LEADERS IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Leaders in Social Education

Intellectual Self-Portraits

Christine Woyshner (Ed.)

SensePublishers

Leaders in Social Education

LEADERS IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Volume 5

Series Editor:

Leonard J. Waks
Temple University, Philadelphia, USA

Scope:

Leaders in Educational Studies provides a comprehensive account of the transformation of educational knowledge since 1960, based on rich, first-person accounts of the process by its acknowledged leaders.

The series provides unique insights into the formation of the knowledge base in education, as well as a birds-eye view of contemporary educational scholarship.

The initial volume, *Leaders in Philosophy of Education: Intellectual Self Portraits*, contains personal essays by 24 leading philosophers of education from North America and the United Kingdom. The second volume, *Leaders in Curriculum Studies: Intellectual Self-Portraits,* contains similar essays by 18 leading curriculum scholars. The volume on historians of American education contains essays by 25 leaders in this field. The current volume on gender and education has essays from 16 leaders from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Volumes on other fields of educational scholarship are now being prepared.

Until the 1950s school teachers were trained for the most part in normal schools or teacher training colleges. The instructors were drawn from the teacher corps; they were not professional scholars. Those offering classes in so-called 'foundational disciplines' in education were not trained in these disciplines. Educational scholarship was generally weak and cut off from contemporary work in the so-called 'parent' disciplines. Professors relied on textbooks featuring out-of-date, dumbed-down knowledge.

In the late 1950s plans were made to bring a higher level of professionalism to school teaching. In the United States, the remaining normal schools initially became state colleges, and eventually state universities. In the United Kingdom, the training colleges were initially brought under the supervision of university institutes; eventually teaching was transformed into an all-graduate profession.

Commentators on both sides of the Atlantic argued that if education was to become a proper field of university study, educational scholarship itself would have to be transformed. Scholars were recruited into educational studies from social sciences and humanities disciplines to contribute to teacher education and to train a new generation of educational scholars in contemporary research methods.

Under their influence the knowledge base for education has been completely transformed. In addition to major accomplishments in philosophy, history, sociology and economics of education, interdisciplinary work in educational studies has flourished. The series documents this transformation.

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Edited by
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LEONARD J. WAKS

PREFACE

The aim of the Leaders in Educational Studies series is to document the rise of scholarship and university teaching in educational studies in the years after 1960. This half-century has been a period of astonishing growth and accomplishment. The volumes in the series document this period as seen through the eyes of its leading practitioners.

A few words about the build up to this period are in order. Before the mid-twentieth century school teaching, especially at the primary level, was as much a trade as a profession. Schoolteachers were trained primarily in normal schools or teachers colleges, only rarely in universities. But in the 1940s American normal schools were converted into teachers colleges, and in the 1960s these were converted into state universities. At the same time school teaching was being transformed into an all-graduate profession in both the United Kingdom and Canada. For the first time, school teachers required a proper university education.

Something had to be done, then, about what was widely regarded as the deplorable state of educational scholarship. James Conant, in his final years as president at Harvard in the early 1950s, envisioned a new kind of university-based school of education, drawing scholars from mainstream academic disciplines such as history, sociology, psychology, and philosophy, to teach prospective teachers, conduct educational research, and train future educational scholars. One of the first two professors hired to fulfil this vision was Israel Scheffler, a young philosopher of science and language who had earned a Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania. Scheffler joined Harvard's education faculty in 1952. The other was Bernard Bailyn, who joined the Harvard faculty in 1953 after earning his Ph.D. there, and who re-energized the study of American educational history with the publication of *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (University of North Carolina Press, 1960). The series has been exceptionally fortunate that Scheffler provided a foreword to the volume on philosophy of education, and that Bernard Bailyn provided a foreword for the volume on the history of American education. It is equally fortunate that this volume contains a foreword by the eminent scholar James Banks of the University of Washington, who has been a creative force in social education for decades and the prime mover in the field of multi-cultural education.

The Leaders in Educational Studies series continues to document the growing and changing literature in educational studies. Research conducted within the established academic disciplines of history, philosophy, and sociology comprised the dominant trend throughout the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s educational studies diversified

considerably, in terms of both new sub-disciplines within these established disciplines and new interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary fields. Curriculum studies, both in general and in the particular school subject matter fields, drew extensively from work in philosophy, history, and sociology of education. Work in these disciplines, and also in anthropology and cultural studies among others, also stimulated new perspectives on race, class, and gender.

This volume brings together 19 personal essays by established leaders in the field of social education, curated masterfully by its editor, Christine Woyshner. It is the first in a projected set of volumes in the series that will provide intellectual self-portraits of leaders in research and teacher training in the core school subject areas. Further volumes are projected for science education, language and literature education, and mathematics education.

Subsequent volumes in the series will also attend to other emerging disciplines, sub-disciplines, and inter-disciplines that continue to be shaped by the 'new educational scholarship' emerging after 1960.

JAMES A. BANKS

FOREWORD

The social studies, like other school subjects, reflects the social, political, economic, and ideological context in which it is embedded. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the social studies—like US society writ large and other curriculum areas—presented views of US society and culture that were hegemonic, Eurocentric, patriarchal, and that marginalized the histories and cultures of groups such as people of color, women, people with disabilities, and LGBT people. It also presented geography, history, and culture from the perspectives of dominant and mainstream perspectives and points of view. Concepts such as the Westward movement, American exceptionalism, and Frederick Jackson Turner's (1989) thesis that American democracy had its genesis in the exploration of the West—which was a "wilderness"—were salient in social studies textbooks and lessons.

One of the major goals of the social studies and the school curriculum was to assimilate diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious groups into mainstream American culture and society. The histories and cultures of ethnic groups of color as well as those of Southern, Central, and Eastern European ethnic groups such as Jewish, Polish, and Italian Americans were ignored or marginalized in the mainstream school and social studies curriculum prior to the 1960s. William Greenbaum (1974), in a noted article in the *Harvard Educational Review,* stated that White ethnic groups experienced "hope" and "shame" in the schools. They were taught to be ashamed of their family and community cultures and languages. However, they were given hope that if they assimilated they would experience economic success and structural inclusion. Ethnic groups of color, such as African Americans and Latinos, experienced shame in the schools but were given little hope that assimilation would lead to structural inclusion and full participation in American civic and cultural communities.

During and after the Civil Rights Movement a number of factors combined and interacted to significantly change the perspectives and visions of the leaders of social studies education as well as the social studies curriculum. One was the social studies curriculum revolution that occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. In September 1959, approximately 35 scientists, scholars, and educators gathered at the Woods Hole Conference Center in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, to discuss how science education might be improved in the nation's schools. Based on this 10-day meeting of eminent American scholars and educators, Bruner (1960) wrote a book that was destined to revolutionize thinking about teaching and learning not only in the sciences but in all subject areas, including the social studies.

In this book, *The Process of Education*, Bruner (1960) presented his now-famous contention, "Experience over the past decade points to the fact that our schools may be wasting precious years by postponing the teaching of many important subjects on the grounds that they are too difficult ... The foundations of any subject can be taught to anybody at any age in some form" (p. 12). Bruner also argued that the fundamentals of every discipline could be reduced to its *structure*, by which he meant its key concepts, key generalizations and principles, key questions that the discipline asks, and its unique mode of inquiry or investigation. Bruner stated that the structure of each discipline could be identified and that this structure could be taught to all students in some form, regardless of age or stage of development. Bruner's ideas strongly challenged Hanna's (1963) "The Expanding Communities of Humans" framework that was deeply entrenched in social studies textbooks and within the nation's schools.

Based on the idea of the structure of the disciplines and other key ideas set forth by Bruner, social scientists such as historians, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists became heavily involved in the development of social studies curriculum projects during the 1960s and 1970s. Like any educational movement that tries to change the schools from the outside, the social studies revolution of the 1960s and 1970s had mixed results. It created vigorous discussion, debate, and innovation in the social studies and had a significant influence on social studies development at the state and school district levels and on textbook writing. However, for many complex reasons, the influence of "the new social studies"—as it was called—on classroom teachers and actual practice was far less than its architects had envisioned (Banks, 2001).

Between 1960 and 1980, social movements that pushed for civil rights and societal reform echoed throughout the United States. These movements included quests for the rights of groups of color such as African Americans and Latinos, the rights of women, people with disabilities, and protest over the war in Vietnam. During this period, the United States enacted some of its most progressive legislation that protected the rights of marginalized groups such as women, students who spoke a first language other than English, and students with disabilities. The social reform and civil rights movements during this period influenced the social studies curriculum as well as it leaders and theorists. Some social studies theorists and leaders began to criticize Bruner's structuralist position and to argue that it was not sufficient to teach students the key ideas and methods of social scientists. Bruner's critics argued that the main goal of the social studies should be to develop reflective citizens for a democratic society. Lawrence Metcalf (1971), Donald Oliver and James P. Shaver (1966), and Shirley Engle and Anna Ochoa (1988) argued that to become effective citizens, students needed to learn how to apply social science knowledge to the solution of social problems in society such as racial discrimination, discrimination against women, and poverty. The citizenship and public issues curriculum theorists also argued that students needed to take civic action to improve society and develop a sense of political efficacy.

The social studies curriculum reflects its historical and social context as well as the personal biographies, values, and epistemological communities of social studies researchers, scholars, and leaders. Many of the contributors to this engaging and timely book were deeply influenced by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the protests over the war in Vietnam, the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Robert Kennedy, and by the quests by people of color and other marginalized groups to attain recognition (Gutmann, 2004) within society and the schools. Some of the contributors to this book, such as Valerie Ooka Pang, Gloria Contreras, Margaret Smith Crocco, and Carole Hahn were "insiders" (Merton, 1972) whose personal observations and experiences led to deep commitments to make changes within both society and the social studies curriculum.

I grew up in the segregated South and came of age during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (Banks, 2006). Because of my personal biography and epistemological journey, I also endorsed a social issues and civic action focus in the social studies. I authored a social studies methods book with a focus on decision-making and citizen action (Banks with Clegg, 1973). The subtitle of this book reveals its central focus: *Teaching Strategies for the Social Studies: Inquiry, Valuing, and Decision-Making*.

I was an elementary school student in the Arkansas delta in the 1950s. One of my most powerful memories is the image of the happy and loyal slaves in my social studies textbooks (Banks, 1998). I also remember that there were three other Blacks in my textbooks: Booker T. Washington, the educator; George Washington Carver, the scientist; and Marian Anderson, the contralto. I had several persistent questions throughout my school days: Why were the slaves pictured as happy? Were there other Blacks in history beside the two Washingtons and Anderson? Who created this image of slaves? Why?

The image of the happy slaves was inconsistent with everything I knew about the African American descendants of enslaved people in my segregated community. We had to drink water from fountains labeled "colored," and we could not use the city's public library. But we were not happy about either of these legal requirements. In fact, we resisted these laws in powerful but subtle ways each day. As children, we savored the taste of "White water" when the authorities were preoccupied with more serious infractions against the racial caste system.

The other contributors to this book who were influenced by the civil rights and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s and who developed a commitment to social change and to an issues-oriented social studies curriculum were sympathetic "outsiders," or what I have called "external-insiders" (Banks, 1998)—individuals who are socialized within the mainstream culture or society but who acquire many of the values and perspectives of marginalized communities. Social studies scholars who constructed the public issues and civic education curricula such as Lawrence Metcalf, James P. Shaver, and Fred Newmann epitomized the external-insider, as do social studies educators who contributed to this book such as Jack L. Nelson, Terry Epstein, Walter Parker, and Joel Westheimer.

Social studies teaching, research, and practice reflect the major social, political, and economic developments in US society and the world. However, as scholars such as Sandra Harding (1991), Lorraine Code (1991), Patricia Hill Collins (2000), and Matthew Jacobson (1998) have extensively documented, knowledge also reflects the values, personal biographies, and epistemic communities in which scholars are socialized. The informative and myriad intellectual and personal biographies of the noted and influential social studies educators that are contained in this informative and illuminating book provide important lens for comprehending how theory and research in social studies education are constructed in colleges and universities in the United States. It also gives vivid and interesting descriptions of the personal and academic lives of today's intellectual leaders of social studies education.

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CHRISTINE WOYSHNER

INTRODUCTION

I am pleased to have been asked to edit this volume on influential scholarship in social education, which traces the field over the last 40 years through the personal and professional experiences of its leading scholars. It is the fifth book in the series "Leaders in Educational Studies," following volumes on philosophy of education, curriculum studies, the history of US education, and gender studies in education. This book presents (both the authors and us) with an opportunity to reflect on their personal influences, professional choices, careers, and contributions. The collection reveals the ways that questions emerged from personal experience, cultural and family background, early questions about social justice, difference and diversity, and the ongoing project of democracy.

The original thought for the series was to include scholars from a range of international institutions. However, this volume follows the history of education volume by including contributions by American scholars, although two of them are at Canadian universities. This decision was made in part to make the book manageable in terms of the number of chapters, but also served to focus the chapters around key themes which emerged only after the drafts were submitted and I read them all together. 38 scholars were invited. I solicited names from leading scholars in social studies. Of the 38, the work of 19 researchers is included. Some declined and others did not respond to invitations. As with the other volumes in the series, the essays are organized alphabetically.

Influential scholarship in social education since 1960 encompasses a range of investigations that can be grouped into several broad categories. One grouping, the study of teaching and learning history, includes the work of Keith Barton, Terrie Epstein, and Linda Levstik. Another category, civic education and democracy studies, is the focus of the work of Carole Hahn, Walter Parker, and Joel Westheimer. Cultural studies includes the research of Gloria Contreras, Merry Merryfield, and Valerie Ooka Pang. Explorations in critical pedagogy in social studies have been forged by Avner Segall and William Stanley. These topics and others, such as curriculum and assessment, have occupied researchers in social studies for the last several decades.

As I read and re-read the chapters, three themes stood out to me in this collection of essays. The first notion is that serendipity played a major role in shaping many of the scholars' choices of research topics and career moves. SG Grant is particularly attuned to this theme in his essay, in which he describes his peripatetic career in

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educational leadership and social studies which has taken him to various locales around the eastern seaboard and Midwestern United States. Others write about paths not taken, chance meetings, and moves to new places without much of a sense of a clear direction, only to find that clear direction once they arrived and dug into the work of researching social education. This phenomenon is not unique to social studies scholars, as other volumes in this series amply demonstrate, and it might not even be limited to the experiences of scholars in general, but it is a clear refrain in the chapters in this volume.

The second idea that occurred to me after reading the essays as a group was the social justice emphasis and politically liberal efforts, publications, and activities of social education scholars. Most professors in most fields are left-of-center, but this group in particular brings a sense of urgency to their work, as well as the belief that they are not just researching and writing for publication's sake, but they are doing so in order to change the world, to have an impact on schools, society, and the curriculum. In this volume are essays written by scholars who have served in the Peace Corps and marched in demonstrations. Merry Merryfield and Keith Barton write about racism that they witnessed and how it shaped their worldviews. Gloria Contreras reflects on her cultural heritage as a Chicana and how it fueled her desire to write about the need for diverse curricular materials. Margaret Crocco remembers how she participated in marches and sit-ins while in college. In this volume it is striking to see how advancements in social education research align with politically progressive ideals.

Finally, and relatedly, to borrow a maxim from the women's movement of the 1970s, this group of essays reveals that the personal is political. For social education researchers, nothing could be truer. Whether it's serving community members at the Chat-n-Nibble in Keith Barton's essay or Joel Westheimer's learning about his mother's leaving Frankfurt on a *kindertransport* during World War II, this group of scholars has had its past, its family and community influences, and the changes in life stages over the years shape its professional and political interests. Some contributors, such as Valerie Ooka Pang, put the claim up front, that family have shaped career goals and identity. Likewise, her small town led her and her sisters to begin to ask questions about gender and ethnic equality.

Beyond the themes that emerge by reading across the chapters, it struck me that we have a treasure trove of oral histories in this volume, not just on American history and such major events as the Depression, red baiting, and the Civil Rights movement, but also on the development of the field of social studies. Carole Hahn writes about attending graduate school during the height of the New Social Studies movement. Bill Stanley claims that having taken a Problems of Democracy course in high school made social studies come alive for him. Some lived through tumultuous times, which shaped their work in the field.

In conclusion, after having spent some time editing the essays, and hearing some of the authors present their chapters at a recent conference, I was struck by how daunting this task must have been for them. Imagine what it would be like to be asked

to make sense of one's own scholarly life, to order the chaos of deciding on research topics, collecting data, and writing it all up for publication. Think about the request to reveal one's background and family influences and to share one's concerns, fears, hopes, and dreams in a genre that scholars don't usually deal with. These intellectual self-portraits have revealed to me the inescapable link our work as academics has with our pasts, our families, our experiences, no matter how small or seemingly ordinary. That said, this collection of extraordinary essays—if I may say—is borne of ordinary lives. You will read about scholars from America's heartland, the West Coast, and New England. In this volume are humble beginnings, honest appraisals of work gone awry, paths followed and not followed, and throughout what stands out is the clear, determined sense of urgency about making the world a better place through a commitment to social justice and democracy by researching topics in social education.

KEITH C. BARTON

LEGACIES OF THE CHAT-N-NIBBLE

I grew up in Eminence, Kentucky, the kind of small town that people remember as an idyllic remnant of a former age. This was a place where everyone knew each other, watched out for each other, brought each other vegetables in season. We didn't always lock our doors, because we felt secure under our neighbors' watchful eyes. I even remember accepting car rides as a child from people I didn't know—they could hardly be called strangers, because I was sure my parents knew them even when I didn't. (When I told these stories as an elementary teacher in California, my students were convinced I must have grown up on another planet.) Many people in town were my relatives; "That's your cousin" was my mother's constant reminder. Most families had lived in the same county for generations, and their shared experiences stretched across the years: "Oh you know who Juanita is," began a typical conversation. "Her sister married an Arnsparger—Cleatus's oldest boy, the one that walked funny from the accident. They lived on that farm over by Six-Mile, the one Old Man Foree used to rent out." History, geography, genealogy: These formed the web that bound us together.

My family was well-placed in this network, not because we were financially well off (we weren't) but because my parents owned the local restaurant, the aptly named Chat-N-Nibble. This restaurant—it might be called a diner in other parts of the country—sat squarely in the middle of town, physically and socially. All day, every day, the Chat-N-Nibble was the community's informal meeting place. (Okay, admittedly Sunday nights were a little slow.) Farmers, businesspeople, and store clerks came in for breakfast and lunch; teenagers dropped by on their way home from school or after Friday-night ball games; and the church crowd packed all 25 tables on Sunday. (You had to get there early if you wanted to beat the Baptists, whose piety was no match for their appetites.)

But most distinct in my memory was the steady stream of coffee drinkers. From dawn until the waning afternoon, the front half of the restaurant was populated by a revolving crowd of men and women (at separate tables), newspapers at their sides. Here they discussed the world's pressing issues: high politics and low gossip; broken water mains and where to get a deal on a used tractor; new cake recipes and whether to join the teachers' strike. I witnessed this gathering nearly every day, for when I was young the restaurant supplied my childcare, and later I provided its labor; at one time I knew how nearly everyone in Eminence took their coffee. That's not very useful information anymore, but by spending my early years in this setting I learned

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how adults are supposed to pass the time: drinking coffee and discussing their shared concerns.

I also learned some things about civic responsibility, for in a tight-knit community a business is never just a way to make money. The town and its countryside relied on a volunteer fire department, and fire runs were common in the days of poor wiring and open burning (and before smoke detectors). Afterward, volunteers had to drink coffee and debrief, and this could only be done at the Chat-N-Nibble. The coffee was free, and if the fire began in the middle of the night, my father, Earl, dutifully got out of bed, drove to town, and awaited their arrival. During the day, my mother showed the same civility and generosity in other ways. Even in a small town, people sometimes don't know each other, and she couldn't abide such a thing: "Boots" Barton made sure no one left the Chat-N-Nibble a stranger to anyone else. These were also the days of rural transients known as hoboes, and whenever someone down on his luck showed up at our restaurant, she gave him a free meal. I once asked her why. "That's just what you do," she said.

People looking out for each other, that's the idyllic face of my hometown. There was also poverty, and violence, and abuse, but I was largely sheltered from those. I was never shielded, though, from one of the more conflicted elements of small-town Southern life: race. About 25% of my town's school-age population was African American; I derived that statistic, in one of my earliest empirical studies, by counting the photos in the yearbook. Moreover, Eminence was too small for us not to know each other, play with each other, study with each other (but not, usually, go to each other's homes). This early experience with diversity led me to appreciate and expect the company of those different than myself; in fact, I start to get a little claustrophobic when I'm around too many White people. But it also allowed me to see racism from an early age. There was little overt conflict in Eminence, and schools there integrated quietly (although I realize now that many of the African American teachers must have lost their jobs). The Chat-N-Nibble also passed through this era peacefully. The first time an African American sat at a table to be waited on (rather than coming to the back door for take-out), our waitresses held a hasty conference to decide on a course of action. Their plan: Give him a menu and see what he orders.

But there was plenty of prejudice nonetheless. A nearby town had once been a hotbed of Klan activity, and my own family displayed a range of racial attitudes. I remember my uncle looking through Christmas cards at my grandparents' house one year and remarking, "Here's one with a bunch of damned coloreds." My grandfather gave him a look that seemed to say, "Well, don't they have Christmas too?" I found out later that he had long been disgusted with his son's racism. In their rural farming community, my grandfather had a reputation for the unusual practice of being friends with African American families, and he refused to listen to the racist talk of his neighbors—walking away whenever it began. At school I saw more racism over the years, beginning when my first-grade friend Timmy took a step backward in line at the water fountain so as not to drink after an African American classmate.

Racial attitudes were related to an uglier face of small town life: conformity. Growing up, I was continually annoyed when people followed tradition rather than developing conclusions of their own. People in Eminence didn't stray too far from the norm in their ideas about society or politics or religion. I remember one elementary teacher's reaction to anti-war protests at the University of Kentucky: "If they don't like the country, then why don't they just move out?" He said this without any particular rancor; he just didn't understand why anyone would protest against the government. Yet my oldest brother—a conscientious objector—was one of those protestors, and through his eyes I saw other ways of thinking about the world. By the end of elementary school, it was clear just how different those ideas—and my own—were from most people around me. By high school this was a source of constant frustration.

Time and again, it seemed that my classmates (and some of my teachers) took a position not because they had reflectively considered the issue but because it was what they had always believed, and what people around them believed. I saw myself as an aspiring scientist (first a geologist, then a physicist), and it galled me that people couldn't support their positions with logic and evidence—nor did they even think it necessary to do so. Different ways of thinking just weren't "common sense," I was told time and again, by people who thought that African Americans were inferior, that homosexuals were recruiting in schools (this was the time of Anita Bryant's anti-gay campaign), that the Equal Rights Amendment would require mixed sex restrooms, or that a great flood killed all life except the animals on Noah's ark. How could people think that these illogical and unsubstantiated ideas were common sense? My mother, a successful businesswoman and accomplished cook (both of which required intelligence and experimentation) even believed to her dying day—despite the derision heaped upon her by my brothers and myself—that a horsehair placed in rainwater would turn into a snake.

It can be easy to overstate the influence of conformity and tradition in a small town like mine. After all, Eminence was racially diverse, and debates among coffee drinkers demonstrated a certain level of political and ideological diversity. In high school my friends included a small handful of liberal and critical thinkers. But most discussions took place within clear boundaries, and more radical perspectives usually were met with suspicion and contempt. There certainly weren't many other socialists, feminists, or atheists among the 42 people in my class, and I found the limits of thought in my hometown far too constraining. Bringing each other vegetables hardly seemed as important as being able to think critically about the world, and by adolescence I couldn't get away from Eminence fast enough—so much so that I left high school a year early to enroll at the University of Kentucky.

At the university I found myself among people with a wider range of perspectives—except usually on economic issues. Still in the midst of the cold war, most people I knew were unwilling to consider alternatives to capitalism, which they regarded as the natural state of humanity and the only possible means of organizing the economy. (My freshman roommate didn't object to my poster of Karl Marx only because he

didn't know who he was.) But fortunately, on the first day of my freshman year (in *History of Europe to 1713*, the only history course I took as an undergraduate), I met Shaunna Scott. Later I learned that we agreed on every important social, political, economic, and religious issue. With such a high level of consensus, I concluded quite rationally that she must be who I loved, the woman I wanted to spend the rest of my life with. Although it took a while longer to convince her of that logic, we eventually began dating, and we married a few years later. We've been together ever since.

I majored in anthropology, which I saw as the most comprehensive of the human sciences—a way of understanding people and society that was both scientific and humanistic. (Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., also an anthropology major, once described it as "a science that's mostly poetry" [Vonnegut, 1977].) I became increasingly interested in the public use of social research, and particularly in studying the impact of political and economic policy on people's lives. I assumed I would become a professor of anthropology, but my goal was not only to engage in scholarship but to do so in a way that contributed to the public good. I enrolled in graduate school at UCLA with the intention of studying the impact of agricultural development on small farmers in East Africa.

My career took a different turn, but this early identification with anthropology influenced my later scholarship in a number of ways. First, the role of culture and society has always been at the forefront of my thinking, and much of my work has sought to explain how teaching and learning is influenced by social context—whether at the level of classroom, community, or nation. This interest may also explain why I have been so drawn to international teaching and research, and why I look forward to the challenge of understanding other settings. It takes time and effort to makes sense of community division in Northern Ireland, ethnic diversity in New Zealand, or nation-building in Singapore, and these can easily be interpreted through stereotypes and simplifications when viewed from afar. Rather than seeing this difficult task as a frustrating obstacle, though, I have always considered it a key motivation for undertaking projects in new places.

Second, I have always had a broad view of scientific research. Within and across subfields, anthropologists use a variety of methods. Some of these are more ethnographic and some more quantitative, but even this distinction is misleading, for numerical data is often an element of ethnographic observation. My advisor at UCLA, for instance, was not only a trained psychoanalyst but the author of *Quantification in Cultural Anthropology* (Johnson, 1980). Some of the debates within educational research, then, have always struck me as misguided. Until I entered education, in fact, I had never heard anyone suggest that ethnographic research was not "scientific," or that qualitative and quantitative methods were based on differing epistemologies. I find this distinction so misleading and unproductive that I once taught an entire course on research methods without mentioning either of the "q-words."

I also took from anthropology a concern with understanding society holistically. Each of the social sciences imagines that it can best explain everything important

about humanity, but anthropology has a better claim on this distinction than most. Culture, social relations, material life, linguistics, biology: all these are part of the field, which at its best examines both spatial and temporal dimensions of society, in a way that is simultaneously generalizing and particularizing. Although individual studies rarely aim for such holism, the overall field aspires to an integrated understanding of people and societies. As a social studies educator, then, my interest has always been in helping students understand society as a whole (past and present, near and far) rather than developing their facility with the purportedly unique perspective of academic disciplines such as history, geography, or economics.

While at UCLA, I spent much of my time with faculty and graduate students in African Studies—anthropologists, political scientists, geographers, economists, historians, and urban planners. Despite being in different departments, many of us read the same works, investigated overlapping issues, and shared similar ideas about the nature of social inquiry. This similarity of interests and perspectives across disciplines was largely taken for granted; my roommate, a molecular biologist, told me that people in seven academic divisions at UCLA did the same kind of research he did. Such cross-disciplinary commonalities, combined with the varied and integrative nature of anthropology, have contributed to my conviction that the notion of "disciplinary thinking" is a misrepresentation of how scholars work—much less how they think.

I didn't complete this first doctoral program, though. During my time at UCLA, I travelled to Kenya as part of a Swahili language program, but by that time I had become less committed to a career in academia or to spending my time in other countries—an ironic development, considering that I would later embrace each of those again. I had also grown suspicious of the idea of "applying" Western academic knowledge to the problems of developing nations, because such application can be used for good or ill—frequently the latter. Somewhat impulsively, I switched to a career I thought had a more immediate prospect of improving the world, and of keeping me close to home: teaching. After completing a graduate certification program at UCLA, I taught elementary school for five years, first in Los Angeles and later in the San Francisco Bay Area (where Shaunna was completing her doctorate in anthropology at Berkeley).

Like most educators, I found teaching both rewarding and challenging. Rewards came from the inherent pleasure of helping young people develop intellectually, and I think I was particularly good at establishing rapport with students—even though they were terrified of me at first. This rapport came, at least in part, from the respect I had for their thinking. I was never interested in having students reproduce low-level factual information or engage in rote procedures; I always wanted them to understand the deeper meaning of content and to apply skills in new situations. Moreover, students in my first class of fourth-graders spoke 11 languages and spanned a wide range of English fluency, so a curriculum limited to textbooks and worksheets was out of the question. My certification program had stressed working with students from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds, so I knew from the beginning that

students needed plenty of chances to communicate, and that I couldn't confuse limited English with limited understanding. Listening to students, and taking their ideas seriously, was the most fulfilling part of teaching—and later, of my research.

My challenges, though, differed from those of many teachers. Elementary schools can be stifling environments, where both the dead hand of tradition and the gendered expectations of compliance govern many teachers' lives. Once again I ran up against ideas that made no sense, mostly coming from district administrators—such as the belief that students learn to read by pronouncing letters, to spell by writing lists of words, to think mathematically by completing worksheets, or to use computers by doing keyboarding exercises. But I didn't pay much attention to these beliefs, because as a strong-willed man in an elementary school, I faced little opposition to teaching the way I wanted—using manipulatives in math, taking a process approach to writing, or focusing on women, minorities, and labor activists in history. This even freed up some of my colleagues to take risks they didn't think they could get away with before ("Keith can use trade books instead of basal readers? Well, then, I guess I can too!"). I was fortunate to work with thoughtful teachers who were willing to expand students' educational experiences in meaningful and creative ways.

Unlike many teachers, then, my challenges didn't lie primarily in struggling against the pervasive contextual constraints of teaching. Instead, I found myself frustrated by the difficulty of developing students' conceptual understanding. Too often, despite my students' generally enthusiastic participation in concept-based lessons, they didn't really understand what I hoped they would learn. In my first year of teaching, I was already frustrated trying to teach about society when students apparently couldn't tell the difference between a river and a state capital. And yet I knew that having them memorize rivers and capitals, or look up definitions in a dictionary, weren't sensible ways of meeting that challenge. It wasn't facts or definitions they lacked, but concepts.

During five years of teaching I gradually learned more about how to develop students' understanding, especially through my participation in professional development programs such as the Bay Area Writing Program and the EQUALS mathematics program at Berkeley. A switch from elementary school to junior high (to accommodate my responsibilities as president of the teachers union) brought a fresh set of challenges, but soon afterward my wife was offered a faculty position at the University of Kentucky. In many ways, this seemed like the perfect move. Our daughter Hannah had just been born, Shaunna had just finished her doctorate, and this was one of the rare openings in precisely her specialty—Appalachian community studies. Moving to Kentucky also took us back home and closer to our families, which seemed the ideal setting for raising a family of our own.

But teaching jobs weren't nearly as plentiful in Kentucky as in California. I spent several months looking for work as a teacher, civil servant, or political organizer, yet my only offer was as statewide coordinator for abortion rights—a position I turned down because I thought it involved too much travel. Finally, I decided to go back to graduate school at the University of Kentucky, where at least I could pick

up a salary as a teaching assistant. In California I had begun giving professional development workshops from time to time, and I found that I enjoyed working with fellow teachers as much as with students. A career preparing teachers, then, seemed like a logical move, and to my great good fortune the Kentucky faculty included one of the nation's preeminent social studies scholars—Linda Levstik.

I quickly found that Linda was the perfect mentor for me—someone whose temperament, interests, and teaching practices meshed perfectly with my own. During my first year in the program I often stopped by her office to chat, and these impromptu conversations sometimes went on for an hour or more. (Only later, when I had doctoral students of my own, did I realize how much of her time I had been taking up.) Moreover, Linda involved me in her own work from the very beginning, usually as a full collaborator. By the end of my first year we had planned a study of children's understanding of historical time, and as soon as we presented those findings we began research on historical significance. Before I graduated, she had invited me to collaborate on the book that became *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools* (Levstik & Barton, 2011 [orig. 1997]). Just as important, Linda apprenticed me into the professional norms of the field—giving conference presentations, proposing sessions, serving on committees, and the like—and introduced me to most of the other leaders in the field.

Linda and I have worked together so closely, for so long now, that I don't always know which ideas I picked up from her, which I came up with on my own, and which we developed together. Even ideas I think of as "my own" derive in large part from the example Linda has set in her scholarship, teaching, and commitment to the field. (I'm sometimes reminded of this when I read work she published before or soon after we met—"So that's where I got that idea," I've thought more than once.) Linda's dedication to empirical research, her concern with students' thinking, her sense of responsibility toward teachers and children, and her interest in good writing—all these have contributed significantly to my work and career. And perhaps most important, our many conversations have contributed to the pivotal theme in much of my work—the role of history in understanding society.

I began this doctoral program in 1990, a time when efforts to reform history education in the United States were gaining visibility among educators, historians, and politicians. Linda and I were part of a small but rapidly growing group of researchers interested in how students made sense of the past. These were exciting times, and not just because I was a newcomer; I think we all held out great hope that our findings could help move school history away from its long-standing association with textbooks, lectures, and student boredom. I believe the sense of community we developed during those years was essential to developing the critical mass of scholarship that allowed the field to take off. Throughout the 1990s this group of colleagues traded manuscripts, awaited each other's publications, served on committees together, and went out for countless meals, as the community of history education researchers steadily grew. It wasn't quite like the coffee-drinkers in the Chat-N-Nibble, but close enough.

Since this beginning, most of my work—both with Linda and on my own—has focused on how children and adolescents understand the past. Much of this research has shown that history, particularly with proper scaffolding, can be accessible and relevant even for younger students. In some cases this work has pointed to obstacles students encounter in trying to make sense of the past. And throughout this research, the influence of context has been paramount; learning history is never simply an encounter between students and content, for classroom circumstances and larger societal settings always affect not only how students experience the past but how they interpret it. (For more extensive reflections on this body of work, see Levstik and Barton, 2008). But like most researchers in history education, Linda and I wanted to do more than investigate students' understanding: we wanted to change the way they were taught. Empirical evidence contributes to that effort, but history education takes place in schools (among other settings), and teachers are not necessarily avid readers of research. They can hardly be blamed for that, because most of us write primarily for other scholars, not for those who we hope will use our findings.

Our goal of influencing practice led to our first book together, *Doing History*. We wanted to introduce teachers to current theory and research in history education, but we wanted to do so in a way that was readable and accessible, and that would help them apply those ideas to the world of practice. This meant we had to avoid a dry recounting of findings; we doubted that would make much of a dent on practice, no matter how convincingly we reviewed the research. But we also wanted to avoid simple recommendations or lesson plans, for we knew there was little value in prescribing specific tasks or pretending the same activities would work in every setting. Instead, we built the book around realistic vignettes of what we considered outstanding practice, followed by our explanation of how these practices reflected important principles of history education—such as engaging students in interpretation, scaffolding their participation, building on background knowledge, and so on.

We knew the success of *Doing History* would depend in large measure on the quality and authenticity of the classroom vignettes; if these weren't realistic, teachers would dismiss the book as being out of touch. But we were fortunate to know several elementary and middle school teachers who were doing interesting work with students, and we were even more fortunate that they allowed us to spend so much time in their classrooms—watching their teaching, talking with their students, and sometimes even trying out our own ideas. To this day, the most rewarding part of my job involves working with good teachers and talking with them and their students about their ideas. I've tried to use this immersion in the world of teaching and learning to bridge two communities that need each other—the communities of scholarship and practice.

Yet just as in my hometown, I haven't always shared the same perspectives as everyone in the communities around me. My understanding of the nature of historical inquiry, for example, differs markedly from many of my colleagues. As a doctoral

student, I took almost as many courses in history as in education, and in a series of these I pursued research on slave-hiring in antebellum Kentucky. This practice was more prevalent in agricultural areas than previous historians had realized, and it raised some puzzling issues: It certainly didn't conform to the usual image of labor-intensive plantations, and many of those who were hired out were women, children, and the elderly. Why was there so much demand for slaves who weren't contributing to heavy agricultural labor? Through research into probate registers, census and tax records, divorce cases, and other sources, I was able to establish that slave-hiring was a widespread, market-based practice that provided flexibility for larger farms in the mixed agricultural economy of the Upper South, and that hirers sought slaves to relieve their wives of household drudgery—a practice consistent with evolving norms of middle-class domesticity (Barton, 1997).

The most important outcome of the project was that I became immersed in historical research. And what I learned from these efforts flew in the face of ideas that have become prevalent in the educational community. Scholars and practitioners alike have latched onto the idea that in order to engage in authentic, "disciplinary" thinking, students should be evaluating documents through sourcing and corroboration "heuristics." Yet this is almost precisely the opposite of what historians do. Historical research isn't about evaluating documents; it's about a process of inquiry designed to answer engaging questions. I pursued this investigation not because I wanted to know what a set of documents said; I pursued it because I wanted to know why so many slaves were being hired. To answer that question, I looked for evidence about hirers and their motives; I never "sourced" a document, because like all historians, I selected the documents in the first place—they weren't handed to me as part of a packaged exercise. Historians do evaluate documents, but they rarely do so by "sourcing" or "corroborating" them; their evaluation takes place when they consider what evidence the sources can provide to answer their questions (Barton, 2005). We can't expect students to construct historical knowledge by giving them a set of documents to "source." That's like expecting to get a snake out of a horsehair dropped in rainwater.

