding does not really threaten the system. Day-to-day school resistance also provides students a form of psychic distance, a sense that although the system may have commanded their pens, it has not won real cooperation from their minds. (p. 293)

Although this explanation of structural barriers may have some merit, significant practical considerations, such as access to quality resources for historical inquiry and the classroom management issues that arise during inquiry investigations, often may have led teachers to avoid the inquiry method. However, both of these practical concerns may be addressed through the use of the WebQuest approach, which provides teachers and students with easy access to historical documents, as well as a structure for analyzing those documents.

A WebQuest may be defined as an inquiry-oriented activity in which most or all of the information used by learners is drawn from the Internet (Dodge, 1995). Students access a WebQuest online and are guided through the basic stages of the inquiry process. The critical attributes of a WebQuest consist of five stages: *Introduction*, *Task*, *Process*, *Evaluation*, and *Conclusion*. A teacher creates a WebQuest by constructing a web page that includes these components and posting the page to an Internet server for students to access. Each of the stages of a WebQuest parallels a phase of the inquiry process (see Table 1).

Table 1: Comparison of WebQuest Stages with Models of Social Studies Inquiry Learning

WebQuest	Massialas and Cox (1966) Social Studies Inquiry	Beyer's (1971) Inquiry Process	Banks' (1999) Social Inquiry Model
Introduction	1 Orientation	1 Defining the Problem	1 Doubt- Concern 2 Problem Formation
Task	2 Hypothesis 3 Definition	1 Defining the Problem 2 Developing Tentative Answer	3 Formulation of Hypothesis 4 Definition of Terms
Process	4 Exploration 5 Evidencing 6 Generalization	2 Developing Tentative Answer 3 Testing the Tentative Answer 4 Developing a Conclusion	5 Collection of Data 6 Evaluation and Analysis of Data 7 Testing Hypotheses: Deriving Generalizations and Theories
Evaluation			
Conclusion	6 Generalization	5 Applying the Conclusion	8 Beginning Inquiry Anew

The *Introduction* section of the WebQuest provides a compelling context for inquiry. It is typically a brief statement to the students that serves as the anticipatory set for the lesson by establishing the context, accessing prior knowledge, posing key questions, and motivating the student to proceed. This section parallels the *Orientation* phase of the Massialas and Cox (1966) model, in which the teacher presents an issue of conflict with the goal of engaging students in inquiry and helping them to define a problem. According to the Beyer (1971) model, this first stage of inquiry, labeled *Defining the Problem*, should help students become aware of a problem that is meaningful and manageable. Similarly, Banks' (1999) model of social inquiry begins with the formulation of a problem brought about through doubt and concern.

The second stage of the WebQuest, the *Task*, provides the students with information regarding the final product of their inquiry.

Here a teacher may explain what the student or group of students is supposed to accomplish. For example, the teacher may ask students to solve a problem, come to a decision, or create a product that demonstrates their knowledge of the topic or issue. Two of the phases of the Massialas and Cox model, *Hypothesis* and *Definition*, and of the Banks model, *Formulation of Hypotheses* and *Definition of Terms*, are addressed through the *WebQuest Task*. During these phases, the teacher helps students to consider the nature of the problem, possible resolutions, and the meaning of terms used. Likewise, portions of the *Defining the Problem* and *Developing a Tentative Answer* stages of Beyer's model of inquiry are addressed during the *WebQuest Task*. Beyer explained that as students develop tentative answers, they should examine and classify data, seek relationships and draw inferences, and state the hypothesis. Thus, only the hypothesis formation of Beyer's portion of this stage is accomplished during the *WebQuest Task*.

The *WebQuest Process* section outlines the steps that students will take, as well as the resources needed, to complete the *Task*. Students are provided with guidance as to how they should proceed through data collection and analysis. Most importantly, this section contains links to web sites that provide students with access to sources relevant to their investigation. Since the teacher screens the sites in advance, students are linked directly to accurate and appropriate resources. In addition to documents, photographs, and other common historical sources, students may have access to experts in the field, students elsewhere who are researching the same topic, audio archives, and video footage. The *WebQuest Process* parallels the Massialas and Cox *Exploration*, *Evidencing*, and *Generalization* phases; Beyer's *Developing a Tentative Answer*, *Testing the Tentative Answer*, and *Developing a Conclusion* stages; and Banks' *Collection of Data*, *Evaluation and Analysis of Data*, and *Testing Hypotheses* stages. All of these models require students to gather and analyze data and evidence in order to test hypotheses, with the ultimate goal of generating a tentative conclusion or generalization.

The *WebQuest Evaluation* section describes how students will be assessed on the product of their task. This assessment typically takes the form of a rubric describing specific criteria the students should achieve in their final product. The *WebQuest* model could conceivably be adapted so students might play a role in the selection of the final criteria for evaluation, but typically the rubric is designed by the teacher prior to beginning the *WebQuest*. This is the one stage of the *WebQuest* that is not explicitly evident in the Massialas and Cox, Beyer, or Banks models of social studies inquiry learning.

The *WebQuest Conclusion* offers a context for debriefing the lesson and suggestions for further inquiry. This stage corresponds with

the *Generalization* phase of the Massialas and Cox model, the *Applying the Conclusion* stage of the Beyer model, and the *Beginning Inquiry Anew* stage of the Banks model. All of these models emphasize the importance of further inquiry and the tentative nature of generalizations and conclusions.

Although the stages of the WebQuest model parallel these three models of social studies inquiry, the WebQuest format is typically more structured and teacher-directed than Massialas and Cox, Beyer, or Banks suggest. The WebQuest model is flexible enough to allow for the format suggested by these theorists, but in most cases WebQuests are designed by teachers to be a guided and structured form of inquiry lesson. The flexibility of the WebQuest format also allows teachers to use the approach for a variety of curricular and instructional purposes, from brief introduction to a specific topic to a broad interdisciplinary unit.

The WebQuest approach is intended to capitalize on the advantages of the Internet for guided inquiry learning while mitigating some of the disadvantages. The advantages of student access to online primary sources, a structure for evaluating those resources, and teacher supervision in identifying appropriate and relevant content suggest that the WebQuest approach could be a powerful technique for instruction (Milson & Downey, 2001). The technique has become very popular among teachers, curriculum coordinators, and teacher educators since its initial development in 1995 by Bernie Dodge of San Diego State University. Dodge's WebQuest Page on the Internet records over two million visitors as of this writing (1). The WebQuest Page offers approximately 300 sample WebQuests for social studies, templates for WebQuest creation, and an e-mail discussion group. It is also becoming common to see WebQuest workshops and sessions at professional conferences.

The literature on WebQuests contains many positive statements regarding the value of the approach (e.g., Brucklacher & Gimbert, 1999; Gohagan, 1999; Yoder, 1999; Watson, 1999; Donlan, 1999; McNally & Etchison, 2000; March, 2000). Several positive reports have been published on the use of this approach for social studies education (e.g., Pohan & Mathison, 1998; Braun, 1999; Mathison & Pohan, 1999; Zukas, 2000; Dutt-Doner, et al., 2000; Milson & Downey, 2001), and in special education settings (Kelly, 2000). The WebQuest approach appears to be in widespread use, yet the literature largely reports anecdotal accounts of success rather independent research on this instructional technique. A need exists for classroom-based research to investigate the effectiveness of this technique. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to explore the use of the WebQuest technique as an integration of the Internet medium and the inquiry learning method in a sixth grade social studies classroom.

Method

Design and Participants

Given that the use of the Internet for inquiry learning is a relatively new phenomenon that has been proposed as an instructional innovation, the heuristic qualities of the case study design seemed appropriate for this study (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 1998). The study took place in a single sixth grade classroom in a school located within a working class neighborhood in a medium-sized, Midwestern city. Of the 23 students, 12 were boys and 11 were girls. The students were mostly Caucasian and also included two African-American students and one Hispanic student. The students' teacher, Pam, has fifteen years of experience teaching elementary school (2). She is nearing completion of a Master's degree in educational administration and is actively involved in professional development such as attending conferences, conducting district workshops, and coordinating a partnership with a local university.

Case Selection

I selected Pam and her students for this study as a purposeful sample because I believed this classroom to be an information-rich setting (Patton, 1990). I established a list of criteria prior to selecting a site (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). These criteria included:

1. The teacher must be interested in infusing technology into instruction, but not particularly fluent in how to do this.
2. The students should have some experience with using the Internet in school, but not with the WebQuest technique.
3. The students should have varying ability levels.
4. The school and the classroom should contain reasonably up-to-date computers, but it should not be a highly technologically equipped setting.

I selected the first criterion in order to gain access to the decision-making and responses of a typical teacher. Given the important role of the teacher in selecting curricular content and instructional methods (Thornton, 1991), I chose a teacher who appeared to be on the threshold of infusing technology, but who had not quite decided how to accomplish this task. Typically, an interest in technology with a concomitant trepidation about using it for instruction seems quite common among social studies teachers. Pam fit this description; she was excited the first time she was exposed to the WebQuest approach,

but she expressed some uncertainty about how this approach might be applied in her classroom.

I chose criterion two in an effort to reduce the novelty factor that may confound classroom research in which technology use is a key variable (e.g., Saye & Brush, 1999). As the integration of Internet resources becomes more commonplace in classrooms, this effect is diminishing. For the purpose of this study, however, it seemed desirable to select a group of students who were somewhat familiar with the Internet and with computer use in school so that the use of the Internet did not unnecessarily impede instruction. The students in Pam's classroom had engaged in Internet searching in her class, and many reported using the Internet regularly at home.

I selected the third criterion in order to investigate the effectiveness of the WebQuest approach for students with varying learning ability levels. Given that an inclusion model is common in many schools today (Friend & Bursuck, 1998), thus guaranteeing that most classrooms will contain students of varying ability levels, I sought a case that would reflect this reality. As an inclusive setting, Pam's class contained six students with learning disabilities such as Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and difficulties with written language, reading, math, and work completion. The class also contained a student with the physical impairment *spina bifida*. A resource teacher with training in special education assisted these students in the regular classroom a few hours each day.

Finally, I made an effort to select a classroom that was neither technology-rich nor technology-poor. Although technology is a high priority among many school districts, few schools actually have the latest, fastest computer models in every classroom. The district in which Pam teaches has made a commitment to place six computers in each classroom. According to the district technology coordinator, however, many of these computers are somewhat outdated. At the time of this study, Pam's classroom contained four IBM compatible 100 megahertz, 486 DX4 computers with 32 megabytes of RAM, and two IBM compatible 200 megahertz, Pentium II computers with 32 megabytes of RAM. The two Pentium II computers were relatively fast and fairly reliable, but the other four computers were at least five years old at the time of this study and thus were fairly slow and unreliable. The technology coordinator for Pam's district reported that the mixture of computers in Pam's classroom was common across the district and that they were trying to replace the older computers. Because technological advances occur much faster than school budgets grow, it is likely that many districts are experiencing a similar struggle to maintain up-to-date and reliable computer equipment.

Description of Ancient Egypt WebQuest

Pam and I discussed the best structure for the project and decided to divide the topic of Ancient Egypt into six areas of study that could be explored at learning stations. The topics for the learning stations included: 1) the Land and Time, 2) Daily Life, 3) People and Culture, 4) Arts, 5) Science and Technology, and 6) Mummies and Pyramids. Pam and I used four criteria to determine the topics to be used for the learning stations:

1. Collectively, the topics must match with the sixth grade social studies curriculum objectives for Ancient Egypt.
2. The topics should mirror content that typically would be taught by Pam if she did not use the WebQuest.
3. A variety of disciplines from the social sciences and humanities should be included.
4. Students could find the topics engaging and interesting.

We divided students into four heterogeneous teams of five to six students each, according to ability level and gender. The six learning stations were divided across two weeks so that teams visited the first three stations the first week and the second three stations the second week. The teams spent approximately one to two hours each day at one of the stations, and rotated to a new station each day so that each team visited all of the stations (See Table 2). Each learning station contained books on Ancient Egypt, as well as research folders for students to use to store notes, index cards, and additional supplies relevant to the topic. For example, the "Land and Time" station consisted of a bulletin board with a timeline of Ancient Egypt on which students added key dates, events, and illustrations, as well as a map of Egypt to which students added physical and political features. Teams at each station also received charts on large sheets of paper. Each chart identified categories of data to be gathered on the topic. For example, the chart at the Daily Life station guided students to explore topics such as family life, marriage, food/cooking, cosmetics, and clothing.

Table 2: Rotation Schedule for Ancient Egypt WebQuest

Week One Learning Stations				
	Team 1	Team 2	Team 3	Team 4
Land and Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
Daily Life	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Monday
People and Culture	Wednesday	Thursday	Monday	Tuesday
WebQuest	Thursday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
Week Two Learning Stations				
	Team 1	Team	Team 3	Team 4
Arts	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
Science and Tech	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Monday
Mummies/Pyramids	Wednesday	Thursday	Monday	Tuesday
WebQuest	Thursday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday

Each week the fourth learning station was the set of computers at which students used a WebQuest on Ancient Egypt that I developed (3). I created the WebQuest using a template that I downloaded from the WebQuest home page. The template allows the user to insert the content of the WebQuest with a composing tool such as Netscape Composer, and then to publish the page to an Internet server. The WebQuest on Ancient Egypt guided students through the five stages of the project. In the Introduction section, students were told that they would be traveling back in time between 2000 and 5000 years to the land that we know as Egypt. Questions were posed such as, "What do you think we will see?" "How will the people communicate with one another?" "What will their daily lives be like?" and "What kinds of scientific advances will they be working on that will still be around today?" The *Task* for the students was to gather information about Ancient Egypt to be placed in a Time Traveler's Guidebook. Thus, each student created a guidebook that included at least three entries for each of the learning stations they visited. Students selected the information to include in the guidebooks based on what they thought would be most important to know once they arrived in Ancient Egypt. The guidebooks consisted of pocket pages that allowed students to insert cards with drawings and descriptions of significant information. The *Process* section guided students to explore links to numerous web sites on Ancient Egypt with the goal of assisting any of the three teams around the room. Team members who had trouble finding information at one of the learning stations wrote questions on index cards and brought these to the WebQuest station. Students on the computers used the links provided, as well as web sites found through child-friendly search engines, to gather information for the teams. As soon as students located and read relevant Internet sources, they printed the information and delivered it to the station exploring the topic. Once

students completed their data collection, they selected the information they deemed to be most significant at each station and created their Time Traveler's Guidebooks. The guidebooks were presented to the class and evaluated using a rubric that assessed content, mechanics, presentation, and participation. The *Conclusion* to the WebQuest encouraged students to continue asking questions about the past and to consider how other ancient societies compared with the Ancient Egyptians.

The Ancient Egypt WebQuest used for this study holds true to the WebQuest format, and is therefore a slight deviation from the inquiry models presented by Massialas and Cox, Beyer, and Banks. As discussed earlier, the WebQuest format allows for greater teacher direction in terms of guiding questions and sources of data. Pam and I believed that this was appropriate for the sixth grade students in her classroom. Rather than focusing on a real-world problem, this form of inquiry may be best described as a contrived problem – that is, “one that does not arise directly from the life experiences of the students” (Ellis, 2002, p.180). Although Pam stated the problem for investigation and supplied many of the sources of data, students were still engaged in determining the relevance of sources, asking and pursuing questions that arose from the data collected, organizing information into categories, comparing and contrasting information gathered from a variety of sources, judging the completeness of the data, synthesizing the information gathered, judging the significance of the information collected, and developing generalizations and conclusions based on the data collected. The scaffolds provided for students through the WebQuest format guided students through the inquiry process and allowed them to practice many of the skills associated with less structured forms of inquiry.

Data Collection

The data for this study consisted of field observations, interviews with students, and a journal written by Pam. My role during the collection of observational data can be best described as participant-observer (Gans, 1982). I observed and, in some cases, assisted the students on five of the eight days they worked on the WebQuest. On each of these days, students worked on the WebQuest project for approximately one hour. During this time, I alternated between sitting at a desk to record notes and circulating around the room. I attempted to limit my direct interactions with students, but in some cases I was called upon to help with a computer glitch, pronounce a word, or redirect an off-task student. My role as participant was very limited, but similar to the role-played by the regular classroom teacher. I needed to be near the students as they discussed their thoughts and navigated the WebQuest, and this resulted in some unavoidable

interactions. A graduate student trained to record observations accompanied me on each of these visits (4). The graduate student remained seated and was able to avoid direct interactions with students. Both of our observation records followed a two-part note-taking protocol (Creswell, 1998). On the left side of each page, we recorded descriptive notes that reported quotations, actions of students and the teacher, and times. On the right side of each page, we recorded reflective notes that indicated our thoughts about the occurrences. Following each observation session, I compared our notes and added more of my own thoughts.

Shortly after completing the WebQuest portion of the project, twenty students were interviewed. All twenty interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the student, and later transcribed for analysis. The interviews followed a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix), which was designed to elicit overall student impressions of the activity, student thought processes during data collection, student experiences with computers and the Internet, and student perceptions of the value of the sources of information used. Each interview was conducted privately and typically spanned 15 to 20 minutes. Only three students from the class were not interviewed because they were unavailable on each of the days the interviews were conducted. I asked Pam to rank each of her 23 students on a scale of 1 to 5 in the areas of academic ability and discipline. These rankings were used to ensure that the three students who were not interviewed did not represent only one particular type of student.

The final source of data was a journal Pam kept during the project. I asked Pam to record her thoughts each day on a legal pad that I supplied. She wrote about student successes and struggles, her role as a teacher using a WebQuest, comments from parents, administrators, and other teachers, management issues, and her preparation for the lessons.

Data Analysis

The data analysis followed the process described by case study and qualitative methodologists such as Merriam (1998) and Stake (1995). I began the data analysis with a general review of all of the observation notes, the interview transcripts, and Pam's journal. During subsequent reviews, I added reflective notes in the margins, and I attempted to identify patterns by linking ideas and occurrences among all three sources of data. I then developed preliminary notion statements, discussed with Pam and my graduate assistant, and I revised based on their feedback. I reviewed the data again to sort observations, quotations, and reflective comments into the revised categories. I discarded some notion statements when I determined them to be redundant, lacking in compelling evidence, or contradicted

by evidence. I then combined the remaining preliminary notions into generalizations to be presented as statements of the findings, and I reexamined the data to ensure that each generalization was supportable. Finally, I consulted the literature related to history instruction, inquiry learning, special education, instructional technology, and reading instruction in order to establish connections among these findings and previous research and broader theories of learning.

Findings

I present the findings of this research as three generalizations regarding the use of the WebQuest technique for Internet-based inquiry learning in a social studies classroom.

Finding 1: Students have differing perceptions of the value of Internet sources and print sources, but many find print sources preferable to Internet sources.

The learning station rotation schedule allowed students to consult both Internet sources and print sources as they collected data about Ancient Egypt. Students were asked whether they believed they found more information when they were working on the computers using the WebQuest or when they were working at one of the learning stations with books and hard copies of Internet sources. Twelve of the twenty students (60 percent) interviewed believed they gathered more information when working at a learning station with print sources than when working online. One student remarked that she preferred working with books “because like you already have the information on paper. You didn’t have to wait to get on the computers to give it to you.” Another student commented that he preferred books because “[when you’re on the Internet] you couldn’t do nothing because it goes so fast. If you have the book, you have it more.” In other words, the book does not disappear from view with the click of a button. Several other students made similar comments suggesting that reading from books was preferable to searching for information on the Internet and reading from the computer screen. Furthermore, all students who typically struggle academically believed that working with print sources was preferable to working online. There was no clear pattern of preference among the higher achieving students.

Students were then asked whether they thought they used the information contained on printouts from Internet sites or the information found in books more frequently as they recorded information on their data charts. The students were evenly split in their responses to this question. One boy argued that books were better because “if you read out of the book you just go to the index and look

up exactly what you want and go to that page and it's right there." Some students, however, believed that hard copies of Internet sources were more desirable because the information was more detailed and the printouts could be sorted easily by topic.

The observation data helps to illuminate these student perceptions. The students often appeared hurried and impatient when they worked on the computers. They needed to be reminded frequently to read the information on the screen to determine its relevance before printing or moving on to another screen. Some students worked as if the information on the screen did not really exist until it was printed onto paper. Others demonstrated a sense of urgency to move on to another web site, as if the opportunity cost of stopping to read the screen was too high.

Oliver and Hannafin (2000) noted:

The key concern with using hypermedia as the primary source for open-ended learning is that existing Web browsers rarely scaffold learning. The multitude of available resources and links can confuse and disorient students cognitively, and interfere with the critical thinking required to solve open-ended problems. (p. 75)

Tuovinen and Sweller (1999) suggest that such problems are compounded for learning-disabled students, who often may be easily distracted by irrelevant information. The WebQuest approach is intended to serve as a scaffold and reduce some of the disorientation common in hypermedia environments. Many of these students, however, still found the Internet to be overwhelming. Interestingly, the data suggest that students perceived the Internet to be too fast-paced. Although the commonly cited hypermedia problems related to navigation, decision-making, and locating needed information were present (i.e., Jonassen, 1988; Jih & Reeves, 1992; McKerlie & Preece, 1993; Hammond 1992), these students seemed more affected by their perception that the Internet moves too quickly. Although they were working at the same classroom task in the same classroom environment under the same time limits, students appeared more at ease, more focused, and more likely to persist with one task for a longer period of time when they were reading from books at a desk than when they were online.

Finding 2: Students' strategies for gathering and organizing information are initially characterized by a quest for the 'Path-of-

Least-Resistance,' but the teacher can successfully guide students to more productive approaches.

The students approached their daily roles differently when they were working at the WebQuest station (WQS) than when they were working at a learning station with print sources (PSS). In both locations, students often looked to the other group to guide their data gathering efforts. Before attempting to read the print sources, the PSS students often preferred to ask the WQS students to find answers to their questions on the Internet. Similarly, the WQS students typically printed Internet sources without reading the information to be sure that it addressed the question asked by the PSS students. The WQS group expected the PSS groups to sort through the information they collected to find the answers, and the PSS group expected the WQS group to find and deliver a direct answer to their questions.

Many students initially perceived using a search engine as preferable to accessing a site that was linked directly from the WebQuest. This was intriguing, given that one purported advantage of the WebQuest technique is that students are provided with direct links to relevant online sources. One student explained that she preferred using the search engine "Ask Jeeves for Kids" because "you could ask him [Jeeves] a certain question and if it didn't turn up right or you misspelled something he would tell you... and then that would take you right to it." We observed that the learning disabled (LD) students in particular preferred to type a specific question into the search engine rather than attempt to determine which site listed on the WebQuest might contain relevant information. As the project progressed, however, most students began to acknowledge that "searches don't always give you what you're looking for," and that in using the links provided in the WebQuest, the information is "already there and you don't have to wait."

Both of these strategies - relying on the other groups to find answers and searching the Internet rather than identifying a relevant WebQuest link - appeared to be a quest on the students' part for a 'Path-of-Least-Resistance.' The fact that students engaged in 'Path-of-Least-Resistance' behaviors is not surprising, since most students at all levels naturally engage in a search for a quick, efficient, and easy solution to academic tasks. What is compelling about this finding is that what students perceived to be a 'Path-of-Least-Resistance' was actually a slower, less efficient, and more demanding approach. The students' 'Path-of-Least-Resistance' strategies diminished somewhat as the project proceeded with guidance from their teacher and as they began to realize for themselves that their strategies were inefficient. Toward the conclusion of the project, WQS students were heard saying, "No, they already have that [information]. Let's see if this other site has what they need." These students had begun to evaluate the

relevance of information in responding to a question. Similarly, the PSS groups were observed organizing the information printed from the Internet and evaluating the completeness of the data collection charts.

Although the students may be given some credit for taking the initiative to improve their data collection and organizational strategies, Pam's role in guiding the students' data gathering strategies through daily direction must not be discounted. Pam noted her adjustments to the project throughout her journal. She became frustrated on the second day of the project with student disorganization and bickering. For example, the WQS students argued with each other over the use of the sole printer in the classroom. Some students were sending files as long as forty-five pages to the printer without reading the information. This situation caused the printer to become overloaded with queued jobs and led to a waste of paper. On the third day Pam wrote:

Because of *my* frustrations [from the second day], I have made some changes: 1) Each group has a list of suggestions in their folder of things to work on; 2) "Post-it" notes have been placed on charts in different categories with suggestions and/or questions; and 3) I reviewed all roles/expectations [with students] before starting. Rotations went *well* today! Students were on task and accomplished a lot. I observed lots of organization and delegation of responsibilities. [emphasis in original]

It is apparent from the data that Pam's continued adjustments and guidance created a more stable classroom atmosphere and a general feeling of success and satisfaction among the students and Pam. Yet, Pam's guidance and the resulting changes in the students poses a dilemma – that is, how should teachers provide guidance and structure without interfering with students' acquisition of independent thinking skills?

Some have argued that it is unrealistic, inefficient, and potentially detrimental to comprehension to expect students to engage in critical thinking and discovery-oriented problem solving (Tuovinen & Sweller, 1999; Leming, 1998; Van Lehn, 1990; Pressley & McCormick, 1995; Holliday, 2001). Leming (1998) argued, "Expecting students to demonstrate to us thought patterns that we as adults have spent decades developing is unrealistic" (p. 65). One explanation for the approach taken by the students in this study is that these sixth grade students simply did not know how to operate at a higher cognitive level without significant teacher support. This lack of "know-how"

may signal that students' metacognitive awareness is underdeveloped. The fact that their initial strategies were a flawed means of achieving a 'Path-of-Least-Resistance' suggests that these students lacked the metacognitive and metastrategic awareness they needed to evaluate the effectiveness of their cognitive strategies. The development of the metastrategic understanding and the metacognitive awareness necessary for inquiry learning has been the subject of much research. Kuhn, Black, Keselman, and Kaplan (2000) argue that teachers may find success in temporarily changing students' strategies toward approaches conducive to inquiry learning, but that the underlying mental model held by many young adolescents impedes the type of thinking necessary for inquiry and is much more difficult to revise. Restructuring students' mental models requires specific long-term interventions designed to promote metastrategic understanding. Kuhn and her colleagues (2000) emphasize that such interventions should be an objective of inquiry learning. Similarly, Oliver and Hannafin (2000) found that students need metacognitive awareness in order to make use of tools designed to help them navigate hypermedia environments at a high cognitive level.

Although the scaffolds may exist through structures such as WebQuest, and teachers may provide additional strategic guidance, the task of developing cognitive skills for inquiry may require that teachers convince students that the 'Path-of-Least-Resistance' actually involves learning to think about their thinking and evaluate the strategies they use to accomplish their goals. Such a task may be difficult unless teachers themselves possess such awareness and a propensity to engage in such thinking (Maor & Taylor, 1993). In this case, Pam was capable of translating her knowledge and skills into specific and appropriate guidance for her students, but some research indicates that this may not always occur (i.e., Milson & King, 2001).

Finding 3: Students of varying academic ability levels can conduct inquiry-oriented investigations, but they approach and perceive the value of such investigations differently.

Of the twenty-three students in Pam's class, six were identified as needing special education services. Both Pam and the special education resource teacher noticed an increase in the level of engagement and success of the special education students when compared with more traditional, textbook-driven lessons. As noted above, there were differences in the perceptions and strategies of special education students. These students preferred using print sources to reading from the computer screen and tended to rely heavily on search engines when working online. In addition, the special education students differed from other students in their perceptions of the value of this Internet-based, inquiry learning experience. All

students were asked what they enjoyed about using the computer to find information. Those with higher academic abilities responded that they enjoyed the variety and volume of information available online. One student explained, "There were so many different sites that you could go into and there would be different kinds of information." Another remarked that he enjoyed "getting to see all the information that was there [online]." The special education students, however, were less impressed by the volume and variety of information available. These students consistently reported that they enjoyed the satisfaction of finding information and helping the group. One student stated, "I liked helping people look up what they needed." Another student reported that "it was fun when I finally found that thing they were looking for." A third student commented, "Everybody kind of depends on you to get what they want so you know that you're helping someone else out."

Some experts in the field of special education have long been skeptical of the effectiveness of inquiry and constructivist approaches to instruction (e.g., Ellis, 1993; Woodward & Noell, 1992). These educators promote direct instruction for special education students as more effective in helping students comprehend material and more responsive to the specific learning disabilities of these students. Some research in this field, however, has demonstrated that special education students can learn effectively when taught with inquiry-oriented approaches (i.e., Scruggs et. al, 1993; Mastropieri et al, 1997). Those special educators who attempt to apply inquiry approaches in special education settings argue that well-developed scaffolding is essential to success. Thus, the WebQuest approach, with its clearly arranged format and predefined source list, provides a compelling format for modifying course content to comply with the needs of special education students (Kelly, 2000).