I also differ from some in the history education community because I don't think history is an end in itself. When I entered the profession, I assumed everyone believed, as I did, that studying history was a useful way of understanding contemporary social issues. This is the view that Linda and I laid out in *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Inspired in part by Walter Parker's exploration of education's role in preparing students for democratic participation (Parker, 2003), we argued that history education should contribute to students' willingness and ability to investigate and deliberate important social issues. We're not alone in this view, but I often feel that we're waging an uphill battle. For many educators, researchers, and historians, the study of history simply *is*. Its place in the curriculum is taken for granted, and it needs no further justification; any contribution to democracy or other valued social purposes is incidental. Those holding this view

generally want to reform history so that it better matches their image of disciplinary norms, but as Stephen Thornton and I have argued, focusing on historical methods without engaging the subject's purpose renders choices about content impossible (Thornton & Barton, 2010). Deciding what to teach must be grounded in a broader understanding of why we require students to learn history in the first place.

For me, that justification lies in the needs of a democratic society. To take part in democratic deliberations and decisions, students have to know about work, gender, politics, culture, and countless other topics; they need to have explored the nature of human knowledge, agency, expression, and belief; they need to have considered the differing ways people think about the world, and the varied ways they organize their social lives; they need to grapple with issues of human rights, economic development, and environmental change. The past provides a rich context for investigating such topics, and so too does the present-day world. Surely students who have experience investigating these issues in both historical and contemporary contexts will be better prepared to participate in the public life of their communities. Deeper knowledge, greater reflection, and more inclusive participation can surely make conversations at the Chat-N-Nibble richer and more productive. I think I'll have another cup.

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GLORIA CONTRERAS

TEX/MEX BORDER ROOTS AND BEYOND

Family, ethnicity, and place shaped my future and views on teaching and social education, my life's passion. A baby boomer born in El Paso, Texas, in 1947 to a second generation Mexican American mother and Mexican father was my good fortune. A bilingual and bicultural home life with proud and loving parents gave my four siblings and me solid family roots and the knowledge and skills needed to navigate confidently in an Anglo-dominated power base. Border life meant drawing the best from two wonderful ways of life.

'VIDA LOCA' ON THE BORDERLANDS

In a favorite book, *Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth*, Tolstoy (1930) writes about his childhood, "Happy, happy, irrecoverable days of childhood! How can one fail to love and cherish its memories? Those memories refresh and elevate my soul and are the source of my greatest delight" (p. 58). His words have stayed with me, reminding me of my own childhood and youth along the U.S. and Mexico border.

The story begins in El Paso, a diverse international border city across the Rio Grande River from *Ciudad Juárez*, where we enjoyed the best of two worlds and learned that mastering two languages is better than one. My father, born in the state of *Michoacán* two years before the outbreak of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, told stories about his youth on a beloved ranch before coming to the U.S. at the age of 19 as a consequence of the Cristero Rebellion. The geography of this central-western state that he depicted stood in sharp contrast to the El Paso desert landscape. His stories revolved around the region's very wet land, hot springs, lakes, saltpeter bed, and fields of sugar cane, tobacco, alfalfa, corn, and other crops. His homeland's geography stirred my imagination of that faraway place where my grandfather still lived. Other accounts focused on the dangers of the Mexican Revolution to the family, and our beloved *Tío*.

Guillermo, a hilarious story teller, visited us frequently on his trips between Mexico and California. He forged a bond between the Texas *familia* and our far-off Mexican cousins, aunts, and uncles. We treasured the toys, artifacts, delicious candies, and other uniquely Mexican gifts he'd surprise us with, but even more cherished were Uncle Willie's heartwarming stories about our family roots.

My mother, on the other hand, was born in El Paso, and I can remember boarding the trolley to *Juárez* with her for the conventional dollar hair set and fifty-cent manicure. At times we would stop at the *mercado* or pay a to visit her *comadre*

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 17–30.

Lola, my brother's godmother. My mother, a topnotch bilingual medical secretary who prized education, was always quick to correct our Spanish. Clearly, my siblings and I internalized the old saying we heard her repeat, "The person who speaks two languages is worth two!"

Sadly, today's news stories about *Ciudad Juárez* recount drug related atrocities, proclaiming this once friendly and lively city the most violent in the world. The 2010 killing of a U.S. consulate employee and her husband, my cousin's son, struck our family firsthand. Leslie and Arthur were brutally shot on their return to El Paso from a birthday party. Thankfully their beloved baby, Rebecca, was "unharmed" in the shooting. Today's terrified community is not the same place I experienced, one full of popular restaurants, great shopping, and endless entertainment. The borderland of my youth juxtaposed Friday night football with Sunday bullfights. Mariachis, cumbias, cha chas, boleros, and other Latin beats delighted as much as the fabulous 1960s rock music, and Mexican newspapers like *El Fronterizo*, Mexican television, and radio stations like XEJ paralleled the English media.

EDUCATION BARRIERS

The phenomenal diversity of border life and reality of multicultural families like mine were completely out of sync with the official school curriculum and policies of cultural assimilation. Thus the old adage about education beginning in the home was critical in my upbringing. For example, school policies of assimilation forbad the use of Spanish.

Parents were urged to reinforce the no-Spanish rule in the home. Schools doled out paddling or detention hall as punishment for getting caught speaking Spanish on school grounds. Fortunately, my parents found no logic in the no-Spanish rule and actually encouraged bilingual fluency. The no-Spanish rule was one I strongly resisted. At times I spoke in Spanish purposely to annoy teachers and desired to become as proficient as my mother, to no avail. Thus by the time I reached college I was anticipative of Spanish literature and becoming fluent in my second language. I relished Cervantes' *Aventuras de Don Quixote* and Blasco Ibáñez' *Cañas y Barro*. Mexican writer Mariano Azuela's *Los de Abajo: Novela de la Revolución Mexicana* affected me deeply because of my father's personal ordeals and made me love him all the more.

While the Tex-Mex border experience is wonderful, one is also keenly aware of the stark contrast between suburban USA on one side and the highly visible hovels and poverty across the river. Yes, gorgeous Spanish style mansions lined the central streets of *Juárez,* but the extreme economic disparity I witnessed along with the knowledge of Mexican history acquired at home must have channeled my interest in political science and Latin America. I graduated in 1969 with a degree in secondary education and teaching fields in government and Spanish.

As a beginning teacher, resistance theory and human agency were foreign pedagogical constructs to me although intuitively familiar. Soon enough I would

gravitate to scholars like Ivan Illich, Henry Giroux, Paulo Freire, and Peter McLaren. Because of my so-called "lived experience" these political theorists resonated with me. As Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman (2008) assert in their voluminous study of historical and contemporary curriculum discourses (essential reading for my doctoral students):

> Today no serious curriculum scholar would advance the argument that schools in general and curriculum in particular are politically neutral. Yet the political neutrality of school curriculum was a commonplace assumption in the pre-1970s literature. That the idea is largely discarded today represents one testimony to the influence of this body of curriculum scholarship. While there are many differences among political theorists, differences which have led to lively and sometimes contentious exchanges, it is possible to speak very generally about what they tend to share. Political theorists tend to view American society as rife with poverty, homelessness, racism, and political oppression. While they tend to blame these problems on the economic system, i.e. capitalism, they do regard the schools are participating in this general system of injustice and suffering. There is a visionary element among political theorists, as they tend to call for an empowered citizenry capable of altering their circumstances in favor of a more just society. The school in general, and the curriculum in particular, play important roles in both oppression and reform. (p. 244)

Often I've wished I had known then, as a beginning teacher, what I know now. One year I taught 7th and 8th grade English classes in a barrio school with the most irrelevant textbooks and curriculum imaginable. Overwhelmed, I wondered who wrote such inconsequential curricula and for the first time considered curriculum development opportunities for myself. I weighed my weak teacher preparation experience against a bilingual/bicultural curriculum orientation that was in the making. Finally, I let go of my dream to become a lawyer and started to relish my experience in the Secondary Supervision Master's program. I believe that I was just one of many restless and discontented young teachers clamoring for educational reform at a time when political and racial dissent was challenging conventional American culture.

FIRST IN THE FAMILY

After four years of public school teaching I accepted a research fellowship to the University of Georgia. I was the first in my family to seek an advanced degree and was both scared and excited by the opportunity. It was a profound dissatisfaction with textbooks in particular that motivated me to study curriculum development. My first teaching position was with sixth graders from a predominantly military community who were widely traveled youngsters. I found them exceedingly interesting and mature for their age. However, it was my junior high school experience in a South El Paso barrio with predominantly Spanish speaking students that profoundly shocked me and pointed me in the direction of social science education. All that I have

done is rooted in those wonderful students who were so utterly short-changed by the Anglo-dominant establishment in terms of facilities and a woefully irrelevant curriculum. Amazingly, I learned that only one feeder elementary school from the larger community could actually claim a library facility for these students.

In 1973 Marion J. Rice from the University of Georgia, my revered mentor and friend, changed the course of my life when I joined the tail end of the New Social Studies (NSS) movement. Barbara Stern's edited volume on *The New Social Studies: People, Projects and Perspectives* describes the leaders that in the wake of Sputnik spearheaded one of the most ambitious curriculum reform movements in the field.

The anthropology and geography projects directed by Rice were aligned with the New Social Studies, a movement rooted in Bruner's message of *The Process of Education* (1960). With a focus on the structure of the disciplines, Rice engaged us, his proud and enthusiastic doctoral students, in writing curriculum materials and researching the results of learning theories and geographic and anthropology concepts. Also tested were various instructional methodologies like mastery learning and the use of different types of advance organizers based on Ausubel's (1963) theory of verbal learning. Rice's philosophical beliefs are recorded in a doctoral dissertation by Sorrels (2001), "Marion Jennings Rice, Philosophy and Praxis: The Professional Biography of a Georgia Educator." While the Project materials were not restricted to inquiry, the units produced were steeped in conceptual knowledge.

A superb faculty that included Mary Hepburn, Elmer Williams, Guy Larkins, Don Schneider, and Everet Keach were leaders of the field and our mentors. Mary Hepburn, the only female professor in the Department of Social Science Education, remains an eminent role model and supported me throughout my career. I learned more about effective teaching methods from Elmer Williams than from any other individual in the profession, and through Don Schneider's exemplary leadership in the NCSS I remained in close touch with a giant in the field. These and other professors in the program were friendly, outgoing, and supportive faculty who befriended the doctoral students and opened their homes to us. Unfortunately, I learned from my work experience at other universities that the close relationship Georgia faculty cultivated with doctoral students is uncommon practice elsewhere. However, I always tried to treat my graduate students with the same respect, consideration, and friendliness that the University of Georgia faculty displayed towards us at all times.

In Stern's NSS edition I write about the movement and the ethos of multiculturalism (Contreras, 2009). I describe three different approaches to the social studies that I experienced. Worst was the irrelevant traditional teacher-centered social studies curriculum of my public school experience. For example, it was in my 1965 senior year that Dr. King marched in Selma, Alabama, anti-Vietnam War protests spread, and President Johnson declared the War on Poverty. The Social Security Act of 1965 established Medicare and Medicaid and the Voting Rights Act were passed when Watts exploded and the United Farm Workers started the Delano Grape Strike, too. The social upheaval taking place right under our noses was never even mentioned in my year-long civics class.

My introduction to an authentic curriculum came through the New Social Studies movement previously described. At the same time I was thrilled to join the National Council for the Social Studies, and I fully committed to the most consequential professional organization of my career. The most influential approach to social studies to me, however, came through the emerging ethnic studies programs that later evolved into multicultural education. In this regard, I am proud to have served on the executive board of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the Multicultural Education Committee responsible for the first NCATE Multicultural Standards.

AN ENDURING MODEL SURGES

In 1973 the National Council for the Social Studies published a far-reaching yearbook edited by James Banks, *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*. It was my introduction to Carlos E. Cortés, historian and then chair of the Mexican American Studies program at the University of California, Riverside. His chapter on teaching the Chicano experience strongly resonated strongly with me. His framework for understanding and teaching history, the Greater America Concept Model, was incisive and adaptable. First he outlined the obstacles impeding the effective teaching of the Chicano experience that included the persistence of societal stereotypes of the Mexican American; the inadequacy of social studies textbooks; and the general lack of knowledge about the Mexican American past and present.

Cortés argued against five rigid and invalid traditional frames of reference with which teachers had to contend, including 1) the idea that U.S. History is an essentially unidirectional east-to-west phenomenon; (2) the attempt to explain the Chicano experience by labeling it "just like" the experiences of Blacks, Native Americans, or various immigrant groups; (3) the view of the Chicano experience as essentially homogeneous, with most Mexican Americans following a single stereotyped historical pattern; (4) the concept of the "awakening Mexican American," arising from a century-long siesta; and (5) the attempt to explain the Chicano experience by presenting a parade of Mexican heroes and individual Mexican American success stories.

Cortés proposed that "The teaching of social studies must include, from grade one on, the continuous, parallel study of Anglo and Mexican cultural and societal patterns, their contributions, their conflict, and the process and failure of fusion or coexistence" (p. 186). Cortés' alternative concepts were the Greater America concept; comparative ethnic experiences; Chicano diversity; history of activity; and the Chicano people. "America," he said, "is finally recognizing the Chicano presence, and educators are finally recognizing that the study of the Chicano experience is a vital part of becoming aware of our nation's multi-ethnic and culturally pluralistic heritage. It is up to the social studies teacher to turn this overdue societal recognition into educational reality and thereby help create an open society of the future" (p. 196).

While Cortés conceptualized the Greater America Model, I was advancing in my doctoral studies and absorbing as much Chicano literature as I could. I understood

then that there were still two "separate but equal" paths to knowing. For that matter, my attempt at producing a more inclusive curriculum "failed." My first-ever manuscript submitted for publication to *Social Education* consisted of recommended readings and topics for integrating the Chicano experience into the social studies was rejected. Undeterred, I eventually converted my newly found knowledge into a graduate level course that I taught at The University of Texas at Austin over my 13 years at that institution.

I, too, recognized how textbooks and school curricula excluded the historical contributions of minority groups to American history. Additionally the United States Commission on Civil Rights reported that school systems of the Southwest failed to recognize the rich culture and tradition of Mexican American students and called for the adoption of "policies and programs which would enable these students to participate fully in the benefits of the educational process" (p. 48). The Commission concluded that school curricula failed to inform either the Chicano or Anglo student of Indo-Hispanic contributions to the historical development of the Southwest. Selected classroom and school activities dealing with Chicano culture tended to stress superficial and exotic elements such as Mexican food, fiestas, and costumes. The result had been a reinforcement of stereotypes that denied Mexican American youth full awareness and pride of their cultural heritage.

In my rejected manuscript I proposed selected readings to give teachers and students a deeper understanding of Mexican American history and implications for teaching the social studies. Differences that had contributed to ethnic and racial conflicts needed to be recognized before issues could be resolved and mutual understanding could emerge. My recommended readings included Cary McWilliams' 1949 classic, *North from Mexico,* and Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation*, first published in 1972. Another essential work was Armando Morales' (1972) *Ando Sangrando* (I Am Bleeding), a study of the conflict between the Chicano community and law enforcement agencies and David Gomez' *Somos Chicanos: Strangers in Our Own Land* (1973) where he recounted his personal quest for identity and the major issues of the times. Also recommended was Jack D. Forbes' (1973) *Aztecas Del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlan* (1973) and the work of De la Garza, Kruszewski, and Arciniega, *Chicanos and Native Americans* (1973). Major journals of the Chicano literary renaissance also originated in the late 60s and 70s and California led the way with *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts;* the *Journal of Mexican American History*; *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican American Thought*; and *The Journal of Mexican American Studies*.

Topics I deemed essential for a more integrated social studies curriculum, for example, revolved around questions about the economic structure of the Southwest before the arrival of the Anglo American. Mining, sheepherding, cattle raising, and irrigated farming, after all, were of Spanish origin. Important, too, was an understanding of the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo that ended the Mexican War in 1848 and Articles that were never honored by the U.S. government. What were the reasons for the increase and decrease in migration patterns of the Mexican

American that took into account events of World War I, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Depression, and World War II? What about the long history of labor organization efforts that led up to Cesar Chavez's farm workers' union as well as the *bracero* farm worker program? Other big questions centered around the Mexican American-police struggle going back to early Texas Ranger-Chicano conflicts, the Zoot Suit riots of the 1940s; Crystal City student walkouts; the militant separatist movement seeking self-determination versus views of assimilation; Chicano organizations like the G.I. Forum and the League of Latin American Citizens; leaders of the movement; and the literary works and music emerging from the Chicano movement.

I detail these topics here because of the current brazen attacks against ethnic studies programs playing out in the state of Arizona. Mexican Americans there are leading the struggle to restore the ethnic studies programs outlawed in 2010. This case also involves the banned and confiscated books from the Mexican American Studies program of the Tucson Unified School District that took place at the beginning of 2012. I return to this pernicious issue later in this chapter.

INTERNATIONALLY CONNECTED FOREVER

The borderland suited me perfectly in preparation for future international work. Admittedly, my initial international interaction was mainly social. It would take my mentor, Marion Rice, the Southern gentleman and scholar from Savannah, to inspire in an interest for Mexican and international education. Some highlights of my international work follow. First of all, Rice and the Georgia Project produced geography and anthropology units that focused on Mexico and the U.S. One geography unit, for example, was a comparative study of population growth in the U.S. and Mexico and another anthropology unit compared and contrasted the cultural heritage of Mexico and the U.S.

Secondly, Rice's own international teaching experience included an on-going relationship with an *Juárez* elementary school, *Escuela Guadalupe Bermudez*, that he developed while serving as a visiting professor to the University of Texas in El Paso. Rice immediately took to border studies since he possessed an immense knowledge of Mexican history, traveled to Mexico City, and read and understood Spanish although he was reluctant to speak it. Having no experience whatsoever with Mexican education myself, Rice found my lack of familiarity both bewildering and disappointing. He promptly dispatched me back to El Paso in winter 1974 to conduct a case study of *Escuela Bermúdez*. I crossed the border daily to engage in a participant/observer study of my newly found Mexican school. The enthralling experience was the greatest gift I could have received at that stage of my professional development—I was hooked forever on international education. My continued association with *Escuela Bermúdez* lasted many years, but unfortunately extreme violence in *Juárez* prevents me from returning at this time.

Another unforgettable experience took me to Bolivia in 1978 for the entire year to consult with the Bolivian Ministry of Education and Culture. I served as a curriculum specialist on an educational reform project, and nothing can match this sojourn to the magnificent land where the Inca Empire once prevailed.

A Fulbright senior Lectureship/Research award granted in 1984 to the *Universidad del Tolima* in Colombia proved to be another phenomenal Latin American learning experience. There I followed-up on my interest in foreign language practices of Texas businesses (Horwitz & Contreras, 1984) to investigate the role of foreign languages in U.S. corporations with South American subsidiaries. Later, a book that I edited for The University of Texas at Austin became a long-time best-seller for the Institute of Latin American Studies, *Latin American Culture Studies Handbook* (Contreras, 1988).

International tours to Vietnam in 1993 and to Cuba in 2000 are noteworthy, too. Like so many other Americans from my generation, the perception of Vietnam was exclusively through war. As one host so aptly put it, "Vietnam is a country, not a war." A social studies delegation made up of some 30 educators was led by David Berman, a Vietnam war veteran and exceptional social education leader from the University of Pittsburg. Berman reminded us that while we remained enmeshed in a bitter past, the Vietnamese had moved on into a contemporary era and economic struggle. I believe we came to understand that as painful a memory as the war is to American families of those who died there, almost every family in Vietnam was a victim.

The 1995 January/February issue of *The Social Studies* produced articles and lessons as a direct outcome of the delegation's travels. A consequence of the trip was to move beyond the war and to try to understand the cultural traditions and history of the country. In fact Vietnam's wars of liberation represented a long struggle against foreign invaders. Thus as educators we tried to break away from a restricted war view and return with new curricular patterns. For example, we came to value Vietnam as an ancient culture with a distinctive 3,000-year-old heritage and urged readers of the special *TSS* issue to teach the history and culture of Vietnam in addition to the war. In Hanoi we were treated to a spectacular and unique performing art, water puppetry that dated back to 1121 under the Ly dynasty. Water puppet shows are rooted in a traditional way of life where people living in hamlets and working in rice paddies performed puppet shows after a day of work or to celebrate a festival or the arrival of spring. Tet offered another example of an important Vietnamese festival that marks the beginning of spring, and Ellen Kronowitz (1995) presented an approach for creating new images of Vietnam to middle school learners. With the lifting of the trade embargo also came the normalizing of relations between two former adversaries and an opportunity for teachers to present Vietnam in a more multifaceted fashion. Dr. Berman wisely counseled, "Go a distant road and learn a basketful of wisdom," and I'm forever indebted to him for a transformational experience.

Another long-remembered People-to-People Citizen Ambassador sponsored trip to Cuba, 40 years after the Bay of Pigs event, also led to deep reflection over the representation of Cuba in the social studies curriculum (Contreras, 2001). In order to break the hold that the ultraconservative Cuban Americans of South Florida have on U.S.-Cuban relations, the general public in the U.S. needs to become better informed and have a voice in U.S.-Cuban matters. Social studies teachers need to move beyond a textbook presentation of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. In an article I provided recommended readings to teachers interested in learning and teaching more about Cuba.

TESTED

At the University of North Texas I was tapped in 1989 to serve as the first special assistant to the president on minority affairs. Within a semester I was promoted to a newly created post, Assistant Vice President and Director of the Office Multicultural Affairs. The state had mandated all institutions of higher education to initiate and implement effective policies and practices to increase Hispanic and black representation. My role was to take positive and productive steps to systematically increase enrollment, retention, and graduation rates of both undergraduate and graduate students as well as Hispanic and Black faculty. The challenge was a big one, especially on a half-time basis, but I embraced the administrative task and found the work very gratifying although my heart remained in teaching and research. I continued to teach social studies methods and fulfill the usual service and research responsibilities of academe.

Social education has been my life's passion, and I am proud to have served as executive editor of *The Social Studies* (*TSS*) for some 20 years, certainly an unusual length of time for an editorship of a major journal. That, however, is another story. In 2009 the journal celebrated its 100th anniversary although most social studies educators aren't aware that *The Social Studies* was initially sponsored by the American Historical Association and called *The History Teacher's Magazine*. Albert McKinley who originated the publication also founded the National Council for the Social Studies in 1921 when TSS became the Association's first official journal (Keels, 2009). It was a privilege for me to follow Byron G. Massialas, the journal's previous executive editor, and a real giant of the field of social education.

Another meaningful contribution to the field involved co-authoring a leading elementary social studies series, *The World Around Us* (1993). The Macmillan/McGraw-Hill author team consisted of James Banks, Barry Beyer, Jean Craven, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Mary McFarland, and Walt Parker. In 1997 co-authored the leading textbook series of the time, *Adventures in Time and Place*. A third edition was published in 2003, and working alongside these truly great thinkers was a privilege of a lifetime. After all, my motivation for entering the field was rooted in memory of my El Paso Mexican American students who endured the most irrelevant curriculum imaginable. The author team's full commitment to a

multicultural approach for teaching and learning social studies in the elementary curriculum stressed the history, stories, and contributions of diverse families and communities across many cultures. The series included complete Spanish-English versions for bilingual education programs that were widely used in Texas and elsewhere in the country.

One last valued experience to note here comes back full-circle to my Mexican American identity and culture. I've firmly believed that the social studies profession calls teachers to serve students outside the classroom in a service capacity. At different times I sponsored 6th grade cheerleaders, the high school twirlers, or the Future Teachers of America Club. At the university level I always took time to serve as faculty advisor to Latino student associations like the Mexican American Student Organization. I believe that participation in student affairs is one of the best predictors of student success. Latino organizations not only serve as social and academic support systems, they also function politically and serve to bring diverse issues and perspectives to the university table. Community service is another common thread running across liberal minority and Latino organizations. Regrettably, at my North Texas institution archived Latino collections are scarce, and the contribution of Latino students and organizations to the university is non-existent. Thus I became adamant about documenting and preserving the legacy of student activism and embarked on an oral history project consisting of in-depth interviews with Latino alums who had led liberal student organizations. I have called on some 25 former students to grant videotaped interviews of their college experience and the impact of organizations on their university education and post-college careers. Participants are in the final stage of collecting related memorabilia from their past leadership roles. An important outcome of the project was the first-ever symposium, "Raíces (Roots): History of Raza at the University of North Texas," also held to commemorate Hispanic Heritage Month. The successful day-long symposium explored the history of Mexican American and Latino leadership at the university, beginning with three of the first student athletes to have graduated in the 1950s. For me this project merely represents good action-based social education.

CONCERNS AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

My concern for the future of social education continues to center on the formation of socially conscious citizens. Again I return full circle to the challenge of teaching the Chicano experience posed to the profession decades ago. As the saying goes, "After all is said and done, more is said than done!" Today, the state of Arizona is embroiled in lawsuits over passage of a 2010 State law, HB 2281, banning ethnic studies, specifically high school Mexican American Studies. Following the banning of ethnic studies, the Tucson Unified School District Board confiscated books from the District's Mexican American Studies program. The list of banned books is egregious and includes a number of classics that may surprise readers.

Banned Books

Alexie, Sherman, *Ten Little Indians* (2004)
Anaya, Rudolfo, *Bless Me Ultima*
Bigelow, Bill, and B. Peterson, *Rethinking Columbus: The Next 500 Years* (1998)
Barack Obama's speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention
Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory* (2001)
Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000)
Shakespeare, William, *The Tempest* (1994)
Takaki, Ron, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (1993)
Valdez, Luis, *Zoot Suit and Other Plays* (1992)
Zinn, Howard, *Voices of a People's History of the United States* (2004)

The lamentable Banned Books List is available through the following website: http://azethnicstudies.com/banned-books. In response to the confiscation of books by the Tucson Unified School District, a caravan of activists and writers calling themselves "*Librotraficantes*" or "Book Traffikers" traveled from Houston, Texas, to Tucson, Arizona, to "smuggle" the banned books back into the state. In solidarity with the "Librotraficantes" caravan, groups throughout the country have organized "Librotraficante Solidarity Readings and Speak outs." One archived sessions in which I participation at the University of North Texas on March 28, 2012 can be accessed at http://www.ustream.tv/recorded/21431975.

The nation's polarized politics and extreme economic inequality prompts our socially conscience profession to action. Two newly released works about what changed the way the economy and politics work are Hedrick Smith's *Who Stole the American Dream*? and *So Rich, So Poor: Why It's So Hard to End Poverty in America* by Peter Edelman. Smith writes that the country's gross economic divide is in fact a decades-long story of change that "unwittingly dismantled the political and economic infrastructures that underpinned the great era of middle-class prosperity in the 1950, 1960s, and 1970s."

In Edelman's concern for the "least among us," a disenfranchised group already surpassing 46 million, he beckons upon the silent majority to direct action. Because the "new poor" are disproportionately young and of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, Edelman views young people, generally the most idealistic, too, as critical players in the struggle against poverty. Both Smith and Edelman appeal for a revival of citizen action at this defining moment in American history.

My view is that democracy is a fragile system that cannot be taken for granted. Grassroots activism is the structure's best guardian. In the 1970s when I entered higher education immense consciousness raising awareness, grassroots rebellion, and sociopolitical change was in full sway. Racism, sexism, environmentalism, classism, and consumerism were consciousness raising crusades in addition to the peace movement with massive protests to end the war in Vietnam. I responded with what turned out to be an important NCSS publication, *Racism and Sexism: Responding to the Challenge* (Simms & Conreras, 1980).

This is how the publication came about. As a member of the Council's Racism and Social Justice Committee I had reviewed a manuscript for manifestations of racism, "Review of Research in Social Studies: 1970–75." A task of the Racism Committee was to review to all accepted manuscripts for manifestations of racism, and I took the responsibility very seriously. While the draft covered four important topics, I was alarmed that neither racism, sexism, nor other issues were included in the review. In my report to the Publications Board, I observed that it was egregious for an important NCSS publication on research in social studies to neglect the status of prejudice and racism in the field. Consequently the Pub Board appointed me to author a separate volume on the response of the social studies to racism. I immediately contacted Loretta Carney, Chair of the Sexism and Social Justice Committee, to join me in this effort. It became apparent that the one bulletin could not begin to address all the consciousness "isms" of the day.

Needless to say I was overjoyed to assume the Publication Board's challenge to report on racism and social education. Unfortunately, the offer to Bolivia came at the same time, and today we forget how inefficient mail and phone service was in the developing world. I invited Richard Simms, another active member of the Racism and Social Justice Committee, to co-author the bulletin issued in 1980. This situation concerning the "response" of the field to the sociopolitical dynamics of the 1970s is ironic. Important lessons need to be drawn from that era about the impact that active citizenship can have on contemporary predicaments and solutions.

My teaching career spanned 43 years, embraced kindergartners to doctoral students, and carried me around the world. The border environment to which I was born afforded a world view that made me hungry to experience other people, places, and cultures in spite of the racist schooling system that operated in an incredibly myopic fashion. I delighted in outwitting the institutional bigots and "making it" in spite of the system. I disliked school and believed that after graduation I would never again set foot in one, much less become a teacher. To this day I've never cared to attend a class reunion, although I cherish individual friendships from my youth. Still I was eager to begin college and found the experience so utterly satisfying that I stayed! Once I experienced teaching in a South El Paso barrio school I relinquished the dream of a law degree and undertook the challenge of achieving educational reform and equity on behalf of those extraordinary Chicano students who taught me so much as a beginning teacher.

A doctorate in social science education from the University of Georgia under the astute and caring guidance of my mentor, Marion J. Rice, altered my life forever. It was Dr. Rice, a proud Southern gentleman and scholar who hailed from Savannah, Georgia, that opened up the world to me, introducing me to the art of curriculum development and the study of Mexico and Mexican education, a connection that endures to this very day. I valued my bond with the National Council for the Social Studies above all other professional associations. Basically it was through the NCSS that friendships and working relations were formed, fostered, and extended to other projects and related organizations like the American Education Research Association

and the Social Science Education Consortium. Throughout the decades and with the support of social studies colleagues I continued to prosper and grow professionally, never tiring of meeting new challenges or new learning opportunities. Truly a life of teaching, service, and research in the academy was a blessed one.

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MARGARET SMITH CROCCO

THE ACCIDENTAL EDUCATIONIST

A friend once told me that the connotation of "educationist" was derisive. According to Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, the denotation of the term is as follows: "one who specializes in educational theory and practice." The term is more commonly used in Great Britain and, as such, has been associated with colonialism, which may explain its negative connotation there.

In the U.S. context, I have come to understand that the connotation is also problematic but for a different reason; scholars trained in the disciplines sometimes disparage scholars trained in education. In the case of social education, professors in history and political science have sometimes looked down on social educators, believing they are responsible for the notoriously poor results on tests showing what high school graduates know (or do not know) about their subjects.

As an individual with a doctorate in American Civilization, my first years of college teaching were spent in American Studies and History departments. My transition to a position in a College of Education was made with great enthusiasm since a career in social education allowed me to focus on my twin passions: interdisciplinary research into American history and culture and teaching, learning, and schooling. Whether or not the term is considered derisive, I embrace it. The label situates me firmly in my adopted disciplinary field.

This essay is part life history and part intellectual autobiography. Its main theme is that chance has played a large role in my professional career. From one perspective, becoming a social educator was a happy accident. From another perspective, becoming a social educator was pre-destined. My intellectual life owes a great deal to the influence of my family of origin and the educational experiences that shaped me growing up. In this essay, I will yoke the personal story to the process of becoming a social educator, folding in consideration of my own work and the key issues facing the field of social education then and now.

Along the way, I have come to recognize how important it is to make plans but how equally important it is to modify or abandon those plans when new opportunities appear. In my thirties, eight years spent teaching high school taught me an important lesson about flexibility; in school nothing ever goes as planned. This is a tough lesson for the consummate planner. But the message of survival became clear over those eight years: Don't grouse. Adapt. Seize the moment!

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 31–42.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

We are all products—to some extent—of our upbringing. The imprint of socialization is something we spend our lives evading or accepting. While denying its influence is conceivable, ignoring its effects comes at one's peril.

My mother had attended a Catholic high school run by the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus in Waukegan, Illinois; she found it a liberating experience. Later, as the parent of six girls (and two sons), she was determined that her daughters would have a similar experience. As luck would have it, when the family moved to Westfield, New Jersey, she learned that this same order of nuns ran a school in Summit, NJ. That settled the matter. I enrolled at Oak Knoll School of the Holy Child in grade 6 and graduated from the high school in 1968. My five sisters followed behind me, and my mother eventually became principal of the school a decade after I graduated.

Mentioning the year 1968 should trigger in readers a set of lively images about this time period. Indeed, it was a tumultuous period, and the social upheaval of the day even managed to make it to as bucolic a setting as a small girls' school in Summit, NJ. I admit that naming Oak Knoll as a Catholic school run by nuns might also trigger a set of preconceptions in the reader, which would, I submit, be inaccurate if they stem from the stereotypes of repressive Catholic education that circulate widely in popular culture.

By contrast, a visionary educator, Sr. Ann Marie Durst, SHCJ, led the school. She introduced our school curriculum to interdisciplinary pursuits such as American Studies and to innovative pedagogical approaches labeled "Large Group Instruction," "Small Group Discussion," and "Independent Study." Our course schedules were modularized into 25 minute chunks, which could be combined for a variety of purposes into larger segments. During junior and senior year, I and a dozen other classmates spent six weeks studying French in the Loire Valley. In my senior year, I had two extraordinary experiences: an Independent Study of the collected works of Graham Greene and an intensive course on Chinese history. We were privileged, to be sure, but the nuns made every effort to insure that we received a serious and demanding education.

These educational experiences crystallized the intellectually liberating aspects of my Holy Child education: the school's dedication to nurturing "the whole child" and the seriousness of purpose with which these nuns approached the education of young women. We were encouraged to pursue our passions, invest in our own academic interests (I was allowed to do four years of French and Latin and three of math, sadly at the expense of science, which I now regret), and strive for excellence. This was not an education designed to produce secretaries, teachers, nurses, or nuns, but one that assumed we would go onto four-year colleges and whatever else we wished beyond that. There were no home economics classes when I attended the school, nor are there any today.

Several other events of this era captured our interests: the Vietnam War, President Lyndon Baines Johnson's War on Poverty, and the Civil Rights Movement. As an

avid reader of the *New York Times* from the age of 13 on, I spent a lot of time during my high school years considering what the issues of the day meant for American society and its prospects. During the summer of 1967, Newark, NJ (along with dozens of other cities nationwide, including Plainfield, which was about 15 minutes from our home) erupted in race riots. The riots brought the civil rights movement home in frightening fashion. Almost a week of rampant violence in Newark led to destruction of large areas of the city, with more than two dozen people dead and scores injured and arrested. During the spring of my senior year, other events created an even more unsettled sense of the nation's situation in the world, among them, the Tet offensive (February), My Lai Massacre (March); Johnson's announcement that he would not seek another term in office (March); Robert F. Kennedy's and Martin Luther King's assassinations (April).

My concerns about the Vietnam War were political rather than personal. Given educational deferments from the draft, my immediate family was not in danger of the draft. Undoubtedly, too, because my family was situated comfortably in the upper middle class, on the eve of college, I did not know anyone who had been drafted. Nevertheless, as I read the newspaper and watched the evening news, it was clear to me that there was something terribly wrong with this War. And, as a fledging student of Chinese history, I suspected that China would ultimately have more sway in the "Indo-Chinese" region, as it was called, then would the West, especially the United States. Greene's novel, *The Quiet American* (1956), served as prescient testimony to the fate of other colonial powers such as Japan and France in trying to secure this country as its own.

Throughout my high school years, Sr. Ann Marie Durst provided both a formal and informal education into what we now call "social justice" concerns. We regularly talked about the issues of the day, especially poverty in Appalachia, the sacrifices made by those involved in the Civil Rights Movement down South, the ongoing problem of racism and discrimination in the North, the distance between what we heard from the news about the Vietnam War and what President Johnson and the generals were saying was happening. I joined the debate team and started a current events club. I invited a prominent New York Democrat who had taken an outspoken position against the War to speak at Oak Knoll. In all these things, I was encouraged and supported by a nun who later became a lawyer, and founded a practice in southern California to help immigrants, especially women and children, with securing refuge in the United States.

These school experiences left me with a zeal for learning more about the world that was distant from Westfield, NJ, and a commitment to inter-disciplinarity in curriculum and innovative approaches for educating "the whole child." As the oldest of eight children, I watched with keen interest the victories and challenges of my siblings with schooling. Not all my sisters enjoyed Oak Knoll as much as I did. My brothers attended very different schools from my own. Many lessons were learned as a result of watching their struggles with schooling and, to a considerable degree, how little difference that made to their ultimate life success.