Beyond the knowledge acquisition implications of using WebQuest for special education students, the expressions of self-efficacy among the special education students in this study were particularly compelling. Ordinarily, the higher ability students in the class would be unlikely to consider the special education students as sources of information. This project, however, empowered these students to participate in the quest for information, and they appeared to derive great satisfaction from playing the role of data collector. These students began to gain confidence in their ability to contribute to the community of inquiry that developed in Pam's classroom.

Conclusion

Many have promoted the notion of the classroom as a community of inquiry (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1986; Seixas, 1993).

Bruner (1986) noted, "I have come increasingly to recognize that most learning in most settings is a communal activity, a sharing of culture. It is not just that the child must make his knowledge his own, but that he must make it his own in a community of those who share his sense of belonging to a culture." Similarly, advocates of cooperative learning in social studies have suggested that an environment of interdependence among learners can enhance the attainment of the civic competencies central to social studies education (Stahl, 1994). The findings of this case study suggest that a community of inquiry can be developed in a sixth grade social studies classroom and that the Internet can serve as one medium to support the inquiry process. Furthermore, the benefits of the community of inquiry can be realized in a relatively brief period of time with appropriate guidance from the teacher.

These results are largely positive for those promoting inquiry learning and cooperative learning. The implications for the use of the WebQuest technique, however, are less clear. The findings suggest that some students are motivated by computers and that the WebQuest approach can be used successfully as a structure for inquiry learning. Additionally, students in this study gained an understanding of the variety of historical sources available on the Internet and the need to consider the accuracy and relevance of such sources. Given the differences in student perceptions, strategies, and abilities, though, this project raises a few questions for consideration. Should the Internet be used primarily as a supporting tool or as the focus of classroom activity? Should students who prefer to read from print materials be required to review sources on the Internet? Do hypermedia environments encourage students to increase the pace of their activity and thus neglect thoughtful reading of and reflection on materials? How should a WebQuest be structured differently for students with learning disabilities? Although precise answers to these questions cannot be provided from this initial study, these and other questions might guide future investigations into the use of the Internet for inquiry learning.

The discourse on the use of the Internet and emerging technologies in classrooms ranges from zealous support to doomsayer accounts of the destruction of children's minds. Perhaps the best approach is one based on a cautious optimism that embraces the potential of technology to enhance teaching and learning experiences, but also recognizes the potential hazards of the overuse or inappropriate use of the Internet and other computer-based tools. The role of the Internet in classroom inquiry experiences may best be one of supporting cast member rather than starring lead. WebQuest has obvious value as an instructional approach that encourages the use of both print and Internet-based sources. Rather than pull books out of

students' hands to place a keyboard in front of them, the best WebQuests seize opportunities to use both types of sources. Such a strategy may help students to recognize the value of diverse sources accessible through diverse media as they engage in constructing their knowledge of history in a community of inquiry.

The author wishes to thank Pam and her students for participating in this study, and Portia Downey, Jim Nordstrom, Kelly Doonan, and the anonymous *TRSE* reviewers for their exceptionally valuable feedback and suggestions.

Notes

- ¹ The WebQuest Page may be accessed at <http://webquest.sdsu.edu/webquest.html>.
- ² The names of people included in this report are pseudonyms used to protect the confidentiality of the participants of this study.
- ³ The Ancient Egypt WebQuest used for this study may be accessed http://www3.baylor.edu/~Andrew_Milson/egypt/
- ⁴ I wish to thank Kelly Doonan for her assistance with the data collection for this study.

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APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

- Tell me what you think about this project that we just did on Ancient Egypt.
- What did you like about it?
- What did you not like about it?
- Do you think you found more information when you were working on the computers or when you were at one of the stations with the books?
- When you were at one of the stations and you were adding things to the chart, do you think you used the books or the printouts from the Internet more?
- When you were on the computer and someone brought a question for you to look up, what did you do first?
- When you were on the computer, you had a list of links to sites on Ancient Egypt and you had links that took you to search engines like Ask Jeeves. Which do you think was easier to use, the direct links or the search engines?
- What did you like about working on the computer?
- What did you not like about working on the computer?
- Do you have a computer at home?
 - IF YES: What do you use the computer for at home?(If they use the Internet) - what sites do you usually go to?
Do you think your computer at home is faster, slower, or about the same as the ones in Mrs. [Teacher's] room?
 - IF NO: Do you have much chance to use a computer someplace else (at school, at a friend's house?)
- What were the most important things that you learned about Ancient Egypt?
- What do you think would make a project like this better?

Author

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Political History as Women's History: Toward a More Inclusive Curriculum

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Abstract

The secondary school history curriculum, with its emphasis on political history, tends to relegate women to the margins or to interpret their accomplishments according to a patriarchal framework. The author argues that by adapting theoretical developments in the field of women's history, women can be seen as political agents in history, thereby bringing about a more inclusive history in the schools that meets women on their own terms. Using the phase model designed by historians of women and educational researchers, the author shows how existing curriculum and educational research favors political history that either excludes women or overemphasizes the importance of the suffrage movement. Then, using the example of women's clubs and associations prior to the Nineteenth Amendment, she demonstrates how women's political activism influenced public education. Viewing women as political beings who were not merely limited to a private sphere, she argues, will advance the agenda of women's history in the school curriculum.

Introduction

Women have done things of great importance that go unrecognized because they were done by women and because the focus of their efforts has not been the focus of political history. (Noddings, 1992, p. 231)

I recently attended a panel on secondary history education at an international conference that featured cutting-edge research on the history of women. As an educational historian who had just been hired to prepare teachers of history and social studies, I was interested

in learning more about the intersection of my research and teaching with women's history scholarship and teaching the history of women at the secondary level. During a part of the discussion, one participant—a high school history teacher—offered his simple formula for teaching women's history: When you want to teach women's history, shift the emphasis from political to social history, then shift back (to men) when you want to return to the “real” - or political - history. His assumption seems to make sense when we consider the fact that political life and citizenship in the past, when viewed in formal, legal, or public terms, have excluded women throughout much of United States history.

Moreover, scholars in the field of curriculum and instruction perpetuate this understanding that women's history is the purview of social history. They argue that social history needs to be a more central part of the history curriculum, since it is a way to include women's history. For instance, Nel Noddings (1992) suggests beginning with social rather than political life in the history curriculum, though she argues that the notion of citizenship should be expanded to incorporate private life into public life (see also Foster, 1997). Margaret Smith Crocco asserts, “If political and economic history crowd out social history, and by extension, women's history, then students get the message that childbearing and childrearing, subsistence agriculture, the building of social order, and the care and maintenance of communities have had little significance over time” (1997a; p. 32).

Cruz and Groendal-Cobb (1998) make a similar distinction when they argue that the political and military histories that are typically found in school textbooks are “historically fields in which few women have been allowed to participate” (p. 271-272). These points, like the conference speaker's assertion, are important because they support the inclusion of women in the history canon, yet they present an over-simplified view of women as relegated to private life and a certain social sphere, as contrasted with men, who command the public, political world. This notion, reflected in the literature on social studies and history curricula, contradicts a central theoretical approach in the field of women's history: that women were indeed political beings if one views being political in broader terms. This expansive definition necessitates a rethinking of the dichotomy of the separate spheres and of how citizenship was interpreted by women in the past.

I had attended the conference session with the assumption that the scholarship on women that was so central to my research had made its way into secondary history textbooks as well as state and national curriculum frameworks, but I left with conceptual questions about the extent to which women's history actually has entered the

secondary curriculum, how it could be further integrated, and who could provide leadership in this task. As one scholar put it, it is important that “[u]ltimately, sound historical research should make its way into classrooms at all levels, and the study of women must be more than compensatory; it should not be consigned to sidebars, and it needs to be integrated into the record of the region’s and nation’s past” (Wolfe, 1996, p. 175). The event described above has set my purposes for this article, in which I revisit the status of women’s history in the secondary curriculum and argue that this status could be improved with an infusion of theoretical developments in women’s history scholarship into the school curriculum. In particular, I focus on an expansive definition of what it means to be political used by historians when researching women of the past, and I argue that the idea of women’s associations as political entities needs to be integrated. Currently, the scholarship in women’s history—nuanced, vibrant, and inclusive—does not conform to secondary curriculum constructions in which a traditional approach to political history dominates the canon. Yet, instead of arguing for an increase of social history at the expense of political history, as other educational researchers have done, I ponder the viability of an expanded understanding of the meaning of “political” that is employed by historians of women (e.g., Baker, 1984; Cott, 1987).

My discussion is divided into three parts. First, I begin with an overview of the theoretical framework that guides women’s history, which was first suggested by Gerda Lerner in the late 1960s. The framework, commonly called a phase model, is widely used by scholars and teachers alike and is interpreted in different ways, though the goal remains the same. The phase model is not limited to gender, so what I outline in this article could very well be used by those seeking to prepare curriculum inclusive of other marginalized peoples. Next, I review the scholarship on teaching women’s history in the social studies over the past few decades to point out a major gap between theoretical developments in women’s history and the secondary history curriculum. This disjuncture—or lag in synthesizing developments in historical scholarship—has hindered the progression of women’s history through the higher levels of the phase models outlined in the first section. To a vast extent, many educators tend to rely on a formal definition of citizenship and what it means to be political, which results in an overemphasis on the women’s suffrage movement to the exclusion of other topics and themes in women’s history. Also, the empirical research that examines the effects of teaching women’s history tends to rely on a formal definition of political participation, which in turn influences research outcomes.

The final section of this article looks at historical scholarship on women. I present examples of how historians of women have

broadened the definition of what it means to be political in order to be inclusive of women's ways of being and knowing. My purpose is to elucidate how this understanding has become a central theoretical approach in women's history and to demonstrate the benefits of its application to the secondary curriculum. In particular, women's clubs and associations, a central part of women's lives throughout U.S. history, are viewed as political entities by women's historians and deserve a more central place in the curriculum. There is much to be gained by broadening these definitions and understandings, for not only would women's history become more fully a part of the secondary history curriculum, but the inclusion of other marginalized groups would be facilitated. This transformation is challenged, however, by the current high-stakes testing movement, which often waters down curriculum for students and teachers and threatens an enriched history curriculum with its emphasis on facts, so-called traditional (read political and military) history, and rote memorization (Ross, 2001, p. 397).

For the purposes of this article, I focus on the efforts of those like myself who develop standards and shape curriculum, rather than on classroom teachers because too often the emphasis is placed on the role teachers play as gatekeepers in teaching history. Stephen Thornton (1991), for example, argues that teachers need to be given greater curricular support, a worthwhile goal, but one in which curriculum specialists need to take more of a leadership stance. This article is intended as a reflection on the purpose and direction of women's history, rather than a definitive study of the current state of the secondary history curriculum. It is a call to revisit and reassess the drive to include diverse voices in the secondary school social studies and history curriculum. I now turn to an overview of the women's history phase models.

Women's History Phase Models

Poststructuralist advancements of the late twentieth century have influenced research in every field, not the least of which has been the study of history. According to Anne Firor Scott (1996), women's history as a field began before the 1970s, but it gained momentum in the last quarter of the twentieth century as women's history "developed in close association with women's activism," with the two continually influencing each other (p. 111).¹ Gerda Lerner, an early leader in the field, laid the groundwork for the ensuing decades of study by addressing the challenges and issues in researching women in history. One of her central concerns was that women's history not be subsumed "under the larger and already respectable field of social history" (Lerner, 1981, p. 150). The assignment of women to the domain

of social history has been both a drawback and an advantage to women's history, for while social history allows for an investigation of women's ways of being, it is constraining insofar as it limits women's activities to a private sphere and assumes they are apolitical beings. As Lerner argues, "Women as a group are oppressed . . . through the denial to them—for longer than any other group—of political representation and power in government" (p. 171). The denial of women's political representation in history has translated into their near absence in a curriculum that favors formal political engagement.

Gerda Lerner's 1970s conceptualization was codified as a phase model by Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault in the late 1980s as a way "to evaluate curricular change and to promote new directions in future curriculum development" (Tetreault, 1986, p. 213-214). A transitional concept that was not intended to be a sequential path, the phase model outlines the progression from male-defined history to a history in which experiences of women in the past are valued and in which a female-oriented consciousness drives historical research and is central to the curriculum (See Table 1). Between these two poles are "compensatory history," or the history of notable women, and "contribution history," called "bi-focal history" by Tetreault (1987), which describes women's contributions to and status in male-defined society. Tetreault has labeled the oppression narrative, in which the history of women is written as their reaction to subordination, as "feminist history." Lerner's opposition to the oppression narrative or feminist history is that it "makes it appear that women were largely passive, or that, at the most, they reacted to male pressures or to the restraints of patriarchal society" (1987, p. 147). Her main goal is a synthesis history in which traditional history and women's history merge to form a "new universal history" (p. 180).

Peggy McIntosh (1983) developed an analogous rubric, noting as Lerner did that the phases are not to be treated as a sequence. Her five phases include woman-less, all-white history; corrective history; issues history; alternative starting point history; and history redefined and reconstructed according to women's ways of knowing and being. (See a comparison of the two phase models in Table 1.)² Whereas Lerner differentiates between compensatory history (learning about great women) and contribution history (what women added to a male-defined society), McIntosh does not make this distinction. Instead, McIntosh parses Lerner's last phase into an alternative starting point history and a completely redefined and reconstructed history according to women's lives and experiences. Generally speaking, however, both models can be viewed as synonymous in terms of their objectives. The primary goal in the phase model is the development of a history curriculum that places women's experiences more centrally, thereby attaining the synthesis desired by Lerner and others.

Table 1. Phase Models in Researching and Teaching Women's History

LERNER (1979)

Male-defined history	Compensatory history; missing and notable women are added	Contribution history; women's contributions to male-defined society are highlighted	Oppression framework; women's history told through terms of oppression; Women on their own terms history; e.g., suffrage	— Female-oriented consciousness in history; experiences of women in the past are valued and become the interpretive framework. E.g., women's club movement, settlement houses.
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McINTOSH (1983)

Womanless, all-white history	Corrective history, also known as the exceptional other history	— Issues history; sexism and patriarchy serve as interpretive frameworks to women's history	Alternative starting point history; women's lives as history—there's nothing too humble to study	History redefined and reconstructed to include women's ways of being, knowing, living, and loving
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Sources: Lerner, G. (1981). *The majority finds its past*. New York: Oxford University Press; Tetreault, M. K. T. (1986). Integrating women's history: The case of United States history high school textbooks. *The History Teacher*, 19 (2): 215-217; McIntosh, P. (1983). Interactive phases of curricular re-vision. Working Paper No. 124, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

The phase model for women's history gives direction to those researching and teaching women's lives and helps check the progress and development of the field. It reflects the direction historians have taken in researching the history of women and, though the various phases can be absent from explicit discussion, they often are an implicit aspect of the undertaking. For example, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, known for challenging standard historical conceptions of the past, questions facile gender-role assumptions in her research (Ulrich, 1982, 1990, 2001). Her meticulously documented study of Martha Ballard holds fast to the belief that there is nothing too humble to study and offers a reconceptualization of the early national period from an exploration of one woman's life (1990). Some scholars have considered the complications of race and class in the phase models. Jacqueline Jones

(1998) has noted the rift in the women's history profession between those who write "victimization history," which she argues is a sugar-coating of the past, and those who acknowledge the machinations of white women who subordinated blacks. Ellen Fitzpatrick (1998) has commented that the phases are not discrete, but that the history of outstanding women and the histories of non-elites are concurrent, parallel, and intersecting. The push to move beyond dichotomies and essentialization is apparent in the work of Nancy Cott (1987), who argues that historians should not bipolarize women of the past into feminist-or-not categories. Likewise, the research of Deborah Gray White (1985) and Roslyn Terborg-Penn (1998) has applied Cott's thinking to African American women's political activism. These are just several examples of the tacit and explicit applications of Lerner's proposal in the field of women's history.

Similarly, the phase model guides history teaching at the college and university levels, where instructors have much latitude to teach beyond the confines of curriculum mandates. Currently, teaching women's history is more common in post-secondary classrooms than in middle and high schools (Crocco, 1997a; Cruz & Groendal-Cobb, 1998). Commenting that the "core of historical presentation" has been "a narrative that accorded to men-in-politics/men-in-power an undisputed pride of place," Joel T. Rosenthal (1996, p. 21-22) elucidates his approach to teaching women's history to college undergraduates that challenges the traditional narrative. In his recommendation that those who teach women's history must begin by constructing an alternative history and arriving at "an alternative picture of society and an alternative model of social relations and social change" (p. 22), he uses the language of Peggy McIntosh. Kathryn Kish Sklar (1980) proposes another interpretation of the phase model in which she teaches her students to view history through two overlapping lenses - human specific and gender specific - to allow for "the fact that class, racial, ethnic, or regional relationships are an integral part of past female experience" (p. 474). Sklar's rationale is based on Lerner's (1993) observation that structural-functionalist models of history leave out class and sex factors, while the traditional Marxist framework omits "sex and race factors as essentials" (Lerner, 1993, p. 157). Sklar's approach, then, demonstrates that there are various ways to apply the phase model and buttress it with additional constructs (1980, p. 472).

Eileen Boris (1996) describes her efforts to teach the history of women as just that - not the history of white women, but the history of women. She contends that a teacher must not assume "white" when using the term "women," echoing an argument that Lerner put forth in the early years of women's history. Boris acknowledges that her teaching and research have been transformed by women's history in three ways. In addition to using gender as a category of analysis, she

gives greater attention to diversity of race, ethnicity, and region, and includes a "reinscription of the political" (1996, p. 24; see also DuBois, 1996). This larger conceptualization of political history considers "political culture, social movements, voluntary organizations, and social policy" (Boris, 1996, p. 26). As Rosenthal argues, college and university instructors must "yield to the momentum of these new definitional constructs . . . or we can resist until their glacial force pushes us down the incline of reassessment" (1996, p. 21). Such an imperative appears less certain in primary and secondary education, where standardized curricula and testing determine the content, scope, and often the pedagogy in history education, and where curriculum change comes slowly and sometimes contentiously.

Paradoxically, in the research and prescriptive literature on teaching women's history in elementary and secondary schools, the phase models may very well enjoy their most explicit application. For example, Melinda Karnes (2000) uses Tetreault's phase model in her research with upper elementary and middle school teachers to examine textbooks, teaching strategies, and classroom environment. Margaret Smith Crocco (1997a) includes a summary of McIntosh's phases in her article on how to make time for women's history, working through the phases and offering examples of each of them for classroom teachers. Even educational researchers outside of the United States refer to the need to move beyond the deficit model and the "add-women-and-stir" approach to the curriculum (Foster, 1997, p. 61).

Nel Noddings is perhaps the most well known writer on the importance of women's history in the school curriculum. She recommends beginning with phase five by expanding the curriculum to "start with a different category entirely" -social life rather than political or public life (1992, p. 235). Noddings (2001) argues for reordering the history curriculum around a framework of care, stating that this requires more than a semantic change (see also Gilligan, 1982). Using an example from law that demonstrates how the "reasonable man" concept was renamed "reasonable person," Noddings explains that the change was made without much attention to how a woman might react in a given situation. Even though Noddings gives examples of *what* a care curriculum looks like, however, she does not offer concrete suggestions as to *how* the transition might be accomplished, admitting that "transformation is a very hard project" (1992, p. 234).

Indeed, her suggestion seems to imply a complete reworking of the history curriculum, undoing its emphases on military endeavors, formal definitions of citizenship and politics, and the like - a monumental task given the uniquely contentious nature of the history curriculum (e.g., Farnham, 1997). In today's educational climate, clearly the traditional emphasis remains on political history. This emphasis, however, clashes with the understanding that women's

history is not about facts and events but about interaction and interpretation; in women's history there are fewer resolutions and more ambiguities. Thus, women's history is an exercise in critical thinking that contradicts "the old paradigm of history [that] still includes a lot of 'correct' answers and 'basic' facts" (Rosenthal, 1996, p. 23).

Despite these dilemmas, all is not lost. While Noddings claims that semantic shifts are not enough, that the ideas they reflect also need to be changed, I propose the converse: that semantic change reflects shifts in reality and has the potential to shape the history curriculum to be more inclusive of women. Revising history curricula according to a more inclusive definition of politics—that is, seeing women as political actors whenever they work to make change and adopting a more fluid understanding of the separate spheres of men's and women's lives—not only follows developments in women's history scholarship, it is also a way to reach the later phases of Lerner's and McIntosh's phase models. In the next section I examine the educational literature that addresses women's history in the school curriculum in order to highlight the gap between women's history scholarship and the secondary curriculum.

Women's History in the School Curriculum

In this section I review three trends in the educational literature on teaching women's history. First, national and state curriculum frameworks, textbooks, and supplementary teaching materials privilege political history; thus, women's history must be wedged into this template. This point relates to my next one, that the women's history overwhelmingly emphasized in the school curriculum is the suffrage movement, since it has to do with women's fight for enfranchisement and formal political participation. This reality reflects the deficit model that Lerner decries - women being made to fit into the world defined by men - which she considers the downside of the oppression narrative. Finally, this narrow understanding of politics and what it means to be political exists in empirical research in education, as it shapes the questions that researchers ask about the effects and outcomes of inclusive curricula and, subsequently, limits possible findings.

Curriculum theory "calls for a rationale for why we should teach one thing rather than another," based on the understanding that we cannot teach everything (Kliebard, 1992, p. 172). Following this logic, curriculum theorists tend to support the "less is more" approach and suggest thematic organization of content (e.g., The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 1989, p. 40). Nonetheless, coverage is king in a high-stakes school agenda, and textbooks tend to support the notion that more history means more historical facts. Therefore,

in many existing curricular frameworks, women's history content adds to an already full plate and may be viewed as counterproductive. Also, as Noddings (1992) has argued, simply including those women who were at important historic events because they were women "is demeaning to women and trivializes the history under examination" (p. 231; see also Noddings, 2001). When attempts are made to be inclusive within a thematic approach, women are in danger of getting lost. For example, when the National History Standards were revised to be more inclusive, women were subsumed under broad themes, but in the process many references to women were omitted, thus making it appear that women were actually excluded (Harriman, 1997; Hoff, 1997). Either way, women's history remains in a precarious position.

Mainstream United States history texts, still widely used by many teachers, still tend to focus on political and military history, which largely minimizes the history of women (Tetreault, 1986). Likewise, in her review of the 1996 world history standards prepared by the National Center for History in the Schools, Virginia S. Wilson (1997) found a more inclusive set of standards, but suggests that there were missed opportunities to feature women in roles outside of the home. Wilson explains, "[F]or example, women played a role in developing Communist and socialist ideologies and were active in the modern labor, political, and social reform movements—facts overlooked by the 1996 *Standards*" (1997, p. 158).

In the National Standards for United States History, the same political organization of subject matter dominates the curriculum, as periodization follows wars and economics in the public sphere. Women are added to this framework. For example, under the standard in which students are to learn "how the New Deal addressed the Great Depression, transformed American federalism, and initiated the welfare state," students are called upon to "analyze the involvement of minorities and women in the New Deal and its impact upon them" (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996, p. 118). Also, some state frameworks still tend to highlight individual women under traditional headings. For example, Eleanor Roosevelt remains a staple figure, in addition to Jane Addams and Frances Perkins (Massachusetts Department of Education, 1997; Tetreault, 1986). In these examples, women's history remains within the compensatory and contribution phases.

To their credit, curriculum frameworks in civics and government acknowledge an expansive definition of political engagement. For example, the Center for Civic Education defines politics as

the process by which a group of people, whose opinions or interests might be divergent (1) reach collective decisions that are generally regarded as binding on the group and enforced as common policy, (2) seek the power to influence decisions about such matters as how their government will manage the distribution of resources, the allocation of benefits and burdens, and the management of conflicts, and (3) accomplish goals they could not realize as individuals (Center for Civic Education, 1997, p. 9).

Yet this broader definition does not necessarily reflect efforts to include women and girls. Instead, it can be construed as a remnant of the community civics program of the 1920s, which emphasized participation and cooperation over political agency and individualism (Reuben, 1997). Also, it may reflect more recent research that examines political and civic engagement in the United States. As Walter C. Parker (1996) explains, since the mid-1980s political scientists have elaborated on the “expansive, associationist view of the factors that constitute civic life” and remind us that citizenship includes so much more than voting (1996, p. 9-10; see also Bellah, et al, 1991; Gutmann, 1987; Putnam, 2000; Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999).

Educational researchers, like those who develop curriculum standards, tend to operate from an assumption that curriculum is controlled locally, so they aim to change teachers’ practices at this level. Some do so explicitly, arguing that “classroom teachers need to become more aware of the omissions and inconsistencies found in their classroom textbooks and curricula,” or that teachers themselves claim they feel ill-equipped to teach women’s history (Cruz & Groendal-Cobb, 1998, p. 272). In defense of teachers, some argue that what is missing in standards development is “a genuine appreciation” of teachers’ lack of time and/or resources (Wilson, 1997, p. 159). Other researchers assert that the fault lies not with the teacher but with teacher preparation in history (Crocco, 1997a), and they help classroom teachers to supplement the mandated curricula that overlook women. Thus, an examination of the role that curriculum developers and educational researchers play seems in order.

The curriculum literature geared toward helping the classroom teacher integrate women’s history supports the myth that women belong in social history and men in political history. Educational researchers tend to construe political history and political participation—connected to the legal definition of citizenship—in the formal sense, thereby excluding the experiences of women. They decry the overemphasis on political history, claiming correctly that it omits women (Levstik & Barton, 1997). This perspective does not detract

from scholars' admission that women's history and social history are inextricably linked (Wolfe, 1996), but the point is that women's history is not solely the purview of social history. Because of this overuse of political history, when women's history is integrated, it tends to rely heavily on the women's suffrage movement.

The quest for women's suffrage has become a curriculum staple as teachers work toward integrating women's history into the canon. Molly MacGregor, the director and co-founder of the National Women's History Project, recently expressed delight over the inclusion of a question on the suffrage movement on the United States History Advanced Placement (AP) Exam (WAMC, 2000). Indeed, a multitude of resources on the suffrage movement are now available for classroom teachers. Websites and other resources champion the greatest of women's formal political battles by offering resources on key suffrage leaders, timelines, and other historical sources chronicling women's fight for the vote.³ Teacher journals and curriculum guides include suggestions and materials on this long-fought struggle on behalf of women. Also, articles on teaching women's history at the K-12 levels tend to rely heavily on examples from the suffrage movement (e.g., Crocco, 1995; Cruz & Groendal-Cobb, 1998; Karnes, 2000). This emphasis is reinforced in various state and national curriculum frameworks; one observer noted it in the National History Standards (Harriman, 1997).

In a recent study by Levstik (1998), middle-school students ranked the suffrage movement as an important event in U. S. history, but they could "not always muster compelling arguments for its significance in comparison to the other pictures" (p. 23) they were shown of the First Thanksgiving, the Bill of Rights, the Depression, and the Civil Rights Movement. Lerner (1981) focused on this issue nearly twenty-five years ago, positing that "a major focus of women's history has been on women's-rights struggles, especially the winning of suffrage, on organizational and institutional history of the women's movements, and on its leaders. This, again, is an important aspect of women's history, but it cannot and should not be its central concern" (p. 148). Lerner even characterizes the emphasis on suffrage as "archaic and fairly useless" (p. 6).

Richardson's (2001) review of empirical research on effects and outcomes of teaching women's history reveals the need for another push toward the later phases of Lerner's proposal. For instance, she explains that research measuring girls' attitudes and achievements in social studies and history has painted a rather bleak picture. Also, she describes research showing that middle- and high-school girls are less interested than boys in social studies and view themselves as less involved in the subject (Bong, 1999; Fouts, 1990; Licht, 1989). In a study by Wolters & Pintrich (1998), girls gave a low importance rating

to social studies and reported a high level of test anxiety in the subject. In at least one study, researchers found the situation to be less problematic; Lietz & Kotte (1999) found little gender difference in performance in economics classes. Moreover, it is apparent in these empirical studies, especially those that analyze contemporary political participation, that the researchers employ a formal definition of politics (e.g., Hahn, 1996; Stone, 1996; Gillespie & Spohn, 1990). Finally, in those few studies that examined women's history content and its influence, "students demonstrated little complexity in their knowledge about the interaction of gender and history" (Richardson, 2001, p. 12; see also ten Dam & Rijkschroeff, 1996).

Clearly, more empirical studies need to be undertaken on the effects and outcomes of teaching women's history; at this point, they are greatly outnumbered by prescriptive essays. Nonetheless, the integration of women's history into the school curriculum seems logical, not necessarily because of empirical findings, but because it clearly follows from developments in existing historical scholarship that offer more complex and nuanced understandings of women's lives, contributions, struggles, and successes.

Next, I turn my focus to one of the central theoretical approaches in women's history: an expanded understanding of what it means to be political, using the example of women's associations to demonstrate how this topic can enrich the secondary history curriculum (see also Woyshner, 2002).