During the summer of 1968, I prepared to head off to the School of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, in order to major in Chinese and perhaps minor in French. My plan was vague; I would learn languages and work in the import-export business, allowing me the opportunity to travel to the exciting and exotic "Middle Kingdom" and other fascinating places around the world.

PASSIONATELY PRAGMATIC

And then came Richard M. Nixon. As I spent ten hours a week, 8 am to 10 am, for two and a half years at Georgetown studying Chinese I grew increasingly certain that the anticipated opening up of "mainland China" would not happen under the regime of President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. How wrong I was! This was just one of several examples I might offer in which my ability to prognosticate proved sorely deficient.

To be honest, there were other complicating factors: a boyfriend; the dawning reality that, despite my good grades in Chinese, mastery of the written and spoken language was a decade-long undertaking according to my professors; a deepening interest in my philosophy classes; and the opening up of the College of Arts and Sciences at Georgetown in 1969 to women. I abandoned the study of Chinese and transferred into the College as a philosophy major in 1970 for the spring semester of my junior year.

At Georgetown, I had not lost my commitment to social justice: I tutored at the local high school, protested the presence of ROTC on campus by participating in a sit-in of the Dean's office (which almost got me thrown out of college), and joined the "Moratorium to End the War" demonstration in Washington, DC in March 1969 and the demonstration against the Kent State massacre and Cambodia invasion on May 9, 1970.

The official student newspaper at Georgetown reflected on the Moratorium, an event that involved scores of college campuses and thousands of students in the spring of 1970:

"Classes Called Off for Week During May." Georgetown Today, July 1970

The overwhelming majority of the faculty believed that we, right on the doorstep of the national government, just could not conduct business as usual. Somehow we had to remake things so that those who wished could engage in political activity. We also had to recognize that the troubled campus atmosphere made intensive study usually characteristic of mid-May unattainable. – Fr. Thomas R. Fitzgerald, S.J. (Academic Vice President)

The Student Senate voted for a strike of classes from Wednesday, May 6, to Friday, May 8, 1970. The strike came two days after the deaths at Kent State University and centered around demands for the U.S. Government to cease

> *escalation of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and Laos and to unilaterally withdraw all troops from Southeast Asia.… In response, a Main Campus faculty group voted 156–13 to suspend classes.*
>
> *No classes were held from May 8–15, although students were able to meet with their teachers and to take final exams as scheduled on a voluntary basis. Alternatively, students were able to settle for existing grades or make arrangements to submit papers in place of final exams.*

The next year, anti-war protests drew over 500,000 demonstrators to Washington, DC. Various press reports indicated that at least a few of the groups planning the event intended to commit civil disobedience and to shut down the federal government. Worldwide demonstrations against the war were taking on an increasingly violent tone as the anti-war movement shifted from its stance of non-violence.

Over the course of three days in early May 1971, tensions built between protestors and local police, leading to President Nixon's calling out the National Guard and other federal troops, including thousands of paratroopers. By May 3, the police had forced protestors away from the Mall near the White House and out towards Georgetown, ultimately pressuring them to move quite a distance, all the way to the main entrance for Georgetown University at 37th and O Streets, NW. When they arrived at this point, the police began throwing tear gas, dispersing the protestors across the front lawn of campus. Having retreated from the disturbances downtown the day before, I witnessed the tear-gassing of protestors from the window of my fifth-floor dorm room in Copley Hall, right across the lawn from the front entrance to Georgetown's main gate. At graduation in May 1972, I chose to wear a black armband instead of the traditional academic garb as a silent protest against the War.

During the last year at Georgetown, I made my way—quickly—through the degree requirements for a philosophy major. I discovered American Pragmatism and Dr. Jesse Mann, from whom I took three courses. The idea that truth was revealed in the doing, through the effects of an idea, however vague, was enormously appealing. Our high school's motto had been "Action not Words." The fundamental problems of truth, ethics, and meaning seemed intellectually attractive after the time spent on learning to write Chinese characters and to master pronunciations of Chinese words. Moreover, it was helping me understand more about my country, about which I was feeling quite conflicted at this time.

As for the Pragmatists, I found C.S. Peirce interesting but sterile. William James's notion of multiple truths as well as his brilliant work on psychology were more compelling. But the real draw for me was John Dewey. I ended my seven semesters and bachelor's degree at Georgetown having taken three classes with Dr. Mann on the Pragmatists, and I was hooked. The central role played by experience in Dewey's philosophical framework and the answers I found there to questions that consumed me about life, the War, American society, and social justice led me back to the interdisciplinary study of art, literature, history, and culture for my Ph.D. program. Little did I realize at the time how useful my grounding in American Pragmatism

would be for a career later in life as an "educationist" at that bastion of Deweyism, Teachers College, Columbia University.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY

Graduate school afforded me an opportunity to pursue a fundamental question from diverse perspectives: What does it mean to be an American? And, what, if anything, does America mean?

Despite the Vietnam War, the murders of JFK, RFK, and MLK, and the scores of race riots across the country, American "exceptionalism" was being hotly debated. The chance to pursue a doctorate that allowed scope for my fickle intellectual interests (I called it "breadth") at the University of Pennsylvania was exciting. Penn had, in some sense, invented the field of what it called "American Civilization," a label for its interdisciplinary program of study into history, culture, arts, letters, and material culture of the United States, which owed more to the program's 1930s origins than the judgment of students and faculty in the program in 1972.

Of lasting importance to my intellectual development was an idea at the heart of Penn's AmCiv program: studying American history and culture from a comparative perspective. The idea of culture stood as the bedrock concept on which the program was built and the methodological approach was to view American history ethnographically through an interdisciplinary examination of its people, products, and processes. Practically speaking, this meant that those of us focused on history and the social sciences took courses in these areas to test the idea of American exceptionalism across time and through comparison with other cultures. Besides the AmCiv courses, the ones I enjoyed most were in the Anthropology Department at Penn. I used these course opportunities to conduct an ethnography of a local school and to investigate cross-cultural approaches to the socialization of youth.

My focus on history and anthropology provided a conceptual framework for critiquing what is meant by concepts such as "civilization" and "culture," "high culture" and "low culture" and the implicit hierarchies such terminology implied. I served as Teaching Assistant in a course on African American history, for which I was selected due, no doubt, to an undergraduate course I had taken at Georgetown on "Black Theology, Religion, and Racism." These courses and the civil rights movement planted seeds for my later attraction to multicultural education.

The program was led by an expert in the history of American philosophy, Dr. Murray Murphey, whose lectures allowed me to deepen my understanding of the place of American Pragmatism in American history. I studied children's literature with Professor R. Gordon Kelly and American political behavior with Professor Melvyn Hammarberg. My dissertation advisor, Dr. John L. Caughey, introduced me to ethnographic analysis, through an examination of a psychiatric ward at a nearby hospital. Given the events of this period (e.g., Watergate, the "fall of Saigon," and Ford's pardon of Nixon, among others), the question of psychological "normalcy" seemed a worthy intellectual pursuit. My dissertation topic became an ethnographic

analysis of a psychotherapeutic clinic for adolescents, where "storm and stress" was the motif for the role as defined within the American life cycle.

When I left Penn, I took a position as a Visiting Assistant Professor of American Studies for a year at the University of Maryland. Although brief, this experience afforded me a wonderful opportunity to develop my interests in culture, socialization, and ethnography.

WOMEN'S STUDIES

During my year teaching at Maryland, several important events occurred that re-oriented my academic life towards women's studies. I was teaching courses in life history and the "ages and stages" of American development along with "Death and Dying in American Culture," the second most popular course on campus in terms of numbers enrolled (the most popular course was one on soap operas). I was invited to attend a meeting called by a group of women professors interested in organizing a women's studies program on campus. That year, Judy Chicago's work "The Dinner Party" came to the University of Maryland, and it opened the eyes of many of us about women's forgotten past.

For me, this installation stimulated an epiphany: Where had women been in history? Why had I had so few women professors in my undergraduate and graduate education? As I taught life history and the age/stage structure of American society past and present, I increasingly turned my attention to investigating the role that gender played in the American status system. Of course, it was no coincidence that at this time I was also struggling with trying to combine marriage, family, and a career as an academic. This was a period during which the role models for doing so were few and far between; daycare centers very difficult to find; and a cultural ethos that—in many quarters—called into question the idea of putting one's children in the hands of another caregiver when a mother went back to work.

Clearly some women have always worked. So, perhaps my own dissatisfaction with my circumstances was a case of status discontent. In the upper middle class milieu in which I grew up, women generally did not work when they had small children. To be honest, I was relieved not to have to work full-time when my children were very young. So, when we moved to Texas and I found part-time employment teaching US History at a local community college in the evenings, this arrangement allowed me an opportunity to continue as an academic on terms with which I was comfortable.

In 1981 when we moved back to New Jersey, I found a job teaching at the high school (Oak Knoll School) that I had attended. Teaching at a private school meant creating curriculum with great freedom. I introduced a course on Women's History and infused women's history into the Advanced Placement and regular American History courses I taught, making explicit connections between the women's movement and the civil rights movement of the twentieth century. I sought out textbooks and readings that incorporated social and cultural history, framing the

courses as "history from the bottom up." Interestingly, one of the questions on my doctoral certification exams had focused on the work in the "new social history" of the early twentieth century by James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, among others, opening up a life-long interest in curriculum change.

In 1986, the head of school, Sister Cynthia Vives, SHCJ, asked me if I would like to become the professional development coordinator for the school. This opportunity allowed me to work with faculty across grades kindergarten to 12 on the project of making our curriculum more multicultural. She also recommended me for a unique professional development experience, the Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity Program (SEED), run by Dr. Peggy McIntosh of Wellesley College and Emily Style, a teacher at that time in the Maplewood-South Orange School District.

This was an intellectually stimulating and, for me, career changing event. The seminar brought together teachers from public and private schools across northern New Jersey for monthly discussions aimed at making our curriculum and teaching more inclusive of different perspectives regarding gender, race, class, and sexual orientation. Participation in the SEED program required that after our year together as a cohort we assemble a volunteer group of teachers in our school or district for a similar experience of opening up the curriculum—across all fields—to these perspectives. The experience helped me understand better the limitations of my own (self-taught) introduction to women's studies and set the stage for my invitation to join the faculty at Teachers College, two years after leaving my position at Oak Knoll.

A SERENDIPITOUS ENCOUNTER

During the summer of 1993, I attended a conference on women's studies at Rutgers University. In chatting with a friend at the conference whose neighbor worked at Teachers College, Columbia University, she mentioned that there was an opening in Social Studies Education. It was June; one of the two faculty members in the program had just announced he was leaving. They were looking for someone with a Ph.D. who had taught at the secondary level. Might she pass my name along to the program coordinator?

When the call came from Steve Thornton a week or so later, I explained that my background wasn't exactly what I thought he needed since my background in education was so thin. What I didn't know at that time was that Teachers College had a long history of hiring individuals trained in fields outside education but who had, nevertheless, pursued successful careers within education. This made a lot of sense since Teachers College had essentially invented many fields of education over its storied history.

I got the job, and thus was fortunate enough to begin another round in my lifelong process of retooling my knowledge and skill set, which by now the reader will recognize as the signature theme of my story. I love to learn, and accepting a learning challenge was something that I had done happily for decades. Sharing my work

at Oak Knoll in professional development and revamping the K-12 curriculum to make it more inclusive seemed to strike a responsive chord in the hiring committee. Taking up the work of an educational researcher and teacher educator offered fresh opportunities for considering how gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation had been situated in the "canon" just at a time when the "culture wars" were heating up. When I learned that Steve's mentor at Stanford was Nel Noddings, I was hooked. Her book *Caring* (1984) had been one of our core texts at Oak Knoll during our curriculum overhaul. I embraced this new opportunity at Teachers College with great enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, at countless times over the next decade, the title of one of Peggy McIntosh's lectures frequently came to mind: "feeling like a fraud." I was adopting the professional role of educationist in New York City with no grounding in urban schooling and scant familiarity with many of the critical ideas concerning education beyond those that made their way into the *New York Times*, *Kappan*, or *Independent School*. The learning curve was steep, and restarting my research, especially research acceptable for gaining tenure in a school of education, was daunting.

I was fortunate to have a colleague as supportive as Steve. I tried to absorb the highlights of his wonderful doctoral education at Stanford, which he shared generously and proudly. I was gratified by the fact that many understandings I had come to through my years of teaching practice and reading broadly were ones that we shared—about curriculum and pedagogy, the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the past, and the contributions of John Dewey to American life and education.

As I came to appreciate more fully later on in my years at Teachers College, I was also fortunate to be working in a field as expansive as social education. Many colleagues had their own unique paths into this arena—through political science, anthropology, geography, economics, law, and history. Happily for me, the field was characterized by longstanding debate about what the idea of social studies meant—history and all the rest (the federationist model) or an interdisciplinary pursuit focused on social issues and problems (the fusionist model). Although these debates seemed somewhat arcane to me, my relative lack of familiarity with them or their chief advocates over the decades was not a serious impediment to advancement, either at Teachers College or within the College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA) of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS).

In developing my role within the Program in Social Studies at Teachers College, I concentrated my research, writing, and teaching on bringing a gendered and multi-cultural orientation into the field. Through excavating the history of social studies and long-forgotten female "forbears" or considering the role of diversity in social studies teacher education, I dedicated myself to figuring out how such a once innovative school subject had become so out of touch with the many currents of intellectual debate within the cognate disciplines, especially gender, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. I introduced two new courses into our program: Diversity and the Social Studies Curriculum and Women of the World: Issues in Teaching. In both

courses, students considered issues related to the transformation of knowledge and curriculum. And, as I investigated the situation in social studies, I learned that there was very little attention being devoted to gender more broadly in teacher education. Multicultural education efforts had, in a sense, "leapfrogged" over the feminist activities within NCSS of the 1980s. In education generally, perhaps because of the strong influence of psychology on so many aspects of research in the field, many considerations about "difference" that had suffused the humanities in the 1970s and 1980s were only slowly being taken up within the behavioral and social sciences with which education identifies so strongly.

CONCLUSION

A new generation of social studies scholars is at work on shaping the field for the next several decades. It is my hope that those who come after me will remain closely connected to the intellectual debates within the arts and sciences. One of my current efforts has to do with bringing an emphasis on sustainability into the field, or should I say, "bringing back" an emphasis on the environment as a pressing social issue.

Over the weeks that I have been writing this piece during the summer of 2012, numerous news outlets have remarked upon the fact that this summer in the United States is the warmest on record. A drought has afflicted the Midwest, shriveling up the corn and soybean plants that several months ago farmers anticipated were going to be "bumper crops." Wildfires in Colorado burned through thousands of acres of dry tinder until firemen were able to bring the conflagration under control. In the fall of 2012, the very destructive storm, Hurricane Sandy, wreaked havoc in New York and New Jersey, with over 100 dead and billions of dollars worth of damage to property and infrastructure.

Sustainability has been defined as using resources in a way that does not imperil the access of future generations to those resources. As nations such as China and India come more fully into the status of developed nations over the next several decades, the challenges of sustainability will become even more pressing than they are today. Americans are, sadly, all too disposed to short-term thinking. I believe that the field of social education could make a major contribution to shaping the educational debate about sustainability should it choose to do so, contributing an inter-disciplinary, social issues-oriented perspective to the work that needs to be done in schools, colleges of teacher education, and communities through curriculum such as *Teaching* The Levees (www.teachingthelevees.org).

As an accidental educationist, who now has about a quarter century invested in social education, I hope that this field will seize the opportunity to play a leadership role—along with our colleagues in science education and other fields—to bring sustainability into schools and teacher education programs. Doing so will require vision and persistence since many educators are distracted by testing, the achievement gap, and international competition in science and math, which have collectively marginalized the field of social education for over ten years. Yet, social

educators were once agitators within the world of the disciplines; perhaps we can become so once again.

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TERRIE EPSTEIN

CONTINUITY, CHALLENGE, AND CHANGE OVER THE COURSE OF A PROFESSIONAL CAREER

Like many, my research has grown out of a combination of my upbringing and interests. I grew up in a White working-class community outside of Boston, with a belief in education as the road into the middle class or beyond, as well as a belief in meritocracy, that those with intelligence who worked hard enough would have their dreams fulfilled. By the time I attended college in the 1970s, I became immersed in what was then called the new social history, particularly within the U.S. context. It was exciting to unlearn the traditional history taught in my high school and to reexamine U.S. history from the perspectives of people of color, women, and "ordinary" working class people. It was then that I fell in love with history and thought of becoming a history teacher at some point in my career.

After working as a paralegal for legal services (hated it) and tutor/advisor for high school dropouts (loved it), I enrolled as a doctoral student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE) in the early 1980s. I read across the fields of history, sociology, and social policy of education. In addition to social history, I read critical works like Bowles and Gintis' *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which turned the traditional function of education-as-social-mobility on its head by presenting education-as-reproduction-of-inequality. I took several courses related to inequality and education, and gained a greater understanding of how institutions of schooling operated to keep most of the people I grew up with "in their place." In graduate school, I also worked with Ron Edmonds. Edmonds was one of the first educators to conduct research on effective schools for low-income African American students. At the time, very few faculty at Harvard or elsewhere did empirical "non-deficit" perspective work on the teaching and learning of low-income students, and Edmonds' commitment and positive perspective sustained my long-term interest in the education of and for low-income youth.

While in graduate school, I began to attend the College and University Faculty Association (CUFA) meetings at the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). I looked forward to the same type of intellectual stimulation I had received in graduate school, as well as to connecting to colleagues across the country. While attending CUFA at this time in my career, I did meet a range of people from a variety of institutions, but I learned little about new developments in the field. At the time, there was one overriding and raging debate among CUFA members: whether a history-oriented or social-issues oriented pedagogy should rule the nation's schools,

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 43–53.

or at least the pages of *Theory and Research in Social Education*. While this was not an irrelevant debate in the days before learning standards and common cores, it certainly was not the only issue with which social studies educators needed to contend at the time.

Fortunately, there were a few brave souls who spoke and wrote outside of the mainstream. Susan Adler, for example, conducted solid research on the education and professional development of social studies teachers; Carole Hahn examined issues of citizenship within and across nations; Linda Levstik investigated how children thought and teachers taught about history; and Merry Merryfield wrote about global issues. Each of these women provided models of scholarship and professionalism at a time when CUFA, as well as the broader parameters of the profession, were male dominated. Linda Levstik in particular served as a mentor and a model to me. As a mentor, she helped me negotiate what at the time seemed like serious, but now seems like silly male chauvinist moves to keep the women in CUFA less visible than the men. Perhaps more important, she provided publishing opportunities in a variety of venues and has written innumerable recommendation letters of my behalf. Linda's grounded intelligence, calm resolve, and sense of humor continues to serve as a model for women in the profession.

In the mid-1980s, I left graduate school and started teaching U.S. history in a Colorado high school. I was committed to bringing social history into the classroom, and to do so in ways that engaged students. Teaching students to interpret diverse primary sources (audio and visual as well as written) became my primary pedagogical approach. I spent endless hours at the Denver public library searching out books with historical photographs and other visuals, diaries, poems, and other non-traditional sources. I checked out the tomes, took them home and then re-photographed or duplicated them on a copy machine. In the days before the Internet, the collection of non-traditional primary sources was truly a labor of love, but it was worth it. My high school students enjoyed interpreting unusual primary sources, and I loved researching new sources to add to my collection. As Deboarah Meier has remarked, good teachers are those who continue to be curious and learn and then pass on their learning to their students.

After my second year of high school teaching, I re-enrolled in the doctoral program in education. I knew I wanted to write a dissertation on the work I was doing with my high school students. It was then that I came across the writings of Maxine Greene and Elliot Eisner, scholars whose research on aesthetics and education provided a context for my pedagogy with primary sources. I knew from my experience as a teacher that my students learned something from historical photographs, speeches, diary entries, and the like which they did not learn from traditional texts or textbooks. Greene's and Eisner's work provided the rationale and theoretical context for including "art-like" primary sources in the history classroom and for the types of learning students constructed from non-traditional sources. I took a chance and wrote to Elliot Eisner, asking him if he would be a member of my dissertation committee. He graciously agreed and it is an example of how "chutzpah" or taking a chance worked to my advantage.

Completing my dissertation, of course, was not without challenge. At HGSE in the 1980s, the dissertation proposal had to be approved by an at-large committee of faculty, rather than members of an individual's dissertation committee. Even with Elliot Eisner's guidance and input on my proposal, the Harvard faculty rejected my dissertation proposal four times! Each time I revised the proposal and scrupulously followed the committee's recommendations, they roundly rejected it, citing a different set of reasons for its deficiencies. Later I found out the reason for this pattern of rejection: the faculty were upset with my dissertation proposal chair, who, they believed, did little to assist his students (this had been my experience). The committee had hoped that by rejecting the faculty member's students' proposal, he would become more involved with his students.

It wasn't until another Harvard faculty member—who was a member of the at-large committee on dissertation proposals—agreed to be on my dissertation committee, that my proposal finally passed. He was the one who told me about the problems with my advisor and he was the "insider" who shepherded my proposal and dissertation through multiple committees. Although I had known that in professional life much goes on behind the scenes, I learned through this process the importance of having insiders on your side. It wasn't enough, in other words, that Elliot Eisner, who knew more about aesthetics and education than any of the Harvard faculty who rejected my work, had approved of my proposal. It took an ally on the inside to alert me to what was really going on and to work the system to get my research approved (this was at a time when qualitative research still was perceived as "soft" and less rigorous than quantitative research. It was also at a time when "teacher research" or research on one's own teaching or students was unheard of).

Today, many doctoral students and junior faculty are quite savvy about the "culture of power," as Lisa Delpit has noted, but others, particularly those from non-professional families, are less knowledgeable about how to work the system. So one piece of advice for junior faculty is to find a tenured member of the faculty whom you respect and trust and ask him or her for advice. Hopefully, the advice is not just about where to send an article or which conferences to go to. Many junior faculty also benefit from "institutional" advice: how to survive and even thrive in the particular institution in which one works. Having worked at five different colleges or universities over 25 years, I've found similarities and differences across settings. Obviously, "getting along" or "being collegial" is important at all institutions, but it has different meanings at different institutions. When I worked at a Research I institution, for example, junior faculty were encouraged to discuss widely, even broadcast, their accomplishments; I was told I was too self-effacing and that I needed to promote myself more. Now that I am working at a teaching college, junior faculty, especially women, are encouraged not to "stick out" by talking too much about their accomplishments. I do not advocate becoming a clone of the institution, but I think that having a clear sense of the department or school culture gives you knowledge about the expectations of behavior and the consequences of non-conformity.

I finally completed my dissertation in 1989. In using Greene's and Eisner's work on aesthetics, I created and implemented an arts-based unit on enslavement in the United States and assessed what students learned from the experience. Again, I encountered challenges: I sent my first article to *Theory and Research in Social Education* and it was rejected. It took me six months to send it to a state journal—still refereed—where it was accepted. I learned the obvious lesson: don't wait six months, especially when you are up against a tenure clock, to turn around an article. As I now know, everyone in academia has had rejections, and it's best to move on quickly. When I was an assistant professor, I didn't have a mentor, but this is just the type of advice for which a mentor would have been useful. A mentor also would have been useful at the beginning of my career as well, to read my work and suggest how to "kick it up" a notch, learn when to make a stand at a faculty meeting (rarely) and when not to, and maneuver all of the multiple roles and innumerable decisions one needs to make but have little experience in doing so.

My next line of research—on the roles of young people's racial and ethnic identities and interpretations of history—is the work for which I'm best known. By the early 1990s, scholarship on young people's historical thinking began to emerge. The work of Linda Levstik, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg was recognized nationally and I was no less impressed by it than others. Peter Seixas' article, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting" (1993) was particularly influential in my thinking. Peter combined the cognitive constructivist concerns of "thinking like a historian" with the sociopolitical contexts relating to the role of identity in historical understanding. Specifically, in addition to delineating the cognitive based concepts (significance, cause and consequence, empathy, etc.) which structure historical accounts and which could be the basis of a more disciplinary approach to teaching, he also attended to how adolescents' ethnic or national identities influenced their views of history taught in schools. I found particularly interesting his evidence that some students from non-dominant cultures within Canada did not connect to the traditional national "White" historical narratives taught in schools.

As I continued to develop this work, James Wertsh's book, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (2002) became important. I was particularly influenced by his idea that there could be acquisition of historical knowledge without appropriation or belief in the validity of that knowledge. This was the case, Wertsch made the case, for Eastern Europeans under Soviet rule who learned the Soviet inspired narrative of Estonian history, without believing it. In addition, I found his idea of a narrative template, or an underlying general pattern that structured historical accounts, very useful. In the case of Russia or the Soviet Union, national history took the form of triumph-over-aggressive-outside-forces, regardless of whether the outside forces were led by Napoleon or Hitler. In the United States, Barton and Levstik (1998), VanSledright (2009), and I (1998, 2000, 2009) similarly have written about a U.S. historical narrative template based on the idea of a nation founded on principles and expanding practices of democracy and equality. Overall, Wertsch demonstrated that

family, community and nation—i.e., culture—mattered in the teaching and learning of history and did so in very deep ways and in places across the globe.

As I began my research on racial identity and the teaching and learning of history, I served as the Chair of the Teaching Committee of the Organization of American Historians (OAH). In the early 1990s, the OAH got involved in national debates on "whose" history should be taught in the schools. During a meeting at the OAH, Mary Berry, an African American historian of African American history, commented, "Black and brown kids don't believe the traditional story of U.S. history. They don't believe the textbook." The comment set my mind on fire and changed the course of my career. "What *do* Black and brown students believe? How can I capture those beliefs? And how do I contextualize the answers to these questions within the broader literature on historical thinking and learning?"

In 1994, I began a series of studies on the differences in African American and White children's and adolescents' interpretations of national history. I collected and analyzed data and wrote about the topic for over 15 years. Similar to my experience teaching high school, I loved every minute of the research and spent quite a bit of time in the community in which I conducted the research. The time I spent outside of classrooms and in the community became useful in triangulating the findings from within classrooms and schools: the racial differences in historical and political beliefs I found within history classrooms manifested themselves among students' family members and in community events in which youth participated. The length of time over which I conducted the research, as well as the diversity of settings I observed within the community, gave validity to my findings—represented over and over again—of the differences in the views of African American and White children and adolescents.

Again, there were many challenges along the way and I share these as lessons in collaboration for younger scholars. One included figuring out how to capture young people's interpretations of national history. My first study asked students to select and explain the three most important actors and events in U.S. history. I did find significant differences in African American and White students' views of historical actors and events, even when they selected the same actors and events as significant. That study whetted my appetite for more. How did young people conceptualize the whole of U.S. history and to what extent were their understandings influenced by family, community and/or school? Here I received help from a doctoral student who came up with the idea of having students select and explain picture cards of historical actors and events as a means to flesh out their views of significance over the centuries of U.S. history. That idea or methodological tool became the foundation for the research I conducted over the next decade.

Another challenge involved the publication of my 2000 article in the *American Educational Research Journal*. When I first submitted the article, the editor sent me the outside reviews, which recommended that I revise and resubmit the article. However, the editors rejected the article, explaining that their term was ending and they no longer were accepting articles for future volumes. When I received the

rejection letter, I contacted the editors about the possibility of making the changes the reviewers had recommended and sending the revised article to the next editor. The outgoing editors left it up to the incoming editor to decide. Fortunately, the incoming editor was Gloria Ladson-Billings, who appreciated research on race and education. Had the editor been a quantitative methodologist or a developmental psychologist, for example, the chances of my article having appeared in *AERJ* most likely would have been slim to none.

Other challenges that emerged throughout my career are common. One relates to reviewers who have read and dismissed my work based on political or sub-field prejudices. For example, one reviewer read a manuscript I submitted on racial differences in young people's historical interpretations and commented that I should be examining the role of religion in history textbooks! Another wrote a review stating that I failed to prove any of my assertions. Still another dismissed the work as unimportant because the "significant" research in history education was about young people's cognition or their "historical reasoning," not about the relationship between identity and historical interpretation. In none of these cases did I approach the editors who decided to reject the manuscript, a decision which I believed was based at least in part on an obviously biased review. I don't know if I would have been successful in changing the editor's mind, but in retrospect, it may have made a difference in pointing out to the editor reviewer bias and questioning the value of having the reviewer continue to conduct reviews for the journal.

In 2009, I published a book on the series of studies, entitled *Interpreting national history: Race, identity and pedagogy in classrooms and communities* (Routledge, 2009). In summarizing the contributions of this line of research, I see the following as most significant. The most obvious—and what I think of as the most significant—is the detailed analysis of the differences in African American and White children's and adolescents' views of U.S. history. In a nutshell, I found that White children and adolescents imagined national history as one where individual rights became progressively inclusive of more and more people up to and through the present day, a nation in which most people have equal rights and only individual prejudice prevents equality. They also represented race relations as a problem of inequality, but not one of racial violence. Black students, on the other hand, conceptualized rights in national history as perennially exclusive up to and through the present day. The students saw institutional and individual racism as barriers to racial equality in contemporary society and racial violence characterized and continues to characterize race relations historically and today.

The other significant finding of the book relates to the role of instruction. While the teachers in my study had an effect on young people's *explanations* of people and events in national history, they had very little if any effects on their broader interpretations or what Wertsch might call "narrative templates" of national history. That is, even when teachers presented historical information that contradicted the perspectives and beliefs with which students entered the classroom, African American and White students held onto their pre-instructional ideas about the role

of rights and race relations. Again, I see the effects of Wertsch's idea about the difference between mastering a historical narrative—as students in school must do to be successful—and appropriating or believing a historical narrative—which his Estonian adults and my African American students did not do vis-à-vis the school curriculum.

On a personal note, the book has solidified my work on racial identity and young people's views of history and has provided a solid tangible record of the research I conducted for many years. As a result of the book, I received a number of invitations to present my research at universities around the country and at universities and conferences around the world. It also provided the evidence for promotion to full professor, all in all a good thing. On the other hand, I did not particularly enjoy the process of writing a book, or at least I did not enjoy it as much as I enjoy writing individual articles. I never would have known this had I not written a book, and I've talked with colleagues who feel just the opposite: they prefer writing books to articles because they have more space to make an argument or tell a story or because in some ways a book leaves a greater "lasting legacy" than an article. I don't have strong feelings or advice about writing a book vs. articles except to say the some of the decision may lie in your institution's expectations, as well as your own predilections.

Having worked on a set of studies related to one major idea for 15 years, I'm now broadening the research questions and topics I pursue. Here, I have been fortunate to work with other scholars close to home and abroad. In New York, I have worked and continue to publish with doctoral students. Jessica Shiller, a former NYU doctoral student and current Assistant Professor at Towson University, and I published a teacher-friendly review piece on the effects of social identities on young people's historical thinking (2003). Edwin Mayorga and Joseph Nelson, two doctoral students at CUNY Graduate Center and I published an article on the effects of culturally relevant teaching on adolescents' interpretations of national history (2011). Conra Gist, a former CUNY doctoral student who teaches at the University of Arkansas, and I have submitted an article on teaching racial literacy in secondary humanities classrooms. Currently, I am working with two doctoral students from CUNY on a study of the civic purposes and practices of social studies teachers of immigrant youth. Becoming a mentor to doctoral students is one of the most gratifying aspects of my career. Not only can I pass along the "wisdom of practice"; I also learn a great amount from the ideas and enthusiasm of future generations of scholars.

One of the joys of being a senior scholar is that younger faculty who are familiar with your work approach you for advice and/or collaboration. For example, Carla Peck at the University of Alberta approached me about replicating a study that she and Alan Sears at the University of Calgary had conducted in several distinct Canadian settings. Carla came to New York City in Spring 2012 and the two of us conducted similar research on urban adolescents' perspectives on democratic participation. To contextualize the work with Carla and Alan, I plan to use Beth Rubin's 2007 *Teachers College Record* article on youth civic identity. I find Beth's work in general

and the *Teachers College Record* article specifically to be significant substantively and a model of excellent scholarship. I especially like her contextualizing the work on youth civic engagement within a sociocultural framework and her construction of a "typology" of civic identity that situates youth's political beliefs and sense of agency within the nexus of class, race, ethnicity, and immigrant status.

A second study on which I am working examines the civic purposes and practices of social studies teachers of immigrant youth. I began the project with the idea that social studies education traditionally has been organized around the idea of education for citizenship. So what does social studies education mean when teaching those who are not, and may never become, citizens? I planned to interview 12 social studies teachers in two New York City high schools about their purposes and practices related to teaching immigrant youth. In the process of planning the interviews, I saw a call for papers on the *Teachers College Record* website for a conference in Israel in 2013, entitled, "Cultural Sustainability, Social Cohesion and Global Education." The conference call asked presenters to examine the tensions between education as a set of institutions to promote social cohesion and education as a means by which distinct racial, ethnic, and other non-dominant communities maintain their cultural distinctiveness. The call led me to revise my initial set of interview questions to include those related to social cohesion and cultural sustainability. It also acquainted me with the work of Zvi Bekerman at Hebrew University, who has organized the conference and has written extensively on the multicultural education globally (2011). As an attendee of the conference in July 2013, I look forward to learning from scholars around the globe who work on similar issues.

Finally, in April 2012, I learned that I received a Fulbright Scholars Award to conduct research in New Zealand during the Spring 2013 semester. I will work with Mark Sheehan of Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, and like my work in the U.S. on race and historical thinking, I will examine the effects of New Zealand adolescents' ethnic identities on their historical and political interpretations of New Zealand. I also may collaborate with Richard Harris, a reader at Reading University in England. Richard is conducting a study on ethnic identity and historical interpretation in Great Britain and I may use the same instruments as Richard to elicit young people's views of national history. For this study, I have been influenced by Keith Barton and Alan McCully's work on Northern Ireland (2010) and Linda Levstik and Jeannette Groth's work on Ghana (2007). The authors examined the effects of religion, ethnicity, and nationality on young people's interpretations of history and citizenship. These studies have contributed to a rich and multifaceted view of the ways in which national ideologies, young people's social identities, and classroom pedagogies influence adolescents' thinking about the past and present. Their work is important in framing the study in New Zealand, which I hope will contribute additional insights on the impact of national contexts on the teaching and learning of history.

The other significant set of professional activities in which I have been engaged are those connected to History Educators International Research Network (HEIRNET), an international organization of history educational researchers. As a result of working with HEIRNET, I was invited to Brazil in April 2011 to give a series of talks. In addition, I have presented my work at the organization's annual conferences in Turkey, South Africa, and Portugal and hosted an annual meeting of HEIRNET in New York City in 2010. Because of the expense of traveling abroad, as well as the need to network nationally at earlier stages in my career, I did not begin working with HEIRNET and traveling internationally until about 10 years ago. It's been immensely informative and enjoyable, and I now have colleagues around the world. HEIRNET is non-hierarchical, inclusive, and fun. It also attracts serious scholars whose work is substantive and significant. I highly recommend that faculty at any level become involved. Their website is www.heirnet.org and the organization also has an online peer-reviewed journal (*International Journal of History Teaching, Learning and Research*) which I encourage scholars to consider as an outlet for your work.

Being a full professor is mostly a wonderful thing. The pressure is off, the institution has very little power to compel you to do things you don't want to do, and the constant feeling of guilt when one is not writing has dissipated, if not disappeared altogether. Attending CUFA and seeing an entirely new generation of scholars working on a range of topics is very exciting. There have been several challenges along the way, but the fruits of the labor are well worth it. When I started in academia 25 years ago, finding a job in academia was not a pressing concern. People who went to graduate schools—or at least schools of education—had little trouble finding employment in higher education. Today, the competition is greater and the stakes are higher. Doctoral students are not just encouraged to publish in peer reviewed journals; their ability to compete successfully in tough economic times in some (but not all) cases is contingent upon completing graduate school with a publication record.

On the other hand, this may not be a bad thing. Learning how to publish in graduate school or when one first gets out of graduate school gives one a leg up when starting out as an assistant professor who has to juggle several responsibilities at once. Also, it seems like there are greater outlets for publishing than there were 25 years ago. *Theory and Research in Social Education* is just one journal among many that will publish social studies related articles and the advent of online peer reviewed publishing works to everyone's advantage.

While I enjoy reading the work of many young scholars, I am particularly drawn to that of those who conduct research on issues of social identity and historical and political/civic understandings. I have read and admired the work of Anthony Brown and Cinthia Salinas at the University of Texas-Austin, and of one of their recent graduates, LaGarrett King, who now is teaching at the University of South Carolina. Their work and others' have made social studies a much richer, more nuanced and infinitely fascinating field of study. When I received my doctorate in 1989, social

studies had nowhere near the rigor, substance or diversity of topics as math or science education or literacy. Today, I believe that social studies is just as vital and significant a field of research as any other, even if it isn't as well funded. It's been exciting to watch the field emerge and develop study by study, investigator by investigator. And while there are several influential scholars who have made significant contributions, I believe all of us have learned from the work of the collective body, rather than the great individual. Like the study of history, the development of social studies education is a collaborative effort, with many cross currents and contributors.