Women's Associations and Political Engagement

Developments abound in the field of women's history as scholars derive new understandings and approaches to researching women's lives and interpreting the histories of women who have been marginalized. Lerner's call for a conceptual framework for the inclusion of women in American history has been elaborated and reinterpreted by scholars in various fields. For example, in the field of southern women's history, race and class have become particularly salient as the number of studies continues to grow and to represent women from different racial and class backgrounds (Swain, 1996; Hine, 1996). Also, an early theoretical framework in the field of women's educational history has addressed women's access to higher education (e.g., Solomon, 1985). Linda Eisenmann (2001) recently suggested additional conceptualizations that take into account institution building, networking, religion, and philanthropy in order to "provide a lens for interpreting the wide range of activities, efforts, intentions, and results in the history of women's education in the USA" (p. 456; see also Eisenmann, 1997). While Solomon's emphasis on access is "issues history," for which patriarchy serves as the interpretive

framework, Eisenmann's theoretical inclusion of women's agency constitutes an important move to a later stage of the women's history phase model, in that it allows for the experiences of diverse women.

Lerner (1981) correctly pointed out that one of the main challenges to women's history is that the diversity of women makes it "difficult to conceptualize women as a group . . . Except for special-interest organizations they do not combine together" (p. 6). Therefore, in this section I focus on special-interest organizations, particularly women's clubs and associations, as a way to work toward an inclusive history curriculum. The history of women's associations constitutes an important area of study and a significant aspect of American political history. However, it is largely absent in the secondary school history curriculum, except for references to women's organizing on behalf of suffrage rights. This section sheds light on this central development in historical scholarship and demonstrates how attention to women's associations can broaden the meaning of political history in the secondary history curriculum.

Redefining Political Engagement, the Separate Spheres, and Citizenship

As Eileen Boris (1996) argues, "Gender analysis has transformed how we understand the 'political'" (p. 26). This reconceptualization of political history, located at the later phases of the models proposed by Lerner and McIntosh, extends beyond the understanding that political involvement means formal political participation, such as voting or running for elective office, to include the role of women in social movements and voluntary associations and to recognize women's political involvement on their own terms. Paula Baker (1984) suggested a framework for thinking about women's political engagement in history. She argues that women were indeed political actors, if one assumes a more comprehensive definition of politics that includes any action taken to influence the government or community. Baker posits that such a definition accounts for women's civic and political activism prior to suffrage. She traces women's political involvement from the American Revolution—when the "basis and rationale for women's political involvement already existed" (1984, p. 622)—to 1920 and the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Subsequent research in women's history has reflected an acceptance of this notion as key to understanding diverse women's political activism in such issues as social welfare legislation, community improvement, and citizenship education (e.g., Skocpol, 1992; Knupfer, 1996; Bernard-Powers, 1996).

This expansive definition of politics invites a rethinking of the "separate spheres" idea and rests on changing notions of citizenship

in the secondary history curriculum. The separate spheres idea suggests that society is divided neatly into two categories: male-political-public and women-apolitical-private. The notion of the political-as-public has kept the history of women out of political history, in large part because of a literal application of the separate spheres construct.

Two key problems emerge with this oversimplified interpretation. First, it assumes that the separate spheres have been a constant in United States history, when in fact definitions of public and private have changed over time and by region. For example, Baker (1984) explains that in the colonial era “distinctions between family and community were often vague; in many ways, the home and the community were one” (p. 622). Second, it tends to limit the history curriculum to the experiences of white, middle-class women. For example, in her research on the cultural work of Jewish, African American, white, and working-class women’s clubs, Anne Ruggles Gere (1997) maintains that there are not just two spheres, but many spheres. She has identified women’s clubs as one of a number of “competing publics” in a “multifaceted public sphere” (p. 13). Furthermore, the separate spheres cannot always equate neatly with waged-public and unwaged-private work, especially in regard to black women’s lives. Stephanie Shaw (1996) distinguishes between the private-waged (domestic service) and the private-unwaged (mothering), as well as the public-waged (employment) and the public-unwaged (volunteering) work of black professional women during the Jim Crow era. The separate spheres concept, therefore, has limited utility in that it is too simplistic and “vulnerable to sloppy use” (Kerber, 1992, p. 181; see also Shapiro, 1994).

Similarly, the distinction between the two spheres of activity is connected to definitions of citizenship, leading one researcher to wonder whether “citizenship for women is possible in the modern state, which is predicated on a division between public and private life” (Foster, 1997, p. 54). Citizenship, like the separate spheres, has different meanings for different people at different times in history. Julie A. Reuben (1997) points out that citizenship is defined in two arenas—as a legal status and as a cultural concept—and that by the turn of the twentieth century, a reworking of the cultural concept of citizenship was underway for citizenship rights and duties to include women, African Americans, and even children. This associationist view of citizenship, according to Parker, allows for the understanding that citizenship means more than voting (1996, p. 9). Bernard-Powers (1996) echoes this point, noting that “the perception of the role of women in relation to citizenship changed in [the Progressive era] from private citizen in male-headed households to citizen engaged in an activity of the state: educating future citizens” (p. 294; see also Kerber,

1982). These efforts reflect a commingling of the public with the private and suggest that women's civic responsibility involved their roles in various spheres, not just the private ones. The study of women's associations illustrates an expanded notion of the meanings of political, the separate spheres, and citizenship, and it demonstrates how women defined these terms for themselves.

Women's Associations

A thoroughly researched topic in women's history, the women's club movement of the nineteenth century, best exemplifies women's widespread political activity (e.g., Blair 1980; Martin, 1987; Gere, 1997; Knupfer, 1996). As Martha H. Swain (1996) explains, "It is commonplace knowledge [among historians] that women's clubs were proving grounds for activists" (p. 168). If we expand our definition of what it means to be political, this topic can open up new avenues of study in the high school history curriculum that view women in history as political actors in various arenas: the home, neighborhoods, clubs, associations, and unions. Thus, keeping in mind the phase models in women's history, we must take care not to limit definitions of activism to "women who made headlines . . . to the exclusion of the quiet sufferers who made an enormous difference in their home communities" (Swain, 1996, p. 172).

In the late nineteenth century, at the height of the women's club movement, "organizations for women proliferated in small and large cities and became forums for political action" (Baker, 1984, p. 630). By the turn of the twentieth century, millions of women were members of clubs; in fact, more women were members of clubs than were involved in the fight for suffrage (Blair, 1980). At this time, "members of both local and national groups shared the conviction that they were participating in an unprecedented social phenomenon of national significance, that in joining with other ordinary women they accomplished something extraordinary" (Gere, 1997, p. 3). Moreover, they developed a group consciousness as women. Also, through their involvement in national associations, women learned a battery of skills that they could transfer to other settings. Preparing book reports and giving oral presentations in intimate literary societies "laid the foundations for a gradual transformation in women's politics by developing and diffusing organizational skills" (Clemens, 1999b, p. 620). For example, women activists in the temperance movement were quite likely to become involved in the suffrage movement, having learned the skills of organization and leadership (Bordin, 1981; Clemens, 1999b). Men also learned from women's organizations, as they "increasingly replaced or supplemented electoral participation

with the sorts of single-issue, interest-group tactics that women had long employed" (Baker, 1984, p. 639).

In particular, the activism of women through clubs and associations on behalf of public education is a rich topic to pursue at the secondary school level, because it encompasses the efforts of diverse women and it demonstrates the wide range of activities women undertook, from renovating school plants to attempting to influence the direction of citizenship curriculum. In the following section, I use the example of women's organizing on behalf of public education to demonstrate the fluid and shifting understandings of political activism, the separate spheres, and an inclusive definition of citizenship.

Women's Associations and Political Activism in the Schools

By the 1890s, decades of organizing by women culminated in the founding of several important national organizations. The General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), founded in 1890, served to unite disparate clubs around the U.S. under one association and to provide white professional women with a national network. African American professional women, who were barred from the GFWC, undertook a similar effort and by 1896 had successfully organized the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). The last great women's association of the nineteenth century, the National Congress of Mothers (NCM), was founded in 1897 to help educate parents, and its members vowed to be of service "to all mankind and to all womankind, regardless of race, color, or condition" (NCPT, 1947 p. 38; Skocpol, 1997). A revised agenda in the early 1900s directed the NCM's focus on public schools and parent-teacher cooperation.⁴ These three large federations, along with other women's associations, placed public education at the top of their reform agendas during the Progressive era.

Through vast and interlinking networks, club women took an interest in school reform beginning in the 1890s. The popular kindergarten movement forged a bond between school and home through its recommendation that teachers meet with mothers on a regular basis, based on the assumption of "their shared commitment to improved childrearing and education" (Beatty, 1995, p. 73). Also, experts who spoke at national meetings gave club women the impetus, language, and goals for educational reforms at meetings of the National Education Association (NEA), National Kindergarten Association (NKA), and the GFWC. Club women and women teachers returned from these meetings with a commitment to form home-school organizations or to create school departments within their existing women's or mothers' clubs, often for the purpose of applying new theories, establishing kindergartens, creating playgrounds, and helping

to raise money for new school buildings. For those who could not attend national and regional meetings, organizations such as the NCM acted as a clearinghouse, circulating convention proceedings and advice literature to local clubs.

Women's association reform efforts on behalf of the public schools reflect their political engagement in a public sphere. Organizations promoted the curricula they thought appropriate, such as parenting skills, and cultivated women in leadership roles. The activities of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs (GSFWC) in 1896 were typical of this era. Women of the GSFWC changed school curricula by establishing free kindergartens in Atlanta and worked with schools to establish domestic science and manual training programs. They created traveling libraries to try to reach families in rural areas (Georgia Department of Education, 1898). Also, women's clubs like the GSFWC promoted higher education of women by providing scholarships and loans to help young women attend normal schools and colleges with the understanding that they would return to their communities to teach, a practice that was quite common in black women's clubs and the NACW (Davis, 1996). A contemporary of this movement, historian Mary Ritter Beard, remarked on this trend and claimed that it was a way to keep the schoolhouses well-supplied with women teachers (Beard, 1915).

The separate spheres were shattered by these club women, owing in no small part to their maternalist ideology. Molly Ladd-Taylor (1993a) maintains that maternalism is "a uniquely feminine value system based on care and nurturance . . . [as it was a belief] that women are united across class, race, and nation by their common capacity for motherhood and therefore share a responsibility for all the world's children" (p. 3; see also Koven & Michel, 1993; Weiner, 1993). Maternalist ideology had a strong civic component, insofar as it was based on the belief in white women's capacity to nurture children as well as to perform "a service to the state by raising citizen-workers" (Ladd-Taylor, 1993b, p. 110). However, the notion of civic motherhood also encompassed women of color and women of the lower social classes, who were expected to "work to create a better life for children and raise the quality of the citizenry of the nation" (Rothman, 1978, p. 105). Club women's school reform efforts were therefore directed by civic motherhood and by their drive to perpetuate in youth the kind of civic activism they modeled.

Civic motherhood was an integral part of national women's organizations during the Progressive era. At the founding of the GFWC, its members took up the cause of civic education of youth. As early as 1893, the Federation formalized its stance on public education and its goals, which supported compulsory education, a differentiated curriculum, and the role of the federal government in education

(Henrotin, 1892). By the end of the nineteenth century, the GFWC had begun to support measures both to include civics instruction in schools and to educate children for patriotism through the formation of leagues of good citizenship. Neither of these measures emphasized voting rights (GFWC, 1898; see also Wells, 1953). Instead, civic obligation to one's community became the focus.

The founding of the NCM in 1897 was based on the premise of civic and social betterment. The Declaration of Principles of the NCM in 1897 stated that mothers had a special responsibility to "inculcate love of humanity and love of country" (National Congress of Mothers, 1897, p. 293). The association perpetuated the nineteenth-century tradition of the public importance of childrearing, in which the mother's influence in the home perpetuated the social reproduction of established norms and expectations (Ryan, 1981). Such a tradition found expression in public school improvement efforts as a corollary of women's "municipal housekeeping," which Skocpol (1992) describes as an "ideological rubric that could justify the extension of proper women's involvement from the home into the community and nation" (p. 333).

Inequities were perhaps most pronounced in the schools for African American children in the South during this era and well into the twentieth century. For this reason, black club women and teachers played a significant role in establishing schools for these children and providing them with supplies (Anderson, 1988). African American mothers' clubs in the South adhered to the values of pride and self-efficacy as they promoted leadership skills, attempted to include African American history in the curriculum, and created networks of advocacy and support between schools and communities, particularly in poor rural areas (Walker, 1996). The differences between black and white women's organized endeavors derived from their contrasting ideologies of womanhood and motherhood. Anne Firor Scott (1992) argues that "even more vehemently than white [club] women, black [club] women emphasized the home as the vital center of reform, and taught gentility as a counter to racial stereotypes, particularly those that labeled all black women as immoral" (p. 147).

Despite these differences, diverse women engaged in the political act of seeking to reform society through school reform and parent education measures. Both black and white women's associations, however, upheld the belief of this era that women were above politics, despite the fact that they were well aware of their far-reaching influence through mothering. As one club leader explained, "The federations have not arrived directly at political power, but the hands that rock the cradle have been enforced, in order to educate the cradled child, to rock also the political machine" (GFWC, 1904, p. 50).

As far as an inclusive definition of citizenship, women's own model of political participation influenced their view of citizenship and civic education. Women's associations gravitated toward a more relevant civics curriculum—later defined as community civics by educational leaders who were developing the field of social studies—because it was similar to their own brand of political participation and community activism. Barred from suffrage, women effected social and political change at the state and national levels through their extensive networks and powerful lobbies in Washington. Groups like the GFWC, NACW, and NCM commanded a multitude of women ready to make local improvements as well as work for state and national legislation. GFWC president Ellen Henrotin promoted the federated model of organization to her constituents, explaining that the “formation of state federations was also advisable, as the state is a political unit, thoroughly understood, and the people of many states have characteristics in common, and have the same local needs, so that any one system of study or method of work adopted by a state federation is acceptable to all the clubs of that state” (1897, p. 75). Women's groups were thus able to initiate legislation on compulsory school attendance, child labor, and school taxes, and even on women's participation in school boards and school elections as well as higher standards for teacher preparation. Henrotin boasted that of twenty-four bills brought to various state legislatures, twenty-two passed in the 1896-1897 school year. These included bills that allowed women to serve on school boards (Henrotin, 1897).

Mary Abbott, chair of the GFWC Education Committee, relayed the remarks of an unnamed senator in her report to the Eighth Biennial of the GFWC in 1906. She wrote, “Strange . . . that the men do the voting and elect us to these positions, while the women assume the duty of telling us afterward what they want us to do. The right of petition is apparently more prized than the right of suffrage. The women do the petitioning” (1906, pp. 203-204). Abbott then disclosed the success of one compulsory education bill coordinated by the GFWC in Washington, D.C. The Senate held up the bill because of concerns about school overcrowding. The GFWC, deciding otherwise, coordinated an extensive letter-writing campaign among its clubs in the District. Abbott reported that the bill passed the Senate on March 6, 1906, and subsequently passed the House on May 28.

Mrs. O. S. Barnum, a club leader and teacher from Los Angeles, held up the model of organization as an important one, “for through organization women have fashioned the weapon strong and flexible, at once national and local, adapted to large bodies or small working groups” (1908, p. 1235). But again, club women like Barnum did not describe their collective action as political. She echoed a common

refrain of the Progressive era and the era of bureaucratization (Tyack, 1974), that schools should stay out of politics.

If, however, in any community the school system is not out of politics, woman should not rest until it is. She does not desire to be in politics, but still less does she desire to leave her children there alone. Our work should always be for measures, and not for men. This is not because we are women, but because most experienced civic workers, both men and women, have found it necessary for best results (Barnum, 1908, p. 1235).

Many women viewed community citizenship as the desirable route, because it was not political in a formal sense and therefore was different from the grueling world of politics that men inhabited. Likewise, women's associations construed a more "pure" civic education in the schools that would follow the more virtuous route taken by women. Club women embraced this ideal while acknowledging that they needed to prepare their young sons to vote responsibly. Paradoxically, in the realm of formal politics, many club women argued that they were well suited to serve on school boards and vote in school elections, since any involvement in schools was an extension of mothering (e.g., Crocco, 1997b).

Women's political activism before suffrage necessarily called for a reinscription of the separate spheres notion and of what it meant to be a citizen. Women's associations of the Progressive era were vast, national networks that wielded significant political power, especially in the public schools. Club women argued that the schools, though public in nature, were the purview of women because children were taught there. Therefore, women's associations initiated many sweeping changes to the public school system as they redefined what it meant to be political. This historical phenomenon illustrates that even before their enfranchisement, women were political actors, and they viewed their activism on their own terms and not set against a patriarchal standard. Theirs is a history situated in the last phase of the model outlined previously, and it is a history of women's agency that is largely overlooked in the secondary school curriculum.

Conclusion

The height of the women's club movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century featured a multitude of diverse women as members of clubs and associations that worked toward political change. Scholars have argued that because of their formal political

exclusion, women may be credited with creating the present-day interest group (e.g., Clemens, 1999a). By teaching about women's organized networks prior to suffrage, teachers can construct a fuller, more integrated U.S. history that does not separate "women's history" from "regular history" or "men's history." This inclusive definition also has implications for study beyond the suffrage era, since women did not vote as a bloc as many expected after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment (Crocco and Brooks, 1995).

By including the various ways in which historians view women's political participation, the secondary school curriculum can move toward the fuller, more integrative phases of women's history that place it in the center rather than at the margins. In the process, the public-private dichotomy is problematized so that students do not get the message that "what is public is historically significant and what is private is historically irrelevant" (Levstik, 1998, p. 30). Hopefully, educators and researchers can find ways for the secondary school history curriculum to become more connected to developments in historical scholarship on women in order to facilitate a more inclusive curriculum.

Such a history curriculum would seem to imply a reordering of the world based on women's experiences as outlined by scholars in women's history (Lerner, 1979; McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1986; Noddings, 2001). These scholars call for curriculum reform that advances from a womanless, all-white history toward one that not only includes women's experiences, but also redefines the world according to women's ways of being and knowing. A history of women's political organizing tells us a great deal about the civic participation of women as well as men, and an inclusive definition of politics represents an attainable goal in the move toward a more inclusive and integrated history.

Notes

¹This is not to suggest that the history of women was not attempted before 1900. Women in the early national period such as Lydia Maria Child paid particular attention to women in history. However, as a field, women's history can be said to have developed in the 1970s. Gerda Lerner refers to the earlier attempts as scattered and discontinuous, claiming, "[E]ndlessly, generation after generation of [women] reweave the unraveled fabric only to unravel it again" (Lerner, 1993, p. 249).

²McIntosh devised a similar framework for the incorporation of African American history into the existing canon. See McIntosh, "Interactive Phases of Curricular and Personal Re-vision with Regards to Race. Working Paper No. 219" (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1986).

³See, for example, the National Women's History Project website and catalog.

⁴The founding of the NCM changed its name to the National Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) in the 1920s.

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Professional Development Becomes Political: Geography's Corps of Teacher Leaders

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Abstract

In the 1980s, the National Geographic Society launched a multi-million dollar campaign to improve teachers' knowledge of geography through the establishment of geographic alliances—networks of geography professors, teacher educators, and elementary and secondary teachers. To coordinate reform efforts in geographic education, the Society provides teacher professional development to create teacher leaders. Through analysis of observations, interviews, and a document, I explore how participants in an eight-day leadership academy construct their identities as teacher leaders. My analysis suggests that the development of political advocacy skills is an integral part of becoming a teacher leader. I argue that other professional organizations should consider this approach to professional development to advance their respective agendas of reform.

For the last quarter of a century, frequent appeals have been made for the implementation of a pre-collegiate global education curriculum that emphasizes student understanding of global interdependence, multiple perspectives, and the connection between local and global issues (e.g., Alger & Harf, 1986; Anderson, 1979, 1990; Becker, 1973; Case, 1993; Collins et al., 1998; Hanvey, 1976; Kniep, 1986; Muessig, 1981). The purpose of global education is to prepare all students for participation in the global society as well as in their local communities. Within global education, geography plays a central role (Brown, 1981). Indeed, geographic literacy is essential for civic life in local, national, and global settings. To make informed decisions

about public issues such as environmental degradation, urban development, and energy use, students must be able to understand these issues from a geographic perspective. This perspective highlights the importance of the spatial component of social and physical processes. With this perspective, a geographically literate person not only constructs and interprets maps but also uses geographic concepts to inform decision making in the civic arena.

For more than a decade, the U.S. media have issued reports of geographic illiteracy among students and adults (e.g., Gallup Organization, 1988). In these reports, geographic illiteracy has been narrowly equated with a lack of knowledge of place-name locations. Geographic literacy, though, is much broader than memorization of locations; it also involves the skills of map interpretation and map creation to identify and solve problems. Nonetheless, the "illiteracy" reports have generated a renaissance in geography education by galvanizing support for curriculum reform, teacher education, and professional development in geography education (Stoltman, 1992).

National curriculum standards for geography (National Geographic Research and Exploration, 1994), national standards for the social studies (NCSS, 1994), and other national reform efforts (U.S. Department of Education, 1981; U.S. House of Representatives, 1994) have emphasized the importance of geography in United States public school curricula. The College Board's recent introduction of an Advanced Placement examination in human geography is evidence of the discipline's emerging stature. In teacher education programs, pre-service social studies teachers are expected to demonstrate knowledge and skills of geography (NCSS, 2000). Despite arguments for the importance of geography in the public school curriculum and teacher education, however, many teachers have had little or no preparation to teach geography (Cirrincione & Farrell, 1988; Drummond, 1992; Gilsbach, 1997; Kenreich, 2000).

One attempt to upgrade teachers' approaches to geography instruction has been the establishment of the Educational Foundation of the National Geographic Society. The Educational Foundation provides teachers with professional development in teaching and learning geographic concepts and skills in the classroom and lobbies for geographic education initiatives outside of the classroom. The activities of the Educational Foundation include: grant opportunities for classroom teachers, dissemination of print and electronic curriculum resources, and professional development institutes.

An example of professional development directly sponsored and implemented by the National Geographic Society is the annual Alliance Leadership Academy, an eight-day residential professional development institute for teachers. The academy is designed to provide

teachers with advocacy skills for improving the role of geography in local and state curricula and for leading professional development initiatives in geography education. In short, the academy exists to transform teachers into teacher leaders.

Teacher Leaders and Education Reform

There has been no shortage of calls for teachers to play a central role in education reform. Broad appeals for reform (Corcoran, 1995; Fullan, 1991; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998; Houghton & Goren, 1995; Holmes Group, 1990; Little, 1993; National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1996; Schlechty, 2001) and narrower appeals for comprehensive school reform (Comer, 1996; Sizer, 1992; Slavin et al., 1996) have consistently emphasized sustained professional development as a vehicle for educational change. Much of the reform literature has emphasized the need for professional development to be not only on-site but also integrated into a school's culture. Nonetheless, many organizations, including teacher networks, continue to offer professional development apart from school settings. Teacher networks often provide members with opportunities to become teacher leaders who lead colleagues in professional development (Lieberman & Grolnik, 1996; Lieberman & McLaughlin, 1992).

Teacher leaders have been largely defined as full-time classroom teachers who assume responsibility for conducting professional development for colleagues (Bascia, 1996; Moller, 1999; Sherrill, 1999; Silvia et al, 2000) or responsibility for writing grants (Freedman, 2000). Recent models of teacher professional development (e.g., Armento, 1996; Sprinthall et al., 1996; Tillema & Imants, 1995) overlook political advocacy skill development as a part of teacher professional development. For this study, I define a teacher leader as a teacher who not only leads colleagues in professional development but also employs advocacy skills outside of the classroom to lobby stakeholders for educational reform initiatives. This definition expands the role of a teacher leader to include an advocacy component. My interest here is with teacher leaders as "teachers who lead" rather than as "leaders of teachers." Of course, these categories need not be mutually exclusive.

In the field of social studies education, an established body of literature focuses on teachers—their subject matter knowledge (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991; Yeager & Davis, 1996), their cross-cultural experiences (Wilson, 1993), and their instructional planning and practices (Cornett, 1990; Grant, 1996, 2001; Hartzler-Miller, 2002; McCutcheon, 1981; Merryfield, 1998; VanSledright, 1995). Despite

Armento's (1996) call for exploration of teacher leaders in the field of social studies, little is known about the professional growth of social studies teachers, especially those affiliated with discipline-specific and special-interest professional organizations.

Teacher leadership is of great importance to the fields of geographic education and social studies education. Within geographic education, the alliance movement has grown rapidly through a model of teachers-training-teachers. The future of this nationwide network of teachers will be determined by how this corps sustains itself. However, the funding to support these networks is in jeopardy; the seed money that National Geographic provided to establish the alliances is nearly exhausted.

Another issue to consider is how social studies teachers are addressing standardized testing (Gibson, 2001; Vinson, 2001). Teacher leaders in social studies could advocate for a rejection or modification of such high-stakes assessments. In an era of budget shortfalls and increasingly scarce resources, social studies teachers need the tools and preparation for advocacy in order to engage external constituencies on the assessment issue (NCSS, 2001).

Context of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe secondary teacher participation in the National Geographic Society's Alliance Leadership Academy. To explore the nature of teacher participation in an Alliance Leadership Academy, I framed the following question to guide my research: How do secondary teachers in the 1999 Alliance Leadership Academy construct their identities as teacher leaders?

In 1999, fifty-four teachers from a variety of states were invited to attend the eight-day Alliance Leadership Academy, held at the Society's headquarters in Washington, D.C. All teachers had already attended a two-week Alliance Summer Geography Institute sponsored by their respective state geographic alliance. During an Alliance Summer Geography Institute, a university geographer teaches core concepts in geography, and a few teachers demonstrate lessons that incorporate these core concepts. By the end of the institute, participants create a geography lesson and demonstrate it to their peers at the institute. Graduation from an Alliance Summer Geography Institute is considered a rite of passage in the geographic education community. Graduates earn the moniker "Teacher Consultant," or "TC" for short. Within one year of graduation, all Teacher Consultants are expected to conduct at least two professional development workshops on geography education for their colleagues.

The eight-day Alliance Leadership Academy consisted of 43 activities loosely organized around the themes of content, instruction, and advocacy. Although the academy billed itself for leadership, geography content presentations by staff of the National Geographic Society were a central part of the experience. Teachers on staff provided demonstrations of exemplary geography lessons. Participants had an afternoon in a computer laboratory to explore online mapping of census data. Participants also prepared, presented, and critiqued an "advocacy presentation." What follows is a brief description of the topic of defining geography in a content session entitled, "Physical Systems":

Sure, we know geography. We know what it is. But, if you ask the average person, they'll pause and say something about maps. When you are out there pitching geography to kids, colleagues, and the community, you've got to be clear. Keep it simple. Geography is a perspective, a perspective that investigates the relationship among people, places, and the environment. Say it with me: "Geography is a perspective . . ." That's right. What is geography? All together: "Geography is . . ." Got it?

Write it down. Keep it with you. Memorize it. Whatever. Just make sure you know it. [University Geographer]

I think to myself, "Why are we defining geography? Isn't this a room full of some of the best teachers of geography in the country?" The session leader acknowledges that geographers argue about what geography is, but says, "That's not what we're here to do today." My mind wanders to a graduate course I took entitled, "The Development of Geographic Thought." There, intense debates unfolded about geography's disciplinary identity as a social science or a physical science. Instead, here the session leader moves quickly beyond his definition of geography to explain various physical systems. [Researcher's Field Notes, 7/8]

This brief excerpt provides a glimpse into a session on geography content. One participant described this and the other sessions on geography content as "helpful...not that they are anything new, but

maybe a good reminder of what we all should know." The importance of being able to clearly define geography would resurface again and again during the academy.

Goals of the Academy

Each participant received a three-ring notebook entitled, *From Awareness to Action: A How-To Kit for Geography Advocates* (National Geographic Society, 1999). Decorated with signature National Geographic photos of people from around the world, the notebook begins with a description of the goals and means of geographic advocacy. Key goals of geographic advocacy include:

1. improve geographic education in your school
2. expand teachers' participation in alliance activities
3. create opportunities to demonstrate the importance of geography in your school district's curriculum
4. increase district administrators' and policymakers' commitment to making geography education a priority
5. persuade policymakers to adopt the voluntary standards set forth in *Geography for Life: National Geography Standards 1994*, and to make geography a required course

(National Geographic Society, 1999, p. I-1)

The first four enumerated goals of geographic advocacy are quite broad; each remains open to considerable interpretation. For example, improvement of geographic education at the school building level (Goal #1) could take many different forms. Only the fifth goal provides concrete objectives. Throughout the notebook, phrases such as "making geography a priority" and "geographic literacy" emphasize the importance of geographic education.

A three-step model is offered to facilitate progress toward the five goals of geographic advocacy. The first step involves informing key stakeholders about the importance of geographic literacy for students. Building on the first step, the second step entails fostering commitment from stakeholders. The third step consists of mobilizing stakeholders into specific action to achieve the goals of geographic education. An example of specific action that a business leader might take is a pledge of financial support for professional development activities in geographic education. The notebook credits teachers for their ability to provide a strong rationale for the importance of geography for students. However, the notebook points out that teachers may be less confident in their ability to provide such a

rationale in community, business, and policymaking settings, and it addresses this concern by suggesting that “[b]y tailoring specific messages to the agendas and interests of the audiences you need to reach, you can soon find geography an easy topic of conversation in the community and classroom alike” (National Geographic Society, 1999, p. I-2).

One way that a geography advocate can tailor messages to various stakeholders is to conduct an environmental scan – that is, to understand how change is made at the school building, district, university, state, and national levels. The “How-To Kit” claims that educational change takes place within a context shaped by political, demographic, environmental, and cultural issues (National Geographic Society, 1999, p. V-3). Also, advocates are encouraged to explore the platforms and past projects of organizations such as parent and civic associations. The How-To Kit poses the following critical question: “Have they [stakeholders] debated issues such as educational standards, educational resources, teacher training, and technology, and if so, how might you adapt previously gained consensus on such topics to your own goals?” (p. V-3). This question strikes at the heart of political strategy – specifically, co-opting existing consensus and coalitions for new aims.

The “How-To Kit” offers numerous strategies for building community support for geographic education, including: hosting a Geography Bee (a spelling bee format geared to geographic skills and knowledge); organizing a Geography Fair (a science fair format in which students present inquiry projects in geography); distributing leaflets and brochures about geographic education at community events; and conducting surveys of parent and teacher views of the importance of geographic education.

An Example of Successful Advocacy

All participants reviewed and discussed ten existing “cases” (National Geographic Society, 1999, pp. X-XIV) of successful geographic advocacy initiatives at the local and state levels. The narrative for each case contained the following headings: goals, allies, change agents, action steps, and results.

In one southern state, the state geographic alliance identified the following two advocacy goals: 1) integrate the national geography standards into the new K-12 state curriculum, and 2) create a 7th grade geography course based on the national geography standards (National Geographic Society, 1999, p. X-12). Teachers in the state geographic alliance developed a rationale for the importance of geography in the social studies course of study. Next, they identified and lobbied key allies (state legislators, superintendents, and deans

of education) to support the argument for more geography in the curriculum and for the nomination of a geographer to the state curriculum committee. With letters of support from allies, the geographic alliance submitted nominations for geographers and alliance Teacher Consultants to the state department of education for appointment to committees. Based on the nominations, the state department appointed a university geographer and several teacher leaders from the geographic alliance to the social studies curriculum committee. Here, they shared copies of the national geography standards and explained how other states had aligned their state curriculum with these standards. In committee, they drafted state curriculum standards that borrowed key words and phrases from the national geography standards. In addition, the teacher leaders offered assistance in designing teaching strategies for the revised state curriculum standards. This advocacy effort led to a new requirement of a one-semester 7th grade world geography course and “a significant amount” of geography integrated into the new K-12 state curriculum standards (National Geographic Society, 1999, p. X-12). This example showcases what National Geographic views as successful advocacy at the state level.

Data Collection and Analysis

Employing an interpretivist paradigm, I assumed that the process of constructing oneself as a teacher leader would be a complex social phenomenon that could be partially understood through qualitative methods of data collection. I focused on three data sources: observations, interviews, and one document. As an active member-observer (Adler & Adler, 1994), I fully participated in the institute sessions and also observed participants from an overt stance over the course of the eight-day institute. I used ethnographic methods to provide what Geertz (1973) termed “thick description,” which is highly detailed with considerable attention to context. After the first day of observing the 54 participants in the institute, I purposefully selected (Patton, 1990) those participants who were currently employed as secondary classroom teachers. The criterion for this sample selection emerged from my initial observation that the secondary teachers—more so than the elementary teachers—closely associated themselves with a specific discipline. This selection strategy yielded eleven participants, ten of whom identified themselves as teachers of history or geography. Upon invitation to participate in the study, all participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and that pseudonyms would be used in the write-up of the study.

During the final three days of the institute, I conducted an audiotaped, five-question structured interview (Kvale, 1996) with each of the eleven secondary teacher participants. The interview questions included: 1) Why did you get involved with your state's geographic alliance? 2) What aspect of this academy has been most valuable to you as a teacher leader? 3) How do you define geographic advocacy? 4) What or whom are the objects of geographic advocacy? 5) Do you have any questions or additional comments you would like to share with me? I also collected a 120-page document, "From Awareness to Action: A How-To Kit for Geography Advocates," that was provided to each participant.

During the first two interviews, I began with a question about teacher leadership identity. It became apparent from the participants' blank stares and requests to rephrase the question that I needed to rethink my opening question. In the meantime, I overheard other participants informally discuss why they became involved with their geographic alliance. I went back to the first two interviewees with a question about their involvement with their state's geographic alliance (see question #1 above). That question allowed participants to provide a context for their immediate experience at the National Geographic Society. This context became important in making sense of the participants' paths to teacher leadership.

Using Miles and Huberman's (1994) technique of analytic induction, I generated conceptual categories as I examined the data. At first, I sorted the data into the following categories: leadership of students, leadership of colleagues, and leadership of external constituencies. The category "leadership of students," though, soon became two categories: geography content knowledge and geography instruction. After renaming two initial categories, I worked with the following four categories: geography content knowledge, geography instruction, teaching-of-teachers, and advocacy. Although I did not explicitly ask about content knowledge, instruction, or the teaching of teachers, participants' descriptions of their alliance involvement addressed these categories to varying degrees. Increasingly, I came to view participants' examples of alliance involvement and their definitions of geographic advocacy as a window to their identities as teacher leaders.

I deliberately collected data from three sources to facilitate triangulation of evidence during data analysis. To facilitate member checks, I shared my observation notes with each participant. After the academy came to a close, I transcribed the interviews and shared the transcripts with key informants.

Findings

The chief findings focus on how teachers construct their identities as teacher leaders. For the participants in this study, the process of identity construction had begun anywhere from two to nine years earlier with their initial affiliation with a state geographic alliance. Rather than starting at the beginning of this process, I begin with an overview of the current teacher leader identities of the participants. Notions of advocacy figure prominently in this discussion. Then, I trace one participant's path to teacher leadership, analyzing points of congruence and incongruence with the paths of her peers in this study.

Current Identities as Teacher Leaders

Evidence of emerging teacher leader identities was found in the participants' definitions of geographic advocacy, and in their explanations of the objects of geographic advocacy. When participants were asked to describe geographic advocacy, five participants framed geographic advocacy in political terms. Salient examples include: an "ambassador for geography," a "coalition-builder," a "geo-lobbyist," "having a political presence," and "convincing those in power." The participants' language reveals a political discourse that frames their understanding of geographic advocacy and their respective roles as teacher leaders. Participants revealed that the substance of geographic advocacy involves articulating a strong rationale for the importance of geographic literacy and inviting stakeholders to take specific action to promote geographic literacy of students and adults.

Other participants highlighted geographic advocacy as a proactive endeavor without using political terms: "being a catalyst," "a missionary zeal to spread the word," "sharing the love [of geography] with others," "improving geography education," and "promoting geographic literacy." Another participant's definition of geographic advocacy eluded my analytic categories: "a defense of all geographic education projects in [home state]." Unlike the other definitions that fell into a political or general proactive stance, this definition points backward rather than forward, appearing to confuse justification of the status quo with advocacy for something new. I include this "outlying" definition as evidence that the process of analytic induction is not always tidy.

As participants described the targets of their lobbying efforts, nearly all responses revealed teacher leadership identities oriented in part toward stakeholders well beyond their immediate school building. Participants described five groups of stakeholders in geographic advocacy: the media, the state legislature, community/civic

organizations, educational administration, and the business community. Identified as potential sponsors of geographic education activities, business leaders were mentioned by four participants. For example, one participant explained that she “learned the steps for how to identify and meet business people as potential corporate sponsors.” Another stated that she would approach sponsors in industry and added that “[a] corporation has already given me something for my school, but it wasn’t much.” She planned to ask the same corporation to donate money for an up-to-date wall map in each classroom.

Educational administrators were the second most popular target for geographic advocacy. Although school librarians are not usually considered educational administrators, one participant described the librarian as having administrative power to spend funds for library acquisitions. In that light, a school librarian can be viewed as a key player in the distribution of educational resources at the building level. Another participant identified school board members and school district administrators because “they are the ones who make decisions; they’re the ones that we have to get to, to put geography back into the curriculum.” This comment underscores an awareness that lobbying key decision makers is essential to reaching the goals of geographic advocacy.

Two participants identified specific players in the political arena for geographic advocacy. One emphasized the importance of speaking with state senators and representatives “to figure out what issues are important to them.” Once armed with knowledge about a legislator’s interests, she suggested, teachers should then tailor learning activities around those interests. During Geography Awareness Week (the third week of November), teachers can invite the legislator to school to show what students have learned about an issue by using geographic tools and a geographic perspective. This participant believed that legislators would be impressed by geographic education if they saw students using geography for informed decision-making about public policy issues. On the other hand, another participant focused on going to political leaders rather than inviting them to visit her school, arguing that her “[state] geographic alliance needs people who can go talk to the state department of education, talk to legislators, because we are going to need money.”

The media and community organizations were also mentioned. The sole participant whose focus was the media described her advocacy presentation as an attempt to persuade a local newspaper editor to include geography in the weekly education supplement to the newspaper. Another participant emphasized community organizations as the key to improving public awareness about geographic education. He planned to speak to local civic organizations such as the Rotary Club in order to explain the importance of

geographic education and to suggest how such an organization might financially support initiatives in geographic education.

The Making of a Teacher Leader

One teacher's path to teacher leadership, with a focus on her understanding of advocacy, is illustrative. Jasmine (pseudonym) teaches U.S. history and civics in a suburban high school near a major Midwestern city. Her involvement with her state's geographic alliance began five years ago because she felt her content knowledge in geography was weak. As she explained:

At the high school where I first taught, we didn't have geography courses. I taught global studies, civics, American history, plus anthropology in my first year. So there were geography concepts that I wanted to teach. But I didn't have any foundation for them. All I took in college was one geography course, and it was a total waste. So I needed to seek something out for that reason. Another hook for me was that I got tons of maps and globes that I needed [Jasmine, interview 7/14].

Like the other participants in this study, Jasmine identified a thirst for content knowledge as the primary motivation for joining the state geographic alliance. She made no mention of an interest in becoming a teacher leader, but through her affiliation with the geographic alliance, she found encouragement and opportunities for stepping into the role of a teacher leader:

I've done presentations around the state with the alliance coordinator. I've led sessions by myself at some of the summer institutes. My principal knows what I'm doing and is good about substitutes when I need to be out presenting. She also put in a good word for me with our social studies coordinator last year. This year, the coordinator asked me to help with three staff development days. That makes me feel good about what I do.

As a first-year teacher, I was totally defined by the successes of my students. Now, it's more complicated because I connect my identity as a teacher with my students, and at the same time my giving workshops for teachers has started to change who I am. I have a

reputation for being the “geography guru.” At school, the other teachers know that I can take my lessons on the road. You can see that I’m a young teacher, but now I know that I can share great lessons of mine with others. So, for now, I teach kids, and I teach other teachers. I’m a work-in-progress. We all are. What’s next? Advocating for my [geographic] alliance [Jasmine, interview 7/14].

Jasmine’s range of experiences with leading colleagues in professional development has earned her a positive reputation among her building colleagues and the administration. Her identity as a teacher leader is no longer exclusively tied to her students. She anchors her identity in the concept of a model teacher who is concerned about her students, yet is also increasingly involved with her work outside of the classroom.

A description of Jasmine’s geographic advocacy presentation further illuminates her identity development. During the final two days of the academy, each participant prepared a ten-minute advocacy presentation to be delivered to small groups of peers for feedback. Using written feedback forms, the audience critiqued each participant’s presentation for delivery style and clarity of presentation objectives. Jasmine made a presentation to corporate sponsors in which she asked them to contribute money to an endowment for a state geographic alliance. A transcript excerpt of this session appears in Appendix A.

After several minutes of Jasmine critiquing her presentation aloud to the audience, the audience offered suggestions, such as preparing a brochure and also presenting a funding time line for corporate sponsors to qualify for matching funds from the National Geographic Society. No mention was made of the substance of her argument, but it was clearly directed toward a businessperson’s perspective and was couched in the idea of geography as a panacea for economic productivity and in the discourses of nationalism and economic prosperity. Jasmine later shared:

What advocacy means to me has been shaped by this institute. It means that you have a firm grasp of why geography is important, and you are able to articulate that. The second part is having some personal vision. We all support geography. But each of us has our own niche that we should go out and advocate for. I really believe that if you want to reform something it has to be a systemic change from the bottom up. Of course, teachers are basically the bottom of the educational

system. Through the [state geographic] alliance, I've made many professional friends. The people who stay very active tend to have a common vision that things can be better, and you can make a difference [Jasmine, interview 7/14].

Depending on the nature and scope of the advocacy goal, a teacher leader may act individually or in concert with others. From this study, Jasmine's preparation to solicit corporate support of her geographic alliance is a clear example of an individual effort. In Jasmine's identity, there is little tension between the role of the individual and that of the collective in enacting change. The negotiation of the role of the individual and that of the collective can be facilitated through affiliation with teacher networks (Lieberman & McLaughlin, 1992).

Implications for Teacher Leadership in the Social Studies

Since its inception, the social studies field has devoted a great deal of attention to questions of its identity, definition, and purpose (Barr et al, 1977). As a multidisciplinary endeavor, the social studies field also has an uneasy history of "turf wars" between and among the disciplines. Nonetheless, advocacy by teacher leaders in specific disciplines merits the continued attention of the social studies community for what this advocacy can contribute to the advancement of our field. I argue here that discipline-specific advocacy need not balkanize the field of social studies, pitting geographer against historian in an attempt to lobby the state legislature or solicit a local business. The larger issue is that the development of teacher leadership and advocacy, overall, could be tremendously beneficial to the social studies community.

The Alliance Leadership Academy exemplifies what it means to make a strong commitment to invest in teachers as advocates for educational reform. Beyond the National Geographic Society, other organizations have begun to introduce members to teacher advocacy (e.g., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2002; NCSS, 2001). The National Council for the Social Studies posted on its website a "Public Relations Tool-Kit" that calls on teachers to join a grassroots campaign to communicate the importance of social studies education. According to the website, one reason for the campaign is the need for social studies teachers to more effectively articulate their positions in an era of sweeping education reform (NCSS, 2001). The campaign may prove problematic as teachers struggle to make sense

of what exactly the campaign seeks to achieve, but the general idea certainly merits ongoing discussion.

Conclusions

This study extends the literature on teacher leadership (Bascia, 1996; Moller, 1999; Sherrill, 1999; Silvia et al, 2000) to include an advocacy component. It provides evidence that teacher leaders view themselves as change agents for educational reform (Fullan, 1991). Helping teachers identify and lobby key players—policy makers, business leaders, and the media—in the public discourse about education has been a familiar strategy of teachers' unions. Now the geographic education movement has appropriated this strategy as a form of professional development – one that focuses not only on content and pedagogical knowledge but also on advocacy skills. This model for professional development is worthy of consideration by other discipline-specific organizations. The American Forum for Global Education, for example, could prepare a cadre of teacher leaders to advocate for legislative support of a more globally oriented public school curriculum in the United States. Moreover, social studies researchers would learn much from an exploration of how professional development programs in particular disciplines can aid or undermine teachers in assuming the role of teacher leader. Such research would contribute to a richer understanding of how teachers become teacher leaders and inform the design of professional development programs in social studies education.

Clearly, National Geographic's efforts to develop teacher leaders have implications that reach well beyond professional development in geographic education. In any event, teacher leaders must be prepared to look beyond the familiar, beyond the walls of the classroom, in order to initiate dialogue with other stakeholders in education such as leaders in business, the legislature, and the media. Indeed, the success of a number of educational reform movements will continue to be measured by the extent to which teachers become teacher leaders and embrace an agenda to change what happens inside and outside of the classroom.

This article is dedicated to the memory of J. Joe Ferguson, former Assistant Director of Geography Education Outreach at the National Geographic Society. Mr. Ferguson died on September 11, 2001, when American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon. On that day, he was accompanying teachers and students from Washington, D.C., to a geography conference.

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Appendix A

Transcript of Jasmine's Advocacy Presentation

Jasmine: Hello, I'm _____. It's very good to meet you. (Pause) Thank you for agreeing to take time out of your schedule to meet. It's a delight to be here. I'm a teacher at _____ High School. Today, I'm here as a Teacher Consultant of the [state] Geographic Alliance. We are a network of nearly 2,000 teachers from around the state. With the National Geographic Society as a partner, we have a clear mission of improving students' knowledge and skills in geography. Geography is the subject of exploration, and it gets students excited about the world's places and people, and it inspires them to learn more.

I would like to talk to you about how geography helps us understand the world and the global economy. I also want to talk about one of the projects of the [state] geographic alliance that may interest you at _____, Inc. Geographic skills and knowledge are critical to three modern day economic realities: the growing worldwide reliance on free markets, the rise of democratic movements in foreign countries, and the swiftly changing nature of the world's economy. Advances in technology and the speed of communication are creating a global economy that's dependent on international cooperation. The more our students know about the cultures of other countries, the better prepared they'll be for the challenges that lie ahead. As you know, jobs, income, and entrepreneurial opportunities in the U.S. are directly connected with the global marketplace. Success in all of these areas depends on knowledge of the world, its cultures and environments. Consider the labels on the clothing you're wearing or the value of your IRA in response to the Asian financial crisis. Consider also that a single pencil can require materials from 11 other countries. The spread of ideas from place to place is a focus of geography, and this has a direct application to international trade. International technology trade, for example, depends on responding to local realities in other countries, which calls for solid geographic skills and knowledge.

Geography is about much more than naming places on a map. It's about learning how and why commodities, money, and information flow from one place to another. What policies are best taken at the national, regional, and local levels to make the best use of natural resources to boost economic development?

Our future as a nation depends substantially on our knowledge base, and many observers agree that current problems with productivity and competitiveness can be traced in part to deficiencies in the educational achievement of our citizens. Geography is a key component of this knowledge base.

At the [state] geographic alliance, we are investing in the future by training teachers to be the very best teachers of geography for our children. One of our annual programs involves the alliance summer geography institute. For two weeks, each summer we host 20 teachers from around the state at the University of _____. Each teacher takes what he or she learns to directly apply it in classrooms in the fall. We provide this training at no cost to the teacher, but we require them to agree to train 10 to 20 teachers in what they learned at the institute. Our cost per teacher is \$____. That's a sound investment considering the number of teachers and students that each person trained will influence. Would _____, Inc. be interested in supporting this effort of the [state] geographic alliance? (Pause) We have partner organizations that can provide matching funds to make your dollars go twice as far. I know that I've been doing a lot of talking. Do you have any questions for me? (Pause). Thank you so much for your time this afternoon. Here is my card. Again, it was a pleasure meeting you. I hope to be in touch soon. Take care.

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Reading Visual Texts

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Abstract

Visual images within social studies textbooks need to be actively “read” by students. Drawing on literature from cultural studies, this article suggests three instructional conditions for teaching students to read visual texts. Agency implies that readers have the (1) authority, (2) opportunity and capacity, and (3) community for engaging in the task of reading in multiple ways. Seven ways of reading images are outlined—instrumental, narrative, iconic, editorial, indicative, oppositional, and reflexive—and are illustrated with instructional questions.

Textbooks have changed, no longer relying primarily on the printed word. Now a typical chapter is a montage of various types of written and pictorial “texts.” This change acknowledges that youth live in visually saturated environments, and that visual texts are not just useful tools for learning about the world; increasingly they *are* the social world and need to be treated *as* subject matter in the classroom. Part of the task of social studies is to strengthen student agency to read imagery in multiple ways.

Across the past four decades, reform-minded educators promoted more sophisticated and critical readings of historical images (e.g., Fenton, 1966; Good, 1968; Milburn, 1972; Paziienza & Clarke, 1997) and the diverse visuals of mass media and popular culture (e.g., Crowder, 1973; Gordon, 1966; Kellner, 1991; Segall, 1997; MacLean, 1981). Their ideal classroom was one where participants used the conceptual and inquiry tools of the humanities and social sciences for interpreting and critiquing different kinds of written and pictorial texts. For many classrooms, though, social studies continued to be much more prosaic: Textbook-centered instruction relied on the written word to convey settled stories, requiring little agency on the part of learners beyond that of mastering the information and responding to the assigned questions. Not surprisingly, this did not inspire student

interest in the social studies. For example, province-wide assessments within British Columbia showed that as students moved up the grades, they found social studies increasingly uninteresting (Cassidy & Bognar, 1991; Bognar et al., 1996; Ministry, 1999). Teachers often define this problem as textbooks that do not “engage” students, rather than the ways texts are used in the classroom (e.g., Rispin, 2001).

But what does it mean for teachers to strengthen student agency to read visual texts? This article opens the question through selected ideas borrowed primarily (but not exclusively) from the Birmingham tradition of cultural studies. Over the past thirty years, a broad theme of this literature has been its critical analyses of how group identities, social issues, and power are negotiated through the production, circulation, legitimization, interpretation, and consumption of various kinds of texts (e.g., Barker, 2000; Berger, 1972; During, 1993; Grossberg, Nelson & Treichler, 1992; McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993). One of its multidisciplinary branches specifically focuses on “visual culture” (e.g., film, computer graphics, fashion, photography, architecture, graffiti, museum displays), and asks how these texts are used to produce, authorize, and contest social practices and ideas (Bal, 1999; Bryson, Holly & Moxey, 1994; Evans & Hall, 1999; Hall, 1997; Mirzoeff, 1998; Walker & Chaplin, 1997; Wells, 2000). But to date this scholarship has had limited impact on social education, whose practitioners were largely trained in more traditional approaches to history and geography.

The following discussion draws on this literature in response to Giroux’s (1992, 1997) call for a pedagogy that not only informs students about how images work in their daily lives, but also empowers them to engage with multiple, shifting, and competing readings. Giroux’s work promotes a critical pedagogy that “takes on the goal of challenging canonicity and interrogating the forms of exclusion and inclusion in the production, distribution, and circulation of knowledge [texts]... [by] raising questions about how culture is related to power—why and how it operates in both institutional and textual terms—within and through a politics of representation... It calls for resistant readings and the development of oppositional practices” (1997, p. 5).

This article also responds to the *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (2001), in which Seixas argues for a refocusing of social studies around notions of “text” and “reading” as framed by cultural studies. The word “text” refers broadly to cultural artifacts—videos, grocery lists, books, songs, buildings, rituals—that can be “read” (interpreted). In this article, however, “text” is limited to the visuals within textbooks; other texts within the classroom include posters, worksheets, bulletin boards, student clothing, and even the organization and routine practices of the classroom itself. The word “reading” emphasizes the

mental labor required to give meaning to visual texts. Readers/viewers do not passively receive meaning; they make meaning by understanding how the parts (e.g., symbols, conventions, context) are related to the whole (e.g., message). (A political cartoon, for example, is difficult to read unless one understands the issue at stake and its context, and recognizes the uses and effects of rhetorical devices. It is through these details that the meanings of the cartoon are achieved.) Seixas, in particular, wants teachers and students to go beyond questions of “what” a text says to “how” the text works, and to become more self-conscious about how they read the texts of daily life (including social studies textbooks). He argues that this would invigorate social studies by bringing it closer to current debates within the humanities and social sciences.

My purpose is to outline three instructional conditions for teaching students to read visual texts. Agency implies that readers have the *authority*, *opportunity/capacity*, and *community* for engaging in the task of reading in multiple ways. These are constituent elements of agency, as well as instructional conditions for promoting multiple readings:

1. **Authority.** If students are to engage in multiple readings of images, they need to be positioned as interpreters. An image does not “speak” apart from an interpreter; both share authority over meaning. Assuming authority, however, is difficult for students accustomed to searching for authorized, unitary, or fixed meanings.
2. **Opportunity/capacity.** Multiple readings of images disturb taken-for-granted assumptions underlying “reading” itself (“Why are different readings possible?”), and focus on the interplay between text and reader. Students require rich opportunities to experience and critique different ways to read, as well as the capacities requisite for accessing those opportunities and producing alternative readings. There is little agency if students lack the tools necessary for engaging with visual texts. Capacities include, for example, appropriate background knowledge, relevant concepts, insightful questions, and supportive dispositions (e.g., open-mindedness to alternative readings, and a willingness to question interpretations) (Case & Wright, 1997).

- 3. Community.** Multiple readings of images require a supportive classroom discourse (i.e., norms, beliefs, practices, and exemplars) that encourages student authority in reading, and provides ongoing opportunity to engage with multiple readings. Capacity building occurs as readers' interpretive horizons are expanded through teacher modeling and the 'give and take' of classroom discussion.

I focus on these conditions for encouraging multiple readings of visual texts, although the primary emphasis is on *opportunity* and *capacity*. This second condition both assumes and enhances the first (authority), whereas the third (community) is the generative context and means for enacting the first two. Each of these conditions is shaped by what teachers do with images in the classroom—how teachers model and legitimize various authority relationships with texts, and the kinds of interpretive questions and tasks set for students.

1. Authority: Reader/Text Relationships

The interpretation of text, by whatever framework it is explored, is concerned fundamentally with the relationship between reader and text. This relationship gives rise to the question of whether it is the reader or the text that has greater authority (Hunsberger, 1989, p. 115).

Visual texts are more than 'things' or instructional means set before students; their meanings emerge during interactions with readers (viewers). To think of images independent of readers is naive, for they do not speak apart from interpreters. Neither text nor reader has exclusive control over the negotiation of meaning, says Hunsberger (1989, p. 119), because both have a voice that has to be heard. An historical photo in a textbook, for example, does not speak on its own or transmit one underlying or inherent 'truth' to a viewer, nor can the viewer choose to make any sense of it (Burke, 2001). The *relationship* between viewer and image is shaped by what both bring to the encounter, and the resultant understanding occurs through what Gadamer calls a "fusion of horizons" (1986, p. 273). On one side of this relation is the visual text itself, embodying content, form, technical conventions, and some evidence of its author's intention, point of view, and choices; on the other side is a reader who comes with purposes, expectations, questions, and sundry assumptions drawn from past experience. Understanding is not simply a matter of grasping an

author's intended meaning or of uncovering the correct message (rarely is there clear access to those intentions in their time and place), but also of bringing one's imagination to the reading, recognizing that varying interpretations are possible as the text is engaged from different purposes and biographical locations. In short, the visual text and its reader comprise an irreducible unit in which both share authority over meaning.

Although neither image nor viewer has exclusive authority to define meaning, the relative amount of authority may be unequal, depending upon the characteristics of the text, what the viewer brings to it, and the instructional context. The terms *closed* and *open* authority relationships refer to ways in which text and reader position each other; they signify not categorical either/or states, but poles of a continuum on which greater or lesser authority rests with the text or the reader to define meaning. These relationships are differentiated by the degree to which text or reader has control over interpretations, and thereby how actively or passively the student makes sense of the image. I am not arguing that there are only two interpretive relations; it is not the number that is significant here, but rather the premise that a text does not stand on its own apart from a reader. The reader's and text's authority to define meaning varies within the relationship. The relation can be one in which the text is granted more authority and the student is interpretively passive, or one in which the text's authority is treated as open and the student as interpretively active. With closed relationships the assumed position is a more controlled reader, whereas with open relationships the reader takes more responsibility for meaning. Independent and divergent meanings are more circumscribed in the one, and encouraged through the other. It is the degree of authority over interpretation—the questioning, making connections, and going beyond the information—that is focused in this distinction between closed and open relationships. A similar distinction can be made between a “readerly text” (closed) and a “writerly text” (open) (e.g., Segall, 2002); however, I am not highlighting the text itself so much as the authority *relationship* between viewer and image.

In more *closed* relationships, the text is given greater authority over meaning, thereby placing the reader in a more passive role. A student may appear to be very busy—concentrating fully, taking notes, answering assigned questions—but this is done within the constraints of the image's point of view, assumptions, or implied storyline. The range of meanings that may be drawn is circumscribed as the interpreter is led by the text and accepts its representation as authoritative. To the extent that the reader assumes this relationship, there is less leeway for alternative meanings. Examples of closed relationships are the didactic captions that tell the reader what is worth

noticing in a visual, or the accompanying questions that narrowly focus and curtail interpretation. In a grade four textbook, for example, a sixteenth century engraving depicts Columbus and his armed soldiers as conquerors who, when coming ashore, immediately plant the cross (claiming the land), accept treasures from subservient aboriginals (claiming the wealth), and pursue female dancers across the beach (claiming the people). Although the picture is rich in detail from which a viewer can infer the values of the artist and the imperialist project, the caption rather absurdly 'tells' what the visual means: "Because he thought he had reached India, Christopher Columbus called the people he met Indians" (Conner & Bethune-Johnson, 1983, p. 73). The subsequent reading of the image is very limited if viewers submit to the caption's closed authority.