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RONALD W. EVANS

FORTY DAYS AND FORTY NIGHTS

THE WILDERNESS OF CAPITALIST SCHOOLING REVISITED[1]

The daily reality of social studies instruction in schools is dominated by what I have called the "grammar of social studies" meaning that most of our writing and research and a good deal of our teaching has little or no impact on actual classrooms. Most of us, as social studies educators and scholars, hope that our work makes a difference in schools. Many of us believe that meaningful and reflective approaches to teaching should become the norm in social studies classrooms. Yet, the reality that I see in reports from the classroom, and in my own visits to schools, is that meaningful social studies is a relatively rare exception. Social studies teaching and learning tends to be dominated by teacher talk, textbook, drill, and memorization. Advocates of meaningful learning in social studies face resistance from institutional mandates, pressure for coverage over depth, the perceived obligation to stick to the textbook, and compulsion for students to perform well on standardized measures of their learning. Given the dilemmas of the field and the profound barriers to widespread realization of meaningful social studies instruction in schools, what might lead a person to choose to become a social studies scholar?

EARLY YEARS

In my own case, it was naïvete combined with the drive for success. My career is a story of youthful idealism tempered by the realities of life in a mass, bureaucratized, capitalist society in which schools are dominated by a process of cultural transmission, a place where children are "drilled in cultural orientations" and subject matter becomes "the instrument for instilling them" (Henry, 1963, p. 283). My life as a social studies scholar developed out of a number of influences both within and outside of formal education. Several factors affecting my development as a child gave me an interest in social studies and a predisposition to focus on social issues. Family, church, school, and the culture of the 1950s and 1960s were all important influences on my thinking and orientation to teaching. I grew up in the south: Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. I witnessed the contradictions of Jim Crow segregation first hand, and benefited from the advantages of being White and middle class.

My father, raised in the North, and a liberal on most social issues, was broadly interested in issues of the day and spent many hours reading the newspaper, watching news programming on TV, commenting on developments, and engaging our family

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 55–70.

in dinner table conversations about important issues and topics. Though I had two younger sisters, they were seldom involved in conversations on issues until after I was out of high school. My father and I discussed many things: the war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement, the counter-culture. We were seldom in full agreement and were frequently at odds. Sometimes, there were arguments.

He had grown up in a large family in which discussion and argument frequently focused on social issues and competing ideas of the 1920s and 1930s. The conversations, thoughtfulness, and argumentative nature of his family stemmed from a small town pietist background and a strong desire to make a contribution to the community and set the world straight. In part, this came from the social gospel of the Methodist church and from my grandfather, who spent a few years as a Methodist minister. I too was raised in the Methodist church and got a strong dose of the social gospel and a missionary zeal to save the world.

I can remember, from an early age, developing an interest in news programming on TV, in reading the newspaper, and in reading for pleasure. I was a good student, though not keenly interested in pleasing my teachers. In school, through reading and from my father's stories of World War II, I got interested in history, biography, and current events. I remember enjoying the *Weekly Reader*, *Junior Scholastic*, *Current Biography*, TV programming like "Biography," historical documentaries, war movies, westerns, and devouring books in the "Biography," "Landmark," and "We Were There" series during the upper elementary grades. Some of this reflected my father's interests, but what most captivated my imagination was the sense of drama, heroism, and glory. To counter this, my father shared a shocking little book, *The Horror of It*, an anti-war photo essay of pictures from World War I (Barber, 1932).

I never really liked school all that much and hated it at times. Nonetheless, a few teachers piqued my interest in social studies and contributed to my development. Mr. John Amick was an excellent sixth grade teacher who brought in biographies, important social studies topics, and regular discussions of current events and social issues. One discussion in particular centered on the conflict in the Middle-East. I asked, "Which side is right?" He gave a great answer, appropriate for our class, which was "it depended" on who you were and what you believed. That conversation, and the year in that class, had an important impact on me.

In junior high and high school most of my teachers were pretty ordinary. I did have a few excellent English teachers who inspired us to study and grow, and a number of experiences both in and out of school that contributed to a growing questioning of society. Outside, the national consensus was exploding—civil rights, the Vietnam war, the sexual revolution—we were innocents in the throes of the 1960s "revolutions." During high school, in Stillwater, Oklahoma, I remember hearing about this great teacher, a professor from the university (Oklahoma State), who taught an experimental summer class for high school students focused on social issues. Though I didn't take the class, the teacher, Daniel Selakovich, would later become my first professional mentor.

During my early years in college at the University of Oklahoma (OU) and Oklahoma State University (OSU), I drifted, occasionally joined in protesting the war, listened to Bob Dylan, and experimented with the things my generation is infamous for. I remember seeing books like the Leinwand series, *Problems in American Life* (1968–1969), Postman and Weingartner's *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), and Illich's *DeSchooling Society* (1971) though I didn't read them until much later. I chose not to apply for a student deferment on moral gounds, received a high number in the draft lottery, and slacked my way through school.

During my freshman year at OU, I took a U.S. History survey course, a large lecture section combined with once-a-week discussion. It was the first time I'd had a history class in which alternative ideas and interpretations were presented and discussed. The professor was a leftist historian and the graduate assistant I studied with disagreed with many of his interpretations—the dissonance created depth and a new understanding that the background to the explosive issues of the 1960s was contested, just as current issues were, and I found that intriguing. After a rough start, I ended up doing well in the course and majoring in history. As an undergraduate, I took a great number of history and social science courses, and a good deal of philosophy. Gradually, my skills and aptitude as a student improved. I was stimulated by social issues, hot topics, and the "why" of it all, and not particularly motivated by the standard curriculum.

WHAT WILL YOU DO WHEN YOU GRADUATE?

After college, I didn't know what I wanted to do. A degree in history from a mid-western land grant university was a ticket to a job cleaning tables, delivering pizza, building houses, driving a cab, or saving the world as a VISTA volunteer (I did all these things). I had chosen a major appropriate for teaching or graduate study, and little else. I resisted teaching. After a year spent doing other things, including reading Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974) and taking my first motorcycle trip, I saw an ad recruiting VISTA volunteers, applied, and was sent to Kansas City, Missouri. I was assigned to a community re-development project led by former Black Panthers. The African-American men that I worked with had been community activists in Kansas City for a number of years. They had participated in the turmoil following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and had long contested the dominant power structure.

By the time I arrived as a VISTA volunteer, they were seeking ways to work within the system for gradual improvement. They had formed the Social Action Committee of 20 (SAC 20), a consortium of community service organizations, to coordinate improvement efforts. Many years later, I returned to Kansas City and visited the park across from the house where I had lived, only to find a statue of Bernard Powell, the civil rights activist who founded SAC 20, and learned that he had been murdered in 1979 after taking a well-publicized stand against drug dealing in the neighborhood. Mob connections were suspected but never proven.

Most pertinently, in terms of my own personal development, I was introduced to a new perspective. As VISTA volunteers, we surveyed community housing needs. It was an eye-opening experience. We learned that freeways were officially "National Defense Highways," with many exit ramps, but very few on-ramps, so that the militia could occupy the neighborhood on a moment's notice. Also, large swaths of housing in the area had been removed as part of a freeway development plan that was later halted by community pressure. Housing in the area was in poor condition, and there was a general feeling of hopelessness about future prospects for individual and community improvement.

That experience, though brief, taught me that the problems and issues of our society were deeply entrenched, and that in my youthful idealism I was quite naïve about social realities and the impediments to change. I had been a history major, but hadn't learned much about the historical rootedness of social institutions and behaviors. My VISTA experience taught me how difficult and profoundly ingrained the problems of poverty were, that there was a human face behind every statistic, that issues of social class were somewhat intractable, and that I had to find a point of leverage, an institutional niche where I could translate my idealism into action. Why not go through schools? I knew I could do a better job than most of my social studies teachers.

Though resistant at first, I fell into teaching. Back to school I went to get a teaching certificate and to study social studies methods under Dan Selakovich at OSU. He introduced me to the inquiry methods of the new and newer social studies, and shared many of the reflective, innovative teaching materials produced during that period. I student taught a 6th grade social studies class at Stillwater Middle School, then found a job at Olive, Oklahoma, a rural school less than an hour from home. Though I struggled as a beginning teacher with aspects of the job that beginners often find difficult (classroom management; thorough and consistent planning; clearly articulated rationale into practice) I learned that issues and problems of the past and present struck a nerve with students, just as they had with me, and helped make history and the social sciences come alive. Many of our class discussions and debates were highly animated. Though I failed in many ways that first year (I received a letter notifying me that my contract would not be renewed, later rescinded, as did several other first year teachers at the school), the experience was transformative. My failures increased my determination to succeed.

Following several months of drifting, and a hitchhiking trip to the east coast, I returned to school at OSU to work toward a masters degree and was fortunate to be offered a teaching assistantship by Dan Selakovich. It was a rich and rewarding growth experience. This time around, I put the necessary time into planning for my discussion sections of "Schools and American Society." Students responded very positively. From that experience, I learned that I was well suited to succeed at teaching, and could even enjoy the process. Following that, I taught successfully for three years in culturally diverse urban schools in Portland, Oregon. I learned

my trade and confirmed my commitment to an inquiry, issues-oriented approach through first hand experience in a social studies classroom.

INSPIRED BY ISSUES

The success I found in teaching was inspired, in part, by my interest in issues of social justice. Since childhood, I had been interested in history, biography, and current events, and puzzled by the perplexing issues of society—stratification between rich and poor, issues related to race, class, gender and other differences, war and conflict—by the failure to fully realize the American dream. I experimented with issues during my early years of teaching in the public schools, and saw myself as a discussion-oriented teacher. Issues, past and present, were the hinge that made discussions possible. During my years as a graduate student at OSU I got interested in Michael Harrington (author of *The Other America*) and democratic socialism, instigated in part by a brief article on Harrington in *Business Week*, "Socialism is No Longer a Dirty Word to Labor," and by growing familiarity with Marxian ideas and the roots of socialism.

A few of the graduate courses I took at the time were also very helpful. In particular, I had several history and social science courses in which I confronted a meaningful and in-depth study of political ideologies for the first time. Several of these courses were taught in a seminar style, the first time I had really experienced that kind of grounded, yet open discussion in my entire educational experience. In one history seminar, I wrote a bibliographic essay on competing interpretations of the causes for the Spanish American War, setting a model for subsequent work. These experiences further inspired my interest in social issues through weighing of multiple interpretations and discussion of competing ideas.

Additional inspiration stemmed from a deep-seated problem I had observed in schools, which was the general failure of my teachers to make history interesting, to relate or connect it to present day realities. Much of what I experienced was conditioned by the standard grammar of schooling, a rather lifeless and traditional approach, despite the fact that the society outside the school seemed to be exploding. The fundamental divisions in our society and our world—between rich and poor, black and White, oppressor and oppressed—led to specific issues that I used frequently during my early experiences as a teacher and confirmed the resonance and power of social issues.

BACK TO SCHOOL, AGAIN

In 1983 I left my public school teaching post in Portland for graduate school at Stanford University. I applied to Stanford and Indiana University based on the recommendations of my mentor, Dan Selakovich, and ultimately selected Stanford. As I recall, he said, "Not everyone there is as conservative as they are at the Hoover Institution. But, when you are looking for a job, Stanford will probably give you

an edge." At Stanford, under the mentorship of Richard Gross, I began reading social studies theorists in some depth. In one of my first seminar papers I examined alternative approaches to teaching American history. I read widely and encountered much of the literature on issues-centered social studies for the first time, including works by Rugg, Hunt and Metcalf, Oliver and Shaver, Shirley Engle, Richard Gross, and others. I read about the history of education and social studies in books by Ravitch, Tyack, Cremin, Hertzberg, and others.

My years in graduate school at Stanford were important growth years. When I arrived at the University, I was excited to be studying as a full time scholar, and a little intimidated by my surroundings. Was I worthy? Could I succeed at Stanford? Did I really belong? Prior to graduate school at Oklahoma State, my previous record as a student was somewhat spotty, and far from stellar. My experience at Stanford, with the caring mentoring of Richard Gross, taught me that I could succeed.

During these years my approach to the social studies field was gradually taking shape. I was influenced by my reading, mentors, teaching, and a broad array of life experiences. As I read during graduate school, I learned that I had an affinity for the "problem-centered" or "issues-centered" camp. An issue is a question on which people hold differing perspectives in the realm of public policy, in the interpretation of history or social phenomena, or in the sphere of personal belief and action (Evans, Newmann, & Saxe, 1996). In the context of a "troubled" society, attention to social issues in schools is an imperative. As Harold Rugg (1941) once wrote, "To keep issues out of the school … is to keep thought out of it; it is to keep life out of it."

SCHOLARLY INFLUENCES

My growing understanding of reflective teaching and the issues-centered approach was rooted in the works of many other scholars who were seminal thinkers in the social studies field, including Engle and Ochoa, Oliver and Shaver, Newmann, and others. As a young scholar and advocate for an issues-centered approach, many of these icons of social studies became informal mentors and friends, and strongly influenced my thinking at various times.

I am a fourth or fifth generation issues-centered educator. Both of my primary mentors during graduate school were advocates of issues-centered social studies, Dan Selakovich at Oklahoma State, and Richard Gross at Stanford. There have been many others influences including Mr. John Amick, my 6th grade teacher; my father; and a guidance counselor in high school who I observed as a great discussion leader. And I have had many informal mentors: Shirley Engle, James Shaver, Anna Ochoa-Becker, Fred Newmann, Howard Zinn, David Tyack, Clinton Jencks, and Michael Harrington. Several of these scholars spent time with me, sharing ideas or reacting to a draft of something I had written. The first time I heard Shirley Engle speak was in San Francisco in 1983 during my first year as a doctoral student at Stanford. Engle was a long-time advocate of issues-centered teaching and one of the leading thinkers in the history of the field. He was saying much the same thing as I was thinking and

writing, and he took the time to meet with me and share his thoughts in reaction to a paper I was working on.

A number of scholarly works have influenced my thinking about social issues. I read a lot as a child, both fiction and non-fiction. Two books stand out from my youth, Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) and John Howard Griffin's *Black Like Me* (1961). During graduate school I read many works by issues-centered scholars in social studies, mostly on my own and for papers in open-ended seminars led by Dr. Gross. The titles include something of a who's who among advocates of issues-centered social studies: Postman and Weingartner's *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), Oliver and Shaver's *Teaching Public Issues in the High School* (1966), Massialas and Cox's *Inquiry in the Social Studies* (1966), Gross, Muessig and Fersh's, *The Problems Approach in the Social Studies* (1960), Hunt and Metcalf's *Teaching High School Social Studies* (1955 & 1968), and key works by Harold Rugg, John Dewey, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, and Paulo Freire. A few years earlier I had read Harrington, Marx, and others on socialism and competing ideologies. All of these works had an influence on my emerging world-view and ideas about education.

Richard Gross, my mentor at Stanford, introduced me to Harold Rugg through some of the stories he told during methods class and in seminars. When I announced at one seminar that the way to change social studies was to develop innovative textbooks, he responded, "Ron is where Harold Rugg was 50 or 60 years ago."

I was also motivated by scholars that I reacted against. At AERA in the late 1980s, I heard Diane Ravitch present a paper to a nearly empty hall in which she touted the revival of history and the new California Framework. Angered by much of what I heard, at the end of the session I asked, "When will students ever confront the issues?" From that point forward, I found myself writing scholarly work that challenged the wisdom of the revival of traditional history as a rather backward looking and conservative approach to education that would ultimately do more harm than good.

I owe a debt of gratitude for the support and mentoring of family and friends, including my parents, my wife Mika, and my children. Without them, my scholarly success might not have happened. Mika has always been supportive of my efforts and has accepted my sometimes preoccupied presence for stretches of time. Even when, in the words of Marilyn Monroe in "The Misfits," "It was like he wasn't there, even when he was." My father and my participation in a Unitarian men's group have also influenced my development and my work. My father forced me to be logical in our political arguments, and the men's group contributed by helping me learn to go beyond argument toward dialogue, an important distinction. All of these friends and family have listened patiently as I have talked about my work, offering support, questions, and comments. "How's that book coming," is a frequent refrain. In more than a few cases, they provided tangible support with proofreading and editing. I have also benefited from the support of my colleagues at San Diego State University and elsewhere, through their comments, questions, feedback, and, in the case of the

University, financial support for archival research and writing. So, my work is far from a "single handed" enterprise.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE WORK

As a curriculum historian I have read works by a number of previous scholars such as John Dewey, Harold Rugg, George S. Counts, and others. By these standards my contributions are relatively insignificant. So, I begin this task with a sense of humility. My motivations for becoming a teacher and scholar have activist roots. Moreover, I have long considered myself an advocate within social studies education. The *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues* (1996 & 2007) was essentially a forward looking contribution to the field, seeking to move it in the direction of issues-centered teaching and learning. The *Handbook,* for which I served as first editor, provides an introduction to some of the major works in the issues-centered camp and offers help to teachers in determining how to apply issues-centered principles to subject-centered courses. It has had some influence and continues to be used as a course text in a few places.

The Social Studies Wars (2004) started out as my attempt to write a history of issues-centered social studies and evolved into a full history of the field. The book attempts a balanced approach to understanding the history of social studies, though it is a story told through the eyes of an issues-centered educator. As I began the work, I wanted to write the history of issues-centered social studies, to examine where we were, how far we had come, and why we seemed to have so little impact on classroom practice, a key motivating question or dilemma. As I got further into the research and writing of the book, I found that it was necessary to look at all the camps in social studies, to trace their interactions, and to tell the full story, at least as much of it as I could grasp. Herbert Kliebard's work was a strong influence on my thinking, as were the works of Larry Cuban and David Tyack. The book provides an overview of the main choices in the field for teachers and policymakers as they have emerged and evolved over time. It may help readers clarify their orientation, purposes, and aims, and will at least provide some understanding of the historical evolution of the field. Unfortunately, American society has largely failed to critically examine the purposes of education, contriubuting to our ongoing "crisis."

I published a series of articles and book chapters based on field research I conducted in the earliest years of my career. "Teacher Conceptions of History" (1989) was the central piece. Other scholars have explored similar ground since then, but mostly through a different lens in which history is seen as the core of social studies.

Early in my career I edited a series of special sections on issues-centered education that started with publication of papers from a session I organized for the 1988 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies. I invited several prominent advocates of issues-centered education (including Engle, Gross, Newmann, and Shaver) to discuss our progress and reasons for the failure to have greater impact on classroom practice.

The conference session led to formation of the Issues-Centered Education Special Interest Group (SIG) which I proposed and organized. I did so because after writing a doctoral dissertation on the history of the "societal problems approach" in social studies, I wanted to do something about it. The SIG, now known as the Issues-Centered Community, has enjoyed a continuing presence in NCSS meetings and has served as a enduring source of support and collaboration. At one of the earliest meetings, a longtime supporter of issues-centered education remarked, "It's great seeing all the rebels in one room." The *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues* was a collaborative effort that grew out of SIG meetings.

I have also written several critiques and reviews of the works of other scholars in competing camps, some friendly, others less so. In a few of these articles I served as a warrior from the issues-centered camp engaged in the battles of the social studies wars.

In recent years I have published three books focused on particularly interesting and enlightening episodes from the social studies past. The books include a biography of Harold Rugg and the censure of his social studies textbooks, *This Happened in America: Harold Rugg and the Censure of Social Studies* (2007); a history of the 1960s new social studies, *The Hope for American School Reform: The Cold War Pursuit of Inquiry Learning in Social Studies* (2011a); and a history of 1960s era reform, the academic freedom battles it spawned, and the conservative restoration that followed, *The Tragedy of American School Reform: How Curriculum Politics and Entrenched Dilemmas Have Diverted Us from Democracy* (2011b). I believe that the dramatic conflicts explored in these works offer important insights and have great potential as a documentary or screenplay. My current project is an in-depth examination of the origins and development of school accountability reform and its impact on citizenship education.

REALITIES OF SCHOOLING

Despite my continuing commitments, I have become more realistic about the limited chances for reflective, issues-centered, or other "meaningful" educational reform to make a significant dent in mainstream classroom practice. Occasionally, I get pessimistic and cynical. In the early 1990s Howard Zinn, noted author of *A Peoples History of the United States* (1980), once wrote something like, "I can understand cynicism, but I don't believe in it." In the rational parts of my mind, I'm coming from a similar position. The chances for large-scale change are slim. I recall a conversation with Jim Shaver in which he reiterated his mantra, "No major changes," meaning that curriculum change would come only incrementally and that the prospects for significant or widespread change were slim, along with his admonition on the lack of relation between research and practice: "You need a hobby, don't you?"

Yet, I believe it is crucial that issues-centered education remain one of the rationale choices to be considered as teachers confront the history of the field and reflect on what they are doing and why. However, getting teachers to reflectively examine

the rationales behind their pedagogical approaches can be difficult. It seems there is a great focus among teachers on what works, and often too little thought about the aims of education. The "mindlessness" that Jim Shaver criticized in his NCSS presidential address (1977) seems not to have gone away.

My work on the history of the field suggests that multiple strands of curriculum reform are at work in schools, have been for a century or more, and will continue. Moreover, the politics of the curriculum are constantly changing, and the pendulum seems to swing slowly between the poles of tradition and innovation. At the present moment we are seeing the implementation of a technology of "democratic unfreedom" (Marcuse, 1964) in schools in which the freedom to experiment that is required for meaningful reflective teaching is being systematically taken away. Teachers are increasingly facing de-professionalization by a system that repels alternatives. Moreover, issues-centered education is out-of-step with the times as advocates of traditional history are winning many victories in the state-by-state battles. Powerful interest groups impact the context of the social studies field, set parameters, and influence its direction.

I believe that it is essential for advocates of meaningful social studies to resist the current overemphasis on accountability and the neglect of our field. It is important for us to educate the public, policymakers, and teachers about the choices we have, and the historical evolution, scapegoating, and interest group financing in the war on social studies that has brought us to this point. Though I am rather pessimistic about our chances in the short-term, I believe that we can reach many teachers. Over the long haul the inherent energy of an reflective inquiry or issues-centered approach has staying power—it improves the chances for teachers to interest students in the great issues of our time, that span past and present, and the chances of students making connections between what they study in the curriculum and their lives outside school.

The oppressive nature of business driven accountability reform and the constraints it has created have driven me into an archive, and the dusty stacks of the library. It has led me to seek some distance and a bird's-eye view so as to examine long-term trends, contemplate what could make a difference, and try to comprehend why inquiry and issues-centered approaches have had so little impact on classrooms—Rugg, Problems of Democracy, the Harvard Project, and the flurry of issues-centered materials in the newer social studies were major successes—and all have faded from the scene. So, the trajectory of my scholarly work has shifted to curriculum history in an effort to develop a deeper understanding and more powerful explanation for our failure to influence more than a small percentage of teachers.

The obstacles to building and sustaining meaningful teaching and learning in social studies classrooms are overwhelming. We haven't fared very well, but we have good and respected company. In my own work, I have tried to be cognizant of the obstacles from the start—and to accept the relatively minor place in the schools that seems reserved for reflective and issues-oriented education. Still, it bothers me that we have so little impact. As Shirley Engle said at one of the last meetings of the

Issues-Centered Education SIG that he attended, "All this work, it's made so little difference." It's hard to accept losing. I have described some of the obstacles above, and in other publications. The obstacles relate to what Tyack and Cuban have called the "grammar of schooling," aspects of schools that are embedded in the institution and are hard to change, that become just "the way schools are" (1995). There remains a great deal of "mindlessness" at work in schools, and much of what goes on lacks clear rationale (Shaver, 1977). Unfortunately, in the current age of accountability reform, this seems more true than ever.

It also seems self-evident to me that social issues, reflective probing questions, and the great variety of teaching strategies that flow from them, are at the heart of social education (Engle, 1960). I remain confounded, and disappointed, when I see a focus on learning history or other social studies content "for its own sake." That approach amounts to implanting the "furniture" of content into the mind (Kliebard, 1986), like making "deposits" in the banking approach (Freire, 1970).

LESSONS LEARNED

The in-depth work I have done on the history of social studies has led to significant changes in my thinking. Though at one time I was a unrestrained advocate of issues-centered approaches to social studies, I learned that its potential is being realized in few classrooms. My work on the Rugg story and the demise of MACOS (Man: A Course of Study) and other new social studies innovations helped me recognize that innovative reforms in social studies have often met with criticism from powerful, dedicated, and unrelenting groups. My review of the status studies of the 1970s and beyond taught me the sobering lesson that the field is limited by a grammar of standard practices and barriers to change.

I have learned a few lessons that seem rather obvious. Social studies education, all of education for that matter, is inherently ideological. Social studies is contested, sometimes hotly. Since the conservative restoration of the 1970s, trends have moved primarily toward more traditional forms of social education. Despite the influence of several persistent interest groups, most of what goes on in schools is driven by principles of social efficiency and social control. Children go to school to be "drilled" in a cultural orientation. Partly for this reason, partially due to the nature of schools as an organization, and because of overt oppostion, major initiatives in social studies have usually made only a little difference in classrooms.

It remains a truism that major attempts at reform are profoundly influenced by the context of the times, by forces outside education. It is also true that the "two cultures" of social studies education exists, and tends to limit reform (Avery, 1957). Teachers teach as they were taught, and are generally supported in this pattern by the culture of school and society. Most professors and curriculum workers in our field seek innovation, but are frequently stymied by the grammar of schooling which is perhaps at its strongest and most persistent in social studies.

Because we've made so little progress in classrooms, we've got a big job in the years ahead. We need to better educate teachers, administrators, policymakers, and the public about the choices available, including discipline-based inquiry, the issues-centered alternative, and potential hybrids of the two, and that takes time, money, and commitment. Though many useful strategies exist, we need new and updated classroom materials that can help teachers better apply a reflective or issues-centered approach to discipline-based courses within the current context of standards and testing.

In curriculum history, we need more work uncovering and detailing the stories of great inquiry and issues-centered educators of the past, thus making those stories accessible. We also need to better educate teachers and teacher educators in the historical and philosophical foundations of education. However, if my own institution is any indication, curriculum history and educational foundations are at low ebb these days. Nevertheless, despite its apparent lack of popularity, foundational knowledge can be powerful in helping to create the possibility of a new tomorrow. It serves as a logical base for exploring questions of purpose and rationale. It enlarges the present by reminding us that there are other alternatives.

The key dilemmas of our field have a long history and will likely continue for the forseeable future. Social studies continues to receive second tier priority after literacy, mathematics, and science. The current emphasis on schooling as preparation for work, and as an extension of national economic policy, has come about because of groups like the Committee for Economic Development, the Business Roundtable, the National Governors Association, a striking number of conservative foundations, and a string of Presidents who have emphasized the economic purposes of education.

For many of us in social studies, recent trends are troubling. The insititution of standards, imposition of accountability measures, and privatization have led to the deprofessionalization of teachers and the erosion of public schooling and its civic purposes. Some policies have explicitly aimed at targeting and eliminating innovative practices of the 1960s and 1970s such as open forum discussion and values clarification. Policies rooted in "effective schools" research have aimed at re-instituting traditional forms of education. Accountability reform has brought increased pressure for coverage and less time for in-depth study, critical thinking, or discussion. Progressive, inquiry-oriented approaches to teaching focused on involving students through in-depth study of topics, issues, projects, and problems is less prevalent than at any time in the recent past (Cuban, 2004). Perhaps we have passed the zenith of extreme authoritarianism via accountability and its negative impact on levels of classroom thoughtfulness. As of this writing, some of our colleagues are hopeful that a new approach to standards and accountability will open the door to depth of study and critical thinking, possibly leading to a new and better day. I hope they are right, but only time will tell.

Despite this largely gloomy portrait, I have also learned that reform initiatives supporting reflective, inquiry, and issues-centered teaching can make a profound difference for many teachers and students, just as they have in the past. If thoughtfully

constructed and purposefully applied, they are worth the effort. We must choose wisely. Ultimately, every teacher has the responsibility to decide how he or she will work with students, no matter what the principal, the administration, or the current group in power may think.

At its heart, the progressive approach to schooling championed by Rugg and others held that students must be challenged to confront social realities, to understand how the problems and dilemmas of the contemporary world came to be what they are, and to think about what might be done about it. In his later years, Rugg captured the essence of the matter in one of his many talks about his work on the creative process:

> One of the very essential factors in the creative process, it seems to me, is the concept of integrity. It's involved in that very homely phrase, "I say what I think my way" …. An authoritarian world will not permit that question to be asked, "What do you think?" … Why it's revolutionary! … So you could generalize that, … and you could put it into schools. And (it) consists of teachers honestly asking, "What do you think?"
>
> I think we've seen almost a vicious expression of the very opposite of this. Not what they really think, but what ought to be said to fit in with the controlling interest, with the boss, with the owner, the employer, with the party . . . [or] in a democratic society where the powers that be control.
>
> Educationally, I would go back to what seems to be the heart of it, getting teachers to understand, that no matter what the board of education has prescribed, no matter what the superintendent and the principal, and the supervisor have said must be done, that basically, this group of children and I have got to explore life . . . together, honestly, and confront the problems . . . in spite of the possible authoritarian (reaction) . . . . The teacher would have to bring them right down to this village, this town, this neighborhood, this school, this class. Our problems. (Rugg, 1956)

Thus, Rugg's work was a call to confront the persistent issues at the heart of our social and economic lives. He called for students to find their own individual voices as they confront the most persistent dilemmas of our times. I believe that we should support Rugg's call to raise awareness and invoke a deep and fundamental questioning of our purposes as educators. For, as Rugg once wrote, "The world is on fire, and the youth of the world must be equipped to combat the conflagration" (Rugg, 1932).

NOTE

[1] Portions of the chapter are drawn from Ronald W. Evans, "Forty Days and Forty Nights in the Wilderness of Capitalist Schooling," in Samuel Totten and Jon Pedersen (2006), *Researching and Teaching Social Issues: The Personal Stories and Pedagogical Efforts of Professors of Education*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. (Reprinted in a paper edition by Information Age Publishing, 2012)

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S. G. GRANT

FRAMING A SCHOLARLY LIFE

Had I any real talent, I might have pursued a career in art. I don't and I didn't, but I do have an artist's eye: the tendency to notice detail in form, size, color, and texture and the disposition to look for patterns and themes. Such inclinations sensitized me to the importance of framing; after all, how images are framed, how they might be reframed to different effect, and even how frames function to include and/or exclude are key elements of an artistic view. That I struggled to find a framework for this chapter is testament to the notion that seeing the details of one's life is far easier than developing the bigger picture. Hopefully the struggle is as worthwhile for readers as it has been for me.

Framing a scholarly life in the field of social studies, however, holds its special challenges. Even a brief list of current problems proves daunting: the No Child Left Behind legislation ignores social studies, the subject is being dropped from some state requirements and from some state testing, and the Common Core in English Language Arts appears to appropriate the field of history. When combined with our historic difficulties—an overblown curriculum, didactic instruction, political wrangling, an overemphasis on textbooks, and low-level expectations and assessments—we are a field in trouble. Reforms have been offered but, taken together, they have failed due to incoherent sources, inconsistent curriculum products, and competing visions of curriculum content.

My most current work in the field has been as advisor to a state-led project to craft a new framework for social studies standards. That the effort is being led by a coalition of blue and red states ought to prove helpful for what is sure to be a lively national debate. If these standards succeed, it will be because they have reframed the field of social studies.

More on that point later. For now, let me suggest that this chapter is less a straightforward narrative and more a series of independent, but interlocking frames that offer a means of telling my story both in detail and in theme. The frames I chose for this chapter—New Kid, Social Studies Teacher, Novice Scholar, Scholar and Writer, and Ideas—represent but one way that I could carve up my life. There are others—Frustrated Rock Star and Older Motorcycle Rider—but I will save those for another venue.

FRAME 1: THE NEW KID

I was eight years old and my family had just moved from Maine to Virginia. As the moving van left, my father sent me to the store to buy a tube of toothpaste.

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 71–84.

> When I asked the clerk where it was, he asked if I was "Yankee." I tried to explain that I was not, but was, in fact, a Red Sox fan. My explanation went nowhere as he grumbled and cursed the "damn Northerners." I left the store without the toothpaste and with an eight-year old's tears.

* * * * *

It's taken me a while to appreciate, but one of the most important frames in my life is that of the new kid. Although there was considerable downside to that role, I now see its benefits.

I learned how to be the new kid based on the 18 years I served as a Navy brat. The upshot was that we moved, on average, every 18 months up and down the East coast. In my early years, the excitement of moving to a new location (Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, Virginia, Maine) eroded quickly as I anticipated the odd looks, the initial social isolation, the vastly different school expectations, and the occasional bloody nose I was likely to encounter.

Those negatives do not define the new kid frame for me, however. It has taken some time to see them, but the advantages to such a life are several. One set of advantages is the resilience and independence that I have developed. Turns out that it takes a lot to knock me down. Words and fists can wound me just as deeply as the next person, but I learned to pull myself up and get back into the game whatever it was. Resilience goes together with an independent streak. Knowing that the friendships formed in one town were unlikely to carry through to the next (my early relationships would have benefited from a Facebook page), necessitates a certain independence of mind, spirit, and body. I learned that being by myself was not the worst thing and that I could maintain my own ideas even in the face of a strong majority.

The second benefit to a new kid frame is the capacity for sizing up social situations and the ability to take the long view. New kids do not survive if they do not learn how to assess contexts quickly and adapt to them. Not knowing who to trust, whom to fear, and whom to go to for guidance is unsettling at best. So figuring out who the players are in a new neighborhood, a new school, and a new town is a valuable skill and doing so allowed me to see where the cracks were through which I could safely navigate. Learning that those cracks would eventually widen such that I could be an accepted member of any number of social groupings helped me realize the importance of taking the long view. I cannot say that I ever looked forward to moving but, over time, I understood that I would always be able to gain a measure of social comfort.

The new kid characteristic that I am still trying to categorize is wanderlust. The downside is obvious: a restless mind and an inability to stake a set of community roots. But this wanderlust also pushed me in productive ways. Career-wise it meant that I could leave high school teaching after some 10 years and look forward to a position at the Maine State Department of Education. When a change in administration occurred, I did not hesitate to seek another job—my first taste of administration—at

the University of Southern Maine. And then, at age 35, neither Anne nor I hesitated to sell our sailboat, rent out our old Maine schoolhouse, and drive to the Midwest to live in student housing so that I could begin a doctoral program at Michigan State University (Anne did an MSW at the same time). After that move, the opportunities to go to a faculty position at the University at Buffalo and then, 15 years later, to a dean's job at Binghamton University seemed like the natural results of the several dispositions I had developed through my years as the new kid.

FRAME 2: SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER

> My first social studies teaching job was at Schenck High School in East Millinocket, Maine, a paper mill town some 20 miles from the base of Mt. Katahdin, the northern terminus of the Appalachian Mountains. At Schenck, I learned to be, and loved being, a teacher as I navigated five different subject matter preparations and the wandering minds and bodies of my freshman through senior classes. It is also where, three years later, I was RIFed (Reduction in Force) two days before it was announced that the student body had dedicated the yearbook to me.

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My initial career plans of being a baseball pro died with my inability to hit a curve ball; my dreams of being a rock star faded when I traded all my equipment for a bicycle (that was eventually stolen); and my turn as journalist nearly got me kicked out of high school and blistered on the trial piece I wrote for the University of Maine school newspaper. The last event was a profound setback (and a contribution to my low freshman year GPA). As I wandered the UM campus feeling sorry for myself, I realized the only academic subject that intrigued me was history. The only thing I knew to do with a history degree was teach, so I enrolled in the College of Education program to become a social studies teacher.

I entered the job market in the late 1970s in the first glut of teachers—especially social studies teachers—anyone I knew could remember. I applied for every job going and interviewed wherever someone would see me. On the day before the school year started, I took a job as a junior high school Assistant Reading Teacher in Bangor, Maine, at half a regular teacher's salary: $4400. A year later, I interviewed for a reading teacher job in my home district in northern Maine, hoping for full-time employment. Some school board members seemed to recall that I had written some inflammatory editorials for the school newspaper about Richard Nixon and thought—well, I really don't know what they thought—I was a risk. I didn't get the job, but later I landed a real social studies job at Schenck, and I found my calling as a teacher.

It was in that position that I really learned my content, how to teach, and the curious joy that comes from helping someone learn. Throughout the year, I taught

U.S. history, U.S. government, psychology, sociology, and a series of quarter-year courses as part of my world history preparation (English history, Russian history, Chinese history, and African history). On good days, I stayed two pages ahead of the kids; on bad days, well, there were a number of bad days. After being RIFed in 1981, I landed a position as a high school social studies teacher in Boothbay Harbor, Maine. There I added economics and world geography to my repertoire of courses taught.

While in Boothbay Harbor, I led a K-12 social studies district curriculum project. Early on, I convinced the group to adopt a social studies heuristic I had learned from Patricia Ames in a University of Maine course. That heuristic, which Pat called "the threads" proposed the idea that most any social issue could be better understood if one looked at it from multiple angles: geographic, political, economic, socio-cultural, and global. As we built the secondary levels of the district curriculum, we infused this set of perspectives into each topic. We initially struggled, however, with ways to ramp up the elementary curriculum. During that struggle, the notion of a big idea question first surfaced. Questions like "What do we need to build a sandbox?" seemed an engaging way to build a curriculum and to teach a range of fundamental social studies concepts to kindergarteners: geographic (e.g., resources, location); political (e.g., rules and responsibilities, decision-making); economic (e.g., trade-offs, supply and demand); socio-cultural (e.g., social norms, forms of leisure); and global (e.g., competition, cooperation).

That district-level curriculum experience and my time on the Executive Board of the Maine Council for the Social Studies (which I had joined during my days in East Millinocket) opened my thinking to the wider world of social studies. I loved teaching, but increasingly I was drawn to issues that lay beyond my classroom. So when the job of Social Studies Consultant opened up at the Maine Department of Education, I applied.

I arrived in my new position in 1986, just as the first wave of national educational reform was cresting. The Department brought in several new people at that time and built an entirely new office around the notion of school improvement planning. While I participated on the school-improvement teams, I was given free rein to promote social studies throughout the state. I took the opportunity to highlight the importance of curriculum mapping in general and the use of big ideas and the threads in particular.

With a new commissioner in 1988 came a whole new vision for the Department, one less focused on working with school folks to realize their own ambitions and one more focused on telling them what to do. I took this shift as my cue to leave and spent the next year working as the director of graduate education at the University of Southern Maine.

In the hours it took to drive back and forth from USM to our house, I began to read widely on educational policy (Apple's *Ideology and Curriculum*; Powell, Farrar, and Cohen's *Shopping Mall High School*; Goodlad's *A Place Called School*). I also began dreaming about doctoral study, a goal I had pursued and abandoned

some seven years earlier. With Anne applying for Master's in Social Work programs at the same time, we agreed to pursue the programs offered to us at Michigan State University.

FRAME 3: NOVICE SCHOLAR

> With a lot of drive time and a little engineering, I was able to position a book in the spokes of my steering wheel and read most of the way during my commute from the Boothbay region to my University of Southern Maine job. After reading *Shopping Mall High School*, I remember thinking, if I could learn to write as well as David Cohen writes footnotes, I'd be a happy man.

* * * * *

The observant reader will note that I included my time at the Maine Department of Education and at the University of Southern Maine under my social studies teacher frame. I did so consciously because, despite the changes in venues and job descriptions, I still saw myself as a teacher first and foremost. My dalliance with educational policy was just that, I thought; I believed myself to be a social studies teacher at heart.

When I went to Michigan State, however, I did so with every intention to leave social studies behind. The field seemed intellectually dormant and my growing interest in policy, spurred by my days in Augusta, encouraged me to think broadly. I took the assignment of David Cohen—my writing hero—as my mentor as a sign that policy was my future.

After a year of working in one of the teacher education programs, David asked me to join the Center for Policy Research in Education (CPRE) team he had formed along with Deborah Ball, Suzanne Wilson, Penelope Peterson, Dick Prawat, and a host of doctoral students. The work we did to chart the development and enactment of reading and mathematics reforms in Michigan and California proved seminal in my growth as a scholar. In that work, we studied what David has called the "pedagogy of policy" by interviewing state, district, and school-level actors, conducting extensive classroom observations, and analyzing the documentary trail from the Michigan and California Departments of Education through to students' homework assignments. These qualitative research methods were all new to me and my early field notes and interview transcripts, which we all shared in regular group meetings, provided considerable examples of what not to do.

Around the same time, I met Bruce VanSledright, another frustrated social studies guy. Bruce had landed a plum assistantship with Jere Brophy who had just turned his attention to social studies. Bruce and I spent hours lamenting the fallen state of social studies, occasionally encouraged by Cleo Cherryholmes. In our classes, we were reading about the exciting work emerging in other subject matters, reading and mathematics in particular. But with the exception of Ron Evans's and Linda

Levstik's early work, social studies felt like barren ground. So with the cocksure attitude of new doctoral students, it was not long before Bruce and I started an independent project to push the field. Our early efforts took two tacks: critiquing the goal of citizenship education as the sole goal for social studies and the pressing need for a conversational community among academics and teachers. We had some success publishing our ideas, but they went largely unnoticed in the field.

My Maine State Education Department work, combined with my involvement in the CPRE project sensitized me to the role policy might play (or not) in teachers' work. That interest proved to be a major focus of my work to come. The CPRE effort forced me to look deeply into the many ways policy can be construed and the many ways that the notion of fidelity to a policy is problematic. The CPRE project also exposed me to new school subjects and, in doing so, pushed me to think about how teaching and learning in mathematics and literacy compared with social studies. The opportunity to stand outside of my own field for a time enabled me to see social studies through a new frame. So aside from my dissertation and the book I wrote from it (which focused on how elementary school teachers made sense of reading, writing, and mathematics reforms), my attention kept returning to social studies.

Since my initial work with Bruce, that attention has taken me in several directions: a) my work in analyzing the elements of the new New York State social studies curriculum, how it was unfolding, and how teachers were making sense of it; b) my co-authored work with Bruce on an elementary social studies teaching methods book; c) my continuing work on the state policy implications as the new social studies assessments were rolled out; and d) my work on ambitious teaching and learning and my co-authored work with Jill Gradwell on teaching with big ideas.

FRAME 3: SCHOLAR AND WRITER

> I had just finished writing *History Lessons: Teaching, Learning, and Testing in U.S. High School Classrooms* when Elizabeth Yeager invited me to write a chapter for a book she and O.L. Davis were editing on teaching practice in the age of high-stakes testing. I really enjoyed writing the *Lessons* book and so looked forward to this new assignment. Half-way through my first draft, however, I suddenly realized I had no idea what I was talking about. In the shock of that discovery, I thought, "how can this be? I've just written a damn book!" It took me a couple of hours to figure out where I can gone astray, but (eventually) I took this as a good sign for, as a rookie writer, it would have taken me two weeks.

* * * * *

The roles of "scholar" and "writer" overlap considerably but, in my case, the latter seemed to develop much more slowly than the former. The fact of the matter is that I have long struggled as a writer; I have struggled even to think of myself as a writer. A couple years ago a student gave me a poster that summed up my relationship with

writing: "Writing is easy: Stare at a blank sheet of paper until drops of blood form on your forehead." I could laugh then; in my early career, I would have tried it.

I am not sure why but, for a good portion of my life, I thought that writing ability was innate and that good writers wrote effortlessly. The rest of us, I concluded, were doomed to struggle. I knew I was not a good writer when I started my doctoral studies, but I thought I might be able to eke my way through. My goal was to learn how to work with teachers; I never thought I could or would even want to be a writer.

My early course papers underscored those last points. The middling grade I received on the first assignment in Michael Sedlak's history of education class made me realize that I was in the big leagues now and that, if I was going to stay, I would have to figure out how to write.

Through my course assignments, the field notes I did for the CPRE study, and my work with Bruce, I came to see the several flaws in my writing: my tendency to assume too much of a common understanding in the reader; the lack of an apparent rhetorical structure to guide readers; the tight, cramped, minimalistic text I produced; and the absence of any sort of internal editor. It was a daunting list and had I realized all of these problems at once, I might have quit. That said, it slowly dawned on me that I had an even bigger problem—I did not know how to craft an argument that would frame my writing.

That this realization took so long to form and so much longer to address still baffles me. I clearly remember Michael Sedlak admonishing our class (so maybe it wasn't just me) that we needed to figure out what the arguments were in our papers. David Cohen, Suzanne Wilson, and others in the CPRE group pushed me and my graduate assistant colleagues to "find the story" in our field notes and case studies. Bruce, Ruth Heaton, Nancy Jennings, and other student peers were more direct: "What's your point, Grant?"

On some level I understood their advice, but I did not have the first idea about how to enact it. I must have made some progress because I was able to finish a dissertation, get some articles published, and the like. But I did so as a weak swimmer struggles to raise his head above water only to have another wave sink him. I had so much to learn conceptually about the ideas I had in my head; what frustrated me was that I had as much or more to learn about the rhetoric of writing.

I wish that I had a great story about how I finally learned how to construct a coherent argument and then to use that argument to develop the themes, claims, and evidence that would make my argument sing. I don't. Instead, I have the embarrassing admission that I figured all this out through my university teaching.

One strong inkling surfaced in my elementary social studies methods class. In reading the students' first drafts of their unit plans, I found myself writing "what's the point?" in the margins. Most had designed some thoughtful and engaging lessons, but I could not see what those lessons added up to or where they were headed. The students' second drafts were better, but not significantly so I now wrote, "what's the big idea?" in the margins. I meant the comment as a funny, but gentle prod to keep pushing themselves to define the core ideas they wanted students to understand.

Yet as this notion took shape through class discussion and their successive drafts, it seemed that "what's the big idea?" functioned as a way to help students organize their units and to develop a level of coherence within and across the lessons. Preservice teachers can produce a lot of lesson ideas; they have trouble figuring out how to group them in such a way that they build toward a logical endpoint.

I will have more to say about the notion of big idea teaching in the next section. I raise the point here to illustrate the point that asking for a big idea in a teaching unit is not unlike asking what one's argument is in a research report. That I saw this need in my students, but struggled to see it in my own writing is just one of the ironies within which I live.

My attention to the importance of one's argument grew even stronger in the doctoral-level qualitative research course I taught. Like my masters-level preservice teachers, my doctoral students often floundered when it came to determining what point they wanted to make. Most had collected decent sets of data, but they labored to find a storyline. So together, we worked through what I began to see as the central components of a research paper: *claims* (low-inference conclusions emerging from data); *evidence* (the particular quotes or observation notes that supported a claim); *interpretation* (higher-level inference of a claim and evidence tied to the bigger topic at hand); *themes* (clusters of claims, evidence, and interpretations); and *arguments* (the idea that serves to tie together all the component pieces). We had long discussions about whether a claim could also be a theme (it depends), whether one needed multiple themes or just one (it depends), and whether an argument had to make a contribution to the field of study (yes!).

I am not ashamed (now) to say that I was learning all of this at the same time that my students were. And as the vignette at the beginning of this section suggests, I have continued to find ways to go off the rails in my writing. It has taken a while, but as I became sensitized to the presence or absence of an argument in others' writing, it became increasingly easy to ask myself what the argument was in my own, to write outlines as a way to figure out what my argument was, and to right myself if I found myself going astray. In short, I learned that framing a writerly argument is not unlike framing a big idea for a teaching unit and that both of these ideas could help me make more sense of myself as a teacher, a scholar, and a writer.

FRAME 5: THE IDEAS

> Before I landed my first academic job at the University at Buffalo, I was having little luck securing a position. Here is how one preliminary phone conversation went: "S.G., we're interested in bringing you to campus, but we are having a little trouble figuring out what you do." "Why is that?" I asked. "Well, it looks like you have done some social studies, but you've also done all this policy work. Are you really a social studies guy?"

* * * * *

Despite my attempts to distance myself from social studies when I first went to MSU, I was a social studies guy then and, despite my new administrative title, I still think of myself in those terms. But then we are not the only ones who get to define or frame ourselves. My colleague Catherine Cornbleth saw that it was possible for me to cast myself as both a social studies guy *and* a policy guy and so I thank her for bringing me to Buffalo.

Just as frames are useful ways of making sense of one's life, so too are they a useful way to look at one's ideas. So let me use this last section to talk about the ideas that I think I have contributed to the field of social studies: the relevance of policy, ambitious teaching, and big ideas.

The Relevance of Policy

Steve Thornton once accused me to creating a "cottage industry" around the study of social studies policy. It was a good line, but one that also seems true: When I started writing about state social studies curriculum policies in New York and California, I felt like a party of one. Of course, my University at Buffalo colleague, Cathie Cornbleth, had just published *The Great Speckled Bird*, which looked at the New York state curriculum policy, but Cathie's vision was bigger than mine: policy as a lens on the issue of multiculturalism. I was more interested in the policy making itself and in the subsequent manner in which policy was interpreted and reinterpreted by a variety of stakeholders from state government officials to classroom teachers. The idea of a bifocal perspective, one that privileges both the views of policymakers and of teachers intrigued me. Lee Shulman elegantly captures the negative elements of that dual focus:

> For many of the policymakers, the vision is of teachers who do not teach, or teach only what they please to those who please them ... whose low expectations for the intellectual prowess of poor children leads them to neglect their pedagogical duties toward the very groups who need instruction most desperately; or whose limited knowledge of the sciences, mathematics, and language arts results in their misteaching the most able. ...

To this nightmare, Shulman adds a second:

> ... teachers harbor their own nightmares. ... They are subject to endless mandates and directives emanating from faceless bureaucrats pursuing patently political agendas. These policies not only dictate frequently absurd practices, they typically conflict with the policies transmitted from other agencies, from the courts, or from other levels of government. Each new policy further erodes the teacher's control over the classroom for which she is responsible. ...

Having worked in both sites—a state education department and a classroom—I knew well these dual frustrations. Policy can mean many things, however. David Cohen and others convinced me that, if it is rich in ideas, policy can prove stimulative

and that, if we think of policy as part of the marketplace of ideas around teaching and learning, then it can play a positive role in transforming education. I say "can" because all too often policymakers aim low at the same time their rhetoric aims high. Focusing on those least capable teachers is not a bad idea, but one-size-fits-all policies anger the best and those who aspire to be the best, and fail to transform the weakest and those whose skills are dwindling.

Knowing that policy is a blunt tool is not the same thing as being able to do something about it. But knowing policy's limitations is a necessary precursor, and so much of my early scholarship looked at the many and often mixed messages that policy can send and the myriad ways that classroom teachers can make sense of those messages. Arriving at the University at Buffalo in 1994 proved opportune. The protracted period of curriculum and assessment policy revision in which New York was engaged proved hellish for teachers, but it provided great research material for me.

Ambitious Teaching

Having spent a number of years writing about teachers' responses to various curriculum and assessment policy revisions, I felt the need to capture the work of the very good teachers I was observing. New York has long history of state social studies curriculum and testing mandates so the teachers I studied readily acknowledged a level of policy influence on their practices. Yet the reforms of the late 1990s and onward increasingly challenged teachers' classroom autonomy. That they felt pushed and pulled made sense as did the notion that Linda McNeil and others observed whereby teachers seemed to be giving over their pedagogical authority to the perceived dictates of state tests.

The defensive teaching McNeil described fit some of what I was seeing, but nowhere near all of it. Yes, some teachers did include far more test preparation than I (or most of their peers) would advocate, but they were the minority. More common was a range of teachers who seemed determined to act in ways that promoted their visions of good teaching. And so, as I was writing *History Lessons*, a book that used the cases of two teachers (Linda Strait and George Blair) as the basis from which to talk about the research on teaching, learning, and assessment, it became important to me to highlight those teachers who resisted the worst influences of state policy and persisted in teaching in a richer and more engaging fashion.

The early drafts of the *History Lessons* book featured Lee Shulman's notion of pedagogical content knowledge, which he defines as "that special amalgam" that "represents the blending of content and pedagogy into and understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners and presented for instruction." I was quite taken with this idea (and with Dewey's notion of psychologizing the curriculum before it) and so referred frequently to the idea that good teachers were able to marry their knowledge of the content with their knowledge of their students to produce smart instructional representations.

And if I had only been writing about teaching and learning history, I might have stopped there. But I was equally interested in looking at Strait's and Blair's responses to state-level testing and at the research literature on the issue. To be sure, I saw lots of indications that teachers were being unduly and unproductively influenced by state exams. But my own research and some of what I found in the literature suggested that a broader view was necessary. Shulman's notion of "managing ideas" in general and pedagogical content knowledge in particular resonated with me, but something seemed to be missing.

I eventually determined that the missing something was the idea that teaching always occurs in a particular context, an idea I had been working with in my first book, *Reforming Reading, Writing, and Mathematics*, where I examined four teachers' responses to state-level reforms in those subject matters. In that book, I argued that teachers' responses reflected dynamic and idiosyncratic interpretations of policy in light of the personal, organizational, and policy factors that influenced them. These factors did not necessarily predict teachers' behaviors, but they did provide a useful lens on the complex nature of enacting policy in classrooms. As I worked through the cases in the *History Lessons* book, it occurred to me that a useful perspective on teachers' practices might emerge if one looked at their views of teaching, learning, and the context in which they taught.

Bruce and I had used the term "ambitious" in our elementary social studies methods book. We left it undefined, however, and used it largely as a synonym for "rich," "effective," or "good" teaching. It took on a more substantive definition as I worked through the *History Lessons* book. My definition of ambitious teaching, then, became the degree to which teachers a) know their subject matter well and see within it the potential to enrich their students' lives; b) know their students well, which includes understanding the kinds of lives their students lead, how these youngsters think about and perceive the world, and that they are far more capable than they and most others believe them to be; and c) know how to create the necessary space for themselves and their students in environments in which others (e.g., administrators, other teachers) may not appreciate either of their efforts.

A number of other researchers have picked up on the ambitious teaching construct and are pushing it further. I do worry, however, that some are using it as an absolute—i.e., teachers are either ambitious or not. My point has always been that ambitious teaching is on a continuum, so I prefer to think of teachers as either more or less ambitious. I say this because Dewey taught me to abhor dichotomies and because, with three elements, it makes sense that some teachers are more adept at some elements than others and that it is the rare teacher who is adept at all three.

Teaching with Big Ideas

Some reviewers of the *History Lessons* book said that they liked the ambitious teaching construct, but wanted more exemplars. I had cited examples of more or less ambitious teachers, but I had not extensively described their lessons and units. It

occurred to me that the notion of big idea teaching could be a way to make ambitious teaching real.

Bruce and I had defined big idea teaching in our elementary social studies methods book as a question or generalization that helps teachers decide what to teach by centering their teaching units around meaty, complex issues that are open to multiple perspectives and interpretations.

I will admit that I also like the big idea language because it seemed so distant from the traditional educational jargon of behavior objectives, performance goals, and the like. I could never keep the language of aims, goals, and objectives distinct and I was never sure which were behavioral and which were performance. I found that my pre-service students struggled too and so the whole effort felt like trying to teach students a foreign language that I barely spoke myself. Simplistic as it sounds, "what is your big idea?" felt like a real and manageable question that could be as pedagogically useful as its multi-syllabic peers.

I began using the big idea construct in my first elementary social studies methods class at the University at Buffalo. Jill Gradwell took my secondary methods course during the time in which I was working through the construct. She recalls thinking that it seemed reasonable, but was harder to enact that she thought it would be. Eventually Jill became convinced that it was worth pursuing and when she took a position at Buffalo State College, she began using it in her own classes.

When Jill and I talked about the critiques of my *History Lessons* book and my idea that big ideas might figure into a response, we hit upon the idea of recruiting a group of former students to write cases of their experiences teaching with big ideas. The prospect excited us because the social studies literature is weak on teachers' self reports of their classroom experiences. We knew from talking with the teachers we approached that their stories would not be uniformly positive; each experienced trials as they worked a big idea approach into their teaching practices. But Jill and I felt that the teachers' voices would resonate with readers who also felt the tug to teach more ambitiously.

The edited volume that resulted, *Teaching History with Big Ideas: Cases of Ambitious Teachers*, allowed us to amplify the construct of ambitious teaching. The teacher-written chapters describe their assumptions about and the interplay among teaching, learning, and context. And the cross-case analysis chapter that Jill and I wrote allowed us to identify patterns in the ways that the teachers responded to the challenges that confronted them. The book also allowed us to demonstrate the many routes teachers can take to big idea teaching. Each of the teacher-authors described her or his respective negotiations with the problems and the possibilities of using big ideas to frame their instructional units.

The last part of the preceding sentence says much about how my career has unfolded. For not only have I learned the value of framing my ideas, my writing, and my teaching (as well as this chapter!), but I now feel that I have been able to help others see the value of framing in their own professional careers. Of course, frames are always easier to see in retrospect; life in the day-to-day often seems unframed at

best. But as a means of reflecting on our lived experiences, frames offer us ways of making sense of ourselves and our worlds.

A Postscript of Sorts

For the past three years, I have worked as advisor on a project to create a framework for state social studies standards. Squeezing this effort into a 24-hour day full of deanly matters has been as rewarding as it has been challenging. The outcome, I believe, will be a framing of social studies unlike any previous standards-writing project.

Co-chairs Kathleen Swan (University of Kentucky) and Susan Griffin (National Council for the Social Studies) assembled a group of state social studies specialists from some 20 states and the executive directors of some 15 social studies-related professional organizations to begin the effort to craft a set of social studies standards that could rival the those in the Common Core. Kathy and Susan undertook the project with all the odds against them: there is no real organizational guidance or authority (ala the Council of Chief State School Officers), very little money, a history of fractious relationships across disciplinary boundaries and between academics and state education department personnel, and a bookshelf of previous standards projects that failed to light up teachers' imaginations. Despite these odds, I am finishing this chapter as the framework (*The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*) is being published.

I will not predict public reaction to this document. Instead, I will hope that the attention to the component disciplines of social studies (civics, economics, geography, and history); to rigorous intellectual outcomes centered on the making and supporting of arguments; to college, career, and citizenship readiness; and to the rights of state and local entities to decide the specific content will convince reviewers to give the document a fair read.

Two other features set this effort apart. One is the fact that the first dimension highlights developing questions and planning investigations. We did not use the language of big ideas, but the notion that instructional units ought to begin with a compelling question is central to a more ambitious approach to teaching social studies. The other novel element of the framework is the idea of an instructional arc. Standards writers are notoriously skittish when it comes to talking about teaching practice. The mindset has been that outlining curriculum is fair game; outlining approaches to teaching that curriculum has not. The four dimensions: a) developing questions and planning investigations; b) applying disciplinary concepts and ideas; c) gathering, evaluating, and using evidence; and d) working collaboratively and communicating conclusions–can stand alone as each expresses a central tenet of knowing and understanding social studies. But they also form a kind of instructional arc, a set of interlocking and mutually supportive ideas that teachers can use as they develop their units of study.

A great many hands touched this document; I am proud to say that mine were part of its framing.

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CAROLE L. HAHN

SOCIAL STUDIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE LOCAL TO THE GLOBAL

ONE WOMAN'S STORY

I came to social studies education at an exciting time—the late 1960s and early 1970s. There was much ferment in society—optimism in the twilight of the Civil Rights Movement, political turmoil over the Vietnam War, and the energy of the growing Women's Movement. It was also a time of innovation within the field of social studies education as social educators and social scientists in the academy worked together to create the new curricular programs collectively named "The New Social Studies." Before elaborating on what the field was like when I began my career and reflecting on how it has evolved in the years since then, I begin with my personal story. To understand how I constructed meaning from the wider social environment, it is important to note my positionality and to recognize the "prior schema" that framed the way in which I viewed events and ideas. In this chapter I reflect on my experiences with social studies education in relation to three lines of inquiry that have been most meaningful to me over these years: 1) controversial issues in social studies; 2) gender and social studies; and 3) global/international/comparative perspectives on social studies/civic education.

I am acutely aware that living at a particular time in history and at particular points on the planet influenced my thinking about social studies education. I grew up in a California suburb in the 1950s; came of age politically and began teaching in California and Kentucky in the tumultuous 1960s; went to graduate school at Indiana University at the height of the New Social Studies movement and began my career as a professor at Emory University in the American South in the 1970s; was president of the National Council for the Social Studies and began to work internationally in the 1980s; conducted research with international colleagues in the 1990s; and was challenged by the thinking of my international colleagues and my doctoral students in the first decade of the 21st century. Most recently, with these students and colleagues, I have been exploring issues facing something like "social studies," or "civic education" across borders of all kinds.

ONCE UPON A TIME … MY STORY BEGINS

Growing up a White female in California in the 1950s, I dreamed of being a teacher. I spent the summers after 4th and 5th grades teaching my younger brother and five

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 85–100.

neighborhood children in a "school" in the playhouse my father built in our backyard. In real school I was exposed to an unremarkable social studies sequence that has changed little over the years. I recall doing projects and reports from the 3rd through the 7th grade, respectively, on Indians, California missions, Peter Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam, Saskatchewan, and Africa. It was in the 8th grade, however, when I began to have powerful formative experiences that led me to become an advocate of a particular form of social studies education as an adult.

In the summer of 1957, the House Un-American Activities Committee met in San Francisco and my 7th-grade teacher, Mr. Hanchett, was brought before the committee. From our family living rooms in a North Bay suburb, my classmates and I watched on black and white televisions as our wonderful teacher "took the Fifth amendment"; the following year our local school board fired Mr. Hanchett. I passed a petition among my fellow 8th-graders, which my father took to the school board to no avail. I distinctly recall deciding then and there that I would become a teacher who would inform my students, so that no community would feel so threatened by "communists" or others that they would fire their best teachers. Thus, my personal reaction to the widespread paranoia that characterized the McCarthy period was part of my early socialization. Such paranoia and similar reprisals also characterized the historical context for the field of social studies education in the 1950s. I later learned that throughout those years the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) published a series of position papers asserting the importance of the "Freedom to Teach and the Freedom to Learn" in a democracy (Cox, 1977). When I became NCSS president in 1983, we reprinted some of those classic documents, in a collection titled *Academic Freedom: NCSS Policy Statements*. But I'm getting ahead of my story. …

Back to 1958 and my move from 8th grade to high school, San Rafael High School was located across the Bay from the then "beatnik" and later "flower children" magnets of San Francisco and Berkeley. Fortunately for me, the high school I attended attracted a unique group of social studies teachers who were determined to challenge their young charges to think hard about controversial issues. For example, in Mr. Curtin's US history class, we studied civil liberties. I recall learning about the Red Scare and the Sacco and Vanzetti case. For my research project that year, I went into the elementary school board's records to research Mr. Hanchett's case. From then on, civil liberties were something personal and became central to my belief system. In Mr. Boutet's class I researched Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent campaign for Indian independence and in Mr. Fessler's Government class I read *The Ugly American*. I suspect these early experiences stimulated my lifelong interest in human rights and US foreign policy. My senior year I heard President Kennedy speak in the Greek Theater at UC, Berkeley and when he asked, "what can you do for your country?" I had resolved to teach social studies. And, like many in my generation, I also wanted to join the new Peace Corps.

Four years later when I had been elected student body vice-president at the University of California-Davis, once again civil liberties were front and center in

my life. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley challenged restrictions on students' rights and I, along with other student leaders from the nine university campuses, were the first students to meet with the Regents of the University of California. Not surprisingly, over the tumultuous months, I turned to one of my high school social studies teachers to help me think through my own position. Mr. Curtin pressed me with hard questions to stimulate my thinking about what it meant to ensure that all citizens—including university students—could exercise their rights in a democracy, no matter how uncomfortable that might be. It was a time of ferment and, thankfully, I had the good fortune to have teachers who stimulated my thinking and helped me to appreciate the importance of democratic deliberation and dissent.

A CAREER BEGINS: CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES TEACHING AND THE NEW SOCIAL STUDIES

With these early experiences and established commitments (my "prior schema"), I began a teacher education program at Stanford University in the summer of 1966 and officially "entered the field." In Dr. Richard Gross' social studies methods course I wrote a paper on teaching controversial issues, and my supervising teacher Barbara Berg Dunning loaned me a copy of the book *Teaching High School Social Studies* by Hunt and Metcalf (1955/1968). I recall my excitement as I read the authors' argument for opening up the "closed areas" of society to examination and discussion in social studies classes. Hunt and Metcalf emphasized that to set off any topic as taboo was incompatible with democratic ideals. Their clear articulation of the philosophic rationale for "reflective thinking" and what later became known as "issues-centered" social studies became the foundation for my fundamental beliefs as a social studies educator. Indeed, I began my life as a social studies teacher almost thinking that if it wasn't controversial, it wasn't worth teaching.

In my social studies methods course, I learned not only about Hunt and Metcalf's rationale for social studies in a democracy, but I also learned about the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and "The New Social Studies" movement. Dr. Gross encouraged all of his students to join NCSS and to read *Social Education*, the official NCSS journal. When Dr. Gross returned from the NCSS convention at Thanksgiving he told the class about The New Social Studies movement and Edwin (Ted) Fenton's curriculum project based on "inquiry teaching." The following year, when Dr. Gross was the NCSS president and I was teaching in Kentucky, I went to my first NCSS convention in Seattle. Later, at my second convention in 1968 in Washington DC, I went to a panel discussion on "Inquiry in the Social Studies" in a packed ballroom. According to my notes from that session, the panel included Richard Brown (Amherst Project); Edwin Fenton (Carnegie Mellon Project); Donald Oliver, Jim Shaver, and Fred Newmann (Harvard Project Social Studies); and researchers Charlotte Crabtree, Bernice Goldmark, Byron Massialas, Larry Metcalf, and Fannie Shaftel. The atmosphere in the ballroom was electric with excitement about the new projects developed by teams of social scientists/historians and social

studies educators and the research on inquiry teaching and learning. At my third convention (in Houston, 1969), I witnessed another noteworthy event. The NCSS House of Delegates' had a heated debate about whether NCSS, as a professional organization, should take a stand against the Vietnam War.

That debate reflected the times in which the wider society was undergoing rapid change. Idealistic young people—who had participated in the Civil Rights Movement or watched scenes of sit ins, freedom rides, and protests on black and white televisions—were determined to fight for equality and justice for all. Many young people, such as myself, gravitated to the goals of Johnson's War on Poverty. As teacher education students and beginning teachers we read books by Jonathan Kozol, Nat Hentoff, Michael Harrington, and others about urban and rural poverty and the horrors of poor schools. There was not yet a "multicultural" perspective in education, but there was a widespread realization that education should do a better job of teaching all children and social studies, in particular, should teach about a more diverse society and history than it had in the past. While attending Stanford University, I deliberately chose to intern in an urban school, rather than in a nearby suburb. Daily I commuted from Palo Alto to San Francisco and back to teach morning classes at Marina Junior High School. Most of my students' lived in Chinatown and many of their family names were Lee, Leung, or Wong; at the time, the school placed newcomers from mainland China in Americanization classes. I recall that year using a book about African American history to plan lessons for my 8th-grade class. At the end of the year, I was beginning to apply for jobs in urban school districts in California and to the Peace Corps, when I learned of a new school that was opening in Kentucky.

The Lincoln School was to be a public residential high school for "gifted but disadvantaged" youth on the 412-acre site of the former Lincoln Institute, a black school during segregation. When I was interviewed over the phone and when I went to teach at the school for the following three years, I was encouraged to do whatever I could to help students "realize their potential." Most of the students came from low-income families and communities, located in the small towns and valleys of Appalachia, housing projects, or other urban neighborhoods. School staff had high expectations for all of our students—although it was not until later that I learned about new research on the power of the "self fulfilling prophecy." It was a wonderful experience to be a beginning teacher fully immersed in a multicultural community, working with idealistic and energetic colleagues, and having free reign to design the social studies program when there was a societal commitment to a War on Poverty and simultaneously much curricular innovation in social studies. I immediately began attending NCSS conventions, as I already mentioned, and I used some of the New Social Studies curriculum projects. I was devoted to inquiry teaching and pushing students to explore controversial public policy issues.

At The Lincoln School, I began each day's social studies class with students reading the *Louisville Courier Journal* and analyzing the biting political cartoons that appeared in the then high quality newspaper. I linked history lessons to current

issues and constantly encouraged students to develop and articulate their opinions and share their reasoning. In the turbulent political year of 1968, we went to hear McCarthy, Humphrey, and Nixon speak when they campaigned in Kentucky. Together the students and teachers followed the news of Vietnam War protests, the Kent State shootings, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. When our students were refused service at a skating rink, I led them through a "value analysis" discussion—influenced by Raths, Harmin, and Simon's (1966) book *Values in Teaching* and articles by Larry Metcalf and Jack Fraenkel in *Social Education*. In a heated—but structured—discussion, students considered alternative actions, underlying values, and possible consequences before deciding to file a complaint with the state human relations commission. In history lessons, my classes used *The Harvard Project Social Studies* units, which focused on enduring social issues. At their reunions over the years, my former Lincoln School students recount anecdotes of lively discussions about controversial issues.

My students also recall lessons from the various New Social Studies projects that I picked up at NCSS conventions. In particular, one of the developers of *American Political Behavior* (APB), Dr. Howard Mehlinger at Indiana University, gave me a pilot version of APB to use with my political science class. I recently came across attitude surveys that my students administered to the whole school when they were studying "political socialization," which I plan to return to them at their next reunion. Coincidentally, much of my own research over the years since The Lincoln School has focused on political socialization of youth.

My experiences at The Lincoln School occurred in an exciting time and place for a young social studies teacher, but sadly the political landscape changed both nationally and in Kentucky by 1970. Johnson's War on Poverty ended and the state legislature decided it could no longer fund the Lincoln School. I decided to go to graduate school to become a teacher of social studies teachers. I chose a place where much was happening in social studies. That place was Indiana University (although I also was accepted and considered Illinois and Harvard, the homes of Larry Metcalf and the Harvard Social Studies project). Drs. Gerald Marker and Howard Mehlinger had a Ford Foundation grant to train "field agents," in a program modeled after agricultural extension agents, to disseminate The New Social Studies innovations to schools in the Midwest. I had a graduate assistantship with the program and I began to focus my scholarship on diffusion of innovations and educational change. Later I had another graduate assistantship as the national dissemination teacher/consultant for the *American Political Behavior* (APB) project, which I had earlier taught. This gave me hands-on experiences diffusing an innovation, and importantly gave me the opportunity to meet leaders in social studies all across the country (see Hahn, 2010 for more about this program and my role).

My dissertation and my early publications focused on the diffusion of innovations (e.g., Becker & Hahn, 1977; Hahn, 1977a, 1977b). During the 1970s the National Science Foundation funded summer institutes across the country to expose teachers to the innovative curriculum projects and I directed seven such institutes at Emory

University. However, by the 1980s federal funding for the New Social Studies and other curriculum development projects had ended, and interest in research on dissemination and diffusion of educational innovations waned.

Other, more conservative, forces were on the rise. Indeed, by the late 1970s, when I was an associate professor at Emory University and had become a leader in the National Council for the Social Studies, social studies faced a series of attacks from conservatives. Most notable among these were the attack on the curriculum project *Man: A Course of Study* and an attack on textbooks in Kanawha County West Virginia when NCSS presidents Anna Ochoa and Todd Clark advocated for academic freedom and spoke out against censorship. In 1983, when I became president of NCSS, the NCSS Board of Directors decided to focus on academic freedom in all its programs and publications. When I spoke at state conferences I highlighted the NCSS policy statement, *The Freedom to Teach and to Learn* (1984a), and in my presidential address (1984b) I cited both the philosophic rationale for controversial issues teaching in a democracy and the empirical studies that supported the importance of students' exploring and discussing controversial issues.

In subsequent years I wrote several chapters in which I synthesized research conducted in the United States on controversial issues teaching (Hahn, 1991, 1996a), and I began to conduct research on controversial issues teaching and learning (Hahn & Avery, 1985; Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Hahn, 1998). Over the years my thinking about controversial issues teaching was influenced by the writings of Maurice Hunt and Lawrence Metcalf; Donald Oliver, James Shaver, and Fred Newmann; Lee Ehman; Shirley Engle and Anna Ochoa; James Banks; Judith Torney-Purta; Walter Parker; Pat Avery; and Diana Hess. In particular, as I noted earlier, Hunt and Metcalf (1955/1968) argued that controversial issues teaching is essential to social studies in a democracy, a theme later elaborated upon by Engle and Ochoa (1988; Ochoa, 2007). Fred Newmann and Don Oliver (1970) further explicated the importance of exploring historic and contemporary issues that reflect enduring issues and they developed models for exploring the inherently conflicting values embedded in the American creed. Further, they and Jim Shaver developed curriculum and conducted experimental research on the effects of issues-centered curriculum on student knowledge and critical thinking.

Lee Ehman conducted a series of studies in which he (and later others) demonstrated that students who perceived that they discussed controversial issues in their social studies classes in what Ehman (1969;1980) called "an open classroom climate" had more positive political attitudes than students who perceived a "closed climate." That is, students who recalled discussing controversial issues and who reported that their teachers encouraged them to express and hear diverse views scored higher on measures of political efficacy, political interest, political confidence, and political trust than students without such discussions. Judith Torney-Purta and her colleagues, who conducted the first large scale cross-national study of civic attitudes found that students whose classes were characterized by more open discussions were more knowledgeable and less authoritarian than their

peers (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975). Several of my students and I later conducted studies that used instruments and concepts that built on the work of Ehman and Torney-Purta (Blankenship, 1990; Dilworth, 2004; Hahn & Avery, 1985; Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Hahn, 1998).