At the other end of the continuum are more *open* relationships in which viewers are positioned to have greater authority. Here meanings are enriched by what interpreters bring to, and experience within, their encounters with text; they are encouraged to challenge, criticize, or extend the messages. New interpretations can be forged through this text/reader dialogue, and the subsequent divergence of meanings represents not the failure of Babel but grounds for discussion and deeper learning. Reading, then, becomes a journey for possibilities rather than a search for one destination. Historical photos, paintings, or political cartoons, for example, often challenge readers' taken-for-granted views, raise questions, stir imagination, and thereby evoke diverse responses. Texts whose content is enigmatic invite many meanings. However, a risk of very open relationships is that students may initially perceive little meaning in the text, and decide that further involvement is not worth the time and energy.

An open relationship is not inherently 'better' than a closed one. Any position on this authority continuum has its place depending upon the purposes of student and teacher. At times the authority may be weighted towards the image, and at other times towards the interpreter. In any event, closed relationships may well dominate unless teachers take steps to break this default pattern. Too often texts take on the status of scripture, used to present rather than question and negotiate 'truth.' The way in which they are used adds further to this massive authority; they provide the *de facto* curriculum for organizing homework, exams, and instruction, and they undergird the institution's assumptions about what counts as knowledge, learning, and achievement (Hunsberger, 1989). But agency is enhanced as students come to understand that reader/text encounters assume authority relationships, and are able to engage in various interpretative relationships appropriate to one's purpose with a text at hand. Without *recognizing* their authority, though, readers and teachers are less able

to exploit opportunities and develop capacities for engaging multiple readings of images.

2. Opportunity and Capacity for Multiple Readings

All items of visual culture, no matter what their medium or aesthetic quality, can be considered to be 'texts' that are subject to an endless series of 'readings' on the part of the public, critics, and theorists (Walker & Chaplin, 1997, p. 118).

Students need rich opportunities to produce and challenge multiple interpretations, as well as the capacities to access such opportunities. Agency is enhanced as capacities are developed through opportunities. Whenever appropriate, therefore, teachers should encourage discussion of more than one type of reading. The point is not to introduce students to a grab bag—this would have little educational value on its own—but rather to give them tools for accessing opportunities and confidence for reflecting on reading itself: How have we read this text? What other readings could we have done? Which are more appropriate for our purposes? Any visual can be read in many ways, and meanings are enriched by diversity.

The following discussion outlines seven readings that can be brought to visual texts: *instrumental*, *narrative*, *iconic*, *editorial*, *indicative*, *oppositional*, and *reflexive*. My discussion and differentiation of these seven readings draw on several methods of interpreting images assumed within the culture studies literature, including ideology critique, reader response, and hermeneutical readings. Numerous other methods have not been used here. My purpose is not to cover the waterfront but to define and illustrate possibilities for encouraging multiple readings. (For an extended, highly focused account of "reading" and multiple "readings" based upon the pragmatist tradition, see Cherryholmes, 1999). These seven readings underscore the premise that different readings give rise to different meanings, or as Bal (1999) puts it, "The reading itself becomes part of the meaning it yields" (p. 10). Although the seven are not mutually exclusive, they can be distinguished by the metaphor for "text" that is assumed in the reading: text as *resource*, *storyline*, *icon*, *editorial*, *index*, *positioning*, and *mirror*. These readings, together with instructional questions, are illustrative of possibilities rather than exhaustive, and can be combined or extended in various ways. The important point is that if students are to appropriate interpretive authority, they need rich opportunity and the capacity to do so in the classroom. References to images in the following discussion are taken from social studies textbooks and

national newspapers used within the schools of the Canadian province of British Columbia.

What is the relationship among these seven readings? Relative to each other, the seven can be clustered and ordered along a closed-open *authority* continuum. In the first cluster (which includes instrumental readings), the authority relationship is more closed because the image is treated as an information source, and the reader’s purpose is to find and interpret its *manifest meaning*. In the second cluster (which includes narrative, iconic, editorial, and indicative readings), the focus goes beyond an image’s manifest meaning to its implied or *associative meaning*, whereas in the third cluster (which includes oppositional and reflexive readings), the reader gives *evaluative meaning*. Moving along the continuum from the first to the third clusters, the readings become more inferential, and relationships between reader and text more open:

	Closed		Open
<i>Purposes of readings:</i>	1. <u>manifest</u> meanings	2. <u>associative</u> meanings	3. <u>evaluative</u> meanings
<i>Examples of readings:</i>	(1) instrumental	(2) narrative (3) iconic (4) editorial (5) indicative	(6) oppositional (7) reflexive

This continuum does not represent a hierarchy of complexity or importance (there are many different ways to read an image depending upon the readers’ purposes), nor does it imply that students should begin with the first before moving to the second and then the third clusters (the seven readings serve different purposes and give rise to different interpretations). The following clusters illustrate various opportunities for, and capacities requisite to, reading images in multiple ways.

Cluster 1: Reading for Manifest Meaning—Instrumental Readings

Textbooks most commonly encourage **instrumental readings**. In doing so, they view the visual text as an information resource, and effective reading means that students know how to find and extract the desired ‘goods’ (such as ‘facts’, evidence, inferences), usually under the guidance of instructions, questions, or accompanying captions that frame the reading. Reading becomes an uncovering of the information assumed to be manifest in the text (text as *resource*). For example, the caption to a reproduction of an 1839 painting of the Rideau Canal focuses its grade ten readers: “Notice the rafts of square timbers. This

was the most efficient way of transporting timber to the port at Quebec City” (Bowers & Garrod, 1987, p. 234). Close inspection of the picture does indeed provide textured detail about timber rafts and their transportation, as well as the construction, layout, and operation of the locks; the division of labor and the role of the military at the canal; impacts on the surrounding environment; and so on. Under the framing of the caption, the picture serves as a rich resource for direct observations and for drawing explicit inferences that complement the information provided by the surrounding paragraphs. But in this instrumentalist view of reading, the image is little more than a container from which content is to be retrieved, a storehouse to be mined or harvested for answers, a means for finding answers. “According to this old metaphor,” says Atkins (1988), it is assumed that texts “present or deliver to students as much accurate information about the world as possible so that they in turn can use their mental mirrors to reflect reality as truthfully or completely as possible” (p. 444). The reader’s position in the relationship is to retrieve the content within the boundaries (e.g., scope, viewpoint, emphases) set by the visual text or the assigned questions, and to give back the acquired information on demand. The dominance of this closed authority protects against alternative meanings, encourages a regime of convergent and ‘correct’ answers, and provides little opportunity for other readings.

Instrumental readings are important, and not surprisingly, this resource metaphor most commonly underlies the placement of visuals in social studies materials. If the purpose of reading is to find the manifest information with fidelity, then images can be selected to convey the desired content quickly, clearly, and accurately. The instructional logic is straightforward, as illustrated in the following question sequence that teachers might use in moving students from description to inference:

1. What is happening in the picture? (Describe the portrayed object, event, or action on the basis of direct observation.)
2. What do the details tell us about the event, issue, or concept of interest? (Draw inferences on the basis of the manifest information.)

This stance particularly underlies the way in which older textbooks use visuals, although it still has a strong lingering legacy. Students are expected to exercise little interpretive authority, but rather to demonstrate that they have comprehended the image in similar ways, despite the fact that they bring life experiences to the reading. Power over meanings is weighted on the side of the text, and its

instructional quality is judged on the basis of how effective and efficient the 'vehicle' is for facilitating information retrieval across a range of student characteristics. But extensive reliance upon instrumental readings does not foster the thoughtfulness needed for a social studies in which the point is not simply to amass information but also to imaginatively and critically engage it. Because of its apparent utility, however, the underlying metaphor of text-as-resource may remain unexamined by students, and other possibilities for reading may not even be considered. When overused, this approach teaches little about how images can be variously interpreted, and can be similar to playing "Where's Waldo?", a game that holds little sustained interest or challenge. Overuse of this approach may even reflect "an impoverished conception of knowledge as recall and recitation of information... Knowledge here is simply [finding and] remembering information, in much the same sense that we might 'know' someone's phone number" (Seixas, 2001, p. 558).

Reliance on closed relationships within classrooms also explains in part why students find textbooks uninteresting: They are interpretively non-engaged. Interest is diminished when there is little interpretive horizon to entice, or where meaning is simply given. As long as young people continue to be placed in passive positions day after day, their enjoyment of reading images is undermined; it is not uncommon to see them struggle with boredom and meaninglessness when confronted with narrow readings that seem to be an affront to their meaning-making minds. The trap of the instrumentalist view is that visual text is merely the carrier or transmitter of information, the vehicle for achieving the desired learning outcomes. But learning occurs through active readings and thoughtful engagements with texts, where readers have authority to question, counter, extend, and theorize the images, as the following two clusters illustrate.

Cluster 2: Reading for Associative Meaning—Narrative, Iconic, Editorial, and Indicative Readings

In this second cluster the reader has to take greater authority to go beyond the literal or manifest information that is 'contained' in the image to that which is more associative and inferential. *Narrative readings* move outside the frame provided by the image to the implied storyline (the image is assumed to represent a frozen moment taken from a larger temporal account); *iconic readings* infer the larger event that the image may stand in for, or the broader issue/values that it may point to; *editorial readings* infer the artist's judgment or normative stance towards the topic; and *indicative readings* infer the implied social conditions that may have given rise to the image. The latter requires a greater degree of inference because the reader is pushing back 'behind' the image to the time and place from which it came.

Narrative readings

Images, says Bruner (1996), are “stopped action frames in narratives” (p. 158). At 4:43 pm on July 25, 2000, a Japanese businessman in Paris photographed Concorde Flight AF4590 as it lifted from the runway. The photo caught the sleek aircraft just above the ground, with its needle nose pointing skyward, and flames trailing its left wing. This conveyed a disturbing message to newspaper readers around the world as they imaginatively put the “stopped action” back into the temporal movement from which it was taken. The picture froze an ongoing event that had “a past, a present as it appears to us, and an implied future” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 29). The fixed frame spoke to a catastrophic chain of events that led up to and would follow from it. In short, the photo implied a narrative (text as *storyline*).

Narrative readings impute temporal storylines to an image, as illustrated by the following instructional questions that a teacher might use:

1. What storyline is implied by this image?
 - i. What led up to this moment? (e.g., past antecedents, causes, intentions)
 - ii. What will likely follow? (e.g., future consequences)
2. What evidence for these inferences does the image provide or suggest?
3. What alternative storylines are plausible?

The *present* action or event is interpreted as having a *past* (an antecedent, a cause) and an inferred *future* (a consequence, a result); something preceded the present state and something will follow from it. Narrative readings relate the parts sequentially to form the whole, and the resulting meaning may well have the power to move us to action. International relief agencies, for example, use pictures of a starving child or a refugee family for fund-raising purposes; such images work as readers surround them with story. The tragic representations are explained through inferences about prior actions and conditions, and are given significance based on the likely effects.

One of the strengths of narrative readings is that they often facilitate empathetic readings, where the reader imaginatively enters into another’s experience, attempting to see and feel from that point of view (text as *shared experience*). Of course this identification is easier if the reader assumes some common experience and values with the subject portrayed in the imagined narrative. When the front page of a newspaper shows a runner stumbling in the final moments of an international race, most viewers understand the agony and are able

to imagine what defeat means for the runner's commitments and hopes. But such readings are more difficult when a visual refers to people distant in time, place, culture, and ideology. Photos of the mummified body of a young man found with his spears and tools on a glacier at the Austro-Italian border initially elicit more curiosity than empathy. It is easy to view this individual who lived 5,300 years ago as an object having little in common with the reader.

Narrative and empathetic readings can be used instructionally to counter us/them dichotomies and the process of "othering" that often results from perceived cultural differences and assumed hierarchies. Centuries of Western imperialism and colonialism have left their subtle legacy on how "the other" (groups, nations, places) is imagined and valued (e.g., as peripheral, exotic, foreign, romantic, or even as untrustworthy, deviant, dangerous), sometimes making it difficult for readers to get past stereotypes and nationalistic or chauvinistic views when interpreting images of peoples and places (Merryfield, 2001; Willinsky, 1998).¹ Sensitive empathy recognizes that although we interpret from our own present moment and cultural legacies, experiential similarities exist across time and place. Some questions that a teacher might use to encourage empathetic readings include:

1. How does this image represent the people/place/event?
 - i. What differences and similarities between 'us and them' (or 'here and there', 'now and then') are implied? In what ways might these be too selective?
 - ii. Are these differences and similarities shown in a positive and/or negative light?
 - iii. What might this representation imply about the author's assumptions and values?
2. What is my reaction to the portrayal?
 - i. With whom do I most empathize?
 - ii. Why do I (not) empathize?
 - iii. How would more (or less) empathy change my interpretation?

Iconic readings

Iconographic visuals stand in for broader cultural meanings beyond themselves (text as *icon*). In most religious traditions, for example, selective images, places, and objects come to be venerated over time because they suggest transcendent realities, symbolize collective hopes and histories, or point to a set of beliefs and values (Weitzmann, 1978). Similarly, selected monuments and events take on larger symbolic meanings for those who are members of an

ethnocultural in-group or share a sense of being a 'nation.' Of the countless war photos from the twentieth century, a few emerged in the collective American memory as representing larger ideals and events of their time, such as raising the flag on Iwo Jima (February 23, 1945) or the tragedy at Kent State when the U. S. National Guard opened fire on student demonstrators (May 4, 1970) (Stepan, 1999). Other texts are deliberately designed to be iconographic. A newspaper photo of a Palestinian youth, armed with nothing but a slingshot and a pocket full of stones in the face of a tank and heavily armed soldiers, signifies more than one angry teenager's reckless act of desperation at a particular moment in time. Through its ironic analogy to the David and Goliath story, the image stands for complex and contradictory meanings about a people's struggle for self-determination. Similar pictures of a woman sitting in front of the ruins of her family home just leveled by an army bulldozer, or pictures of yet another bus blown up by a suicide bomber, point beyond the immediate misery of victims to the relentless and tragic cycle of conflict that has trapped Palestinians and Israelis for more than half a century.

Iconic readings begin with the manifest content of the image, and then move to the content's implied or associative meanings, as well as the social uses of those meanings. This movement is illustrated by the questions that a teacher might raise:

1. What larger issue(s), value(s), or event(s) does this depiction represent (i.e., point to, stand for, symbolize)? What is the evidence for this inference?
2. What purposes and whose interests might be served through this iconic meaning (e.g., propagandistic, nationalistic, motivational)?
3. What alternative interpretations are plausible?

The second question points to the purposes served, or the effects achieved, through the image. Texts often do empower some groups and disadvantage others. Nationalistic or ethnocentric images have potential to rally support around assumed identities, focus perceived grievances, define and stereotype the "outsider," and nudge collective action. On a daily basis we encounter striking iconographic images through commercial and political advertisements.

The caption for one of Cornelius Krieghoff's romantic paintings in a grade ten book didactically states, "Cornelius Krieghoff sensitively recorded the Canadiens' way of life in his paintings. He lived and traveled in Lower Canada throughout the mid-1800s" (Bowers & Garrod, 1987, p. 38). This caption implies that the image is a sensitive empirical portrayal because the painter had first-hand

experience; information derived from the visual can thereby be trusted as accurate. Unfortunately, though, such advice privileges a far too narrow reading and results in students missing the iconic significance of the painting. While Krieghoff was living in Quebec from about 1840 to 1872, he produced more than 1500 images of an *imaginary* Canada defined by an idyllic rural society situated within natural splendor. Hard working Aboriginals and French Habitants pursued their lives in harmony with each other and their pristine environment of lakes, rivers, waterfalls, mountains, trees, snow, and vast spaces. This iconic vision of nineteenth century Quebec—of a noble and gentle people rooted in a magnificent open wilderness—became popular within North America and Europe, and Krieghoff’s romantic pictures still continue to be reproduced on postage stamps, greeting cards, plates, cookie tins, chocolate boxes, placemats, calendars, and postcards. The log cabins, frontier farmers and trappers, and bountiful land came to symbolize the quintessential qualities and themes of an idealized time and place.

Textbooks rarely encourage students to read iconically, likely because such readings presuppose that readers have the relevant background knowledge (of cultural metaphors, contemporary issues, historical events) to engage with the social and political nuances of the picture. For example, photos of unemployed men riding on top of boxcars often accompany textbook discussions of the Great Depression. When asked to read such images, students draw inferences based upon their limited life experiences and historical knowledge, and easily miss the iconic meaning. The photo is then read as portraying a group of young men appearing to be rather well-dressed in their tweed coats, vests, and felt fedoras, who likely climbed a boxcar in order to get a better view of some sporting or other event. The picture only stands for “the Depression” as readers understand something about the economic relationships and sociopolitical conditions that put people in breadlines and on boxcars. Explicit instruction is needed to encourage iconic readings.

Editorial readings

Many images editorialize by advancing opinions or critiquing a state of affairs (text as *editorial*). Political cartoons do so through explicit evaluative comment on events, people, institutions, or issues, whereas other visuals may be more subtle and suggestive in their judgments. Comment is evoked through many means of representation, including, for example, the composition of a picture (use of design, lighting, color, perspective, inscription, mood, and the arrangement of items), drawing upon diverse cultural sources (popular images, symbols, metaphors, stereotypes), and the placement of the

text in relation to other texts (Fabian, 1999; Seixas, 1987). The editorial comment may lie in the implied subtext.

Whether the editorial is explicit or implicit, it goes beyond description to evaluation by suggesting what should be believed or done; assumed in the text is an argument that implies or justifies the evaluative conclusion. Editorial readings are about recognizing these valuations and bringing them into the open for scrutiny. A teacher can encourage this through questions such as:

1. What editorial comment is made through this image, about what, by whom, and how?
2. What evidence from the image supports these inferences?
3. Why do you (not) agree with this editorial comment? How would the image have to be changed to support an alternative editorial?

A picture in a grade eight textbook shows four young slaves pressing sugar cane on an eighteenth century Haitian plantation (Cranny, 1998, p. 100). What strikes the viewer first are the exaggerated muscles, smiling faces, and harmonious workplace, implying that the slaves were contented, healthy, and more than physically adequate to the task. The broader message is that the colonial system of slavery that kept France supplied with sugar was working well, slaves were minimally oppressed and usually well treated, and European consumers need not be concerned about continued sugar supply. Fortunately, the accompanying written text provides an explicit account of the brutal conditions and suffering of Haitian slaves, and this contradiction between the visual and written texts begs for a careful reading of the editorial content: What ideas are legitimized? Whose interests do these ideas serve and not serve?

One of the classroom difficulties with editorial readings is that they often require considerable contextual knowledge of the subject under evaluation. Cartoons are difficult for students who know little about the event, person, or issue in question, and who struggle with the artists' uses of cultural metaphors and rhetorical devices (e.g., irony, stereotype, exaggeration). Other difficulties are that the author's judgments were deliberately designed to be ambiguous or subtle, and the reader may struggle to pick up on the provided clues. Lack of these requisite understandings hinders one from entering into the editorial comment and critiquing it. Careful regard for capacity building is required as students engage with editorial readings.

Indicative readings

Readers here infer the contextual conditions within which an image was produced and used. Representations are produced and circulated within belief systems—rooted in their authors' and audience's political commitments and social locations—and the result of this authorial power is that particular voices may be privileged, someone's social interests may be assumed, or significant exclusions and silences may be present (Hall, 1997). A painting, for instance, suggests something about what the artist believed, valued, and took for granted; choices were made in conceptualizing and producing the image, and these choices embodied assumptions, goals, and commitments of various kinds. Seeking an artist's intentions can be difficult when they are not clear in the work itself; the author's intention and the meaning achieved by a reader are not tightly bound together. Furthermore, visuals not only reveal their authors' sensibilities, but point to the broader social values, political and economic relationships, and institutional priorities that helped to shape that authorship, and they can be read as indices or indicators of those contextual conditions (text as *index*). According to Bourdieu (1993), texts are a manifestation of a broader field of cultural production. That is, images embody the values and assumptions of their producers, who struggle for recognition, status, and economic gain within a larger "field of forces" defined by such things as social class and institutional affiliations (Walker & Chaplin, 1997, pp. 29-32).² Much of the art reproduced in social studies textbooks originally had close ties to economic and institutional power; it was commissioned, bought, and housed as a commodity for prestige, profit, or public instruction. The artists were part of broader networks of sponsors, publishers, promoters, consumers, and connoisseurs (such as patrons, galleries, foundations, guilds, professional associations), and through these relations the images came to be legitimized as worthy art. An image can be read as speaking back to the contextual conditions that made it possible.

Indicative readings interpret the image as pointing to the *author* and the *context* of that authorship. Something about an author's views can be inferred, as well as the cultural and political milieu in which the text was made, used, and legitimized. To move students from an interpretation that focuses on the image to one that engages the author and the broader context, teachers might ask students the following:

1. What is the text representing?
2. What can be inferred about the author from this representation?
 - i. What does the author seem to believe or value about the event, group, or place?

- ii. What might this tell us about the social commitments (assumptions, interests) and locations (social class, role status, group memberships, institutional relationships) underlying this authorship?
3. What does this depiction tell us about the broader setting?
 - i. How might this image have served to perpetuate or question a set of broader social goals, issues, or interests? Is there any evidence to suggest whose views are advanced, whose experiences are celebrated, whose benefits are legitimized, or whose ways of life are favored?
 - ii. What may this imply about the social attitudes and prevailing power relationships that made this image acceptable or contested in that time and place?

The battle between French and British forces on the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759, resulted in the death of both generals, and was one of the key events in the loss of France's North American colony. Painters were commissioned to memorialize the deaths of generals Wolfe and Montcalm, and these paintings are reproduced in textbooks (e.g., Cranny, 1998, p. 248; Bowers & Garrod, 1987, p. 4). Although the fictional and romantic details tell us nothing about the immediate circumstances of the two deaths, the images richly portray the artists' political allegiances and social sensibilities, as well as the values characterizing elites within eighteenth century Europe. The artists' uses of symbols, and the choice, arrangement, and demeanor of the figures, speak of contemporary social attitudes to empire, including the role of honor, loyalty, duty, orderliness, hierarchy, and glory in war. In short, these memorializations are indicators of a social context that gave the specific events their meaning in that time and place.

Cluster 3: Reading for Evaluative Meaning—Oppositional and Reflexive Readings

In the third cluster the reader has to take a large amount of responsibility for inferring and evaluating the ways in which the image positions the viewer (*oppositional readings*), and the ways in which the viewer interprets the text (*reflexive readings*). Readings here entail explicit evaluation about the text and reader.

Oppositional readings

Oppositional readings resist the ways in which the image “positions” the reader and the subject matter (text as *positioning*). As Segall (1997) cautions, texts “are always ideologically positioned and positioning, always embedded in particular ways of seeing and representing the world” (p. 228); they are not innocent carriers of the world so much as ways of seeing the world (Berger, 1972). Ideology in its narrow sense refers to a set of ideas that legitimize the benefits enjoyed by a particular group, region, or country, where those benefits are simply assumed as natural, as “just the way things are,” or as deserved (Walker & Chaplin, 1997, p. 135). The power of visuals to position readers psychologically or ideologically continues as long as this power remains unquestioned.

Authors and artists make assumptions about readers: what they believe and value, where they are located socially and politically, and how they will likely read and respond to the image. In turn, readers can enter into this positioning or refuse it. For example, as the Northern Alliance rolled across Afghanistan, newspapers graphically reported the expected revenge killings. In a set of three sequenced photographs taken over a few minutes, the first portrayed a Taliban soldier being dragged on his back along a rocky road by an Alliance soldier; the second showed him sitting on the road at the feet of a group of his captors, pleading for his life; the third showed him being shot point-blank in the head by three executioners while the remaining ten soldiers cheered (Makin, 2001). In this series of images, the viewer was physically positioned two or three meters from the victim, in the very midst of the action, and the changed camera angles across the three photographs showed that the photographer moved among the group to get the most unobstructed and close-up view. The viewer was not placed in a physically distant or psychologically safe position, but was in full eye contact with the victim and his killers. In subsequent letters to the editor of a newspaper that published these photographs, some readers opposed the photographer’s assumptions about viewers’ allegiances and what they wanted to see, and questioned the motivation and moral taste of the newspaper’s editor. These oppositional readings clearly critiqued the notion of the ideal viewer implied by the images, thereby subverting the implied meaning (Walker & Chaplin, 1997).

Resistant readings recognize, evaluate, and contest the ways in which visual texts offer the reader political, psychological, and social positions from which to make sense of what is imaged. They do this by disrupting the implied storyline and the ideological purpose it may be designed to serve (Wertsch, 2000); by critiquing the rhetorical devices, symbols, exclusions, and modes of address used to fashion and strengthen a way of seeing (Pazienza & Clarke, 1997; Walker & Chaplin, 1997); by refusing to accept identification with the interests

of certain groups or individuals; or by countering the image's assumptions about the portrayed event, place, group, or issue.³ Oppositional readings are engaged as teachers raise such questions as:

1. In what position is the viewer placed towards the subject matter?
 - i. For example: Whose position am I to assume? (e.g., the powerful or powerless? victim or perpetrator?) In what role? (e.g., as participant in the event? voyeur? judge?) With what emotional tone? (e.g., sympathetic? detached observer? neutral referee?)
 - ii. How does the image accomplish this positioning? What design devices or conventions are used?
2. In what ways does this positioning represent authorial power?
 - i. Whose interests are advanced or marginalized?
3. Why should the viewer (not) accept this positioning?
 - i. What other positions are possible?
 - ii. How could this image be changed to support another positioning?

Reflexive readings

Reading images is autobiographically grounded in our expectations, desires, and prior experience. Walker and Chaplin (1997) note that because "people vary according to their gender, race, religion, age, class, nationality, politics, tastes, etc., the same [visual text] will often provoke different reactions" (p. 75). Agency is enhanced as viewers become aware of both the effects that an image has upon them and the ways that their reading affects the text (text as *mirror*). Reflexive readings provide a self-evaluation of how the viewer interprets the image.

When reading, I encounter myself. This explicitly happens when a picture evokes memories, emotions, or questions from personal experience, and to the extent that this evocation is recognized, the text serves as a mirror for turning the gaze back on myself. The classroom provides opportunity for this gaze to become collective as the group shares reactions, discusses similarities, differences, and connections across those reactions, and focuses on what these reactions imply about the group itself. For example, Paziienza and Clarke (1997) observed

that when elementary students read a seventeenth-century Spanish painting by Diego Velazquez, they:

...applied the ideas derived from [the painting] to a greater understanding of their own lives. In conversations they argued about the role of art in seventeenth-century Spain as well as the place of art in today's society. They considered the educational status of their own art instruction in relation to their other school subjects. They worked to articulate their own assumptions about what they value in art and education and why. As they created autobiographical drawings and paintings, the students weighed the dilemma Velazquez faced—his private ambition to be a great artist and his desire for public recognition—against their own personal and social ambitions (p. 279).

Through discussion, connections between image and reader are extended to group reflections, or as the above observers put it, to “the integration of public and private worlds” (1997, p. 280). The movement encouraged by the teacher is from the personal to the collective:

1. What is *my* reaction to this image? (e.g., what emotions, questions, concerns, associations, or memories are evoked?)
 - i. What aspects of the image give rise to this reaction?
 - ii. Why have I reacted in this way? For example, what does this tell me about what I value? About my expectations, prejudices, hopes for the future, or salient past experiences?
2. How are *our* reactions similar and different? What do our reactions tell us about what we collectively value, our social locations, our political commitments, etc.?

There is another important focus for reflexive readings in social studies classrooms. Textbook visuals are representations about other times and places, referring to past events, issues, objects, and personalities. These images are often assumed to be instructionally useful as doors that allow readers to enter into and reconstruct some aspect of the past from the standpoint of that past. The cultural studies field, however, reminds us that the past is always understood and used from the standpoint of the *present*, and thus shifts the emphasis from “the relationship between the present and the past... [to] the idea of cultural memory in the present” (Bal, 1999, p. 13). Because students

interpret images from their present, readings should be “based on a keen awareness of [our] situatedness in the present, the social and cultural present from which we look” (p. 1). We make sense of past events, places, issues, or groups with the help of discursive “cultural tools” in the present—vocabulary and concepts, facts, beliefs, and values—garnered from life experiences, prior classroom discussions, the chapter’s storyline, or pictures encountered elsewhere (Wertsch, 2000). Moreover, as Seixas (2001) reminds us, “Nor can any reading be free from the discursive frames of the reader. As social studies students and teachers examine textual representations of other times, other people, and other cultures, we need to be aware of how far away we are from that which is represented. We need constantly to ask about the circumstances of the textual construction, as well as about our own discursive positions as interpreters” (p. 559).