My thinking about the role of issues exploration and discussion in social studies has continued to be informed by colleagues. I have learned from James Banks (2008) and Walter Parker (2003), who have done much of the hard philosophic thinking about how commitments to unity and diversity can be developed and enhanced in multiculturally diverse democratic societies and classrooms. Parker and Hess distinguished between seminar and deliberative dialogues and both argued for the importance to democracy of dialogue across difference—differences of culture, class, gender, nationality, and belief (Parker, 2003; Hess, 2009). Diana Hess (2009) demonstrated through her empirical research how teachers can lead high quality discussions and use the ideological diversity in their classrooms to enrich controversial issues discussions. Pat Avery (Avery, Bird, Johnstone, Sullivan, & Thalhammer, 1992) has demonstrated the complexity of, yet possibility of, developing civic tolerance—the willingness to extend human rights to members of least-liked groups. Angell (1991) and Bickmore (1999) have shown the possibilities for controversial issues teaching in elementary schools. Although this summary is a great oversimplification of many complex and subtle principles and processes, my intent is to illustrate that work on controversial issues teaching has evolved over the years since I began my career. It is exciting to me to see the ways contemporary scholars and their students continue to expand this line of inquiry and open up new avenues of related topics.

GENDER AND SOCIAL STUDIES

The second lens through which I have observed social studies education is through the perspective of gender. Again, my formative experiences set me up to make this line of inquiry central to my life's work. First, running for student government offices throughout high school and college, I learned that girls who were politically active did not fit the norm of the day. And somewhere along the way I began to notice the absence of women in my social studies textbooks. In college I read Betty Friedan's (1963) *The Feminine Mystique,* and while at the Lincoln School I followed news of the growing (second) Women's Movement. I was one of the first female doctoral students in social studies at IU and among the all-male field agents I think I was considered a "women's libber." I was alert to sexist policies and practices wherever they occurred—at the university, in schools, or in society. During one NCSS convention I walked through the publishers exhibits collecting materials that could be used to teach about women in social studies courses; I then wrote a review of those materials for the Indiana social studies journal (Hahn, 1972), which was my first publication.

In 1970 the NCSS Board of Directors decided to create a new committee, the advisory committee on Social Justice for Women, which was appointed by President

John Jarolimek in January 1971. I had heard that the committee was meeting at the Boston convention in 1972; I dropped in on the meeting and was welcomed by the chair Dell Felder. I was subsequently appointed to the committee for a three-year term and became the chair in 1975. These were invigorating years as the committee attracted energetic feminists from across the country (including seniors like Jean Dresden Grambs and new scholars like Jane Bernard-Powers and Charlotte Anderson). At our meetings we brainstormed ideas for possible women speakers for social studies conferences; developed and led sessions for local, state, and national conventions; made recommendations to the NCSS Board of Directors; and proposed and wrote publications (Grambs, 1976; Hahn, 1975a, 1975b). In those days, we were primarily concerned with promoting equity—inclusion of women in social studies lessons and on NCSS programs. A few years later when the Special Interest Group (SIG) of NCSS was formed, under the leadership of Jane Bernard-Powers, it was named The Women's Equity SIG.

These experiences in NCSS, as well as simultaneous activist initiatives with my feminist colleagues at Emory University in lobbying for changes in policies and practices at our university and the wider influences of the Second Women's Movement, all had an impact on my scholarship. I wrote an article titled "Review of Research on Sex Roles: Implications for Social Studies Research" (Hahn, 1978). At the time, I noted that little research in social studies education had attended to gender and I advocated for such research. I referred to the pioneering work of Maccoby and Jacklin on sex differences, described gender differences in girls' and boys' knowledge in social studies subjects, citing findings from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) assessments. I advocated for the need to study differences in boys' and girls' experiences and behaviors, as well as knowledge, related to social studies. Several years later, Jane Bernard-Powers and I led a team to update my earlier review of research (Hahn & Bernard-Powers, 1985). We noted studies of textbooks for their treatment of girls and women, as well as the continuing differences found in NAEP and other assessments. We also gave considerable attention to new curriculum projects, many funded by the Women's Equity program of the US Office of Education. I later conducted studies of civics and economics textbooks for their treatment of women and girls; an ethnographic study of two 9th-grade civics classes focused on gender; and a mixed methods study of gender and political learning in five Western democracies (respectively, Hahn & Blankenship, 1983; Hahn, 1996b; 1998: chapter 3). My work, like much of the scholarship at the time, was primarily rooted in Liberalism, focusing on increasing women's participation in public spaces, like government. I looked at whether or not women were depicted as political actors in the curriculum, whether young male and female students had similar or different political knowledge, attitudes, and experiences, and the extent to which both genders were supportive of women in political spaces. In the years since then both Judith Torney-Purta and I have continued to look at gender differences in civic knowledge and attitudes and both genders' support of women in economic and political life. The recent studies indicate that contrary to

earlier research, US girls, overall, tend to exceed boys on tests of civic and political knowledge. Substantial gender differences persist in civic/political attitudes in the United States and many other countries (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

In the academy, feminist scholars critiqued Liberalism for its separation of the public and private domains, which relegated much of women's civic activism to a lesser-valued sphere. Feminist, womanist, post-modern, and queer theory scholars have given increased attention to the diversity of women's experiences by class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. These newer perspectives have influenced the thinking of the small group of women who continue to work on issues of gender in social studies. I have been influenced by works by Jane Bernard-Powers on women in vocational education during the Progressive movement and the contemporary world-wide feminist movement; Margaret Crocco on women social educators; and Christine Woyshner's historical work on women's organizations. Bernard-Powers, Crocco, Woysher & Linda Levstik have all written widely on teaching about women and girls and gender-related issues in the history/social studies curriculum. In 2007, together four of us wrote a review of research on gender and social studies to capture research conducted since the 1985 review (Hahn, Bernard-Powers, Crocco, & Woyshner, 2007). We noted that more attention has been given to teaching gender inclusive history lessons than to gender in the geography, economics, and civics/government dimensions of the curriculum. We expressed disappointment that with the expansion of scholarship in feminist, gender, and sexuality studies in the academy broadly that there has not been more in social studies in recent decades. Most recently I co-authored an article with Laura Quaynor on gender and civic education for the *Handbook on Diversity* (Hahn & Quaynor, 2012); we gave greater attention to work on gender and education for citizenship internationally than had the earlier reviews.

GLOBAL, INTERNATIONAL, AND COMPARATIVE SOCIAL STUDIES

The third viewpoint from which I have experienced social studies over the years is with attention to a global or international perspective. My formative experiences in addition to reading *The Ugly American* in high school, which I previously mentioned, included teaching from the Ewing (1967) and Stavrianos (1966) world history textbooks, which unlike most of the books of the day were truly worldwide in scope, not merely Western Civilization. And like many young Americans, in the summer of 1970, I made my first trip to Europe with a Eurail pass, a friend, and not much money. While at IU I read *Future Shock*, and most importantly met Jim Becker, who came to start the Global Studies program in the Social Studies Development Center. From Jim and a visiting professor, Lee Anderson from Northwestern University, I began to learn how a "global perspective in education" or global education differed from traditional instruction in social studies. No longer emphasizing the exotic differences between cultures and countries and the roles of foreign policy

makers in capitals like Washington DC, a global perspective emphasized forces that transcended national borders and the role of the citizen in daily global interactions. The world was characterized by interdependence in economic, political, cultural, and technological systems and changes in one part of the system had ramifications in other parts. It was the task of social studies educators to teach for these realities.

By the time I began teaching at Emory University in 1973 I was a committed global educator; about five years later I directed a series of teacher institutes, funded by the Danforth Foundation, on Teaching about the Middle East, Africa, and Russia from a global perspective. Through the 1980s I attended the triannual conferences of the Global Assembly organized by Global Perspectives in Education (GPE) and worked with leaders in NCSS, such as Anna Ochoa, Jan Tucker, and Charlotte Anderson, along with many other global education leaders, to globalize social studies. I worked on projects to teach about the nuclear threat and disarmament, development economics, environmental issues and sustainability, human rights education, and women in the world (including a Wingspread conference on teaching about women in the world).

In 1982 I attended a UNESCO conference in New Delhi, India on The Role of Women in Teaching for Peace, International Understanding, and Respect of Human Rights and in 1983, as the NCSS president, I was the official spokesperson for the NCSS study trip to Japan, supported by the Keizai Koho Center. My NCSS presidential speech reflected my strong belief that we needed to do much more to prepare youth for citizenship in a global age (Hahn, 1984b). When ex-president Carter established the Jimmy Carter Presidential Center at Emory University, I worked with Center staff to involve local teachers in major symposia on Arms Control and Latin America and in a summer program for teaching about the Middle East.

FROM GLOBAL TO GLOBAL AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

By 1985 I decided I should practice what I preached and learn more about my own profession globally. I spent a sabbatical year based in England and began a comparative study of education for citizenship in Denmark, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States (Hahn, 1998). First, I learned that "social studies" was not universally taught; and even when schools in different countries educated for citizenship, they did it in their own unique and fascinating ways. I observed distinct civic and pedagogical cultures. I wrote "thick descriptions" to illustrate what civic education looked and felt like in classrooms and how individuals' meaning-making processes were culturally embedded. Second, as I got to know teachers and researchers with interests similar to mine in other countries (staying in some of their homes frequently and for extended periods), I came to appreciate the global nature of our profession. Third, I came to understand that a comparative perspective is useful for seeing one's own taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching social studies at home with fresh insights. I had begun to see myself as a "comparativist" and started teaching courses in comparative education, as well as social studies at

Emory. From this time onwards my scholarship intersected comparative education and social studies in what I started calling "comparative civic education."

It took me almost ten years to finish the study that became the book, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education* (Hahn, 1998). During those years I served as the Director of the Division of Educational Studies at Emory. During the academic year I was consumed by administrative tasks on campus and nationally I served on the Board of Directors of the Holmes Group to reform teacher education. When I rotated out of my administrative role, I enrolled in German classes and I went with Emory undergraduates on the summer study abroad program in Vienna to help me do research in Germany. Since then, I have returned annually to schools and friends in Europe to keep up with changes in education for citizenship. Additionally, I spent four year-long sabbaticals based at the University of Oxford, living in Harris Manchester College and working with colleagues in comparative education at the university, as well as with colleagues in citizenship education across Europe.

For the *Becoming Political* study I surveyed youth, as well as collected qualitative data from schools, across national contexts. My findings were limited to a non-representative—but purposeful—sample of schools and teachers that I observed firsthand. In 1994 I was given the opportunity to expand my horizons by working on the largest cross-national study of civic education that had ever been attempted—The Civic Education (CivEd) Study of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, known as IEA. Importantly, the IEA CivEd Study began with a qualitative phase to develop case studies and continued to a second phase surveying nationally representative samples of 14 year-olds (Baldi et al., 2001; Hahn, 2001, 2002; Hahn & Torney-Purta, 1999). I was the National Research Coordinator (NRC) for the United States' portion of the study. Under the direction of Judith Torney-Purta and Rainer Lehmann, the 30 NRCs and an international coordinating committee met in central Europe annually to work out the details of conducting the study. I chaired the national expert panel that guided the study in the United States and led a research team for the case study (Hahn, 2002). Additionally, the panel advised researchers at the American Institutes of Research on the survey. This experience further deepened my interest in comparative civic education and increased my frustration—even anger about—the inequities in civic education and its outcomes in the United States, which were revealed in the study (Hahn, 2001). I was disappointed that there was so little media interest in the findings of the study—the Bush administration was focusing attention on their new No Child Left Behind legislation and good news (which the results were overall for US students, but not for low income and African American youth) did not attract attention. Perhaps not surprisingly, the United States did not participate in the next IEA study of civic education (Schulz et al., 2010).

Through the IEA project I met Professor Lee Wing On who, along with Professor David Grossman, invited me (and Kerry Kennedy the NRC from Australia) to visit the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd) in 1997 to provide advice for a new

Centre in Civic Education. I was later appointed an Advisory Professor at HKIEd. For the next eight years I visited Hong Kong regularly, worked with colleagues on several research and publication projects, and participated in a network of civic education scholars in the Asia Pacific region. This further broadened my appreciation for diverse civic cultures and varied approaches to education for citizenship globally (Kennedy, Hahn, & Lee, 2008).

I have continued to work on comparative civic education, writing syntheses of international research for US publications (Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008) and syntheses of US research for international publications (Hahn, 2008). I brought those two complementary pieces together in a 2010 review of the research in comparative civic education cross-nationally and proposed an agenda for future research in the article titled "Comparative Civic Education Research: What we Know and What we Need to Know" (Hahn, 2010).

In recent years I have returned to Denmark, England, Germany, and the Netherlands to study education for citizenship in schools that serve substantial numbers of transnational students—migrants, immigrants, refugees, and second-generation youth. I am interested in how educators nested in differing civic cultures think about their tasks and how young people think of themselves as citizens in multicultural societies in a globalized world. I have been sitting in the back of many classrooms that are like social studies, and I have been interviewing teachers and students, while also observing the constant flux in public attitudes toward citizenship, multiculturalism, and globalization.

As my thinking evolved from global perspectives in social studies to comparative civic education I was influenced by the thinking of James Becker, Lee and Charlotte Anderson, Jan Tucker, Merry Merryfield, Judith Torney-Purta, Derek Heater, Ian Davies, David Kerr, David Grossman, John Cogan, Kerry Kennedy, Audrey Osler, Hugh Starkey, and Robert Arnove, as well as individuals whose work I cited in discussing the other two themes for this chapter which often overlap with this one. On the one hand, it is thrilling to me to have many former graduate students carry on work in comparative civic education and to see the explosion of research that is being presented by new young scholars at the annual meetings of the Comparative and International Education Society, CitizEd, NCSS, and the American Educational Research Association.

On the other hand, it is discouraging to me to see a number of trends facing social studies and civic education globally. In the United States, we have witnessed the pressure to teach content that is the most easily measured on multiple-choice tests. And we hear the rhetoric that our students must compete successfully with their peers internationally—primarily on tests in science, technology, and mathematics. The same pressures exist in other countries. Teachers in Germany talk about "before PISA" and "after PISA"; they lost much autonomy after their students did not come out at the top of the "league tables" on the international test administered to students in the most economically developed countries. "School choice" is a mantra that is used cross-nationally to persuade the public to channel monies from

public or state schools to fund semi-private (sometimes even for-profit) schools. Putting teachers in classrooms without adequate preparation and diminishing the influence of schools of education or education departments in universities is also not unique to the United States. Across countries, neo-liberal discourse has undermined public commitment to quality education for citizenship and democracy. This is a far cry from the optimism of the 1960s and 1970s when I entered the field of social studies. As my own university administrators recently made the decision to close the Division of Educational Studies at Emory, I recognize that their decision reflects a global phenomenon of diminishing investments in public education to compete globally in other market-oriented fields. I have been thinking a great deal about the social studies teachers in segregated schools in the American South, Southwest, and West who carried on teaching for equality and justice even when everything in the society around them contradicted the "promissory note" of the US Constitution. Because we stand on their shoulders, we owe it to them not to give up the fight for human rights for all children, including the right to a quality civic education that will prepare them to be knowledgeable, skilled, caring, and effective citizens in a multiculturally diverse global society.

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LINDA S. LEVSTIK

THE POWER OF A PAST

Not too long ago, I slipped out to the edge of a rain forest at dawn. Light slid over the canopy of trees, a howler monkey called in the distance and birds of all shapes and colors darted from tree to tree. As a child I imagined myself in worlds such as this—not only rain forests, but da Vinci's studio, Bedouin tents, and colonial households. I read my way into exotic places and distant times, and benefited from a marvelous librarian and several remarkable teachers who nurtured my fascination with variety in people, places, and time.

Growing up in Levittown, New York, one of the first post-war planned communities, might seem the antithesis of variety, and in many ways Levittown epitomized post-war social trends that emphasized conformity to norms of race, class, and gender. The community was ethnically diverse, but racially segregated. Many men worked shifts and most women worked at home. Baby-boom children walked to crowded neighborhood schools—my kindergarten class met in a reclaimed Quonset hut—and most went home for lunch each day. I knew a few working women, but for most of my childhood, the professional women I met were teachers or nurses. Yet, from another perspective, Levittown was all about variety. Boys and girls paraded past our house in their first communion suits and White dresses. Bar mitzvah boys (and eventually bat mitzvah girls) celebrated their passage into adulthood with wonderful parties, and most of the families we knew included customs from one "old country" or another. Nearby, New York City and Jones Beach provided just about unlimited evidence of human variety. Worries came in various forms, too. Adults worried about recurrent polio outbreaks as well as the strikes, lockouts, and ethnic/religious hiring quotas at the nearby aviation plants. McCarthy-era tensions appeared in loyalty oaths at work and attempts at book banning in schools and public libraries. When a librarian refused to allow me to check out books except in the children's section, my parents provided written permission for me to read any book I wanted. I recall the librarian's "on your head be it" response—in retrospect, a fine lesson from my parents on civic engagement. My positive views of diversity on Long Island probably owe a good deal to my very different experience in the small town in Ohio to which my family moved towards the end of my high school years. Having no idea how to negotiate the cultural transition, I quickly resolved to find more varied worlds elsewhere. In no time at all, however, the world shifted so dramatically I really only had to move to the nearest city. From Kennedy's call for civic participation through the increasing social, cultural, and political upheavals

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 101–110.

that marked the sixties and seventies, it seemed that historical wrongs could be righted and a more equitable society emerge. At the same time, a series of college jobs in Ohio and Michigan challenged me to think more deeply about what some of the barriers to equity might look like. My first college summer I worked at a Michigan camp for "pre-delinquent" children from Detroit whose siblings had been in juvenile detention, and the remaining summers I helped organize activities on urban playgrounds in Columbus. In each case I learned to observe more carefully and listen more fully when children told me about their lives and the challenges they faced. During the school year I assisted an English teacher whose mobility was limited by Multiple Sclerosis and learned a good deal about courage in the face of physical and psychological barriers. I learned to be cautious in identifying what others might know or need and to look for barriers as well as ways around them, skills that became increasingly important in my life.

I was fortunate to enter teaching at a time when inquiry-based, integrated instruction, and team teaching were in vogue. The former matched my emerging ideas about education; the latter provided me with the kind of mentoring that helped me put my ideas into practice. My first team teaching assignment in Worthington, Ohio, focused on fifth and sixth grade social studies and sixth grade language arts, although I occasionally taught science and mathematics. Flexible scheduling and cooperation from specialists in the school, collaboration with faculty at The Ohio State University and a cadre of enthusiastic, interested parents allowed my colleagues and me to organize around thematic units, take theme-related field trips, and engage students in a variety of inquiry projects. Although my colleagues varied in personal and teaching styles, each was innovative in her respective field, writing books and collaborating with university faculty on developing and piloting curricula. They were also generous to a novice teacher. On one memorable occasion a colleague invited me to a small group discussion she helped organize with Jonas Salk, Margaret Mead, and B.F. Skinner when the three were speaking at a conference in Cincinnati. Other opportunities to meet experts in our varying fields kept us in touch with current research and provided opportunities for me to test new programs in law-related and global education and Shakespearean drama. We blocked out major units in each of our areas, planning events so that students had real audiences for their work, bringing in a variety of speakers from different parts of the world and collaborating with parent volunteers whenever possible.

The Vietnam War was in full swing as were anti-war protests and political action around civil rights and women's rights. My students observed some of this on television, but also heard from relatives home from active military service and friends and family active in other issues of the day. There was no keeping their questions and concerns out of the classroom—so my students and I developed rules for respectful disagreement, then chose topics to research and debate. I was struck by their enthusiasm and intellectual stamina in the face of what was a good deal of hard work. Sixth graders turned out to be an amazing blend of sophisticated ideas and unexpected gaps in comprehension. Over time I got better at anticipating the gaps

and gained more and more confidence in children's intellectual abilities, but there was much more I wanted to know about how they made sense of the world around them, how teachers could better support their sense-making, and how we could head off misunderstandings.

My next teaching position at the Columbus Torah Academy was a bit like being Ginger Rogers in a Fred Astaire movie—I tried to do everything I'd done in the public school but, metaphorically speaking, backwards and in high heels. Although I only had 15 or so students, I taught the entire English curriculum in half a day (afternoons were spent in Hebrew classes) with no specialists, no library, and no ELL services. The students in my first class, a fourth grade, had chased off a teacher or two before me and had turned the playground into a battle between the sexes. It was clear that nothing else would work until there was some resolution on that issue, so I tried a "negotiated settlement" that began with reading Lois Gould's (1972) *The Story of X*, about a baby named X "so that nobody could tell whether it was a boy or girl." Rereading the story, I note that it is definitely a period piece, but it nonetheless generated discussion about more gender-equitable playground activity. The resulting "settlement" led to new playground rules and laid the foundation for a strong sense of community in the classroom—fortunately, as I had the same class again when they were sixth graders. Once again, students taught me how much hard intellectual work they could handle in pursuit of a perceived common good.

After several years at the Torah Academy I found I missed the collaboration with colleagues and the intellectual stimulation of graduate school and applied to the doctoral program at Ohio State. My timing could have been better. My husband, Frank, was working full time and finishing his doctorate in history, we had a three year old and we were in the process of buying a house. Then, just after Ohio State offered me an assistantship we found out another child was on the way. We moved into our "fixer-upper" house and OSU agreed to hold the assistantship until the following autumn. Over the next months, in addition to time at home and some volunteer work, I read and wrote, selling a couple of short historical biographies to children's magazines and another piece based on W.P.A. slave narratives to the *Columbus Dispatch's* Sunday magazine—promising events, but not a living. At some point in that year, Frank handed me Robin Morgan's anthology, *Sisterhood is Powerful* (1970), a book he'd picked up in a used bookstore. Those second wave feminists from Kate Millet and Mary Daly to Eleanor Holmes Norton and Marge Piercy were exactly who I needed to hear from at that moment—strong women supporting each other's experiments in new ways of living and a reminder of my own social and political commitments. When OSU renewed its offer of an assistantship, Frank and I embarked on three chaotic and intellectually invigorating years that pushed us both into new and (most of the time) interesting ways of living.

A doctoral program provides an intellectual lineage as well as a degree, and that was clear from my first days as a student at OSU. In the first two quarters of graduate school I took courses in the sociology of sex and gender, aesthetics in the teaching of English, the history of abolition, a seminar on the history of social studies, an

introductory course on Vygotsky, and an advanced course in children's literature. I wrote papers on my "aesthetic stance" (I hadn't known I needed one), on gender and schooling (I had some ideas about both), on women abolitionists (I began grappling with historical agency), and on the importance of fantasy in children's literature (alternative conceptions of humanity). Gradually, I found myself concentrating on three related areas that became the focus of my doctoral studies and, eventually, of my scholarship. The first of these, social history, with its emphasis on "history from the bottom up," appealed to my social and political interests. Social historians challenged long-standing historical interpretations, examining the types of agency available to and employed by marginalized groups and individuals. From an educational perspective, it seemed to me that critically examining historical agency was one avenue by which students could consider how their own individual and collective decisions could influence the future and to take action to make that influence a positive one. Robert Bremner, an OSU historian whose scholarly interests focused on social thought and social welfare helped me enormously in this area. An exacting and generous mentor, he encouraged me as I negotiated the intersection of historical and educational research. And, when I began reading Hayden White, among others, our discussions about history, narrative, and objectivity reminded me of how much I enjoyed a good intellectual debate!

The literacy program at Ohio State offered another set of exciting opportunities. The program brought in visiting scholars from around the world and I was able to study with Charlotte Huck, a leading figure in children's literature. Through my work with Charlotte I ended up co-directing one of OSU's alternate tracks for teacher education, *Educational Programs in Informal Classrooms* (*EPIC*) based on the British Infant School Model (Weber). *EPIC* emphasized literature and inquiry-based integrated instruction that fit well with my own teaching experience and my emerging ideas about children's learning. Although I agreed with the developers of *EPIC* that children's books could be an important influence on children's ideas about the world, the literary pickings were pretty slim for anything beyond U.S. borders. I did discover one surprising exception: literature dating from the U.S. interwar period. From 1920–1940 two trends flourished in children's literature. The first included stories celebrating rural and peasant life in many different parts of the world. The second trend focused on heroines facing and generally resisting the transition from tomboy to young lady. Charlotte encouraged me to pursue both trends, arranging a doctoral seminar for several of us interested in the history of children's literature and eventually sending me off to work in the children's collection at the Library of Congress.

Hardly visible in the elementary teacher education program where I had my assistantship, social studies had a strong presence in the humanities department that housed secondary education. I worked with Ray Muessig, one of the only faculty with any elementary interest or experience. He was a fine teacher, and I enjoyed his classes, but I most enjoyed exactly what I found so appealing in working with Bob Bremner and Charlotte Huck—discussing books, ideas, and theories. As I saw

it then, social studies encapsulated the primary purposes I envisioned for education: Expanding students' appreciation of variety in human experience and fostering critical thinking so that their learning could result in more humane personal and social interaction. Both purposes grew out of my personal and political ideas and academic interests in race, gender, class, and ethnicity and both aligned with educating for civic participation. At the time, however, I was reluctant to identify with citizenship education because I associated it with the "citizenship transmission" tradition described by Barr, Barth, and Shermis' (1977) that I saw as primarily indoctrination. I leaned more toward Alan Griffin's "reflective thinking" which I understood as bringing critical thinking to bear on the investigation of important social questions using data from history and the social sciences. Not only was this consonant with my teaching experience and history background, it was part of the intellectual tradition associated with social studies education at OSU, and it aligned with Ray Muessig's more disciplinary approach. In retrospect, my purposes were clearly civic: I envisioned at least some portion of what I would now describe in terms of humanistic democratic education aimed at preparing engaged citizens for a pluralist democracy. It took some years and carefully reading the work of social studies colleagues such as Carole Hahn and Walter Parker, to more fully realize that strand of my scholarship and place it at the center of disciplined reflective inquiry in history education.

Although elements of the intellectual lineage I brought to my work as a new scholar began long before graduate school, I owe a great debt to the accident of timing that brought me to The Ohio State University at a moment of intense social and intellectual excitement. The academic world was changing—sometimes frustratingly unevenly, but changing nonetheless. Research paradigms broadened, making room for phenomenological as well as positivistic approaches to educational inquiry. More women and minorities entered academia and more academic study focused on gender, race, class, and ethnicity. There was a certain amount of backlash involved, especially for those of us with young children. Once, when I took Jeremy and Jennifer with me to pick up a paper, the professor actually asked me if they were mine. I told him I had rented them for the occasion. After this frustrating encounter Charlotte Huck regaled me with stories of what it had been like for women when she began her career. Towards the end of our time at O.S.U., Susan Vartuli edited *The Ph.D. Experience: A Woman's Point of View* for which I contributed a chapter on the Ph.D., marriage, and family, because for me, it was a package deal. The day I turned in the final draft of my dissertation I brought my then-four-year-old daughter with me. Afterwards, we stopped in the huge graduate student office where Jennifer proudly announced "Mom turned in the damn dissertation." And I had. Frustrations and all, it was exhilarating.

Of course, no one's intellectual life exists in a vacuum, and, while Frank and I had agreed to invent and reinvent our lives as we went along, we had not calculated on one thing that reinvention could not fix. Just after our son turned seven he exhibited the first signs of a seizure disorder. Three years later, shortly after I took my first

faculty position, doctors revised their earlier hopeful prognosis, and diagnosed a condition with devastating effects on intellectual functioning and physical well-being. Frank and I agreed that what came next had to work for all four of us—that everyone in the family would have as full and rich a life as we could make possible. As I reread that statement it sounds so much simpler than it ever was—but as complicated as living around and through Jeremy's condition turned out to be, and as naïve as we were at the beginning, Frank's and my agreement made the rest of this story possible.

When I began as an Assistant Professor at the University of Kentucky in 1982, few scholars in the United States focused much research attention on *any* students' historical thinking, much less on children in elementary school. I recall thinking at one point that Lucy Salmon's 1899 argument for elementary history education remained one of the few intellectually if not empirically grounded approaches available in the literature. With so little scholarship to build on, actually examining what happened when young children engaged with history or the past seemed a worthwhile enterprise. I began studying children's historical inquiry in the context of literature-based instruction, drawing on literary theories and semiotics and struggling to reconcile domain specific theories with history—a domain I perceived as loosely bounded, at best. Groups and individuals have many uses for the past and different discourses to describe those uses—some more privileged in academic communities than others. I decided that long-term ethnographic studies of school-based history-in-action would help me better understand children's historical communities. Based on these studies I developed shorter activities that engaged students in conversations about the past and offered insight into their thinking.

At the same time, I sought out other researchers who had common theoretical perspectives and overlapping areas of expertise. An early conversation with Steve Thornton marked the first time I felt I could find such a community at the national level, and when the University of Kentucky hired another OSU alumna, Christine Pappas, for a literacy position, I found a research partner at my university as well. Chris and I quickly developed research combining children's historical thinking and response to historical fiction and eventually joined forces with another OSU alum, Barbara Kiefer, to write *An Integrated Language Perspective in the Elementary School: An Action Approach* (1986). Our work together demonstrates many of the things I like about collaboration. Much of what interests me cuts across disciplinary boundaries; no one can be expert in all the fields that might inform a scholarly project, but collaboration increases the intellectual breadth that informs the work. I am happiest when I am learning something new, and our research and writing collaborations provided plenty of opportunities to do so. From my perspective, jointly developing research questions and working through methodologies almost always improve every stage of research. Over the course of my career I have collaborated with graduate students, classroom teachers, community members, my husband, and colleagues at UK and elsewhere. Frank and I worked on several research projects together, publishing an article on an early advocate for special education and combing

the Boston Public Library's manuscript collection for information on Sarah Pugh, a nineteenth century abolitionist. I had presented a paper on Pugh's educational ideas at a conference and Frank and I intended to expand that study into a book.

In the field of social studies, my longest collaboration began when the Director of Graduate Studies in my college sent me "a promising prospective student" and suggested I not "scare him off." Keith Barton came in with good questions, he had done his homework on my research interests, his dossier made it clear that he could write, and he had read widely and deeply. Early in Keith's doctoral work I invited him to collaborate on a study of children's chronological thinking. The influence of a long-term collaboration on a line of research is considerable. It begins with developing a level of trust that allows research partners to challenge each other intellectually and check each other's analytical and stylistic excesses, but it also involves a shared respect for and joy in the work—and some common idea of what the work involves. We enjoy developing tasks that elicit students' ideas about the past, we especially enjoy interviewing young people and we are inordinately thrilled by good data—by discovering something we had not anticipated, or unearthing a new research question in the findings from a current project. If nothing else, having a research partner means there is someone else who has listened to students' voices and is just as excited as you when they explain their reasoning about the relationship between women's rights and the Bill of Rights.

The 1990s saw a burst of new energy around history education research with plenty of opportunities to be involved in standards, assessment, and curriculum design. From my time heading an NCSS committee charged with responding to the national history standards and serving on the NAEP U.S. history framework committee to chairing the committee charged with developing Kentucky's social studies curriculum standards and assessments, I learned a great deal about the politics of public education. I also met and worked with interesting and intelligent people while getting the equivalent of a post-doc in assessment. It was a heady time with more than its fair share of controversies and I discovered that, maddening as it could all be, I enjoyed being in the middle of the fray.

Along with most of the social studies educators I know, I maintain civic as well as professional commitments. During the mid-nineties, I co-chaired one of a number of "race dialogue" groups designed to improve interracial communication in Lexington. I remember how differently members of each community understood the history behind the issues we discussed, as well as how carefully participants listened to each other. Because my family was also hosting Chinese visiting scholars during this time, working on refugee resettlement, contending with the medical and educational bureaucracies surrounding a special needs child, and making sure Jennifer had time for riding, we had opportunities to consider all manner of intersecting and contending dialogues. Shuttling among these various personal and professional commitments reinforced my conviction that all social studies, including history, should help students address multiple issues of cross-cultural understanding as well as civic engagement and social justice.

By the mid-nineties I was confident that the body of research on students' historical thinking was rich enough to support an argument for an inquiry-based approach to teaching and learning history. Further, Keith and I knew outstanding teachers at different grade levels and in different parts of the country who could serve as exemplars of the principles we wanted to emphasize. I invited Keith to co-author the book that eventually became *Doing History* and we approached Naomi Silverman, with whom I'd worked on an earlier book. Working with Naomi was (and is) one of the smartest professional moves we could have made. Naomi never told us what kind of book we ought to write; instead, she encouraged our distinctive voice and point of view. When a copy editor went through our manuscript "correcting" informal language, changing feminine pronouns to masculine, and generally mucking up our very purposeful stylistic decisions, Naomi stepped in to make sure the book retained the voice and perspective we wanted. Naomi's support over the course of the five books on which I have worked with her meant that I wrote the books I wanted to write, all of which, to one extent or another, deal with the purpose of social studies and history in the schools.

In one of my early ethnographic studies I argued that a teacher's sense of purpose had a significant impact on the shape that history took in the classroom and in children's intellectual lives. I continue to think so. In fact, I think it is the teacher's fundamental responsibility to be clear about the ultimate goals of education. Over the years I have better defined the purposes I think are most defensible in a pluralist democracy, but the outline has been there all along: If history does not expand students' conceptions of what it means to be human and if it fails to prepare them for informed civic engagement with diverse others, we cannot justify its inclusion in social studies or any other part of the curriculum (see Barton & Levstik, 2004, *Teaching History for the Common Good*). Further, these purposes align history with the global, multicultural, and civic purposes of social studies.

The opportunity to travel internationally with my family and to conduct research in other countries continues to be a major influence on my thinking. Frank and I enjoyed the double vision that traveling with Jennifer entailed—the chance to see the world through her eyes as well as our own. Research in other countries has been very much like that, too. When I asked students to help me understand their country's history, the uses they ascribed to history varied considerably from country to country. Ghanaian children, for instance, distinguished between what they wanted the rest of the world to know about their history (the strength and sacrifices that brought independence) and what they thought Ghanaians should recall (the history of colonialism and slavery that made those sacrifices necessary). New Zealand students emphasized their potential role as a deep source of insight from which the rest of the world might profit. In both countries, students were much more globally oriented than had been the case with American students. I found James Wertsch's theory of mediated action useful as I tried to make sense of my observations in each country. Thinking of, say, historical inquiry or narrative, as cultural tools that could be deployed differentially in different cultural contexts provided a firmer theoretical footing than did other sociocultural

theories I had used. More recently, when Gwynn Henderson and I began investigating the impact of archaeological study on children's thinking about the past, mediated action aligned well with archaeological theories of tool-mediated behavior, providing us with useful theoretical parallels between our disciplines.

I have been fortunate in opportunities to work in the company of fascinating people of all ages, but I especially enjoy elementary and middle level students. Each student I interview reminds me that I work at the most hopeful point in the educational enterprise in investigating children's intellectual development. These opportunities have come in the midst of personal crises whose ramifications I debated about including in this chapter. When Frank died in 2000 I lost the most important collaboration in my life and a crucial support as Jeremy's condition worsened over the intervening years. Advocating for my son requires an exhausting level of time, vigilance, and patience with impenetrable paperwork. No one is exempt from difficulties in this life, but they certainly have an influence on the work any of us do. Nonetheless, I still have the luxury of pursuing questions that pique my interest, even if my attention is frequently diverted to other needs. I can still travel, though for shorter lengths of time. And, the saving grace of academic life, there is considerable flexibility in my schedule allowing me to juggle time and obligations more than might someone is a different line of work. The challenges have been considerable, but the work remains worthwhile.

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MERRY M. MERRYFIELD

CROSSING CULTURES AND GLOBAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS

As I look back over my life I find that my most critical learning came about as the result of interacting with people whose culture, experiences, or worldview differed significantly from my own. Why have I sought out experiences with "The Other" instead of sticking to the familiar, the secure, the comfortable, the non-threatening? That is a question I often ask my students and colleagues as we reflect together on how our decisions shape our lives.

In this chapter I reflect on some of the most pivotal experiences in my development as a global educator and identify interactions with individuals and events that precipitated rethinking of assumptions and actions and the development of new ideas and insights.

EARLY EXPERIENCES WITH RACE AND EUROCENTRISM

I grew up in the segregated South in the 1950s and 1960s during a time of overt racism, civil rights protests, and eventual integration of restaurants, schools, and other public spaces. One of the transformative moments in my childhood was an experience at a downtown movie theatre. As I and my pre-teen friends approached to purchase tickets, we saw black students protesting segregation by lying on the payment in front of the theatre and singing freedom songs, as they were not allowed inside. A White usher came out to lead my White friends and me over the black bodies into the movie. It was a profound moment as I realized the privilege I had because my skin was White.

Although I had grown up in a White neighborhood with "colored" maids (the language of my childhood) and was used to seeing "White" and "colored" water fountains at department stores, it was the experience at the theatre that led me to begin to question the inequities and prejudices that permeated my community, church, and school. As I began to ask questions I met a wall of silence not unlike my experience 30 years later when I first interacted with White South Africans.

Although I attended a college prep girls' school for grades 7–12, I learned little about the world beyond the U.S. and Western Europe, and there was a Southern bias as I was taught about The War Between the States and did not realize until my freshman year in college that the South had actually lost the Civil War.

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 111–122.

Unlike many global educators, I entered college with very little knowledge of the larger world and no experiences with people from other countries. What I did know well was what it is like to grow up in an affluent, homogeneous WASP community where people genuinely felt superior to others based on class, religion, and race. I understood White privilege, prejudice, xenophobia, cultural capital, discrimination against "The Other," and the corollaries of a worldview that devalued and feared anyone who was different. Eventually I would draw on this tacit knowledge in my work for equity, diversity, and global interconnectedness. I also came to realize that no matter how parochial or racist a person's background is, our backgrounds do not prevent us from becoming global educators.

LEARNING ABOUT AND WITH THE OTHER

In an effort to understand the racism of my world, I majored in history and took all the courses offered in "Black History" at Georgia State University. By the late 1960s I was well into African American literature—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Black Rage, The Invisible Man, The Fire Next Time,* the histories of John Hope Franklin, the seminal works of W.E.B. DuBois, and more. I wrote papers on SNCC and black strategies for gaining equal rights as I began to consider becoming a teacher. Georgia State had integrated in the early 1960s, and I met an African American teacher in one of my classes. We became close friends, and I started to socialize in Atlanta's vibrant Black Community. For the first time I experienced being the only White face at parties, restaurants, and neighborhoods and learned much about myself, African American culture, and the possibilities for an equitable, multicultural society.

It was during my first year of teaching that I began to study the geography and history of Africa. As a teacher of world cultures I often invited people from other world regions into my classes. After one such visit my Nigerian guest speaker told me that my students were not interested in the real Nigeria, that they just wanted to focus on the exotic, the superficial, the extreme, the Africa of the movies. I began to rethink the curriculum and textbooks and how I was teaching about Africa and other world regions. Was the content superficial? Undoubtedly. Was it reinforcing stereotypes? To some degree, yes. Was I teaching American superiority? It would seem so. So began my lifelong critique of the ways in which American schools teach about the world. I focused on African Studies in my master's program and eventually developed and taught the first high school course for my district on Contemporary Africa through primary sources and African literature.

But what was Africa really like? In 1977 I became a Peace Corps volunteer (PCV) and taught geography and English—Shakespeare plus African literature—in the small town of Segbwema, Sierra Leone. Within days of being in the country I realized that just about everything I had learned about Africa in my Master's program and my own reading was either outdated or useless in living and teaching in Sierra Leone. My fellow teachers taught me about the politics of ethnicity as my principal,

a Mende and a member of the opposition party, had been thrown in prison when he was elected to office. Later that year they explained why the ballot boxes never showed up in our town yet the news reported that the country voted 100% for a one-party state. My students taught me about manning the barricades when the secret police tried to overrun Segbwema the year before. They wanted me to understand why they were 19 to 20 years old and still in secondary school. Friends explained about female circumcision and secret societies. Men at the mosque next door to my flat taught me about the call to prayers and the tenets of Islam. I learned that 70% of my students were Muslim yet had to study Roman Catholic beliefs if they were to go to our school. The inheritance of British colonialism permeated the curriculum, the operations of the local hospital, and price farmers got for their coffee, cocao, and diamonds. Secondary school exams (GCEs) were still sent to London to be graded over a decade after independence.

These experiences created many questions. Why were students in a town with no electricity or running water required to memorize sections of Macbeth? If the Sierra Leoneans created their own curriculum and dropped the inheritance of the British, what would it look like? How does studying British literature and history affect the way Sierra Leonean students perceive themselves and the world? And why was I not taught any useful information about Africa in my K-graduate school studies?

APPLYING THEORY TO RESEARCH

After three years overseas I found the U.S. to be quite a strange place. Microwaves and walkmen were new obsessions among my friends and family, and only one person asked me about what I had learned in West Africa. My readjustment was cushioned by working in evaluation for Peace Corps and socializing within the immigrant and refugee community there. I read Edward Said's *Orientalism* after returning and it helped me work through the contradictions of education in post-colonial states and the reasons why my own education was so inadequate for my work in Africa. *Culture and Imperialism* and *Out of Place* are other books of Said that taught me about post-colonial theory and issues of identity that have relevance for global education.

In 1981 I entered the doctoral program in social studies at Indiana University. Many scholars there influenced my thinking and mentored me as a beginning researcher. James Becker, "The Grandfather of Global Education," inspired me with his work in conceptualizing global perspectives and provided me with hands on experiences in researching global education programs across the Midwest. His thinking on a world-centered education continues to guide my work. I also worked with Robert Hanvey, an anthropologist who was developing global education curriculum. Bob had written "An Attainable Global Perspective," the most quoted work in global education to this day. I came to value his concept of perspective consciousness—a skill in recognizing and appreciating what shapes others' worldviews as well as one's own—as it addresses methods for overcoming parochialism and ethnocentrism. At

conferences Jim introduced me to leaders in global education including Lee and Charlotte Anderson, Chad Alger, and Judith Torney-Purta who became stimulating colleagues. As I work with students today, I try to live up to Jim's ability to mentor students, challenge their thinking, provide them with opportunities and networks, and encourage them to follow their dreams.

Due in part to my experiences in Sierra Leone and Liberia, I became the outreach coordinator for Indiana's African Studies program (ASP) during my time at IU. Patrick O'Meara, an Africanist scholar from South Africa, was the ASP director. In outreach work, seminars, and informal settings, Patrick educated me about the field of African Studies, about South Africa and the politics of apartheid, and issues in Africanist scholarship. He advised me to take three years of Hausa and compete for a Title VI summer institute in Kano. Through his mentoring, I eventually was awarded a Fulbright for my dissertation research in Africa. He helped me envision a better future for the continent at the same time that he taught me to critically examine actions and decisions taking place there.

Howard Mehlinger, Dean of Indiana's School of Education, understood that I wanted to do research in Africa and worked to help me through his own connections and networking. Howard's work in many parts of the world taught me how to have one's own global community of like-minded scholars. He modeled the ways in which research overseas strengthens one's teaching and scholarship back home.

Egon Guba's naturalistic inquiry turned me from a quantitative evaluator into a qualitative researcher. When I was doing large-scale survey research for the Peace Corps I was always frustrated that our findings often came too late for critical decisions and grew out of Peace Corps Washington issues, not concerns from volunteers. Egon taught me about responsive evaluation and how to develop studies that were collaborative and participatory, studies that provided useable information to stakeholders. His ideas and methods helped me design dissertation research in Africa that was meaningful to teachers and curriculum developers there.

I collected data for my dissertation in Kenya, Malawi, and Nigeria on how social studies teachers were addressing national development goals. Working in primary schools I learned from teachers what they valued in the social studies curriculum and how contextual factors (the values of the local community, their own education, political pressures, ethnic or religious beliefs, resources) shaped what their students learned. I learned from national inspectors, professors, teacher educators, and curriculum developers. But most of all I learned from 18 months of sitting in grade 1–8 classrooms, observing teachers teach and students learn and through casual conversations in the teachers' staff rooms or after school over tea or beer. My writing out of my dissertation research focused on contextual factors—political, economic, social—that shaped what was taught in each country. Due to the influence of my mentors and my rich data, I constructed scenes and dialogues to take the reader into school classrooms and curriculum panels to experience the varied realities of social studies in these nations. I also wrote nation-specific articles published in journals in each country to address issues of concern.

After graduating in 1986 I returned to Africa to work in Botswana for a USAID project in curriculum development. At the same time as I was helping Botswana develop a middle school social studies curriculum, I was reading Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Decolonising the Mind*. I had read Ngugi's *The River Between* as literature. His new work addressed the psychological effects of a colonialized curriculum. Later on his *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* detailed the quandary of nations that inherited a colonial curriculum. Ngugi's theories began to provide a base for answering many of the questions I had developed while working in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Kenya, Malawi, and Botswana. His ideas have helped me see parallels between education in these nation-states and education in the U.S.

Two primary questions continued to drive me as I left Africa and returned to the U.S. How can teachers prepare students for the realities of an interconnected world where others' experiences and perspectives are understood and valued as much as one's own? And how do people everywhere overcome the inheritance of imperialism and colonialism? These questions began to merge as I joined the faculty at The Ohio State University.

DEVELOPING CRITICAL GLOBAL EDUCATION

In 1988 I began to work with the social studies and global education program at Ohio State. My research focused in the first few years on the status of global education in teacher education. I found a great divide between scholars working for equity and diversity with American populations and those focused on international education and study abroad. In the early 1990s Jim Banks and I spent a day together on the University of Washington campus trying to see how our worlds of multicultural and global could benefit each other. Later Jim invited me and others to conceptualize intersections of globalization, citizenship education, and diversity and equity. His two-year project, *Democracy and Diversity: Principals and Concepts for Educating Citizens in a Global Age* (2005), introduced me to scholars from the U.K., Japan, and other countries. I enjoyed working with Walter Parker as he was also exploring connections across citizenship, multicultural, and international education.

As I had long ago connected American racism and discrimination with the ways in which we teach about Africa, I began a national study in 1994 to identify teacher educators who brought together goals of equity and diversity with global/international education. Profiles of 115 teacher educators and their programs were published in 1996 by AACTE in *Making Connections Between Multicultural and Global Education.*

In 1998 I read John Willinsky's *Learning to Divide the World*, a volume that applies post-colonial theory to the current Canadian curriculum. He traces the inheritance of imperialism in North American education, with particular attention to history, geography, and literature, to the present day. His data and ideas helped me bridge the gap between post-colonial work and a global education that could overcome dichotomies of us and them, a global education that focuses on equity

and demands that all children learn not only from scholars and writers in their own nation, but from people across the planet. I began to read more widely in post-colonial thought and think through what needs to be done to get beyond the inheritance of imperialism in American schools. I wrote several pieces over the next few years to encourage global educators to rethink how we frame the field (see work listed below on decolonizing the curriculum). My personal favorite is the chapter "Moving the center of global education: From imperial world views that divide the world to double consciousness, contrapuntal pedagogy, hybridity, and cross-cultural competence." In this chapter I applied my own research and post-colonial theory to conventional global education and offered a way to overcome the American-centric and non-critical nature of global education in the United States.

Electronic technology influenced my teaching and research from the late 1990s. I began teaching online multicultural and global education courses to practicing teachers across the country in 1997. I discovered that classroom dynamics changed considerably when the teachers could not see each other and interacted only though text. And when all teachers participated at the same rate (no one was silent and no one monopolized as all posted a certain number of messages) what we learned changed. Second language learners who often were reticent to speak in a large campus class now participated at the same rate as those who were the most vocal. I found that e-learning could promote equity and foster diversity, and as I added in teachers from other countries, promote intercultural learning. Several articles on online learning and teaching came out of this period.

Along with the e-learning I began to collaborate with professors in Indonesia, Singapore, Taiwan, and China through funded projects and keynoting their conferences as I wanted to understand how global education was developing in Asia. These experiences culminated in my becoming a visiting scholar at the Hong Kong Institute of Education in 2005 to collaborate with Professor Joe Lo in a study of how teachers in Hong Kong were teaching about the world seven years after the transition to Chinese control.

THE COMPLEXITY OF GLOBAL EDUCATION

My research has grown out of the desire to understand what it means to teach and to learn global perspectives. Along the way have been studies (1988–1990; 1994–1996) of teacher educators and teacher education programs in the United States and Canada, studies (1984–1985; 1990–1091, 1991–1992, 1991–1994; 1995–1996, 2005) of teacher decision-making related to teaching about the world, a longitudinal study from 1992–2006 of a Professional Development School in global education, and studies (1997–1998, 2000–2003, 2005–06) of how electronic technologies can affect educational equity, global learning, and cross-cultural understanding. Currently I am studying how whole school reform can develop student engagement in becoming citizens of the world. Several elements characterize my research and scholarship.

Teacher and Classroom Centered

I have always wanted to learn directly from teachers, work with them collaboratively in research and writing, and publish work that is valued by teachers as well as academics. I feel that I learn most from being in schools and classrooms and watching the processes of teaching and learning as they take place. I choose to use the natural language of the classroom as it unfolds in authentic school contexts.

Integration of Multicultural and Global

Since the early 1990s I have sought to bring together the fields often called multicultural education and global/international education in order to address equity, diversity, and global interconnectedness together. Back in 1990 I was spending one day a week in an elementary classroom with economically and culturally diverse 4th and 5th graders and two wonderful male teachers. As I observed their work with kids I kept asking, "is this global education?" Eventually one of them, John Fischer, told me that was a pointless question as they needed to bring both multicultural and global perspectives into their work and asked me why I would want some artificial separation.

Those teachers and others taught me to overcome academic boundaries in order to see the classroom holistically as they did. Eventually I came to focus on interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary global education that includes many of the goals of multicultural education.

Teacher Education through World-Centered, Intercultural Pedagogy

I want to understand what needs to happen in teacher education programs for teachers to become interested in the state of the planet and make connections for their students between events and issues in other world regions with changes in their own community and nation. How can teacher education programs develop graduates who want to be engaged with people of diverse cultures, who understand and care about global issues, who are open-minded about the beliefs, values, and norms of behavior of people different from themselves? I want to understand how cross-cultural experiential learning affects students' and teachers' thinking and practice.

It is difficult to list what I have learned from my research and teaching in a few pages. If I think about what I know now compared to what I knew when I was a beginning teacher, several things come to mind:

It is critical that we teach understanding of power relationships and the double consciousness of those people who are marginalized within societies and globally.

A tacit understanding of what it feels like to be marginalized is critical if one wants to understand to some degree the lives of millions of people across the world who are ignored or harassed because of differences from those in power as well as understanding global issues of poverty, conflict, and oppression. There is nothing

more profound in learning to teach for equity, diversity, and global interconnectedness than to live in a place where one is marginalized by language, race, ethnicity, religion or nationality and to live where one will never be in the mainstream of that society.

In several studies I found that it is when White middle-class Americans (as are most teachers and faculty in the U.S.) go to live in Japan or Germany or some other countries that they begin to understand what it feels like to be treated as an outsider, as one who does not belong, as one whose opinion really does not matter. Of course people who grow up as "The Other" in their own country learn these lessons early on. W.E.B. Dubois' writing about double consciousness is very relevant to global education.

Although global education rests on concepts such as perspective consciousness and multiple perspectives, it has a long way to go in recognizing that the status of teachers and learners matters. Without concerns for equity and justice and voices of those with little power, global education can contribute to an imperial world view and foster neocolonial thinking.

In studying the process of implementing P-12 global education, I have learned that when teachers begin to adopt some elements of global education, they almost always choose to infuse multiple perspectives in their instruction. Instead of only teaching mainstream American perspectives in history (the American Revolution, the Crusades, the Cold War) or more contemporary events (9/11 attacks, the war in Iraq, Obama's election), they will bring in perspectives of some people within other countries, often through primary sources. Other central elements of global education, such as global issues or global interconnectedness or global power, appear to be much harder for teachers to infuse due to the structure of the curriculum, high stakes testing (which rarely assesses global understanding), and a lack of preparation (courses, modeling) in their teacher education programs.

Third, when teacher educators programs begin to internationalize/globalize their programs, it is often by promoting study abroad, mandating content courses about the world, or providing some sort of connections (in the community, through service earning, electronic) with people from different countries. Unlike required courses in multicultural education that characterize most teacher preparation programs in the U.S. today, very few global education courses are mandated for pre-service teachers. Almost always there are a few faculty and administrators who work toward the goals of global/international educations, while many are uninterested or resistant. Often NCATE, other professional organizations, or state mandates in P-12 curriculum obfuscate efforts to infuse global perspectives in pre-service teacher education. The United States has a long way to go before most teacher preparation programs develop global educators. Perhaps these choices reflect American society. Few states mandate enough content on global knowledge (political, economic, cultural, environmental, technological) for today's P-12 students to even identify issues facing the planet or understand the experiences, knowledge, and beliefs of 95% of the world's people.

Fourth, both schools and universities are motivated by demographic changes. When large numbers of immigrants or refugees enter a community, many educators eventually recognize the need to understand why they are here and what their needs

are. Sometimes this recognition leads to culturally relevant teaching, study of other cultures, and meaningful professional development. In some places it leads to connections with university area studies programs or organizations and offices that are working with refugee resettlement or servicing particular immigrant groups.

Resistance to change as immigrants and refugees enter states and communities cannot be explained by ignorance of why these people are here or their cultural norms. Educators often resist dealing with students in these new groups because they do not want to change in much the same way that teachers resisted desegregation a generation ago. Teachers often reflect the norms of communities who do not want people different from themselves entering their schools. Consequently children of new immigrants and refugees may be ignored or discriminated against in both the community and its schools.

Finally I have learned that electronic technologies are powerful pedagogical tools in teaching and learning global perspectives. From key-pals and projects like iEARN to course management systems, Skype, Google docs, Moodle, and other tools for online discussions, the Internet can begin to make a classroom global. Online communities that support teachers who are interested in global education can make a difference in disseminating resources and ideas and providing a forum for discussion of controversial issues and problems. In some cases, online courses for teachers promote equity in teacher education as they can be structured to allow for equal participation, a goal that is practically impossible in face to face classes.

Cross-cultural online discussions and collaboration are only as productive as teachers make them. New technologies do not necessarily make the discussion good global education as online work can focus on superficial exchanges that may even reinforce stereotypes. Students, left to their own devices, may never get beyond questions such as "what do you eat for breakfast?" or "do you have tigers in your backyard?" Often online connections do not challenge American norms or world views. Some exchanges are based on what Americans value (the Americans control the discussion) and perpetuate "us and them" dichotomies and American superiority. Online work can foster assumptions than people who have little material wealth are somehow inferior.

As I work to understand how whole school reform can prepare students for global understanding and engagement in making the world a better place, I am grounded in the day-to-day issues of teachers and their students. Although the field has come a long way since I began to teach in 1971, we have far to go in preparing our students for citizenship in a global age. And the critical global education I advocate is far from being accepted in most schools and universities. We have a long way to go in developing world-centered education.

I stand on the shoulders of the scholars referenced in this essay. In a time when the word *global* was exceedingly controversial and often considered un-American, they presented us with a vision of education that developed world-mindedness, that engaged students in becoming citizens of the world. I know my scholarship will be surpassed by younger scholars in the field such as Guichun Zong, Bill Gaudelli,

Elizabeth Heilman, John Myers, and Barbara Cruz, to name a few. And by my students and former students who are working to make education global in China, Taiwan, Japan, S. Korea, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad, Botswana, Kenya, Ghana, Peru, Venezuela, and the U.S.

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JACK L. NELSON

PROGRESSING THROUGH EDUCATION

This story includes no duels, sheer mountain climbs, death-defying leaps, or other revelations of individual feats. There were, however, many exciting happenings during my time. That is not an apology, merely an explanation. All generations have periods of turmoil, trial, challenge, and response; these often define the periods. My generation's time includes global depression, world war and aftermaths, the United Nations, genocides, discrimination, civil rights movement, religious and cultural conflict, disasters, and multiple other human rights issues.

Events alter the course of lives, even relatively calm ones. But determinism is not the point. Lives are also influenced by personal will, social dynamics, and individual circumstances. No person is totally self-made or predetermined. We are the products of interactions. Educational and intellectual influences emerge through experiences, both direct and vicarious through study. Career interests depend upon a series of often serendipitous events: challenges and opportunities.

GENERAL INFLUENCES

My birth in Cheyenne, Wyoming, during the Great Depression, and childhood spent in Colorado through World War II and beyond, influenced many perspectives. The mountain West's open space and sense of mutual support streaked with individual independence, remains a compelling orientation. Successive years living near sea level on the East and West coasts of the United States—and in more highly populated conditions—have altered but not obliterated this sense.

The Depression still influences my economic, justice, social inequality, and social responsibility views. Economic dislocation and financial constraints were dramatic factors for my family. Although I was too young to make major decisions during the 1930s, I gained insights about shared problems, community, fairness, and personal responsibility. My personal knowledge of parental and neighbor struggles, and later study of that period, grounds some of my educational, vocational, and financial choices.

World War II developed ideas of loyalty, devotion, and cooperation, as well as increasing skepticism about war and politics. Wars and military excursions coming after WWII, e.g., the Cold War, Korea, Viet Nam, and Iraq, caused some rethinking and further study of war, global interests, and power. The patriotic value of reasoned dissent and disagreement became more apparent, though not often socially accepted.

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 123–136.

My personal and public 1960s dissent while opposing the Viet Nam War, my subsequent resignation from the Army Reserves, after 13 years service, because of that war, and my involvement in global education projects represent that rethinking and study.

Alterations in political geography, including massive relocations of populations, genocide, tribal slaughter, and human exploitation, fueled my deep concern with international human rights and raised serious questions about the rationality of religious and cultural wars. Vicious national political battles over the United Nations focused my interests in world affairs, in territorial politics, and in domestic ideological disputes.

Stark evidence of socially and individually disabling effects of discrimination and prejudice, was a strong influence, as were the positive effects of the blossoming Civil Rights Movement—despite setbacks. The disparity between ideals identified in standard American history and political science courses and the real life of many Americans continues to give me discomfort as an educator.

Finally, a series of experiences as a witness to and student of political restriction, censorship, and witch-hunting are among the strongest influences. They developed my understanding of and strong commitment to the necessity of academic freedom as a cornerstone of the concept of education.

These environmental conditions influenced my views and my educational and career pattern. They influenced many in my generation, feeding a strong interest in engagement for social improvement. This often places us on one side of a series of polemic arguments about war, justice, equality, politics, economics, human rights, global developments, and education.

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES: ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY

Fortunately, Denver Public Schools in the 1930s and 1940s were in the Progressive education mainstream. I did not realize it then, but my elementary schooling provided a good example of moderate progressive education: student-centered project work, active and critical learning, and community involvement. My favorite teacher was Mrs. Gildersleeve, a kind and intellectual 6th grade teacher who cared for her students and engaged them in many in-and-out of class educational activities. She was a fine example of a teacher devoted to critical thinking.

Junior and senior high schools I attended were also influenced by progressive schooling ideas, though not as extensively. Grant Junior High had a "core curriculum" incorporating English, social studies, and a guidance class with a teacher who stayed with the same class for three years. The curriculum also required boys to take a home economics course in addition to a shop class, and girls had to take a shop course plus home economics. So I learned a bit about cooking, cleaning, and house care and still recall it. The rest of the curriculum was more traditional, but teachers encouraged student exploration of content and were stimulators rather than disciplinarians or lecturers.

South Denver High School offered a somewhat more traditional multiple course, separate subject, sequential curriculum, but lots of choices. A few teachers were merely holding space, but most were fine and some excellent. Competition for employment in the Depression led many college graduates with outstanding credentials to enter teaching, especially in good districts. Denver was considered a first-rate district, where teachers wanted jobs and wanted to stay. Denver paid better and was the center of more educational experimentation. Service in World War II took many men and some women teachers, but Denver was able to attract good replacements and the GI Bill after the war provided more. 1947–1950 at South was a good academic period offering instructive experience for my later life.

My favorite teacher at South was Tilman Erb, in history. Erb was one of the most intellectually provocative and stimulating teachers I have had at any level, and one of the most energetic. He could make history fascinating, with yet unanswered puzzles and multiple interpretations. He was my model for a high school teacher: challenging students and paying attention to their intellectual growth. He was demanding, but so interesting that meeting his standards was worthwhile. He was also the faculty advisor for the Senate Club, a public policy debating group, and the International Relations Club. Mr. Erb was also a key influence on my later scholarly and activist interest in academic freedom, by virtue of his own problems, explained later.

Math and science were also interesting in high school. Mr. Waln, a calmly quiet and studious chemistry teacher, provided clear explanations and mind-expanding lab experiments. Miss Stancliff, in math, was firm but patient with obvious intelligence and a sense of humor.

High school was interesting academically, but it was disturbing to find social class distinctions far more emphasized there than in previous schools. A divide between haves and have-nots became increasingly apparent. Participation in school and extracurricular life, and the generally competitive materialistic life among adolescents, was costly. Part-time and summer work did not offer substantial money, but was helpful in finances and learning. Disparities in relative wealth and opportunity made a lasting impression on political and economic views, and influenced my sense of justice. I knew several students from the "state home," a local orphanage. They were far worse off than I financially, but were good kids deserving of better opportunities. I also knew students from the wealthier sections of town. Some were personable and friendly, regardless of relative wealth, but some were simply arrogant and "entitled" for no reason beyond their family's comparative economic status.

HIGHER EDUCATION

My parents were not formally educated beyond high school. My mother could not complete high school because her family moved and they lacked funds. My father completed high school, but did not enjoy it. They must have assumed I would get

a job right out of high school as they had. They were unknowing about, but not against, college. Parents were not heavily involved in school affairs then, unless requested, and my parents were supportive, but not active. Most of my classmates expected to go to college, and I just agreed. My early plan was chemical engineering, fueled partly by work as the lab assistant in the high school chemistry class, but I discovered that engineering was a five-year program and I was not sure I could pay for four. A friend who graduated a year earlier recommended that I apply to Dartmouth. I was admitted and offered a tuition scholarship, but discovered that total living costs in New Hampshire would be three times the scholarship value, so I declined that opportunity.

I was admitted to Denver University (DU), a campus close enough to live at home and work part-time. The GI Bill brought large numbers of veterans to DU. Enrollment increased from about 4,000 students in the mid-1940s to over 11,000 by my freshman year. Veterans brought a level of seriousness, changing a relatively social environment into a more academic one. There were parties and social events, with many vets in attendance, but the general atmosphere was more toward class work, papers, and exams. Student life was active and veterans brought many improvements to student-faculty-administration relations through actions on the campus newspaper and in student government.

My first term in a one-year U.S. history class at DU was with an instructor far less interesting or knowledgeable than Mr. Erb in high school. This professor lectured without interruption and expected memorization of name, date, event chronology. My major probably would have been history had it not been for him, and I switched to the night school for the remaining quarters of that class. My prime interest shifted from history toward a social science area major, coupled with a secondary teacher education program. That interdisciplinary approach fit better.

Most DU faculty members I had were excellent, but one was exceptional. Otto Fritz Freitag, a new member of the political science department, was noted for his provocative courses on political philosophy. His highly interactive classes, with stimulating examples, encouraged student interpretation. That was my introduction to the works of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Mill, Kant, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, Hume, and a host of others. Freitag's remarkable sense of humor, in classroom discussion and in absurd items on his otherwise tough exams, added to the interest. Many of us checked for him in the campus coffee shop well before class starting time. These extra-class discussions of classic and current politics, where all were treated as equal participants with Freitag as moderator of battles, were outstanding. He was my model of a college professor, and a main reason I continued an interest in politics and civic life.

There were many fine traditionalists among the DU faculty, but most professors were advocates of critical thinking, individual development, social improvement, and related progressive ideas. Many education faculty had doctoral degrees from Teachers College, Columbia, and progressive ideas were a main theme of the DU teacher education program. I learned that Denver Public Schools had been

among the leading city districts in this movement. Denver junior and senior high schools were among the few selected for inclusion in the Eight-Year-Study by the Progressive Education Association, 1933–1941. This longitudinal study, following students over four years of high school and four of college, compared those who had a more progressive high school curriculum with those from traditional college-preparatory programs. Findings were that collegiate academic achievement levels of students from progressive programs were at least as high as those from traditional programs, and those progressive students fared better on positive social and extracurricular participation. One standard criticism of progressive education, that it was soft preparation and lacked academic standards, was not upheld. Had World War II not intervened, diverting public attention, the educational implications of the Eight-Year Study are likely to have made profound and positive changes in public schooling.

By the end of the war, strong nationalist, traditionalist, and anti-Communist forces emerged, and they blasted social Progressivism and progressive education. Traditionalists wanted a return to a more classical curriculum, old-style memorization, and more rigid and rigorous standards. Nationalists wanted a return to schools producing obedient citizens with patriotic values. And anti-Communists believed progressivism was another Communist plot to undermine the United States, so they opposed it as a moral blight. These forces engaged in strong and relentless criticism of the public schools and what they considered "permissiveness." The potential of progressive educational reform was never realized in this political setting. Some substantive criticism of progressive schooling was pertinent; a number of weak, poorly executed, and muddle-headed progressive school efforts offered choice targets. Critics were very effective over time as McCarthyism developed.

BUDDING INTEREST IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN SCHOOLS

As I was completing the B.A., I read that Tilman Erb, my high school history teacher, had announced his candidacy as one of about six running for Congress, and their views were published in the city newspaper. Erb's statement dealt with World War II and the need for a strong world structure to adjudicate conflict and work toward peace, clearly supportive of the relatively new UN. His views were neither radical nor out-of-mainstream, but he was fired by the Denver School Board. Erb had tenure and was granted a due-process hearing. The hearing board found he had been improperly fired, and he was reinstated as a teacher at South. I went to visit him after reinstatement, and found him disillusioned and disappointed in the schools. They had reinstated him, but assigned him to teach freshman English and no history classes. He needed the job, so he agreed, but he did not like teaching English and later left Denver. The city's formerly progressive climate had diminished in the onslaught of McCarthyism. That incident awakened my concern for teachers in similar situations, and led to a life-long scholarly and activist interest in academic freedom for teachers.

Over my career, I experienced or observed a series of incidents in school districts and universities that involved political restriction, censorship, pressure, and inappropriate dismissal of faculty. These demonstrated a great lack of academic freedom in our schools, and a need for stronger effort. Personal experiences include Mr. Erb's case, a professor I had in graduate school who was fired by Northwestern University after being identified as a "pinko" in a right-wing book, meeting a Colorado teacher fired for showing a Bertolucci movie in a high school class on fascism, supervising student teachers in a California district where the Board banned all teaching materials that included "Russia," serving as AAUP counsel for faculty fired for political reasons, serving on National Committee A of AAUP where we heard academic freedom cases, reading the Newsletter of the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Association, and the censorship of one of my own books by the Miami, Florida schools for using satirical material about population control. My research into and my writing and advocacy to advance academic freedom are products of this interest.

EDUCATIONAL VALUES OF MILITARY LIFE

The military draft during the Korean Conflict caused many of us in college to sign up for ROTC, allowing completion of college followed by an officer commission with 2 years active duty and 4 in the Reserves. ROTC turned out to be a choice with impact on my life and career. Several relatives had served in various branches in World War II, but I had no military plans before that.

After graduation, I was in the Army for two years, stationed in Virginia and Texas. Military experience was beneficial, providing training and responsibilities far beyond what might have otherwise occurred. I even considered a military career. But living in the South as a condition of military life brought many negative experiences involving prejudice and discrimination. In Virginia, the general attitude was that non-whites were inferior but deserved respect and caring, not direct abuse. Our experience in Texas from 1954–1956, however, showed strict local segregation, and a more cruel attitude of disdain, distrust, suspicion, and threat. The 1954 Brown Decision required school desegregation, but the Texas schools did not move swiftly to accommodate. Separate black schools were uniformly and significantly inferior to the ones for White children. Other segregated public facilities, like drinking fountains, bus and train stations, parks, movie theaters, entrances, and stores and restaurants seemed unaffected by the time we left in 1956, and "No colored" signs often remained. I served in a unit of nearly all black enlisted men and all White sergeants and officers. As a non-Texan, I was one of the few officers assigned to travel into the nearby town when any of our black soldiers were held by police. Nearly all of the black soldiers I found in these circumstances were from the Midwest and unaccustomed to Texas life, a life which included unwritten restrictions on which streets and hours could be used for walking if you were black, and a presumption of guilt without benefit of trial or representation.

GETTING INTO EDUCATION

After the Army, I planned to return to teach in Denver, but I received an offer with a better salary in Riverside, California. My wife and I had never been to California, but we accepted, and I became a social studies teacher at Jurupa Junior High School. This school served a largely rural area on the edge of Riverside, with a substantial student population from migrant worker families. An 80% annual turnover rate among students meant that teachers would not have the same students all year. Teachers visited families of the students and the migrant camps. This was a highly educative assignment about the poor and schools. My teaching colleagues were capable and committed. Many attended Los Angeles State College (now CSU, Los Angeles) for graduate work, and I joined their car pool and started the M.A. program.

Among my professors was William Gellerman, in philosophy of education. Gellerman was remarkably well read and stimulating, but had a peculiar fear of publicity or students asking personal questions. I later read a notorious book by E. Merrill Root, *Collectivism on Campus* (Devon-Adair, 1955), purporting to identify Communists, Fellow Travelers, and Pinkos who were teaching at colleges, "brainwashing" students. The charges were based on innuendo and minimal evidence, and William Gellerman was among those identified. He was then associate professor of education at Northwestern University, and Root cited him for having done his doctoral dissertation at Teachers College, Columbia, on the Martin Dies Committee (published later by John Day Company as *Martin Dies*, 1944). The Dies Committee was precursor to the House UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC). Root disdained Gellerman's other book, *The American Legion as Educator* (Columbia University Press, 1938), a critical study of the American Legion's effort to publish its own American history textbook for schools, and their strong-arm efforts to get it adopted widely. Gellerman was forced out of Northwestern, and had come to teach at this new state college in California, but did not want publicity—and he did not publish anymore.

BECOMING A COLLEGE INSTRUCTOR

I was invited by John Dahl, professor in the M.A. seminar at L.A. State, to apply for a new "instructorship" program at the college, and I did. I was offered a position teaching foundations, curriculum and teacher methods, on the condition that I enter a doctoral program. Thomas Linton, a colleague, was one of the most intellectually stimulating faculty members on campus, widely read and critical, primarily in sociology and economics. He provided considerable assistance to my learning, and later offered the opportunity to co-edit a foundations book with Pitman Publishers, my first major publishing.

I started the doctoral program in education at UCLA, and one of the courses was with Evan Kieslar, the "Skinner of the West Coast." Programmed texts and behavioral objectives were fashionable, and I was a potential behaviorist. Kieslar's

courses provided substantial support for that view. I later shifted significantly to become highly skeptical of behaviorism, fueled in part by reading and reacting negatively to B.F. Skinner's treatise, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971), a book that argued against free will and moral autonomy.

Course work at UCLA was excellent, but the School of Education was isolated within the university, and had a frustrating system for doctoral advisement. Academic bias within UCLA prevented education students from taking graduate work in the social sciences or history. For advisement, students had to obtain a personal faculty sponsor or courses undertaken would not count toward the degree. None of the faculty in courses I took was accepting new doctoral students, so the courses would not count and no advisement was available.

After contacting the University of Southern California, I obtained an appointment with the Dean of the Education School, an associate dean, and a faculty member in the program I had requested. When I was admitted, I was able to test-out of courses for which I felt already prepared. Among the high quality faculty members at USC was Earl V. Pullias, who taught history and philosophy of higher education. An inspiring lecturer, with a background in classics and psychology and much experience in college teaching and administration, he applied his knowledge of literature and philosophy to the study of higher education. No program in social studies was offered, so my fields of interest were teacher education and curriculum.

When my USC doctorate was completed, I sought additional study in political science and gained admittance to a doctoral program in government at Claremont Graduate School. My plan was to conduct research on the nexus between politics and education and then obtain a joint appointment in those fields at some university. The intellectual orientation of Claremont, their willingness to count my USC work toward the degree, and the individual courses I took in that program were excellent. Seminars had 15 or fewer students and often from two to four faculty members. In a class on liberalism, the professors came from economics, politics, history, and sociology. Active seminar participation was standard, as was extensive preparation by students. Seminars had active discussion for a couple of hours, broke for a snack/coffee, and returned with no set ending time.

SUNY, BUFFALO DAYS

The Claremont doctoral program was very enjoyable, but I was offered a singularly rich opportunity: a position at SUNY, Buffalo. New York Governor Rockefeller's idea was to establish a first-rate state university system, similar to that in California. The Buffalo campus was among four new state institutions destined to be national, flagship, research universities. About 250 new faculty members were employed that year, and the campus became a vital, open, and experimental place. Subject-field specialties (science education, English education, math education, and social studies education) were new developments in the School of Education, and my position was to design and develop the first masters and doctoral programs in social studies as

well as to organize and teach in a new program in sociology of education. At no other institution could I have had similar challenge, opportunity, or freedom.

Cross-field activity was encouraged. I joined faculty members from history, political science, psychology, philosophy, and anthropology to initiate a new Center for International Security and Conflict Studies. We presented seminar papers for criticism and published results. My research into nationalistic education was strongly supported and well critiqued. In addition to faculty duties, I completed graduate seminars in anthropology, philosophy, and history at Buffalo, and was impressed with broad, inclusive orientations to knowledge. Education was not a maligned academic field on campus, and I developed an interest in how disciplines evolve and their impact on schools.

Martin Meyerson became university president, and brought Robert O'Neil as academic vice-president, both from the University of California, Berkeley. They had been major administrators, handling Free Speech and Anti-Viet Nam War protests there with excellent sensitivity and wisdom. O'Neil was also professor of constitutional law at Berkeley, and came to Buffalo with an appointment in the Buffalo Law School. As a result of mutual interests, Bob and I were awarded a large federal grant to bring full-time urban teachers to the campus for one year, studying half-time in law school clinics and half-time in education courses. The focus, Civil Liberties in Urban America, was to prepare teachers with legal knowledge and educational ideas for dealing with civil liberties issues.

SUNY, Buffalo not only offered stimulating cross-field interchanges, it also supported personal and professional development. At an NCSS meeting in St. Louis, 1964, just after my Buffalo appointment, I sat next to Barry Beyer, who had just started teaching social studies methods at the University of Rochester. We were doing similar things 50 miles apart, with no communication except by chance. On return to Buffalo, I contacted the State Department of Education and the New York Council for Social Studies to ask about improving that situation. The Department had stopped publication of a newsletter for social studies teachers in the mid-1940s, and I volunteered to start a new journal for New York social studies educators: *The Social Science Record*.