Further, in social studies we employ historical images in the service of the present. They are used, for instance, to illustrate an assumed progress that led to the present, to show the present as better than the past on which it was built, or to legitimize the rightness of a current action (for example, when images from Pearl Harbor were used in the mass media to help readers frame the Afghan war). Textbooks are also full of heroic figures selected to exemplify and inspire citizenship values for the present. Reflexive readings, therefore, consider and evaluate how the present is mapped onto the past, and how the past is used in the interests of the present. A teacher’s questions can encourage such reflection:

1. How are we using our present to understand a past represented by this image?
 - i. Are we reading current events (or issues, fears, hopes, experiences) back into the past?
 - ii. Why should we be cautious about reading our present into the past? Is there a more appropriate way to read this text?
2. How are we (or the textbook) using the past represented in this image for present purposes?
 - i. For example: Is the past being used to justify some current action or event? To make the present appear to be better than the past? What are some possible reasons why the textbook uses this particular image?
 - ii. Why is this (not) an appropriate use for this image?

3. A Community of Readers Through Discussion

No individual has all the answers, not even the geniuses among us. Collective wisdom and common sense are the best route to solutions. The point isn't just that each individual opinion counts, but that we pool and refine our separate opinions (Salutin, 2001, p. A15).

Visuals lend themselves to many readings, as the previous seven examples illustrate. The goal is to have students less beholden to narrow forms of instrumental reading, by helping them use greater interpretive authority and develop capacity for engaging with various readings. The juxtaposition of multiple readings highlights the limitations of each, gives rise to new meanings, and makes the interpretation of texts a more self-conscious activity. This happens best within the classroom community as discussion pushes participants to consider explicitly how they interpret images.

Discussion turns the classroom into a communal space where new ideas are provoked, minds are changed, and interpretive horizons are expanded. It is the primary instructional means by which individuals clarify, extend, and challenge textual interpretations. Through the synergy of hearing and responding to other readings, participants come to realize that any single reading is partial and limited, that no single meaning exhausts possibilities or brings closure. Meanings are relativized and their grounds made more visible as they bump against one another. Differences point back to the process of reading: Why do we differ? How did we arrive at these readings? Are some readings more appropriate than others?

Discussion also builds and makes available a collective resource that can be drawn upon by individuals and the group. Reading calls for an array of cultural tools that students do not possess equally. It is discouraging to be faced with an image when one does not understand its references to particular events or issues, allusions to other places and people, or uses of symbols, rhetorical devices, or ideological locations. But discussion allows for the pooling of background knowledge, vocabulary, and questions on the principle that "no one of us is as smart as all of us."

The goal of discussion is not to gain agreement on one interpretation so much as to enlarge meanings. "Correctness" of readings is best achieved through respectful and focused dialogue that moves away from a simple right/wrong dichotomy to more contextual criteria such as appropriateness, fairness, insightfulness, and usefulness (e.g., Cherryholmes, 1999). More open authority relationships between reader and image do not imply that viewers

can interpret in any way they wish; this disrespects the text, as I observed when eleven year olds and their teachers toured an anthropology museum. As they moved through the aisles, students raised questions about the meanings of various visual artifacts that caught their attention. In one instance they were arguing about the possible meanings or uses for what appeared to be a netted shawl, when a teacher settled the discussion by stating that it was “a hammock,” with hardly a glance at the object in question. Although students protested and provided further interpretations of their own, they were assured that it was indeed a hammock “just like we all hang in our backyards.” This imposition of interpretive authority resulted in misinterpretation, and a lost opportunity for a productive discussion. Unless a visual is the equivalent of a Rorschach ink blot that truly allows for any response, it needs to be engaged carefully in terms of, for example, its content (what is being said?), form (how is it said?), authorship (by whom?), purpose (to achieve what?), authority (on what grounds?), intended audience (to whom?), context (where, when, and under what conditions?), or other relevant constraints (Punch, 1998). The merits of particular readings can thereby be weighed through ongoing deliberation over evidence rather than fixed *a priori*.

And finally, discussion in good faith embodies procedural values requisite to producing, clarifying, and critiquing multiple readings. Through the process of give and take, one learns productive ways of expressing and accepting challenges and listening respectfully to other views, as well as open-minded consideration of counter-readings, careful use of textual evidence for claims, and self-conscious recognition that the reader is part of the reading. Dialogue cannot proceed without some commitment to such values.

But learning how to discuss readings does require teacher modeling. More open authority relationships are shaped by what educators do with visual texts (i.e., how they demonstrate various relationships in reading, and the interpretive tasks they set for learners). Where appropriate, a teacher can reconfigure interpretive relationships in more thoughtful and engaging ways by raising a question, interjecting a counter-example, or demonstrating aloud some different ways to read. A simple question or set of instructions can reposition viewers to be more interpretively active: for example, “From whose viewpoint are we seeing or reading or hearing? What’s the evidence [for this interpretation], and how reliable is it? So what? Why does it matter?” (Perkins, 1992, p. 169). Such questions reframe the viewing, encouraging students to assume greater responsibility “to actively produce their own meanings rather than accept institutionalized meanings as givens” (Segall, 1997, p. 231). As conceptual tools for comparing images are discussed and used (Werner, 2000), readings become more sophisticated and rigorous. If we want

students to be agents, they need to be taught how to take charge of their readings and be accountable within the classroom community. The extent to which multiple readings are encouraged, though, depends upon a teacher's judgment about their appropriateness for a group of students at a particular time.

All of this presupposes that teachers have some facility with various ways to interpret images. For those who believe they lack this background, where are they to learn to deal with visual texts in pedagogically appropriate ways? Let me suggest three sources. The first is close at hand. After students have read an assigned section of their textbook, teachers can have them focus in small groups on one of its images: What is this image saying? What are some other ways the image could be interpreted? Which readings are more plausible, and for what purposes? More than one interpretation will emerge within and across the small groups, and during the subsequent classroom discussion of what the groups find, the teacher can shift the discussion from what was read (i.e., what is the image about, and what does it mean) to how it was read (i.e., what approaches were taken to the image, and how did these approaches serve different purposes and produce different readings). The second source is also close at hand. I find it useful - and enjoyable - to take an image from the textbook (or from a newspaper, magazine, billboard) and discuss possible readings with colleagues. Even though these discussions are often no more than a few minutes long, they produce interpretive insights that I can work with further. The third source is diverse literature. Unfortunately, articles within the social education literature on teaching imagery tend to take instrumental interpretations for granted, although some authors have begun to explore the broader notion of "reading" visual texts (e.g., Clark, 1997; Paziienza & Clarke, 1997). A helpful starting point is a recent book focused entirely on the uses of images as historical evidence (Burke, 2001), as well as selected literature within the broad area of media education (e.g., Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994; Ellsworth, 1993; Segall, 1997), or English education authors who write about multiple approaches to interpreting written texts (e.g., Appleman, 2000). Eventually, though, a social educator who is serious about visual images may want to explore the multidisciplinary area within cultural studies referred to as "visual culture" for the most relevant literature; earlier writers provide good examples of alternative readings (e.g., Berger, 1972; Kellner, 1991; Walker, 1992). This area continues to be very active (e.g., Bal, 1999; Bryson et al., 1994; Evans & Hall, 1999; Hall, 1997; Mirzoeff, 1998; Walker & Chaplin, 1997; Wells, 2000), and its ideas are making their way into social education (e.g., Segall, 2002; Seixas, 2001; Werner, 2000). Lack of acquaintance with such literature, though, should not

discourage a teacher from discussing with students selected images from the rich material provided by classroom textbooks.

Summary

The ways in which we teach children to read also teach them to make particular assumptions about the relationships between readers, texts, and writers, and the status of particular readings generated from texts (O'Neill, 1993, p. 19).

Textbooks incorporate visuals to illustrate and lighten the word, to sustain student interest in a topic, to convey complementary information in support of the storyline, and to be more aesthetically appealing. For the most part, though, images are subservient to the written text, rarely taken seriously on their own terms. This is a mistake. It is not enough to teach *through* pictorials without also teaching *about* them. Visual culture is a huge part of the social world, and if a purpose of social education is to critically understand and act within the world, then there is justification for teaching visual literacies. A convenient place to start is with the images found in textbooks.

Meanings do not spontaneously arise from images but are achieved through reading. To speak of visual texts, therefore, implies that readers have agency for a variety of interpretations. Some instructional conditions for promoting agency include: (1) recognition that reading entails shared authority between reader and text, (2) provision of rich opportunities to develop capacities for participating in multiple readings (for example, by using the seven illustrative readings outlined in this article), and (3) defining a classroom community by supportive and productive discussion. The educator's role is to encourage the conditions that allow readers to dialogue richly with/about/against images, and to be less dependent upon the textbook's authorization of correct interpretations.

A feature of cultural studies is an insistence upon methodological reflection. Both the text and the process of reading are open to scrutiny. One of the benefits of attending carefully to multiple readings is increased engagement, interest, and thoughtfulness with regard to the subject matter. Instead of taking themselves for granted, students can talk about how and why they read an image in particular ways. The essential nature of this methodological self-consciousness and reflection is in keeping with Seixas' (2001) reminder that: "A major theme in social studies education is to search for depth, for engagement, for understanding, for 'higher-order thinking,' for promoting teaching that goes beyond factual

memorization, recall, and recitation as its dominant orientation" (p. 558). Such thinking applies to the reading of visual texts as well.

Notes

¹ Post-colonial readings focus on how the colonized "other" has been represented within the dominant Western discourses of media, scholarship, and popular culture, and the imperialistic purposes that these images served. Most insightful is Said's (1979) work that examines how some Western scholarship over the past two centuries constructed images that romanticized and demonized Middle Eastern peoples and places, and how this process of "othering" strengthened imperial power and pleasures.

² A text can be read as taking for granted its "field of forces"—and thereby legitimizing and helping to maintain those larger social and economic relationships—or as making explicit (questioning, challenging) those power relations (see Berger, 1972).

³ Relevant to social education are readings that oppose and critique a text's representation of gender, ethnocultural, or social class relations that serve to maintain an unjust status quo: (1) What relations are depicted or implied by this text? (2) What evidence is there that this depiction challenges (e.g., counters, criticizes) or helps to maintain (e.g., ignores, legitimizes, celebrates, takes for granted) the social status quo? (3) Do you think this depiction should be changed? Is so, how? If not, why?

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Constructivism Meets Technology Integration: The CUFA Technology Guidelines in an Elementary Social Studies Methods Course

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Abstract

Schools and colleges of education have been criticized for not adequately preparing preservice teachers to integrate technology in their future classrooms. It has been proposed that a central component in the preparation of preservice teachers is for the instructors of content methods courses to model strategies for integrating technology that enhance learning. Mason et al's (2000) "Guidelines for Using Technology to Prepare Social Studies Teachers" (CUFA Technology Guidelines) were developed specifically for social studies educators and are premised on the belief that one role of social studies educators is to model appropriate uses of technology for preservice teachers. This article presents results of a research study that investigated the characteristics of a social studies methods instructor whose practice was guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. In particular, this article describes how the instructor's constructivist philosophical beliefs influenced her integration of technology as encouraged by the CUFA Technology Guidelines.

Introduction

Schools and colleges of education (SCOEs) have been criticized by a host of organizations for not adequately preparing preservice teachers to integrate technology into their future classrooms (American Council on Education, 1999; CEO Forum of Educational Technology, 1999; International Society for Technology in Education, 1999a; National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, 1997; President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology, 1997; U.S. Congress, 1995). These organizations have proposed that a central component in the preparation of preservice teachers for effective technology integration is faculty modeling. In particular, the instructors

of content methods courses are encouraged by these organizations to model strategies for integrating technology that enhance learning. This faculty modeling, in turn, is expected to help SCOEs meet the overall goal of integrating technology throughout the entire preservice teacher experience.

Within social studies education steps are being taken to help educators better model technology integration in their instruction. Mason et al's (2000) "Guidelines for Using Technology to Prepare Social Studies Teachers" were developed specifically for social studies educators and are premised on the belief that one role of social studies educators is to model appropriate uses of technology for preservice teachers. These guidelines, endorsed by the College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA) of National Council for the Social Studies, are referred to as the CUFA Technology Guidelines throughout the remainder of this article.

This article presents results of a research study that investigated the characteristics of a social studies methods instructor whose practice was guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. In particular, this article describes how the instructor's constructivist philosophical beliefs influenced her integration of technology in a manner consistent with the CUFA Technology Guidelines.

Background

Even without considering the added challenge of technology integration, one encounters many challenges to teaching social studies methods to preservice elementary teachers. Often these teachers have had negative past experiences with social studies, many lack interest in teaching social studies, and in general, they may be unclear about the nature of social studies (Owens, 1997). Years of predominantly negative social studies learning experiences associated with preservice teachers' K-16 schooling have greatly influenced their perceptions about teaching (Mansfield, 1989). The "perceptual filters" (Christensen & Sunal, 1997) that preservice teachers create during this time can have a greater impact on how they judge pedagogy than the principles and methods taught in their education courses. As a result, some preservice teachers tend to resist innovative teaching practices presented in their methods courses and field experiences (Ross, 1987). A few studies have found that social studies methods courses can change preservice teachers' beliefs about social studies and positively affect their future teaching practice (e.g., Barth & Sommersdorf, 1981; Yon & Passe, 1990). In particular, it appears that methods courses that take a constructivist perspective are more likely to influence preservice teachers' perceptions of the teaching act (Henderson & Hawthorne, 1995).

Overall, however, research suggesting that methods courses can affect positive change in preservice teachers' perceptions of social studies are considerably lacking, particularly studies related to technology use. Harrington (1991) provided recommendations for using technology in teacher education courses, stating that these courses ought to teach preservice teachers how to integrate technology within the context of particular content areas. Owens (1999) warns against taking a "laissez-faire" approach, using the specific example of methods instructors encouraging Internet use with preservice teachers. One positive example of a focused attempt to integrate technology is Beisser's (1999) description of a technology-enriched elementary social studies methods course. Activities in the course included collaborative electronic presentations, computer software analysis, searches for Internet web sites related to National Council for the Social Studies Standards (1997), and a culminating multimedia project. Comments from participants at the end of the course indicated that they evaluated themselves as competent in the use of technology in social studies instruction.

Focusing more on the overall environment of education courses, Brunner (1992) discovered that education students benefited from taking a series of classes incorporating the use of technology and collaborative group work. He concluded, "Students in the course agreed that their own students would benefit greatly from having the opportunity to work in this way" (p. 3). In another study analyzing student narratives, Willis (1998) discovered that, through their participation in an integrated (social studies and English) disciplinary model, preservice teachers became active constructivist learners, confident in their ability to integrate technology into their teaching. Important to this process, according to Willis, was the placement of students in an environment that made them responsible for their own learning and the modeling of constructivist uses of technology by the instructor.

Halpin (1999) also discovered that the integration of technology into elementary teaching methods courses increased the probability that preservice teachers would apply their technology skills in the classroom during their first year of teaching, as compared to those who learned these skills in isolation. Halpin concluded:

The data suggest that it was important to integrate the use of computer applications into the preservice methods courses already in existence to give the teachers the opportunity to experience exactly how technology can be an integral part of the daily operations of the classroom (p. 135).

Consequently, teachers in this study also perceived technology as a tool that can be used to teach content, not simply as a generic skill.

Conceptual Frameworks

As technology is increasingly integrated into social studies methods courses, many will benefit from the availability of relevant and theoretically sound guidelines. The following discussion on the conceptual frameworks for this study, the CUFA Technology Guidelines and constructivism, explores this need for providing a theoretically sound set of guidelines for integrating technology into social studies methods courses.

CUFA Technology Guidelines

CUFA is an advocacy organization for social studies education consisting of higher education faculty members, graduate students, and other interested parties. CUFA provides a forum for communication among professional educators and examines social studies from a theoretical and research perspective. The approval of the "Guidelines for Using Technology to Prepare Social Studies Teachers" (Mason et al., 2000) by the CUFA Technology Committee (Berson, personal communication, March 22, 2001) establishes the belief that these guidelines represent "best practices" of integrating technology into social studies teacher education.

The CUFA Technology Guidelines provide a helpful lens through which to analyze the use of technology in a social studies methods course. They specifically address how technology should be used in the teaching of social studies methods to preservice teachers. The CUFA Technology Guidelines contain five principles for the appropriate infusion of technology in social studies teacher preparation programs, which are as follows:

1. **Extend learning beyond what could be done without technology.** Caution should be exercised against using technology for technology's sake. Instead, faculty and preservice teachers are encouraged to use technology when it allows them to "learn in a way they could not without the technology or... at least learn in a more meaningful way" (p. 108). As an example, the use of online digital archives of primary sources is encouraged:

Students can conduct historical research to construct the significance of people and events in history. These materials provide students with the opportunity to access, manipulate, and interpret raw materials of our past. Methods faculty can use archives such as these

to model lessons that engage students in historical inquiry. (p. 108)

2. **Introduce technology in context.** “Preservice teachers must not simply acquire skills that make them proficient at using technology, but also learn how to use technology to make their teaching better than it would be without it” (p. 109).
3. **Include opportunities for students to study relationships among science, technology, and society.** Science and technology’s complex interrelationship with society invites social studies educators to consider the implications of these relationships.
4. **Foster the development of the skills, knowledge, and participation as good citizens in a democratic society.** The goal and the “essence of the social studies” (p. 111) is the education of students for citizenship. Basing this goal on the standards established by the National Council for Social Studies (1997), Mason et al. called “for social studies teachers to realize that preparing students to take on the role of citizenship is an ongoing process” (p. 111). To do this, teachers must highlight how technology can be used to encourage inquiry, perspective taking, and meaning making, and thus facilitate “civic learning, deliberation, and action” (Cogan, Grossman, & Lei, 2000, p. 50). Utilizing emerging technologies is ultimately seen as “a vital first step in preparing teachers to fulfill *the* mission of the social studies” (p. 112).
5. **Contribute to the research and evaluation of social studies and technology.** The influence of technology on educational practice makes it “imperative that researchers investigate how technology influences learning and teaching” (p. 114). Research should evaluate the influence of technology on education and seek to provide “exemplary models for the infusion of technology within social studies methods of instruction” (p. 114).

In a response to the CUFA Technology Guidelines, Crocco (2001) identified a bridge between appropriate uses of technology, as defined by the guidelines, and constructivist approaches to teaching and learning:

I believe the importance of technology lies in its ability to leverage constructivist approaches to the teaching of social studies...The chief value of technology lies, therefore, in providing the leverage so urgently needed for moving social studies instruction away from passive, teacher-dominated approaches emphasizing recall and regurgitation toward active,

student-centered forms of learning demanding critical and conceptual thinking from all students at all levels (p. 387).

As Crocco suggested an important link between the CUFA Technology Guidelines and constructivism, Doolittle (2001) extended this idea by calling for stronger theoretical support for technology/constructivist linkages. In particular, he argued against taking a “pragmatic stance of offering what seems to work today” and suggested that social studies researchers “take an informed stance that provides the necessary foundation to create pedagogy that is molded to specific contexts, contents, and constituents” (p. 513). He recommended constructivist concepts from the field of cognitive psychology as potential pillars for the guidelines.

Constructivism

Doolittle’s call for a theoretical base to the CUFA Technology Guidelines seems highly appropriate when one considers the confusion created by the ubiquity of the term “constructivism” in the literature. Constructivism can represent an epistemological view, a learning theory, a philosophy of teaching and learning, a general pedagogical approach, or some combination of these meanings. Unfortunately, these multiple meanings may cause the term to be misinterpreted. For this reason, the present study deliberately defines constructivism as it pertains to technology integration within the subject of social studies.

Radical and Social Constructivism

The fundamental difference between radical and social constructivism focuses on the nature of knowledge and how knowledge is constructed. Radical constructivists insist that external reality cannot be known; only the personal construction of reality exists within the individual mind (von Glasersfeld, 1984, 1995). Radical constructivism derives from philosophical solipsism, the view that only the individual human mind exists substantially, meaning that “all else is construction” (McCarty & Schwandt, 2000, p. 48). Self and others are not distinguished as separate, as others are constructions of the individual mind, thus making socially shared meanings an ontological impossibility. Instead, von Glasersfeld contended that shared meanings are “taken as shared,” and as a result, “the teacher proceeds *as if* there were a world about which meanings were shared” (Howe & Berv, 2000, p. 33). Viability replaces truth, and consequently, students need only construct viable solutions to problems rather than true solutions.

Rather than focusing on the individual as the constructor of knowledge, social constructivists claim that our observations of real-

world phenomena are in fact social products (Gergen, 1995). Gergen described the social constructivist's classroom as being merely a "temporary location in dialogic space" (in McCarty and Schwandt, 2000, p. 58). Social constructivists reject any pedagogical approach that locates authority in any person, particularly the teacher. Neither the student nor the teacher "owns" knowledge or judgments, but instead participates in them. Pedagogy revolves around conversations and the acquisition of rhetorical skills that allow students to take persuasive positions.

Radical constructivism and social constructivism cannot be simultaneously accepted as viable explanations of knowledge and pedagogy. Both are similar in their rejection of objectivism as an approach to education, both oppose educational goals aimed at the accumulation of knowledge, and both favor active learning that fosters the intrinsic motivation to make sense of what one is learning in the context of a real-world situation or problem. Both strands of constructivism reject the application of predetermined curricula and advocate a minimal role for direct instruction. There are, however, highly divergent pedagogical views between the two camps. Radical constructivists favor curricula focused on problem solving through an adaptive process of resolving perturbations and restoring equilibrium. The role of the teacher, in this view, is to understand each student's mental constructions and to create appropriate experiential, problem-solving environments. Social constructivists, by contrast, advocate education focused on dialogue in which meaning is constructed in an ongoing social practice. The teacher's role is to be a facilitator or coach, preparing students to become authorities on various topics and to be capable of socially defending their position.

Bredo (2000) suggested that this "either/or" thinking housed within the constructivist debate creates four possible polarized versions of constructivism, each of which is in some way either inconsistent or implausible when accepted independently:

These are not either/or choices. To be human is to be part of nature, not other than nature ... One is not human or natural, individual or social, mental or material. Each of us is a social being, but our unique ways of being social contribute to and alter, however slightly, the character of the social life of which we are a part (p. 140).

Holistic Constructivism

The dichotomy presented by Bredo is problematic for educators who believe meanings are constructed both individually and socially. With regard to pedagogy, some are attempting

pragmatically to bridge these differences. Doolittle, Hicks, and Lee (2002), for example, suggested that social studies students learn best when teachers employ a constructivist pedagogy that has students “socially interacting within an authentic situation that is relevant to their prior knowledge and goals, and that fosters autonomous and self-directed functioning” (p. 10). A need to embrace components of both radical and social constructivism emerges in Doolittle, Hicks, and Lee’s constructivist pedagogy, and to the authors’ credit, they set their pedagogical views against a backdrop of thorough discussions of the competing strands of cognitive, radical, and social constructivist theory. However, it is left to their readers to determine how to pick and choose from these theories when developing sound, practical pedagogy.

The approach to constructivism presented by Howe and Berv (2000) provides additional insight and is consistent with the approach taken by Doolittle, Hicks, and Lee. Unfortunately, Howe and Berv label their version of constructivism “thoroughgoing,” a confusing term that does not capture the essence of their construct. Following from the Piagetian concept that “disequilibrium facilitates learning” (Fosnot, 1996, p. 29), their holistic version of constructivism advocates that meanings are constructed both individually and socially. Educators who practice this dichotomous belief must do so carefully; otherwise, social dialogue and individual meaning-making may “spin their wheels.” Howe and Berv (2000) explain:

The constructivist educator must actively promote a fallible view of knowledge... This activity must occur against a background of shared meanings, only a few of which can be up for grabs at a given time. Otherwise, dialogue and the construction of knowledge spin their wheels, unable to get any traction (p. 36).

Howe and Berv further propose the inclusion of elements of John Dewey’s (1916) holistic approach to curriculum and instruction, in which all subjects are combined and included under the overarching goal of promoting an authentic democratic community. The result is a constructivist pedagogy centered in students’ interests and values, spanning the curriculum, and “fostering the moral and intellectual dispositions required of democratic citizenship... needed to be in control of one’s life and to engage in fruitful and respectful dialogue with other members of the community” (Howe & Berv, 2000, p. 37). This Deweyan approach to constructivism is particularly relevant to the social studies. Citizenship education has been described as the “mission” of the social studies (Thiesen, 1999), and it permeates all ten themes of the National Council for Social Studies Standards (1997).

Moreover, the fourth principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines calls for technology to be used in ways that foster the development of good citizens in a democratic society. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that scholarship in the social studies and social studies technology integration is in need of a constructivist philosophy along Deweyan lines—that is, a philosophy that supports effective democratic citizenship.

Finally, it is often assumed that non-traditional, indirect, or non-transmission teaching methods are inherently constructivist (Becker, 2000; Willis, 1997). Others suggest that a variety of teaching methods, including traditional direct methods, can be used in constructivist ways (Bredo, 2000; Howe & Berv, 2000, McCarty & Schwandt, 2000). Wilson (1997) rejected the proposition that a particular method is inherently constructivist or objectivist; instructional strategies depend instead upon a teacher's underlying philosophy, which can lean toward objectivism or constructivism. A particular teaching and learning method can consequently be labeled "constructivist" only if it meets the philosophical constructivist goals of the teacher. This study assumes that under a holistic view of constructivism, both traditional and non-traditional methods can be included under the constructivist umbrella.

Description of Study and Research Methodology

Because this study sought to examine the complexities of an instructor's beliefs and practices concerning the use of technology in a teaching methods course, a qualitative case study methodology seemed appropriate. According to Bolster (1983), the majority of educational research derives from a theoretical and experimental perspective that is incompatible with the way teachers think about their work. He further contended that such research ignores the social context of the classroom, including the perspective of the teacher. Since "people must be considered as both the creators and the products of the social situations in which they live" (p. 303), research on teaching must be conducted within the classroom with careful consideration of the fact that teaching and learning are social processes that influence each other.

Setting

I selected an elementary social studies teaching methods course at a highly ranked college of education (referred to as the "Education School" for the duration of this article) as the location for this case study, primarily because of the Education School's reputation for integrating technology into its teaching methods courses. The Education School is part of a large public university located in the

mid-Atlantic region of the United States. The Education School's teacher education program includes roughly 400 students.

Approximately 80% of the students admitted to the teacher education program begin the program at the beginning of their third year at the university. These students participate in the School's five-year program, in which they earn a bachelor's degree in the School of Arts and Sciences and a Master's in Teaching degree from the Education School. These students are typically referred to as BAMTs—Bachelor of Arts/Masters in Teaching candidates. The other 20% of students are admitted to the program as PGMTs—Post-Graduate Masters in Teaching candidates. These students have earned their bachelor's degrees, often from other colleges or universities, and then spend two years earning their Master's in Teaching degree.

The course selected for this case study, *Elementary Social Studies Methods*, was a one-semester course offered during the fall 2000 semester. Students enrolled in the course were either in their fourth year of the BAMT program or in their first year of the PGMT program. The course met two times per week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 12:00 – 1:30 p.m. The classroom used for this course was recently renovated and included a 60-inch electronic softboard (laser chalkboard) and video conferencing system, as well as a separate projection screen for computer applications and video presentations. Three class meetings were held at a local elementary school, where the preservice teachers taught lessons that they developed.

Participants

At the time of this study, the instructor (hereafter referred to as "Dr. Phipps") was an assistant professor of social studies education at the Education School. Dr. Phipps has made significant efforts to integrate and model the use of technology in her teaching, increasing the use of technology in her instruction each of the three years she has been a university professor. She included videoconferencing and a web-based case study in her methods course for three consecutive years. The unique background and experiences of Dr. Phipps have made her an excellent subject for a study seeking to identify the characteristics of an instructor who effectively models technology integration in her teaching methods courses, particularly because her technology integration is guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. Twenty-three students were enrolled in this course. They included 22 females and one male; 21 Caucasians and two African-Americans. Eighteen were in their fourth year at the university, and five were in the first year of the Master's in Teaching program. All students were between the ages of 20 and 25.

Data Collection Methods

To compensate for the fallibility of any one research method, Erickson (1986) called for the use of multiple methods of data collection, or triangulation. He reasoned that if multiple sources of data led the researcher to the same conclusions, the validity of these conclusions would be strengthened. For this reason, two methods of data collection were used for this study: observations and interviews.

The primary method of data collection for this study was classroom observation. Approximately 45 classroom contact hours occur each semester for this course. I attended all 28 classroom sessions, and I audiotaped and/or videotaped all but the class meetings at a local elementary school. I wrote up field notes recorded from my observations into a laptop computer on a weekly basis, with my comments and inferences added. I interviewed Dr. Phipps three times, once at the beginning of the semester, a second time near the end of the semester, and a third time approximately one month after the completion of the course. Electronic mail correspondence between Dr. Phipps and me was also used as data in this study.

Data Analysis

I used Erickson's (1986) method of analytic induction to analyze data. In analytic induction, the researcher develops empirical assertions, which are generated during the course of fieldwork by "searching the data corpus – reviewing the full set of field notes, interview notes or audiotapes, site documents, and audiovisual recordings" (p. 146). The researcher must then establish an evidentiary warrant for these assertions by reviewing the data repeatedly to test for validity of the assertions by seeking disconfirming and confirming evidence. In developing assertions and searching the entire data corpus to confirm or disconfirm these assertions, the researcher is able to verify assertions, reframe assertions, or eliminate assertions that have been disproved. I present my assertions in the Results section.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study originated from the conceptual frameworks of the CUFA Technology Guidelines and constructivism. I will discuss results stemming from the following three research questions:

1. What are the beliefs of an elementary social studies methods instructor concerning social studies learning and technology integration?
2. How does the instructor integrate technology into her teaching?

3. How does the instructor use the CUFA Technology Guidelines to guide her integration of technology into her teaching?

I will frame the results in terms of three assertions, which follow in the next section.

Results

This research study reports the characteristics of a social studies methods instructor whose practice was guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. In particular, this article describes how the instructor's constructivist philosophical beliefs influenced her integration of technology in a manner consistent with the CUFA Technology Guidelines. Using analytic induction as a data analysis tool, I developed three assertions over the course of this study (see Table 1).

Table 1
Assertions

Assertion 1: *The instructor is a constructivist in both philosophy and practice.*

Assertion 2: *The instructor has reciprocal beliefs regarding her teaching philosophy and technology integration.*

a. Adhering to a constructivist teaching philosophy allows a teacher to integrate technology more effectively.

b. Integrating technology effectively can make a teacher's teaching philosophy more constructivist.

Assertion 3: *When she teaches, the instructor employs a wide variety of instructional activities, anchored in social studies content, using a variety of technologies in seamless ways to enhance these activities.*

Assertion 1: *The instructor is a constructivist in both philosophy and practice*

As I previously discussed, a holistic version of constructivism that strikes a balance between competing strands of constructivism is a conceptual framework for this study. It describes the teaching philosophy of Dr. Phipps and perhaps many other social studies educators. Specifically, this version of constructivism sees meanings as individual constructions that are heavily influenced by social interactions. The goal of pedagogy under this constructivist theme is

the fostering of effective democratic citizens, using both constructivist and non-constructivist teaching methods to achieve this goal.

Dr. Phipps did not hesitate to call herself a constructivist, yet she intentionally defined constructivism simply as “students creating their own meaning” (Dr. Phipps, first interview, 12/19/00). Although absent from this simple definition is any assertion about whether students create meaning individually or whether meaning is purely a by-product of social interaction, it was evident from observations of her teaching, as well as from comments she made during interviews, that her beliefs and practice were consistent with a holistic view of constructivism. When asked to expand on how students create their own meaning, Dr. Phipps revealed a belief in the balance between individual and social meaning making:

I think it is individual—part of what we construct is based on our own prior experiences and prior knowledge... But I think that when we come together in a classroom to learn that we are influenced by one another, so that part is social.

(Dr. Phipps, second interview, 1/24/01)

A holistic view of constructivism, consistent with the fourth principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines, is rooted in the overall Deweyan goal of “fostering the moral and intellectual dispositions required of democratic citizenship” (Howe & Berv, 2000, p. 37). Dr. Phipps described the goal of developing effective democratic citizens as closely tied to what she did in class and as a core component of social studies (Dr. Phipps, second interview, 1/24/01). She believed that “it is very important for preservice teachers to be effective citizens and [I hope] they have a heightened awareness about it” (Dr. Phipps, first interview, 12/19/00).

Having a constructivist teaching philosophy in no way guarantees that an individual’s teaching practice is also constructivist (Becker & Ravitz, 1999); however, Dr. Phipps’s teaching practice was consistent with her constructivist philosophy. This was partially evidenced by her modeling of teaching methods aimed at making social studies, as she called it, “fun and exciting,” followed by open-ended class discussions that enabled her students to construct contextual meanings of how their experiences in the course could affect their future teaching practice. I observed 39 instructional activities modeled by Dr. Phipps over the course of the semester, and I concluded that all of these activities had a constructivist social studies learning goal, such as having students engage in historical inquiry using digital primary source documents (see Appendix A). Many would reasonably conclude that Dr. Phipps was a constructivist in her practice solely by

the fact that 22 of these activities employed open-ended, “indirect methods” (Flanders, 1970), such as student-centered discussions. The remaining 17 employed a mixture of direct and indirect methods. None of the methods modeled in these 39 activities had a traditional/behaviorist learning goal, such as the memorization of transmitted facts. Although I classified the 39 activities as “constructivist” because of their underlying learning goal, ultimately it matters little whether these activities were open-ended, student-centered, or teacher-centered, as long as a constructivist goal was the aim. The first and fourth principles of the CUFA Technology Guidelines often served as such goals.

I determined that the first principle—to “extend learning beyond what could be done without technology”—was the underlying constructivist goal in 9 of the 39 activities modeled by Dr. Phipps. Such activities required preservice teachers to engage in historical inquiry using primary source materials. For example, Dr. Phipps’ use of the “Thomas Garber” digital history lesson (Mason & Carter, 1999), described later in Vignette 1, required the class to research various online primary resources in order to develop an understanding of a Civil War era family’s life and experiences during the war. Such an activity—one that “introduces technology in context,” and encouraged by the second principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines—can potentially be more interesting to students as they compare their personal experiences to those of figures from the past. Methods requiring students to interpret primary source materials and then make comparisons to their own lives enable them to create their own meanings of what they have learned, which is consistent with Dr. Phipps’ definition of constructivism.

Aligned with the fourth principle of the guidelines—to “foster the development of the skills, knowledge, and participation as good citizens in a democratic society”—and consistent with Dr. Phipps’ constructivist philosophy were her efforts to model activities around the Deweyan goal of developing effective democratic citizens. I concluded that eight of the 39 activities modeled by Dr. Phipps were aimed at encouraging students to be active, contributing members of their community, for example, through voting or being cognizant of local and world events. Of the different ways Dr. Phipps cultivated the Deweyan “effective democratic citizenship” goal, an important first step was a two-week current events assignment in which students were required to read a newspaper each day and write reflective journal entries about what they had read. To complete the current events assignment, Dr. Phipps modeled a Graffiti activity (see Appendix A), in which students rotated in groups of five or six, writing short responses with a marker on a poster board to questions such as, “How did reading the daily newspaper impact your role as an

American citizen this past week?" This activity was followed by a class discussion on how current events can be used in the social studies classroom and how Graffiti can facilitate this content.

As further evidence that Dr. Phipps adhered to a holistic constructivist philosophy, I noted that she used the palette of instructional approaches said to be available to a constructivist teacher (McCarty & Schwandt, 2000; Wilson, 1997). She did intersperse more traditional teaching strategies, such as lecture and assigned readings, into her teaching, citing the importance of giving students factual information on which to anchor their understandings, and she considered direct teaching methods as fitting under the constructivist umbrella. Her primary instructional goal, nonetheless, was for students to create their own meaning, rather than to memorize factual information:

It's what follows up behind [lecture]. I can say I am a constructivist and stand up there and talk for 30 minutes on the Statue of Liberty, but what do I do after that? Do I give them notes on immigration or do I give them photographs and letters from Ellis Island and have them recreate what it was like?

(Dr. Phipps, first interview, 12/19/00)

In my view, even without technology, Dr. Phipps would have still modeled instructional activities in context that promoted the development of effective democratic citizens. Yet, the CUFA Technology Guidelines recommend that the social studies methods instructor leverage technology to enhance such activities, and it seems clear that starting with a constructivist philosophy made Dr. Phipps' transition to integrating technology into her teaching practice relatively easy. However, for preservice teachers who are still making decisions about their teaching philosophy, the experience can be quite different. This distinction caused Dr. Phipps to consider the fact that other paths to becoming an effective technology-using teacher are possible.

Assertion 2: The instructor has reciprocal beliefs regarding her teaching philosophy and technology integration:

- a. Adhering to a constructivist teaching philosophy allows a teacher to integrate technology more effectively.***
- b. Integrating technology effectively can make a teacher's teaching philosophy more constructivist.***

Dr. Phipps was a constructivist in both philosophy and practice before she began using technology in her teaching (Dr. Phipps, first interview, 12/19/00). Consistent as they were with her prior

constructivist beliefs, the CUFA Technology Guidelines helped her to integrate technology effectively into her teaching. She stated that although her philosophy guided her use of technology in the methods course, she also believed that “technology helps us to recreate or create for ourselves meaning out of social studies content” (Dr. Phipps, first interview, 12/19/00). This latter belief allowed her to view technology integration as it was likely seen through the eyes of her preservice teachers.

Dr. Phipps realized that a great deal of her own personal growth as a teacher preceded the integration of technology into her teaching, but that her preservice teachers’ growth with respect to their teaching philosophy and technology integration likely was occurring simultaneously. Although Dr. Phipps described her teaching methods prior to her use of technology as innovative and aimed at helping students to create their own meaning, the integration of technology into her teaching further enabled her to teach in new and different ways. This led her to believe that effective uses of technology can help preservice teachers to adopt a more constructivist teaching philosophy, which can, in turn, be reflected in their teaching practice. She believed, as does Crocco (2001), that such leveraging of technology, particularly as encouraged by the CUFA Technology Guidelines, moves preservice teachers away from passive, teacher-centered forms of learning, to the student-centered, inquiry-oriented forms encouraged by the Guidelines.

As a K-12 teacher, Dr. Phipps facilitated student-centered, inquiry-oriented learning through the use of, for example, children’s literature, analysis of primary source documents, and role-playing. Although she did not use technology as a K-12 teacher, she later used it often when doing these same activities in her methods courses. Her previous beliefs regarding constructivist learning allowed her to move easily toward integrating technology into her college teaching in ways that enhanced these activities. For example, although she used primary sources as a high school social studies teacher, their availability was usually limited to the few materials included with the textbook or to those she had personally acquired. In her college methods course, on the other hand, Dr. Phipps made primary sources a centerpiece of her teaching, taking advantage of the fact that the World Wide Web has provided thousands of materials previously unavailable to the general public. Web sites such as the Library of Congress’ *American Memories* (<http://memory.loc.gov>) and the University of Virginia’s *Valley of the Shadow* (<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2>) were frequently visited by students during the course, with activities ranging from simple photograph analysis to complex historical interpretations using letters, diaries, and military and census records. This major unit of Dr. Phipps’s methods instruction was labeled “digital history,” a

term she used to describe Internet-based primary source archives and a strategy encouraged in the first two principles of the CUFA Technology Guidelines. Dr. Phipps required her preservice teachers to produce an interactive lesson using resources from one or more of these archives, in which students were to construct their own historical interpretations using primary source documents. This activity clearly demonstrated Dr. Phipps' definition of constructivism and her view that teaching is an act of facilitating the construction of student meanings.

Assertions 1 and 2 speak to the role that Dr. Phipps' constructivist philosophy played in her use of technology, particularly the relationship between these beliefs and her implementation of the CUFA Technology Guidelines. These assertions also hint at what technology integration looked like in Dr. Phipps' course, namely, activities that required students to create meaning out of their course experiences. However, because Dr. Phipps was an instructor of methods courses rather than content courses, the modeling of instructional activities was the focus of her course. These activities demonstrated effective ways of teaching and learning social studies, and they incorporated technology only when they could be enhanced by doing so.

Assertion 3: When she teaches, the instructor employs a wide variety of instructional activities, anchored in social studies content, using a variety of technologies in seamless ways to enhance these activities.

The CUFA Technology Guidelines clearly define what the underlying goals of technology integration in social studies methods courses should be, but they provide few specifics on how technology should be used. Accordingly, it is important for social studies educators to initiate the sharing of successful strategies that produce the results sought by the CUFA Technology Guidelines. In her methods course, Dr. Phipps modeled instructional activities anchored in social studies content, as encouraged in the second principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines. With social studies content as the anchor, Dr. Phipps was able to apply technology in ways that enhanced social studies learning, thereby limiting the focus on the technology itself. She spoke of how the CUFA Guidelines helped in this regard:

They challenged me to avoid doing technology for technology's sake...They kept me from putting technology on the syllabus anywhere except for the days we were talking about the social/cultural impacts of technology [third principle of CUFA Technology Guidelines].

(Dr. Phipps, e-mail correspondence, 5/23/02)

Appendix A provides a brief description of the 39 activities that I identified as having been modeled by Dr. Phipps during the course of this study, including the ways technology was used with each activity and which principles of the CUFA Technology Guidelines were addressed during each activity. Twenty-six of the 39 activities included some use of technology. While the specific use of technology varied with each activity, there were similarities among many of these uses.

A thorough description of a representative technology-enhanced activity illustrates how Dr. Phipps applied the CUFA Technology Guidelines in her course. The following vignette describes one such activity. In most of her classes, she presented a method of teaching elementary social studies through an activity similar to one that would be used in an elementary classroom, with a class discussion following the activity. In this vignette, the class engaged in historical inquiry using primary sources from the *Valley of the Shadow* online archive.

Vignette 1: Digital History Lesson

Dr. Phipps asks, "What if a history student in the year 2100 wanted to know what life was like for a preservice teacher in the year 2000? How would they find out?"

Several students respond with ideas such as "reading my class notes," "looking at my candy wrappers and soda cans," and "reading my lesson plans."

Dr. Phipps jumps in, "Those are good things. They'd probably look for evidence that you left behind, such as some of the items you mentioned. They'd especially like to read journals and letters—e-mail as well—that you wrote. These are the types of things historians use all the time when they're interpreting history. And what types of resources are these?"

The class responds, "Primary."

"Exactly. We've talked about primary sources a lot. I'm going to walk you through a lesson that uses primary sources that I think is appropriate to do with elementary students."

She starts by reading a letter written by Thomas Garber to his sister, Addie [Martha A.] Garber (<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/civwarlett-browse?id=A0805>). When she finishes she asks, "What do we know about Thomas?" Dr. Phipps writes on the chalkboard the class's responses: "He was a soldier in the Confederate army," "he moves around a lot," "he has a big family," "he carries the colors for his regiment," and "he needs new spurs."

"At this point I would be identifying and defining any new words my elementary students might be encountering from this letter. What else do you want to know about Thomas?" Dr. Phipps writes these responses on the board as well: "What he does," "his age," "relatives," "where he is from," and "what battles he's been in."

Satisfied with the responses, Dr. Phipps says, "Let's see what Thomas' life was about. A great resource for answering some of these questions and others is the population census. In addition to recording people's names, the census also records their age, occupation, place of birth, and other information."

As a group the class searches the Augusta County 1860 census records (<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2/govdoc/census.html>), entering "Garber" in the last name search field and "Thomas" in the first name search field. After clicking on the "Initiate Search" button, they quickly find out that in 1860 Thomas Garber was 14 years old, he did not own any property, he was white, and he was born in Virginia.

"How old was Thomas, then, when he wrote the letter to his sister?" asks Dr. Phipps. Several students respond, "16 or 17."

"That's so young to be fighting in a war," says Jana, with most of the class clearly agreeing.

"That was pretty normal," says Evelyn, "Some were even younger than that. I've heard they even lied about their age to be able to fight."

Taking advantage of the conversation, Dr. Phipps jumps in, "It sounds like you think some good follow up questions for students might include asking them to imagine what it would feel like to be away from home fighting in a war at this age, or asking them to hypothesize why someone of this age would be fighting in the war."

After the class tosses around a few more ideas about what types of questions students might ask, they conduct more searches on the Garber family to find out that there were eight family members in all, that Thomas had two older brothers, one older sister, and two younger sisters, and that his father was a farmer who owned land. Dr. Phipps continues, "We could do searches on each one of Thomas' family members and perhaps fill out a census grid about each one. That would tell us a great deal about this particular family. Unfortunately, we're almost out of time. The important question is WHY would you want to do a lesson like this with your students?"

Holly volunteers, "It is definitely a lot more interesting than reading a textbook or listening to a boring old lecture about the Civil War."

"Why?" asks Dr. Phipps.

Gina answers, "I think it helps us to learn about what it was like being a family during the Civil War. It's easy to forget that every soldier had a family and that they wrote letters back to their moms and dads and sisters."

"And we have families too," says Dr. Phipps. "You could have your students describe how the Garber family is alike or different from their own family in order to help them connect personally with people and events from the past. It's one thing to study the major events of the Civil War, and it's entirely another thing to put yourself in the shoes of normal everyday people who lived back then."

As this vignette exemplifies, Dr. Phipps did not present information on how to use technology during most of the activities she modeled for her preservice teachers. In the “digital history” lesson, Dr. Phipps’ goal was to model an activity in which the focus was historical inquiry, with students using an online primary source archive. Mason and Carter (1999) aptly described this goal:

Discovering and analyzing primary sources such as those included in the digital history archives allows students to interact with and interpret historical data, rather than just memorize lists of historical facts. Students are, in fact, engaging in authentic historical research (p. 11).

“Digital history” lessons, such as the Garber family lesson, “take advantage of technology to allow students to learn social studies in ways that were impossible before the Internet” (p. 14). With some difficulty, primary sources were indeed used in K-12 classrooms prior to their availability on the Internet; however, the Internet now allows teachers to use primary sources more easily and frequently. More importantly, powerful database search tools, such as those provided in the *Valley of the Shadow* archive, enhance teachers’ and students’ ability to interact with and interpret these sources in order to make meaning of them.

The activity described in Vignette 1 features a technology-enhanced method of teaching social studies consistent with the CUFA Technology Guidelines. This specific use of technology seemed to come naturally to Dr. Phipps, in that she used constructivist activities similar to the Thomas Garber lesson as a classroom teacher even before the availability of such resources on the Internet. Dr. Phipps’ constructivist beliefs about teaching and learning eventually allowed her to effectively integrate technology into her college teaching.

Discussion

Constructivism and technology integration can be complementary. For example, Milman and Heinecke (2000) found that when effective technology integration occurred in an undergraduate history course, constructivism and technology use were interdependent. In fact, Milman and Heinecke asserted that technology helped to shift the course’s focus from the instructor to the students, and further, that technology’s role in allowing students to access and create online primary source archives promoted the social construction of knowledge. However, these results would have been impossible if not for the initial constructivist goals held by the course instructors.

In the present study, this intermingling of constructivism and technology integration was evident as well. Specifically, Dr. Phipps' modeling of teaching methods that supported her constructivist philosophy enabled her also to effectively model technology integration for her preservice teachers and to focus the course on students' constructions of knowledge.

A common goal of many social studies methods educators is to provide opportunities for preservice teachers to experience constructivist approaches to teaching and learning social studies (Christensen & Sunal, 1997; Willis, 1998). Simultaneously, many of these educators search for ways to integrate technology into their methods courses. Fortunately, these do not have to be mutually exclusive goals. The present study supports Crocco's (2001) assertion that the importance of technology lies in its ability to leverage constructivist approaches to the teaching of social studies. The CUFA Technology Guidelines provide social studies educators with a foundation from which they are able to leverage technology in such a way.

For Dr. Phipps, the key to technology use was her modeling of a wide variety of instructional activities, anchored in social studies content, using a variety of technologies in seamless ways to enhance these activities. Twenty-six of the 39 activities modeled by the instructor included some use of technology. This suggests that the modeling of activities both enhanced and not enhanced by technology are equally important. In choosing when and when not to use technology with a given lesson, a teacher must decide whether or not technology will, in fact, enhance any of the activities in the lesson. Dr. Phipps integrated technology into her teaching when she believed it would allow her and her students to "learn in a way they could not without the technology or...at least learn in a more meaningful way" (Mason et al., 2000, p. 108). This decision process stems from the first of the five principles of the CUFA Technology Guidelines—to "extend learning beyond what could be done without technology"—and ensures that technology is not treated as a mere add-on to the curriculum.

The instructor's technique of enhancing teaching methods anchored in social studies content also reflected the second principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines—"to introduce technology in context." Also ensuring that technology is not treated as an add-on, the anchoring of methods in social studies content showed that Dr. Phipps was a social studies educator first and a technology integrator second. This observation is consistent with Adamy's (1999) findings on math teacher educators who also considered themselves math educators first and technology users second. Clearly, the issue of defining oneself primarily as a content-area educator and looking for ways to fit technology into the content is key. Moreover, for those

teacher educators who are always searching for ways to improve their teaching methods, looking to technology as a way to enhance methods should come naturally. Dr. Phipps had the desire to improve her teaching, which caused her to seek ways to integrate technology into her teaching. The CUFA Technology Guidelines provided a focus for doing so.

The third CUFA principle—“to include opportunities for students to study relationships among science, technology, and society”—played out differently in Dr. Phipps’ course than the other four guidelines. From Dr. Phipps’s perspective, the philosophy espoused in this principle required experimentation and discussion of cutting edge technologies. In meeting the goal of preparing preservice teachers for the classroom of the future, she experimented with the use of videoconferencing and required preservice teachers to read and discuss articles related to technology’s impact on society and education. Technology integration in this case was not transparent, in that the application of technology and its implications for society and education were the focus, rather than methods and activities anchored in social studies content. Still, this principle played an important role in Dr. Phipps’ methods course, because it reflected her belief that methods of teaching will likely be affected by future technologies.

Dr. Phipps’ made the fourth principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines—“fostering the development of the skills, knowledge, and participation as good citizens in a democratic society”—an overriding theme of her course. For technology integration to corroborate this principle, it must first meet the requirements of CUFA principles one and two, thereby enhancing an approach already aimed at developing effective democratic citizens. This principle is perhaps most important in providing a constructivist basis for the guidelines. The holistic approach to constructivism (Howe & Berv, 2000) presented in this article calls for the use of a constructivist pedagogy aimed at developing effective democratic citizens—a goal that also permeates the NCSS Standards (1997). The CUFA Technology Guidelines suggest that utilizing emerging technologies is “a vital first step in preparing teachers to fulfill *the* mission of the social studies” (Mason et al., 2000, p. 112).

The fifth principle of the CUFA Technology Guidelines—to “contribute to the research and evaluation of social studies and technology”—is not necessarily relevant if the sole purpose for a social studies educator is to produce effective social studies teachers. Nonetheless, given the rapid changes in technology and research related to technology integration, teacher educators, at the very least, must be critical readers of current research.

Conclusion

The CUFA Technology Guidelines clarify how theoretically sound constructivist principles can play a practical role in social studies education, particularly with regard to technology integration. Hopefully we will eventually see more K-12 teachers completing social studies methods courses that leverage technology in the ways outlined by these guidelines. Still, it is important to view the CUFA Technology Guidelines not as a set of rules that social studies educators must follow, but instead as a first step by social studies educators towards creating a "road map" for the integration of technology into social studies methods courses. We should expect these guidelines to grow and evolve over time, especially as researchers and teachers communicate the results of implementing the guidelines into their teaching.

Creating an environment in SCOEs in which technology integration is encouraged and expected is likely an important precursor to any individual instructor's success at integrating technology. Unfortunately, this environment is not present at many colleges and universities (U. S. Congress, 1995; Willis & Mehlinger, 1996). How then are the technology integration goals of these individuals and their respective institutions to be achieved when the needed resources are not provided and may not be for some time? Definitive answers to this question are hard to find. Perhaps guidelines acceptable to content experts, such as the CUFA Technology Guidelines, can help to address the possible perception of SCOEs that they must "start from scratch" in providing a proper technology integration vision. At the "micro" level, the CUFA Technology Guidelines and other content-specific guidelines can help individual teacher educators initiate the steps needed to infuse technology into their courses. At the "macro" level, the NCATE Standards (2000) also offer assistance on how technology should be infused in teacher education programs; these standards tend to be more process-oriented and can therefore play an important role in providing long-range vision. The ISTE National Educational Technology Standards (1999b) also can be helpful to policymakers from a visionary standpoint.

Given the lack of research on technology integration in teacher education, including "success stories" of preservice teachers' use of technology, more documentation of innovative efforts in this area would be an excellent contribution to the literature. Moreover, one isolated study on a particular social studies methods instructor whose practice was guided by the CUFA Technology Guidelines does not fully legitimize the guidelines for all social studies educators. Certainly, additional research with different instructors at different universities is needed. It may be that the CUFA Technology Guidelines are best

suiting to instructors with beliefs similar to the holistic constructivist beliefs of the instructor in this study. Additional data points are needed to make this determination. Further, the point made in Assertion 2—that preservice teachers are simultaneously making decisions regarding their teaching philosophy and technology integration—deserves further consideration. This is particularly interesting, considering that most methods instructors who consider themselves constructivists came to this decision prior to their attempts at integrating technology into their teaching. Also, because technology integration holds different meanings for different content areas, similar studies in each of the content areas that consider other content-specific technology guidelines would contribute to the literature. In any event, how the different experiences of preservice teachers and methods instructors play out in social studies methods courses will likely produce a myriad of interesting stories, which when collectively considered, will help social studies educators provide richer technology and constructivist experiences for preservice teachers.

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**Appendix A:
Instructional Activities Modeled by Instructor**

Activity	Direct or Indirect Method(s)	Short Description of Activity	Technology Used	Principle of CDEA Technology Guidelines Met
Artifact Identification	Indirect - Discussion, higher-order questioning	By prompting students with several questions instructor assists students in identifying artifact	None	N/A
Teaching Methods Brainstorming	Indirect - Cooperative learning, discussion	Students (in pairs) brainstorm ways to make learning social studies "fun, creative and meaningful" using one-word ideas, such as "postcard," "newspaper," "museum," "clothing," etc.	None	N/A
What Did You Do Last Weekend/Doing Something [Historical]	Mixed - Discussion, direct instruction	Students are to do something "historical" over a weekend. Instructor models how these experiences can become teachable moments in a social studies classroom.	Modeling and discussion of how web sites could quickly be accessed to support activity	1 - Technology enhanced 2 - Technology in context
Children's Literature	Mixed - Lecture, discussion	Instructor reads children's books as part of activities. This method used four separate times	None	N/A
Current Events	Indirect - Discussion	The class discusses the significant events occurring in the world at the current time	Modeling and discussion of how web sites could be used to facilitate activity	2 - Technology in context 4 - Technology encouraging citizenship
Guest Speaker	Mixed - Discussion, lecture	A guest speaker speaks to the class about Roshashana	Multicultural calendar website used to follow up presentation	2 - Technology in context
Free Write	Indirect - Higher order questioning, discussion, seatwork	Students are prompted to write for 4 to 5 minutes (can vary) on a given topic. Often responses are traded with a partner and a short amount of time is allocated to respond to what the other student has written.	Depends upon the topic. Free-write done during videoconferencing sessions or in response to web site resources.	2 - Technology in context 3 - Considering future implications of videoconferencing
KWL (What You Know, What You Want to Know, What You Learned)	Indirect - Discussion	Class completes a three-columned chart. First column regarding what the class knows about a topic. Second column regarding what the class wants to know about the topic. Third column regarding what they have learned about topic.	KWL is filled out using Microsoft Word projected for the class to see	2 - Technology in context
Interactive Reading	Mixed - Lecture, simulation	Instructor reads a children's literature book about Paul Revere, and the class responds when certain words are said. E.g., when the word "British" is read the class must yell, "The British are coming! The British are coming!"	Instructions projected outlining what the class is supposed to say/do when certain words are read	2 - Technology in context
Palm Pilot	Mixed - Discussion, lecture	Class discusses potential uses of hand-held computers in the K-12 classroom	Palm Pilot	3 - Future uses of technology in education discussed
Teacher Character Role Playing	Indirect - Role play, discussion	Instructor dresses up as the Statue of Liberty and discusses with class her experiences living near Ellis Island	None	N/A

Learning/Regulating Gendered Social Citizenship in School

Gordon, Tuula, Holland, Janet, and Lahelma, Elina. (2000). *Making spaces: Citizens and difference in schools*. New York: St. Martin's/Palgrave MacMillan Press, 235 pages, hardback \$69.95, ISBN 0-312-22619-5.

Reviewed by KATHY BICKMORE, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Canada M5S 1V6.

Making Spaces is a remarkably readable and original book that describes the meaning, practice, and consequent learning of 'citizenship' in schools. It is based on an extended cross-national ethnographic research project, involving a multi-year collaboration between Finnish scholars Tuula Gordon and Elina Lahelma and British scholar Janet Holland. Their study focuses on several classes of 13-14 year olds in four public schools—two in Helsinki, Finland and two in London, England—anchored by discussion of contemporary public education contexts in Finland, England, and the United States (California), the latter drawn from the authors' earlier research.

The book's main purpose is to broaden notions of citizenship in order to foreground its social dimensions and the role of difference. The authors hope to resist the encroachment of New Right politics and policies that assume 'abstract' individual citizens with equal opportunities, thereby impeding assessment and redress of social justice problems. The authors believe:

"Equality in social citizenship is not possible without including cultural, sexual, reproductive, and embodied lives...Equal rights policies remain problematic unless sexist representations of women's bodies, or ethnocentric, racist representations of black women's and men's bodies, are addressed and iconographies of nationhood are broadened" (p. 11).

This book shows how schools both *control* (regulate and guide toward 'normalcy') and foster some *agency* (autonomy and responsibility) among students, through complex processes of inclusion, exclusion, and differentiation. There is little here about 'civics' or education for 'political' citizenship (participation in decision-making and governance). Instead, this *social* citizenship analysis both enriches and challenges prevailing notions of civic education.

Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma find that their national educational contexts are more similar now than they would have been in the past. While recent Finnish school reforms have moved from a tradition of centralized control and social-democratic equality toward relative teacher autonomy over curriculum, recent British reforms have moved from a tradition of decentralization and hierarchical differentiation toward relative curtailment of teacher autonomy. The New Right rhetoric of choice, accountability, and competition is prominent in both contexts, as in North America and elsewhere in the world today.

The book offers the metaphor of dancing to illustrate three overlapping 'layers' of citizenship practice in school:

the official school (the dance 'steps')—the formal expectations of teachers and students, curriculum and classroom work, and expectations of pupils

the informal school (various dancers' styles and movements around the floor)—the socially-constructed differentiation of roles and relationships among teachers, between teachers and students, and among students.

the physical school (the 'ballroom' and the bodies in it)—the space and time-bound structure of the school and the embodied behaviors and emotions of the various inhabitants.

The ethnographic data are thoroughly triangulated. The authors have used extensive classroom observations, interviews with teachers and with nearly every individual student in the target classrooms, and also some qualitative questionnaire data (for example, asking students to propose metaphors for school, and to name their favorite and most disliked places in the school). Differences between Finland and England and among the four schools are mainly de-emphasized, except in the more general chapters (1-3 and 9); the focus is on the taken-for-granted patterns that are common to many contemporary secondary schools. The contexts are clearer when one

pays attention to the three-letter codes marking each quotation—Male or Female, Teacher or Student, Helsinki or London.

The 'physical school' becomes social space, as students are controlled and organized through the regulation of comportment, allocation of space, and channeling of student movement along 'time-space paths.' Time-space paths are the boundaries, compartmentalized functions, and access rules regarding who is to be where (doing what) when—enforced with timetables, bells, locked doors, and often adult surveillance. Both formal spaces (classrooms, office, staff room) and informal spaces (corridors, schoolyard, lunchroom) are allowed and disallowed at various times, yet, as any teacher knows, these time and space boundaries are constantly negotiated in various ways by various students. On average, students reported on surveys that they generally liked informal spaces better than formal spaces, but here is one of the many places where difference emerged. Popular and successful students (most often boys, but by no means all boys) tended to appropriate more space in which to move and to particularly like informal spaces where there was little adult surveillance. Relatively unpopular or marginal students tended to have greater restriction on their movements (exerted by peers as well as adults) and to prefer more adult surveillance of informal spaces. Seating locations in classrooms likewise reflected social relations, with same-gender friends and social identity groups tending to cluster and move together. Partly because they themselves had somewhat more freedom of voice and motion, most teachers tended to be relatively unaware of the discomfort inherent in the taken-for-granted compulsion that students be quiet and physically still for extended periods of time.

Some students - especially high achievers and those with very good social skills - were more able to push the time-space boundaries, to acquire more room to move, than others. Movements were, on average, more severely regulated for girls than for boys, although with considerable variation within each gender. Teachers tended to have lower tolerance for girls' defiance, disruption, or 'inappropriate' behavior than for the same actions by boys. Peers, too, constrained each other's -and especially girls' - movement. Put-downs of girls were often sexualized (e.g., calling them whores). "The gaze of fellow students, informal control by peers (especially boys but also other girls), and the fear of being sexualized...curtail girls' embodiment more than official regulation" (p. 172). Some girls, and many boys, taunted some boys by calling them queer; low status and marginal (not necessarily homosexual) boys were the most common targets. In addition to reinforcing social hierarchies in general, such epithets also function to police the boundaries of accepted masculinity. Thus officially, school regulations apply equally to any 'abstract pupil,' but

in actuality, school citizens practice unequal degrees of freedom along somewhat predictable social identity lines.

The 'informal school' is the day-to-day extracurricular interaction among students and others in the schools. Through this interaction, differentiated roles are socially constructed. This includes students' circles of friendship, as well as their shifting positions of centrality or marginality in the hierarchy of peer group (citizen) relations. Name calling, teasing, bullying, and harassment are key methods by which students negotiate their shifting positions in the status hierarchy. Only a few students are consistently bullied and marginalized, but many are excluded or bullied at one point or another. "Margins are a consistent presence as potential positions and locations to be avoided at all costs for a large majority" (p. 128). Insults are based on difference, and often have sexist or heterosexist content. Some students (predominantly male), who are less successful in gaining status through academic skill or social popularity, draw instead upon other sources of power, including heterosexism, humor that ridicules others, and physical aggression. Interviews and observations found racist harassment to be a more serious problem in Finland, where until recently there have been few ethnic minorities and little policy attention to equity matters. English schools have had varied ethnic populations for longer, and they have in place a broad level of awareness and a policy infrastructure for confronting problems of racism. Similarly, the authors found more awareness of gender equity challenges, strategies, and policy remedies in England. Finland's social welfare state has long incorporated economic and social equality for women; thus many ignore gender, as if equity already had been achieved. In the context of these different traditions, it is striking that student roles were gender-differentiated in similar ways in the four schools.

Making Spaces points out that anxiety-making situations, such as competitive testing and grading, are integral to the practice of teaching. Elliot Aronson blames such competitive school climates for the severity of bullying and social exclusion problems. In such schools, many students "learn that the world is a difficult, unfriendly place. Many learn that the law of the jungle prevails, that might makes right, that they are on their own..." (Aronson, 2000, p. 90). Aronson, however, asserts that schools can also re-orient their activity patterns in order to foster students' equity, tolerance, and competence in getting along—through training and especially through regular practice in cooperative academic learning structures.

Moreover, we know that, for the 'average' student, an open climate for discussion of independent viewpoints in schools and classrooms is substantially associated with better civic knowledge and with the inclination to participate in political life (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). At the same time, we know that, in the prevailing

competitive climate, most students are not average; some experience a climate as open, while their classmates in the same room remain disengaged or silenced (Bickmore, 1993). Classroom structures make a difference: The same student may participate actively and feel comfortable in one classroom, but not in another (Phelan et. al., 1991). Thus, it is significant that Gordon and her colleagues found that students who were on friendly terms with just one peer were more likely to find a secure place and voice in the classroom, including in academic interactions with teachers. On the other hand, as one Helsinki girl put it, "if you are alone in the class then you end up saying nothing" (p. 117). Cooperative training and learning structures, when they recognize and work to alleviate status inequities, are one way to ensure that every student obtains access to that one supportive peer, as well as to the academic work at hand (Cohen & Lotan, 1994).

The 'official school' refers to formal teaching of the 'stuff' of citizenship and to students' expected roles as learners. The recent IEA civics study analyzed the 'official school' layer and student knowledge outcomes in approximately the same age group, including both England and Finland in its sample (Torney-Purta et.al., 2001). The country studies emerging from IEA should provide interesting comparisons to the *Making Spaces* analysis. *Making Spaces* agrees with the IEA study that open, participatory, and cooperative teaching approaches, despite their demonstrated popularity with students and value for citizenship learning, are quite rare (Torney-Purta et.al., 2001, pp. 9-10; Gordon et.al., 2000, pp. 76-81, 88-91). In interviews with Gordon and her colleagues, teachers often blamed students for their own over-use of traditional approaches, saying that students were incapable of handling interactive work with appropriate self-discipline. The manners expected of 'good students' generally reflect dominant middle class habits of behavior (p. 73), so it is not surprising that a quotation illustrating this phenomenon is drawn from one of the London schools (p. 77), where there is more cultural and class diversity than in Helsinki. Although the study sampled both a relatively affluent and a relatively mixed-class school in each city, unfortunately the authors never report from which school their observations and quotations are drawn. More could be learned here with better attention to the intersection of social class with pedagogic as well as informal relations.

Furthermore, Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma show that the authority of the classroom text, as well as the teacher's responsibility to control and regulate it, is generally assumed uncritically. Both teachers and students see lessons mainly as the transfer of information, requiring little thought. Also, differentiation occurs in the official school, as well as the informal and physical school arenas. In addition to describing some of the well-known inequities in pedagogical

interactions (e.g., some teachers giving more attention to male students), the authors show that images of 'appropriate' masculinity and femininity, of sexuality, and of ethnic and national identities are embedded in texts. *Making Spaces* gives little attention to specific curriculum content (presumably different in each context), but it does describe some of the assumptions that undergird most curricula.

Social educators and teacher educators may particularly appreciate the nuanced descriptions of school social processes and their significance in chapters 5-8. Other chapters make a solid contribution to policy analysis and research methods. What this book does *not* do is to connect the interpersonal inclusion/exclusion dynamics of school life to some of the other important meanings of 'citizenship,' in particular student learning for, and participation in, 'politics' or decision making (e.g. Hahn, 1998; Raywid, 1976; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). By illustrating and substantiating a broader conception of citizenship, *Making Spaces* offers important new insights to social education theory and research. At the same time, additional work is still essential, so that the connection of citizenship education to democracy and governance is not lost in the shuffle.

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Peace Education: What's Gender Got to Do With It?

Reardon, Betty A. (2001). *Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective*. Paris, France: UNESCO. 197 pp., \$30, paperback. ISBN 92-3-103811-7.

Breines, Ingeborg, Gierycz, Dorota, and Reardon, Betty (Eds.). (1999). *Toward a women's agenda for a culture of peace*. Paris, France: UNESCO. 265 pp., \$30, paperback. ISBN 92-3-103559-2.

Reviewed by MARGARET SMITH CROCCO, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

My route home from the "green," a large and leafy square that serves as the centerpiece for my suburban New Jersey community, takes me past the Morristown National Guard Armory. During a normal year, the military facility lies dormant except for a few weeks in the summer when guardsmen are trained. On those days, camouflaged trucks and humvees roll off the armory's grounds into town—serving as painful reminders for some of the race riots of the sixties, when armories sent men and machines to restore order in communities like Newark and Plainfield. In recent years, the armory has frequently been used as a site for kitchen and garden, crafts, antiques, furniture and rug shows and sales, dominated by delivery trucks, SUV's, and consumers rather than military personnel.

All that changed with the terrorist incidents of 9/11/01. Regular activity, men in uniform, and military vehicles on the move—presumably on their way to guard the bridges and tunnels crossing into Manhattan—could be seen throughout the fall and into the spring. The trauma of those days has receded slowly. Inhabitants of the tri-state region continue to cope with the specter of an altered skyline, a keen sense of foreboding about the possibility of another attack, and near universal memories of friends or acquaintances who lost their lives in the tragedy. In the midst of all that, the presence of the armory down the road may have seemed comforting to some citizens grasping for a token of security in an insecure world.

Just last week, however, on the way home from a trip to the grocery store, I noticed a large tank on the front lawn of the armory, facing the street. At that moment, it struck me just how illusory had been any sense of comfort from the military presence. What good would tanks do against terrorists' threats? Against the kind of assault that brought down the World Trade Center's twin towers? Against dirty bombs on subways, letters laced with anthrax, pathogens in reservoirs, and suicide pilots?

This is the predicament of the United States in the "war against terrorism." Defense that rests exclusively on military might and geopolitical swagger is slim security indeed in the face of terrorism. How could even cutting edge military technology address the conditions underlying young Muslim men's schooling for hatred of the United States and Israel at Pakistani madrasas and Indonesian pesantrens? Does this "war against terrorism" represent a band-aid on a hemorrhaging wound that will surely pose a more lasting threat than can be addressed even by destroying Osama bin Laden's organizational infrastructure? I do not wish to blame the United States for 9/11/01, only to reflect on the conditions that gave rise to this tragedy and the need to take suitable measures to prevent another one.

Two books, *Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective* (Reardon) and *Towards a women's agenda for a culture of peace* (Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon), both published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), suggest an alternative approach to militarism and war as "cures" for international conflict: peace education tied to a gender perspective. Citizenship educators may find the issues raised by Reardon, Breines, and Gierycz important in moving beyond seductive yet naive notions of security that place unwarranted faith in the ability of technology, however advanced, to protect a nation from its enemies.

These books have been written for educators and teacher educators interested in bringing discussion of global conflict and its effects on women and men into their teaching. They offer practical teaching tools with which educators can launch discussions of peace and war, national security, military power, and the relationships among these topics. Both books include introductory readings followed by activities, recommendations, projects, and on-line resources that readers can employ to further discussion and encourage action in response to the issues raised in each chapter. The authors' approach reflects their interest in using open-ended teaching strategies for dealing with this material. Both books provide useful appendices, which help chronicle UN activities in support of women, security, and a culture of peace. Reardon's final section on "Supplementary Materials" includes websites for the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Declaration and Programme of Action of the Decade for Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World, as well as other pertinent references dealing with conflict resolution, women's rights, global citizenship, and the like. The appendices in the jointly edited volume include a document cataloguing the activities in which women are involved worldwide to challenge the war system and promote peace.

Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon are peace educators who have devoted their careers to defining peaceful means of resolving conflicts and improving gender equity and human rights. Betty Reardon is an internationally known proponent of peace education. Her work with non-governmental organizations associated with peace and gender issues, as Director of The Hague's Global Campaign for Peace Education, and as Director of the Peace Education Program at Teachers College, Columbia University, is well known. Dorota Gierycz is an international lawyer who in 1999 was heading the Gender Analysis Section at the UN's Division for the Advancement of Women. She specializes in conflict resolution and the human rights of women, addressing the ways the process of peace might be different if women were involved as leaders. Ingeborg Breines was named special advisor to the director-general of UNESCO on Women, Gender and Development in 1993, responsible for UNESCO's contributions to and follow-up strategies for the Fourth World Conference on Women. At the time of the book's publication, she was director of UNESCO's Women and Culture of Peace Programme in Paris.

Reardon's sole authored book, *Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective*, contains an introductory social foundations section with an overview of the theoretical ideas behind education for a culture of peace that takes gender into account, and a second section devoted to the "professional and pedagogical dimensions" associated with these ideas. Reardon describes peace education as "holistic," by which she means that theory is integrated with practice in consideration of every topic. In the introduction, she notes that the curriculum for teacher education outlined in this book could easily be taught as one unit in a course on foundations of education. This suggestion makes sense, since many readers may be wondering where books such as these two belong in social studies teacher education, especially in an age where so much emphasis is placed on standards and accountability issues. In this climate, clearly, teacher educators who make use of this material will be those sympathetic to three key ideas: the importance of introducing gender into education, the plausibility of teaching for peace in schools and other contexts, and acceptance of the connections between gender and concepts of national security.

Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon's *Towards a women's agenda for a culture of peace* includes three parts. Part One deals with issues and problems related to women's roles in war, peace, and security. This section includes five chapters, including two by the editors that note the absence of sizable numbers of women in positions of power related to peace and security (Gierycz) and arguing for the need to take gender into consideration when conceptualizing and planning for peace (Breines). Part Two offers reflections about gender's relationships to peace by four feminist peace researchers who each critique, from varying vantage points, the "fundamental assumptions and mechanisms of the current global security system." Part Three describes specific campaigns women have undertaken to stem the tide of violence in different world regions, including Latin America, Russia, and Africa.

In this co-edited volume, Carolyn Stephenson notes, "Anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote in 1940 that while human beings are not innately aggressive and war is not an inherent part of human society, war will not disappear until the alternatives to it are developed" (Breines et al., p. 109). In the following "Peace talks—peace tasks" section, Stephenson exhorts readers to "develop a comprehensive programme of education in various forms of non-violent resistance, struggle, and conflict resolution to ensure the possibility of constructive conflict as a means to the positive social change required to achieve a culture of peace" (p. 110). Following Valenzuela's chapter on "Gender, democracy, and peace: The role of the women's movement in Latin America," which examines mothers' movements in El Salvador, Argentina, and Chile, readers are invited to research the "potential forms and models of non-hierarchical organization of politics, especially in various aspects of state governance and in the management of power in political parties, the administration of various political institutions—as well as in political movements and campaigns" (Breines et al., p. 162). Thus, each reading in this edited volume provides avenues for further exploration and action related to the topics at hand.

Despite its relatively low profile over the last twenty years, peace education has been around for some time. Undoubtedly, social studies educators in the United States are familiar with Jane Addams, who, along with many other activities, was the first president of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize (Rupp, 1997). The WILPF was founded in 1915 as a protest against World War I and continues its work today. Other well-known peacemakers include Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu, Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, and Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams of Northern Ireland. With the collapse of the Cold War and premature predictions of global

peace and prosperity after the fall of the Berlin Wall, peace education's public profile faded, although its work never ended in pockets of advocacy around the globe, carried on especially by women from New York City to Okinawa, Japan. These books are part of this longstanding yet evolving tradition. They are unusual, however, in the degree to which they highlight gender as an important facet of peace education.

Reardon has said that since 9/11/01, peace education has once again become fashionable. Major philanthropic organizations are interested in promoting intercultural understanding, social justice, and conflict resolution as approaches to avoiding violence and war. The World Bank has made the education of girls worldwide a funding priority. Thus, it seems a highly propitious moment to review two works designed for teachers and teacher educators, which together aim to promote peace education, this time with a distinctive accent on its relationship to gender.

For readers unfamiliar with peace education, a definition may be in order. Reardon (1997) describes the field in these terms:

Peace education, a worldwide movement, is a diverse and continually changing field, responding to developments in world society and, to some extent, to the advancing knowledge and insights of peace research. As practiced in elementary and secondary schools and presented in the university programs that prepare classroom teachers, peace education goes by various names: conflict resolution, multicultural education, development education, world order studies, and more recently, environmental education. Each of these approaches responds to a particular set of problems that have been perceived as the causes of social injustice, conflict, and war. Each could also be classified as preventive education—education “as it seeks to prevent the occurrence of the problems which inspire it.”

(Accessed online at: www.pdhre.org/book/reardon.html)

The field of peace education has obvious points of intersection with the work of social studies, although it is clear that in teaching the disciplines, especially history and political science, more attention has been paid to war and the military than to peace, gender, and social justice, especially within a global context. Many social educators may also be unaware of the UN's work worldwide in education, done through a variety of agencies and a lively educational presence on the Internet in the form of the CyberSchoolBus. These two books, therefore,

may also provide an introduction to the educational efforts of the UN, whose work as “peacekeeper” has been more prominent recently in its deployment of military forces to places like Bosnia, for example, than for its efforts concerning human rights.

Over the last forty-five years, UNESCO has worked towards identifying the conditions that create a culture of peace and has become increasingly vocal about the role of gender equity and social justice in moving toward peace. In 1994, UNESCO produced an action plan for education for peace, human rights, and democracy that was signed by 144 countries. The Beijing Platform for Action, promulgated in 1995, included one specific objective related to women’s role in fostering a culture of peace. Reardon, Breines, and Gierycz have all been closely involved in this work and are uniquely situated in the struggle to incorporate issues of gender within peace education. One of their most significant recent accomplishments is UN Resolution 1325, adopted by the Security Council on October 31, 2000, which called for gender sensitivity in all UN missions, for women to participate equally at all negotiating tables, and for protection of women and girls during armed conflict. Five organizations supported UNIFEM (the United Nations Women’s Development Fund) in this effort—WILPF, International Alert, Amnesty International, Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children (80% of all refugees worldwide are women and children), and The Hague Appeal for Peace.

Of the two books, Reardon’s single authored volume has more direct utility for social studies teacher educators. Her aim of making each section a complete study unit that can be introduced into courses with little adaptation yields a format that makes the book particularly conducive to classroom use. Reardon begins with a set of suggestions for preparatory reading on a topic and then lays out clearly the purposes, conceptual framework, core values, and theoretical ideas that support each section. She follows this with a sub-section offering lengthy definitions of the concepts she uses to build her argument and a set of learning processes and projects suitable for students fifteen years and older. These features extend the book’s possibilities well beyond the confines of courses in teacher education. A set of suggested readings and research wraps up each study unit. In the second half of the book, Reardon discusses the specific “attributes, capacities, and skills of teachers of peace.” Although the emphasis shifts in this section to practical considerations in bringing peace education into the classroom, Reardon continues the format of attention to concepts, learning processes and projects, suggested readings, and recommended research.

How does Reardon (2001) characterize the connections between gender and peace? Answering this question provides insight into the central themes linking the two publications:

Societies are severely plagued by various forms of political, economic, social, cultural, ecological, and gender violence. Together these forms of violence form a global culture of which the “war system” is the structural core. This system of vast military forces, ever-expanding supplies of weaponry, and constant readiness for combat is maintained by political and economic institutions and social attitudes that deem such a system necessary to national and international security. It perpetuates the use of violence for political and economic purposes, infecting our societies and distorting our cultures.

War also reinforces and exploits gender stereotypes and exacerbates, even encourages, violence against women. Changing these circumstances, devising a peace system, and bringing forth a culture of peace requires an authentic partnership between men and women. Equality between men and women is an essential condition of a culture of peace. Thus education for gender equality is an essential component of education for a culture of peace” (p. 21).

A concrete application of these ideas on gender and security can be seen in new research concerning the organization Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV). Over the last fifty years, the U.S. military’s bases on Okinawa, Japan, have left women and girls on the island vulnerable and fearful due to the numerous crimes of sexual violence perpetrated against them by U.S. soldiers. The long history of these injustices burst briefly onto the worldwide media stage with the September 1995 abduction and rape of a twelve year old girl by three members of the U.S. military. Given the heinous nature of this crime, the story elicited brief media attention, but the attention proved fleeting. In fact, this example represents only the tip of the iceberg. Prior to this incident, both U.S. military authorities as well as the Japanese government ignored a long list of crimes against women by U.S. military personnel and reacted to women’s protests against these crimes with silence. In November 1995, OWAAMV was galvanized into action in response to the unwillingness of authorities to take action against the three men accused of the abduction and rape of the young girl. The organization’s efforts since then have focused on challenging the traditional realist paradigm of global security through militarism, which guards the interests of the nation state while abrogating human rights and security for individual citizens, especially

women, in order to achieve its ends (Akibayashi, 2002). Education is at the heart of this organization's work—education of women, Okinawans, Japanese, Americans, the military, global media, and the peace education movement. Its activities suggest that "citizenship education" takes place in many settings, with schools only one venue for doing peace education.

As I write these words in the summer of 2002, violence in the Middle East boils, teenagers offer their lives as sacrifices to the Palestinian cause, and new generations of youth learn lessons of hatred in school. Through their lifelong work, Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon insist that teachers and teacher educators invest energy and intelligence in promoting alternatives to war. Their particular contribution to social education with these books lies in helping readers reflect on the centrality of gender to the process of creating a peaceful and secure world.

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Constructivism, Community, Threads, Big Ideas and Standards

Grant, S.G. and VanSledright, Bruce. (2001). *Constructing a powerful approach to teaching and learning in elementary social studies*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 304 pps., \$54.36, paper. ISBN 0-395-81121-X.

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As an author of a social studies methods text, I know how difficult it is to organize one in a coherent and useful fashion. The imparting of practical ideas is not enough. Neither is information about the definitions of, and rationales for, social studies coupled with dry information about the disciplines that make up the social studies. Readers need to actively engage with the text and contemplate their rationales and practices. Research affirms that pre-service teachers need to actively construct their own meanings in a classroom environment where their ideas count. Of course, they want to know what and how to teach, but they also need to reflect (Adler, 1991; Seixas, 2001).

The information that I consider important to convey to my readers is interconnected (Wright, 2000). That is, my conception of social studies and beliefs about learning and teaching intersect with what I teach, how I teach and assess learning, and in what environments I work. However, to write a text, I have to write about these matters one at a time. Thus, connecting threads are needed to present a coherent story. These are lacking in many of the methods texts I have reviewed in the past.

Thus, it was with great interest that I reviewed S.G. Grant and Bruce VanSledright's text, *Constructing a Powerful Approach to Teaching and Learning in Elementary Social Studies*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 2001. The text is structured around how good teachers deal with the commonplaces of teaching - learners and learning, subject matter, teachers and teaching, and classroom environment. Although

these commonplaces are clearly interconnected, the authors do a good job of linking them in the separate chapters through dialogue, questions addressed to the reader, examples of lessons, constructivist theory, the use of "threads" to link the disciplines of social studies, and "big ideas" in unit planning. The latter is a bold recommendation because the ideas posed consist of such questions as, "Was the American revolution necessary?" (p. 6), "What rights do citizens deserve as a member of society?" (p. 7), and "What is freedom?" (p. 254). These are powerful questions and would change the way social studies is organized and taught in many elementary classrooms. Such questions are clearly interdisciplinary, and the authors use the notion of "threads" to demonstrate the connections, identifying these threads as geographic, political, economic, sociocultural, and global (although it strikes me that "global" is an interdisciplinary concept that would surely encompass the other threads, and that it is clearly desirable for students to consider global causes and effects in their answers to many "big" questions). It also strikes me that any "big question" could be viewed through historical lenses, and although the authors state that "teachers can look to the social science disciplines *as well as to history* for rich ideas to help them shape what we want children to understand..." (p. 92, my italics), their emphasis on a history "thread" could have been more prominent.

The use of "big ideas" is to be commended. The supporters of such programs as "Philosophy for Children" would be very pleased to see the classroom examples of children's discussion of rights (pp. 80-84), the unit plan on what makes a good citizen (p. 251), and the unit on freedom (p. 254). However, the authors could have provided more guidance to preservice teachers on how to get children to rationally discuss the big ideas they propose. The constructivist framework of the book does provide a context for this approach, and there is discussion of the importance of argument and evidence (pp. 198-200); however, the authors provide little conceptualization of critical thinking standards or how to teach these. Richard Paul's (1990) work on critical thinking would enhance such a conceptualization.

Any methods instructor has to decide how much generic information to include (e.g., lesson planning, classroom management) and how much time should be devoted to the specific disciplines to be taught. The answer, of course, will depend on the nature of the teacher preparation program (for example, whether pre-service teachers will have learned about child development before taking the methods course). Thus, textbook authors can only make assumptions about the type of program in which their text will be used. Grant and VanSledright chose to include material on constructivism, which I found useful, as well as an entire chapter on the classroom environment. At first blush, one might ask why there is an entire

chapter devoted to something so general, but the authors have a valid point. If we want to teach the kind of social studies in which discourse is encouraged, and where respect for inquiry, ideas, argument, and evidence are cultivated, then a certain kind of classroom environment is essential. Attention to this crucial issue, often not found in other methods texts, is an important contribution of the Grant and VanSledright book.

Methods text authors must strike a balance between giving readers practical ideas about how to choose, teach, and assess subject matter content, and the theory behind the practice. Grant and VanSledright achieve this balance quite well. My pre-service teachers would, no doubt, prefer even more practical ideas, especially about how to teach social studies concepts, how to implement inquiry-based lessons, and how to deal with value issues, but the authors of this book do provide a good amount of examples and guidance. In particular, their discussion of how to construct unit plans and choose learning goals is very helpful.

I approached my publisher with the idea that a methods text should begin with the actual planning and teaching of social studies and end with a discussion of what social studies is and why we should teach it. My rationale was that my readers wanted to know what to do on Monday morning first, and once they had a handle on that concern, they would be more willing to consider the philosophy of social studies and reflect on their practice. However, my publisher said that the idea would never sell, based on the fact that most other texts were predicated on the Tyler model of rationale, objectives, content, instruction, and assessment. Fortunately, Grant and VanSledright persuaded their publisher to place their discussion of the purposes and definitions of social studies in chapter 7 (there are 9 chapters), and it works. It makes sense to start the text with the commonplaces of education and build up to the discussion of goals later on. It also makes sense to end the text with a chapter on becoming a reflective teacher.

The authors write in a very engaging style. They draw the reader into the text with many examples of classroom practice and teacher vignettes. They do not pull punches in telling their readers that teaching and planning are not easy. They try to excite their readers about social studies and provide opportunities for them to reflect on the ideas in the book (although I found the "reflection opportunities" icons throughout the text - undoubtedly much favored by publishers - to be rather patronizing).

Overall, *Constructing a Powerful Approach to Teaching and Learning in Elementary Social Studies* is a well-conceived text that breaks new ground. It has a coherent structure, and it effectively applies research evidence to the task of helping pre-service teachers learn to

teach social studies and to be reflective about what they do. The authors take a bold approach to unit planning and provide help in organizing instruction. Perhaps a significant “next step” the authors could take in a future publication would be that of helping pre-service teachers to identify and teach the standards of argument, evidence, and justification needed to implement “big ideas” instruction.

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