The state Social Studies Council offered time at their 1965 annual conference for a special meeting of social studies faculty in New York colleges. The success of that meeting prompted a similar effort at the national level, meetings that developed into the College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA) of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) (Nelson, 1997). At an early session, Lawrence Metcalf, University of Illinois, was keynote speaker. Metcalf, co-author of *Teaching High School Social Studies* (Harper, 1955), was a major influence on my work in social studies. He provided a theoretical rationale for reflective thinking as the basis for social education and global studies.

My five years at SUNY, Buffalo were rewarding and educational. But Rockefeller's original ideas about the New York system suffered after his death, a major change in university and school of education administration occurred at Buffalo, and the availability of other positions led me elsewhere.

THE RUTGERS YEARS

In 1968, I accepted a professorship at the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers, to initiate and develop graduate degree programs in social studies. Rutgers had a fine history department, but academic bias against education existed in my early days there. That changed as we increased the grade averages for admission to our programs, and the history department could no longer use education as a place to send its weaker students. No bias was noticed in the social sciences. This increased my interest in examining the nature of disciplinary knowledge and curricular influence.

Thirty years of my academic career were spent at Rutgers, with many educational and intellectual developments. My interest in academic freedom was encouraged by many years of work as a member of the Rutgers AAUP, in leadership positions and in serving as a counsel for terminated faculty at their hearings. Several terms on the national AAUP Council and on national AAUP Committee A (Academic Freedom and Tenure) offered pertinent educational experiences about higher education and academic freedom cases. Service on an Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in New Jersey, and for 26 years as a national panelist for Project Censored, selecting the 10 most censored stories annually, added to my knowledge of how serious the threat to academic freedom is to the whole of education in the United States. My effort to improve academic freedom for elementary and secondary classroom teachers, through writing, editing of journals, speaking, and lobbying the AAUP, ACLU, and NCSS has had only minimal success, despite much interest. John Dewey, a prime advocate of the same effort, would not be happy.

Interests in global/international studies, international human rights, and values/moral education were encouraged at Rutgers, through some grants for that work, through serving on the Board of the Rutgers International Center, and through the initiation and continued operation of a summer program for Rutgers graduate students at Cambridge University for about 15 years. That work appears in publications, in the dissertations of doctoral students, and in conference presentations and in my involvement with global education experts. The World Law Fund, under the leadership of Saul Mendlovitz, Richard Falk, and Betty Reardon, provided much preparation and support.

Interests in civil liberties, civil rights, and international human rights were influenced by work with the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, New Jersey, and California. The results are in publications and the intellectual involvement and publications of former students.

OTHER INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES: THE WRITERS

Beyond those educative experiences noted, and with many stimulating colleagues and excellent students over time, I owe great intellectual debts to many writers. For education, John Dewey's works are particularly valuable. *Democracy and Education* (1916), *Freedom and Culture* (1939), and *Experience and Education* (1963) provide

a bridge from political philosophers to why education is of such importance. *How We Think* (1933) provides a cogent analysis of critical or reflective thinking, and grounds my writing on that topic. Dewey's essay, "The Social Significance of Academic Freedom" in *The Social Frontier* (2,136; 1936) is among the clearest and most stark statements of its necessity in all education. Social education should become more clearly identified in support of academic freedom; it is key to continued intellectual development.

Applications of critical theory to education have been an important interest, through interpretations by Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz, Cleo Cherryholmes, and others. Early critiques of Dewey, liberals, and pragmatists have been tempered and common ground offers significant potential for future work. This is a rich area for continuing social education scholarship. Our field devotes far too much time and energy on second and third level efforts to impart traditional historical interpretations to young generations.

Bertrand Russell is a writer I most enjoy because of his wit and logic. He was primarily responsible for giving me a rationale for becoming an agnostic and skeptic. I had been a Sunday School teacher and, as an adult, tried several formal religions and atheism. I found them all wanting. His *History of Western Philosophy* (1945) is classic, and his short, *Sceptical Essays* (1928, 1977) offers much wisdom, including about education. His *Understanding History* (1957) should be a basis for improved history education, one that is critical of history and historians.

The social contract as formulated, and argued, by many including Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, despite religious overtones, remains a significant set of views of the nature and role of governments, societies, and individuals. A liberal-progressive framework embellished and criticized by such intellects as John Stuart Mill, Guido de Ruggiero, John Rawls, Merle Curti, Robert Heilbroner, C. Wright Mills, Paul Krugman, Amy Gutmann, and other works by Bertrand Russell, offers lenses for examining political and economic life. For fiction, I find Franz Kafka, as well as Shakespeare, Faulkner and others, enlightening on the relation of individuals to power and society.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Others can better assess the value and quality of contributions to the field. I am proud to have been directly involved in several activities in social education:

> initiating and developing the College and University Faculty Association and its scholarly journal, *Theory and Research in Social Education*; writing and speaking to advocate for improving academic freedom for teachers and students; developing graduate degree programs that attracted outstanding students; challenging the domination of traditional history and "disciplines" in our field; encouraging the study of controversial topics and social issues in schools.

There are many reasons I have pride in this work, though I don't claim credit for the improvements and developments over time. CUFA has, I am pleased to report, become the most prominent association of higher education faculty members interested in social education, and the CUFA annual meetings are the site of continuing evolution of thought. *Theory and Research in Social Education* (TRSE) has developed over 40 years from an annual publication into a solid quarterly, and is the preeminent scholarly publication in the field. The accumulated scholarly literature is largely in the pages of this journal.

Academic freedom, despite the setbacks and disappointments, remains the core of a good education. Without the freedom for teachers and students to think, criticize, and dispute ideas, there would only be recitation and stagnation of knowledge. Significant knowledge arises from controversies and issues, and academic freedom is required for that pursuit. This should be a far more compelling purpose for all of education, but especially for education for civic life and civilizational improvement. This remains, from my view, a fight worth fighting.

Good arguments over the nature, purpose, and value of disciplines in academia persist, and I am glad there has not been a resolution. Examination of the tensions between tradition and progress and debate over their substance is important for educational and societal development. Our field deserves continuing review and reconsideration.

As all teachers know, successful and thoughtful students are the joy of the profession. I was privileged to have worked with many excellent ones over the course of my career, and owe a great debt to them for my enlightenment and my enjoyment. Significant events, great challenges, important opportunities, and chance happenings influence all people. I am fortunate to have lived through a number of major events and challenges, and to have had opportunities for education and knowledge. Formal, informal, and by chance learning has been very productive for me. It was a great period to have lived through, and it is a pleasure to be included in this volume, and to be asked to identify influences in my life.

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VALERIE OOKA PANG

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN RICE AND POTATOES

CARING, CITIZENSHIP, AND CULTURE

Much of who I am and the directions I take in my career have come from my family. This chapter focuses on how parents and family have influenced my career goals as an educational scholar and my belief in teaching about citizenship in a democracy. Family gave me a strong sense of identity and put forth the value of contributing to the community along with advocating for civil rights. However there is the continual balance between working towards a strong community, while challenging institutional, societal, and individual inequities. Within this context, as a teacher of teachers I attempt to encourage educators to examine their own practices to see if their values of social justice are commensurate with behaviors of caring, effective teaching, and personal integrity. I believe in assisting teachers in reaching each student no matter what their cultural or linguistic background may be. It is important to build bridges across cultures. Using the scholarship of John Rawls, I believe that social justice arises out of a belief in fairness which is agreed upon within a community of free individuals who are treated equally (Rawls, 1971; Pang, forthcoming). Our democracy works only if we, as a community, work to challenge the status quo of inequities and become a more inclusive nation.

HOW FAMILY SHAPED MY EARLY LIFE

My life was shaped by my parents and family; I grew up in a household of 7 girls, but was also influenced by my extended family of grandparents, uncles, and aunts on my mother's side. I was the first of ten children. My mother was quite young when I was born and so I spent lots of time at my grandparent's home around the corner from our apartment. It was there that I learned to speak Japanese and could talk with my grandparents who had emigrated from the United States in 1917 from *Shizuoka ken*, a prefecture in Japan. They settled in Seattle, Washington. My grandfather felt there were more opportunities in the United States.

My parents decided to move when my dad found a job at Darigold, a dairy company, in Eastern Washington. Dairgold processed products like milk, sour cream, and cream cheese. Though it was sad to leave my grandparents, uncles, and aunts, we moved to a college town of 4,000 people where most families lived on farms or ranches.

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 137–150.

Living in this small town was hard. Initially, we did not know anyone and it was difficult for my parents to pay the 40 dollars a month rent. We lived in a tiny two-bedroom house. I can still see the pale lime green paint on the outside. Money was always tight. Most of the people we knew were also poor. There were few that would be called "middle class" in the rural town. However, I still remember being about eight-years old and going to the Darigold building where my father worked. It was a big deal to go with my dad. The air inside the cream-painted building had a funny smell of sweet and sour milk mixed together. All of the milk from the dairy farmers in the area was processed there and one of the products that the workers made was ice cream! Ice cream was mixed in a huge metal machine; the ice cream came out from a pipe into ten gallon plain brown-papered round containers. This was a treat to see. A man in a large vanilla apron, White pants, and hat smiled and said, "Place your cone under the spout." I wasn't sure what was going to happen, but then a huge dollop of ice cream dropped from the metal pipe. The ice cream ran down the sides of my cone and onto my hand. I licked the sweet surprise as fast as I could. That was one of the best days of my young life. Unfortunately, the company decided to close this small business and so my dad had to find another job. He became an entrepreneur and bought a downtown restaurant that also included a smokeshop, a cocktail lounge, and banquet room.

During the meantime, my mother was busy having children like many mothers of the 1950s and 1960s. In the end my parents had a family of 7 girls since three siblings died at childbirth. My dad was the "king" when we were young; however when we grew older and into our own, traditional gender roles began to fall. We lived in this small town where there were few people of color and even fewer Asian Americans. As time progressed, my parents, sisters, and I began to ask a lot of questions such as why are women treated as second class citizens? Why do our classmates and others in the town call us Japs? Why is prejudice aimed at our family?

I believe it was through various personal experiences that I developed a sense about the inequalities of life and the importance of working in the community addressing prejudices and injustices. The inequalities were due not only to my racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, but also due to my differences in class and gender. In order to explain how my academic interests developed and why I am passionate about the teaching of social studies education and citizenship education, it is important to know how my family history shaped my work as a scholar.

MY DAD'S FAMILY

Similar to other families in the United States, I have an extensive immigrant history. Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, my grandparents on my father's side moved to Hawaii. His grandfather had been a samurai, but since there was no longer a need for these loyal and ethical soldiers after the feudal system changed, he was

considered a *ronin,* a *samurai* without a lord. My great grandfather came to live with a family with several sisters. He married one of the sisters and took on their surname because family was at the core of life. So my grandfather originally was a Yamada and to continue the line of his wife's family, he took on their surname of Ooka. His son was my grandfather. Though I do not know much about this side of the family, I realize that they were fighters and courageous people who had strong ethics. My father's parents also left Japan and migrated to Oahu in Hawaii. They lived in Kalihi, a poor section on the island. I have a copy of a termite-eaten photograph which shows my dad, his parents, older brother, and older two sisters; my dad was about two years old with a round face. He sat on the edge of a dining chair and his pudgy legs dangled down. I never met my father's parents. My dad left Hawaii when he was 18 years old and entered the army.

MY MOTHER'S FAMILY: INTERNED BY THEIR OWN COUNTRY

My mother's family emigrated from Japan to Seattle almost a hundred years ago and lived in a part of the city where the Japanese American community was segregated. My grandfather was a merchant and had a little store on 24th Avenue South. He often went to junk stores in Japantown Seattle in search for antiques. He also had a second business called Hori's Antique Repair where he fixed different items like old vases, paintings, and ornamental dolls. He never made much money from his store or fixing antiques. Sometimes, instead of buying food for his family, he would buy antiques from a junk shop. The items ranged from samurai swords, sword guards, snuff bottles, and vases that had artistic value. He often consulted for Seattle Art Museum founder, Richard E. Fuller.

Even though it was difficult for my grandfather, life became even harder after Pearl Harbor was bombed by the country of Japan. Executive Order 9066 signed on February 19, 1942 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, authorized the removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans on the West Coast, though there was no evidence of any espionage by even one Japanese American. Those living from the coast to 100 miles inland were forced to move. Racial hatred and fear were powerful forces in our country.

My mother's family was scared and unsure what would happen to them. She remembered everyone running around the house gathering up anything with Japanese writing on it and burning all objects. Books, papers, and clothing were destroyed. She talked about people wearing "I am Chinese" buttons; this was to ensure that other Asians were not mistaken for being Japanese. My mother's family was assimilating; they all spoke English and by the 1940s my grandparents had converted to Catholicism. When they were preparing to be relocated because of Executive Order 9066, my grandfather made a cardboard box covered with red-printed or deep blue fabric for each child. They placed their most precious things in the boxes and hid them in the coal bin of the house before leaving.

My mother talked about being frightened when they left Seattle in a sweltering bus not knowing where they were going. My mother was just 12 years old. She and her family could take only what they could carry. They ended up at the Puyallup Fairgrounds which is 35 miles south of Seattle. Their luggage, along with those of hundreds of others, were thrown into a huge pile. It was demoralizing.

My mother did not find wonderful apartments; there were only stalls where animals had been kept. There was no furniture, so she got an old gunny sack and filled it with straw. She placed her gunny sack in a stall that had been used for horses. This was her new home, a horse stall. It was dirty and smelly. My mother and her brothers had been born in Seattle, Washington. They were American citizens and couldn't understand why their rights were not protected by the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. My mother was hoping it was a nightmare and she would soon wake up.

After staying at the Puyallup fairgrounds for about three months, the family was forced onto a train; again they did not know where they were being taken. The window shades on the train were drawn so the Japanese Americans could not see where they were going and other people from the general public could not see them. They were prisoners guarded by the U.S. military. They ended up in Hunt, Idaho and the concentration camp was called Minidoka. It was desert like-hot, sandy, dusty, and desolate in the summer and snowy and extremely cold in the winter. The mess hall bell would sound, "Ring, ring. Ring." Mom would rush to eat and find potatoes rather than rice. My mother, grandparents, and uncles lived there for a little over three years with about 10,000 other Japanese Americans. Though they so wanted to believe in the American dream of democracy and equality, their experiences were heart breaking because their constitutional rights had been taken away. My mother and one of my uncles have shared their views about the injustice with teachers and other community people. So as a social studies educator, I wanted teachers to reflect upon issues of assimilation, racism, oppression, and ethnic identity with their students. The following two articles focus on how to integrate the history of Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans into the curriculum: "Fighting the Marginalization of Asian American Students with Caring Schools: Focusing on Curricular Change" (2006) and "Issues-Centered Approaches to Multicultural Education in the Middle Grades" (1992) with C. Park. I believe teachers should teach critical thinking skills and integrate an issues-centered approach to education where issues of the Japanese American internment are comprehensively covered in student studies. In addition, I have been a consultant to several social studies textbook series for K-6 and I advocate expanding the two sentences about the internment of Japanese Americans to at least a paragraph so that young citizens know racism comes not only from individuals but also organizations and governments. We all must work to make sure that racism does not take over our national policies and practices the constitutional rights of individuals are taken away.

MY FATHER: FIRST JAPANESE AMERICAN ELECTED TO A PUBLIC OFFICE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

As I explained above, our family moved from Seattle to a rural small town in 1956 and included my parents and two sisters. The town was a little over 100 miles from Seattle, so we were pretty isolated from my mother's family. However, my dad was easy to talk to and he made friends with the neighbors. My dad enjoyed living in this small quiet town. He liked the friendly atmosphere and believed it was a great place to raise a family. He lived in Ellensburg until his death in 1991.

My father was always community minded. I remember as a young child, though he was a small business owner and did not have much extra time, he would donate many hours to the church helping with pancake breakfasts, serving as an usher, and working in the office. He enjoyed working to make the small community a better place to live.

Though I am not sure why he decided to run for public office, but in 1971, my dad decided he would seek the office of Kittitas County Commissioner. He often told me that "it is more effective to make changes in society from within than fighting from the outside." This was one of his strongest beliefs. He wanted to make a difference. The county is large and located in the center of the state of Washington. Many of the farmers raised potatoes and wheat. When I was young, few people of color lived in the area. In fact, there had been Japanese Americans who lived in the area prior to WWII, but when they were taken from their homes during the internment, no families returned after the war.

In Kittitas County most of the people are farmers, have small businesses, or work at Central Washington University. Farmers grow crops such as potatoes, corn, soybeans, wheat, and hay. Others have dairy and cattle ranches. What surprised me was that my dad was going to run in an area where many people called themselves, "red necked." The term was not positive and indicated that people knew there was prejudice throughout the region. However, this did not deter my dad. He was sure he could reach "across the aisle" and work with most anyone.

I think one of the reasons my father decided to run for public office was that he had a strong finance background. After he served his country in the U.S. Army, he went to Seattle University and graduated in economics. Since the county was in debt, my dad thought he could bring his expertise to serve the people. He believed in the region and brought the county from a deficit to a surplus.

My father campaigned at many events. For example, he went to dinners at the Elks, though I think at that time people of color could not join. He talked to many people. Most were extremely positive. Though my dad would sometimes be called a racist term, he would let the names roll off his back. Did they bother him? Yes, I am sure, but he believed that if people go to know him, they would move beyond racial prejudice. I really do not know how he was able to deal with deep-seated bias. This was just a few years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. He won and took office in 1972. I remember his campaign party in November 1971. There were so

many people there; they had worked to help elect him. Carl M. Ooka was the first Japanese American elected to a public office in the state of Washington. This was quite a feat not only because it was an elected office, but because it was in an area with few people of color and few Asian Americans. Kittitas County is a rural county and did not include any large city.

My dad was a political and community trailblazer. He believed in people and people believed in him.

This has led to my work on prejudice reduction. I believe that teacher educators can make a difference in schools with students and with teachers. For example, as a series editor with W. Ross, we created a four book collection called *Race, Ethnicity and Education* which covers Multicultural Education, Racism in Schools, Ethnic Identity, and Linguistic Diversity in Schools. I also wanted teachers and principals to examine their own prejudices and wrote the piece, "Why Do We Need This Class?: Multicultural Education for Teachers" (1992). In addition, I was concerned that there are many well-intentioned teachers who may not understand that their values of social justice may not be in line with their behaviors towards students. This issue is discussed in "Examination of the Self-regulation Mechanism: Prejudice Reduction in Pre-service Teachers" (2003) with C. Park.

Prejudice can be battled in many ways. Teachers can encourage students to examine their personal attitudes and belief systems. Another way is to provide accurate information. As a field, social studies education, can provide information about race from a biological standpoint. Race is not real; however racism is real because people continue to perpetuate misconceptions. Maybe if people learned that there is only one race, the human race, they would be less willing to label and discriminate against others. This led to an article that integrates biology, genetics, geography, history, and political science together to explain how racism developed and to identify fallacies that some teachers may teach in their classrooms: "A Change in Paradigm: Applying Contributions of Genetic Research to Teaching About Race and Racism in Social Studies Education" with Valle (2004).

GROWING UP AS A TEACHER

Ever since I was five years old, I wanted to be a teacher. Since I had six younger sisters, I had lots of people to play school with at home. My sisters would get out their crayons and I would say, "Don't color outside the lines and write your name at the top of the paper." As I grew older, I left home to go to college where I earned a credential. I do not remember much about my training as a teacher, but the faculty taught about the importance of ethics and caring. Following my education there, I began teaching when I was 20 years old. My first job was at a small neighborhood Black school in the inner city of Seattle. The school was located about five blocks from my uncle's house and students could hear the roar of cars from Interstate 90 because our building sat above the freeway.

My first position was as a first-grade teacher and I had 19 students, all were students of color (3 Native American girls, 9 African American girls, and 6 African American boys) except for one very blond boy. That year what I learned was that though I cared about each student, to be an effective teacher that was not enough. I did not know much about their lives, cultures, histories, identities, and neighborhood. This is how I became interested in multicultural education.

The school fought the stigma of having low test scores. Many of the students would say, "I can't do it" referring to the achievement tests; the children believed they were not smart because the school historically had the lowest achievement scores in the district. However, I found the students in my classroom to be inquisitive and intelligent. Cecile and Eugene could read when they started first grade in September. And Cecile's grandmother would come to our classroom and tutor students in their reading. I remember that classroom management was the most difficult. I did not know what to do, so a teacher suggested that I give out points for good behavior and exceptional seatwork. This worked and one Saturday the five students, who earned enough points, Cecile's grandmother, and I went to an ice cream parlor. We had fun eating huge sundaes while we talked and laughed. We were developing a strong sense of community.

My second teaching position was in a rural school district where I taught second grade and most of the students were White. I also had one Asian child who was adopted. I do not remember what her ethnic background was, but she would give me lots of hugs and say, "Mrs. Pang, I love you." During my second year in the school, I decided that I would go to each child's home so that I could get to know each student and their families. I took each student home in my old blue Rambler. Probably this would not be allowed now, but I would click their seat belts and we drove to their homes. Some lived in a trailer park and others lived several miles out in the country in large ranch-style homes. It was fun to see their bedrooms and talk with their siblings and moms. Most dads were not home at about 4pm after school. Home visits were a great way to develop relationships with students and their parents. When a child needed to finish their homework or were having problems, strong parent-teacher relationships had been created and so I could call parents and get their support.

The longer I taught I realized that children were extremely intelligent beings, but they also were easily influenced by people around them. I saw that children from all communities showed more racial bias than I thought they would. I wanted teachers to think about prejudice in their students and that they should address discrimination in the classroom. I wrote a short piece about the prejudice I saw in my first graders called "Ethnic Prejudice: Still Alive and Hurtful" (1988).

GRADUATE SCHOOL AND BEYOND

Teaching young students had been a great learning journey. I enjoyed my work, but wanted to move to another level. Most people think that teaching on the

university level is hard, but I think teaching primary grades is much harder. In addition, I wanted to conduct research and work with teachers. I also wanted to learn more about how to be a better teacher. I knew that it was hard teaching children from neighborhoods that I had little knowledge. For example, it was difficult for me when I began teaching in a predominantly black school because I did not know anything about black vernacular English, African American history, black child-rearing practices, and black role models. How could I be the best teacher when I did not understand much about the background of the children I was teaching?

In my search to be a stronger teacher, I earned a doctorate in curriculum and instruction with an emphasis in multicultural education at the University of Washington. The field was just emerging from social studies education. Multicultural education like social studies focused on democratic values such as social justice, equality, and freedom. Multicultural Education also emphasized school reform because all students had the right of equity and equality in education.

During my studies, though I was interested in underrepresented students, I was advised by two Asian American professors in education not to focus my research on Asian American children. They were concerned that this interest would pigeon hole me; one said, "You will not have many opportunities if you focus on Asian Americans." I am stubborn, so I did not follow their advice. Little research had been conducted on Japanese American children, so my dissertation examined the self-concept of fourth-sixth graders from the Japanese American community and a summary can be found in "Self-Concepts of Japanese-American Children" (1985). I also was honored with a Spencer Foundation Fellowship and continued to study Asian American and Pacific Islander education.

The needs of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students have often been ignored by educators; like any of group students, AAPIs have their weaknesses. Initially many educators saw them to be members of a large monolithic group of "model minorities." I wrote an article published in 1990 about the great diversity of history, cultures, and languages of the AAPI communities and that the model minority construct was a myth and stereotyped AAPI students, "Asian American Children: A Diverse Population." Since I believed this issue was one that few scholars understood, I envisioned a book about Asian American CHILDREN. Most research up to that time had been about Asian American college students or adults. As senior editor of the book, Struggling to Be Heard: The Unmet Needs of Asian American Children, this work was dedicated to the social, educational, and mental health needs of Asian American youth.

I have continued research in the area of Asian American education. They range for identifying needs of Asian American students to providing guidelines for the integration of Asian American curriculum. The following chart identifies some of these pieces.

Article	Focus
"The Relationship of Test Anxiety and Math Achievement to Parental Values in Asian-American and European-American Middle School Students" (1991)	Successful Asian American students may also suffer from test and achievement anxiety.
"Beyond Chopsticks and Dragons: Selecting Asian-American Literature for Children" (1992) with Colvin, Barba, and Tran	Asian American literature for children should be chosen carefully due to perennial stereotypes presented in many books that are utilized in the classroom.
"Caring for the Whole Child: Asian Pacific American Students" (1997),	Teachers must consider teaching the whole child when educating Asian American students which includes their ethnic identity and cultural experiences.
"Asian Pacific American Students: Challenging A Biased Educational System" (2004) with Kiang and Pak,	Asian American and Pacific Islander students often are ignored or invisible in many schools in the United States.
"Asian Pacific American Cultural Capital: Understanding Diverse Parents and Students" (2007)	Asian American and Pacific Islander communities are complex; students bring diverse cultural capital to school.
"The Beliefs of Successful Asian American Pacific Islander Teachers: How Culture Is Embedded In Their Teaching" (2009)	The cultural values that some Asian American teachers bring to the classroom fit in well with U.S. schools.
"Asian American and Pacific Islander Students: Equity and the Achievement Gap" (2011)with Han and Pang,	Uses 2003–2008 total population achievement data to refute model minority and to show that 13 Asian American and Pacific Islander seventh-grade groups are diverse in their academic performance.
"Asian American and Pacific Islander Students: Third Graders and the Achievement Gap" (forthcoming) with Han and Pang	Extends the research of the previous work, showing that AAPI students are losing ground using the total population of third grade students in California.

DEVELOPING AS A SCHOLAR IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

My work continued in multicultural education as it extended from the area of social studies education. Teaching 65 percent of the courses in Multicultural Education at the University of Washington was an important opportunity. I learned from scholars like Carl Grant, Jack L. Nelson, Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, Carole Hahn, Merry Merryfield, E. Wayne Ross, and Shirley Engle that school reform was needed in order for students from underrepresented groups to have equal educational opportunities. Their theoretical frameworks rose from the work of theorists like John Dewey and Theodore Brameld. Later scholars in the field wrote about the work of Paulo Freire

and critical theorists. Geneva Gay served as a crucial mentor and her work led me to understand the importance of moving from assimilationist schools to ones where diversity is respected and integrated into all aspects of schooling.

For years I thought about the importance of transformative schools. This concept has been pervasive in the recent work of scholars in social studies and multicultural education. And though I agree as a nation we need to reform our schools, much of the discussion focused on political transformation and I read few examples about how schools could be realistically changed. My idea of transformation would be drastic and include the use of airplanes, buses, trains, and boats; in my mind this reform may not include a four-walled classroom. However, I realize true transformation in schools is not something that can be accomplished at this point in the history of our nation by teachers on their own. We as educators should have far-reaching goals, but accomplishing these goals in a society where business interests are becoming much more pervasive may not be possible at this time. Banks have been bailed out, however many teachers have been laid off. Class size has increased, but funds for schools has been drastically cut. State governments are going into bankruptcy. School transformation is not in our near future.

I thought about my work as a grade school teacher and felt that many theorists did not consider the realities of the classroom. An exceptional classroom teacher works 24 hours a day, seven days a week. It is a calling, much more than a job. Therefore I wanted to move the field of multicultural education into a direction where the child is at its core focus. I began reading the works of philosophers, Nel Noddings and John Dewey, and educational psychologist, Lev Vygotsky. This led me to the development of the Caring-Centered Education Framework. The framework includes three major theories: 1) the ethic of care describes how teachers and students must be actively involved in the learning process; education is about developing trusting relationships and ethical individuals (Noddings, 1984, 1992); 2) sociocultural theory of learning posits that individuals learn through their social interactions, use of language, and implementation of cultural tools as identified by Vygotsky; and 3) education for democracy focuses on the importance of schools being laboratories of democracy where students develop critical thinking skills and work collaboratively to solve social problems (Dewey, 1916). Multicultural education frameworks that primarily focus on ethnic history and cultural additives are limiting. Our students come from extremely diverse lives, therefore a more robust framework is needed. The Caring-Centered Education Framework is described in *Multicultural Education: A Caring-centered, Reflective Approach* (2000 and 2010) and *Diversity and Equity in Schools* (forthcoming).

Many multicultural educators identify social justice as their most important building block. They talk about the need to fight the mainstream hegemony, but they may not listen to their students in class, or provide feedback to students who have a disability, or teach English learners additional ways to understand science concepts. Have you heard students say, "I want teachers who care?" Teachers who care about their students will be fair and model caring relationships and communities. Extending Noddings work, Caring-Centered Education presents caring as social justice and

a way educators can integrate the value of social justice in their teaching which is described in "The Ethic of Caring: Clarifying the Foundation of Multicultural Education" (1999). Teachers, who care, examine their biases and eliminate their prejudices which can be obstacles in providing effective education.

As part of the Caring-Centered Education, it is also essential that comprehensive culturally relevant instruction be integrated into our school curriculum which arises out of Vygotsky's work. Children arrive at school with many cultural backgrounds and those experiences may be quite diverse from their teachers. Culturally relevant teachers are responsive to and affirm the identity of their students. Culturally relevant teaching in my mind arises from the work of Vygotsky. There are several pieces that discuss these issues: "Creating Interdisciplinary Multicultural Teacher Education: Courageous Leadership Is Crucial" (2011) and "Multicultural Education: An Analysis from the 1970s to the Present" (2012).

Education is a complex field of study. Teachers must deal with so many issues throughout their work in schools. In California, there are many immigrant students who contribute to our schools, but find themselves without citizenship. I led a group of teachers to describe their students and the benefits their young pupils brought to their schools in "Immigrant Students and the Obstacles to Achievement" (2009). If teachers and students comprise a community who live their democratic values as explained by John Dewey (1916), then they will advocate for each other.

INTEGRATING SOCIAL STUDIES, MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION, AND GLOBAL EDUCATION

Recently I had the opportunity to work with two giants in social studies education, Jack L. Nelson and William Fernekes. To make the research the strongest, I believe it is important to find people who are more intelligent to work with. It is through our collective vision that we brought together the fields of social studies education, multicultural education, human rights education, and global education in *The Human Impact of Natural Disasters: Issues for the Inquiry-Based Classroom* published by the National Council for the Social Studies. The reference integrated an issues-centered approach to education while focusing on the complex interaction of natural disasters and humans throughout the world. The moral dimension of natural disasters is seen through the lens of the Declaration of Human Rights; our community does not stop at an national border, we are a global community. This was one of the most enjoyable learning and research experiences.

CARING, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CITIZENSHIP

My work has risen from strong immigrant roots where my ancestors risked their dreams and lives to migrate to the United States. The research and teaching that I am involved in emphasize acting rather than focusing on rhetoric about social justice. In particular, the experiences of my mother, a native-born citizen, who was placed in

a concentration camp because of her ethnic background taught me that democracy must be fought for and continually challenged to ensure its values of equality and freedom for all are protected. The Constitution and Bill of Rights are foundational documents, however without the commitment of citizens to uphold these beliefs, they are just pieces of paper.

My dad taught me that citizenship must be modeled. And educators have the distinct role of teaching citizenship and the importance of civil rights. Great teachers educate the whole student, rather than solely imparting subject area knowledge without ethics and integrity. My immigrant family strengths and commitment to the community have shaped my role in education. They believed in building cross-cultural bridges between our Japanese heritage and life in the United States. Working to eradicate prejudice and building understanding in teachers, students, and organizations and mentoring teachers in integrating culturally relevant instruction in their own teaching has been two of my career goals as a teacher educator. Within the context of equity in education, I also attempt to give voice to the abilities and needs of Asian American and Pacific Islander students in this democracy who are often invisible or forgotten by many educators and organizations. In addition, since I believe in community, most of my work has been done in collaboration with other scholars because it is through interactions with colleagues that the research becomes stronger and is built upon diverse expertise. A democracy is most often best served by coalitions rather than the work of individuals.

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WALTER PARKER

TRAVELS WITH (UN)CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

I studied government in college and then taught it and other social studies subjects at a Colorado high school in the 1970s. Currently, I am conducting design-based research on the high school government course while also studying civic education more broadly—the current discourse on "educating global citizens," for example. I mainly use interpretive methods, which require close attention to meaning. When a kindergartner says about a new rule, "That's not fair!," I want to know what she means by fairness and from whence her conviction stems. When a high-school senior says of his government course, "I don't want to learn about this because I don't plan to be a politician," I am struck by his vocational stance toward knowledge and wonder what it means for his citizen identity. There appears to be a pattern here: government, citizenship, and orbiting systems of meaning. It may have begun with the sewing group.

THE SEWING GROUP

My lower-middle-class parents were members of the United Methodist Church; therefore, so were my sister and I. Such is the "thrownness" of life. As Sartre (1957) wrote, we are dropped into existence without a predetermined character, and then begin to construct ourselves in interaction with what we find when we start sizing up our environments and making choices about how to act. None of us chooses the social contexts of our birth or the strong discourses that come with them: gender, class, race, religion, customs. And we have already been steeped in them by the time we become aware of them.

A United Methodist upbringing, at least in Englewood, Colorado, on Denver's south side, was loaded with liberal tolerance of other faiths. This was quite the opposite of fundamentalism, but, still, my parents worried about suburban insularity and ethnic homogeneity. Caught up in the Roosevelt-era social-democratic liberalism that was still alive in Eisenhower's post-war America (decades before its demise at the hands of Thatcher and Reagan), they set about assembling a group of families who attended other Christian churches. They wanted my sister and me to be exposed to a wider array of beliefs. These other churches—Mormon, Baptist, and Catholic—were to my sister and me strangely different. Not scary, but odd.

Soon, our parents reached farther, for there were non-Christians too: other monotheists (a Jewish couple) plus polytheists (a Hindu couple) and nontheists (a Buddhist couple). As the initial exoticism of this experiment in grassroots

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 151–162.

multiculturalism subsided, the group became ordinary friends. Our mothers were the primary glue: they gathered monthly at one another's homes to talk and sew (they referred to themselves as "the sewing group"). But the couples gathered now and then, too, and always celebrated New Year's Eve together. The children became friends, populating one another's birthday parties and gathering at the annual sewing-group picnic on Labor Day, steeling one another for the looming school year.

It was a thoroughly modern thing my parents did, for it assumed that their faith was but one of many. "Modern faith becomes reflexive," Habermas wrote (2006, p. 152), "for it can only stabilize itself through self-critical awareness of the status it assumes within a universe of discourse restricted by secular knowledge and shared with other religions." Modern society is characteristically self aware in this way, thus affording the possibility of pluralism and the existential recognition that we live in a "plural world" (Wacker, 1989).

This modern reflexivity has important political consequences, not the least of which is the idea of the neutral, secular state. Reduce religion's role in government and you mitigate at least one particularly virulent cause of domestic oppression and state-sanctioned warfare of the kind that has plagued humanity for so much of its history. But there is a second political consequence: the spread of constitutional democracy. These are not merely *electoral* democracies in which citizens, via elections, authorize elected officials to make law and administer society; they are also *liberal* democracies in which religious and other differences are accepted as a fact of plural life, and their free exercise is protected by law. That's the ideal, at least, and the basis for civil rights movements that struggle to realize it on the ground. Voting, then, is not the only form of popular political participation in a society that is trying to be a liberal democracy and not the most demanding. There are other citizens with other viewpoints—ideological and cultural—and relating to them, tolerating and even respecting them, is part and parcel to creating and maintaining the democratic project.

By this route, we arrive at a decentralized and discursive image of democratic life. On this model, democracy's location is not relegated to the political system or what is colloquially called "the government" or to persons who become "politicians"; rather, it pervades society. Here is Dewey's famous conception of democracy as a "mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (1985, p. 93). Note Dewey's emphasis both on living together *and* talking to one another: government by discussion. Citizens' rights and liberties are secured not only by the government but perhaps more so by the efforts of fellow citizens. Citizens, therefore, not only have rights and liberties, they have obligations: to relate democratically to fellow citizens, to communicate with them, exchanging viewpoints and reasons, and to take responsibility for nurturing this mode of associated living.

Powerful social forces compete with this communicative model of liberal democracy, draining the associational highways and byways of the public sphere of their potential for democratic education and mobilization. These include religious

fundamentalism and other forms of monism, certainly, but also free-market fundamentalism (neoliberalism), which prevents serious attention to eliminating poverty. Each of these undercuts a citizen's political maturation, or what I've described as growth from "idiocy" to "citizenship."

IDIOCY/CITIZENSHIP AND OTHER OPPOSITIONS

I was encouraged by colleagues and editors to abandon use of the term "idiocy," replacing it with "individualism." So I moved it from the planned cover of my 2003 book, *Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life*, to the inside where it became the title of Chapter 1: "From Idiocy to Citizenship." A few years later, I used it in the title of an article in the *Kappan:* "Teaching Against Idiocy" (2005). To this day I appreciate its rhetorical force and the discussion it inevitably provokes.

Idiocy in its origin is not what it means today: stupid or mentally deficient. The recent meaning is deservedly and entirely out of usage by educators, and no doubt it is the recent meaning that gave pause to my friends when I was about to use it on the cover of a book. Still, the original meaning can be resuscitated as a conceptual tool for clarifying the central goal of social studies education, which is *citizenship* or, again using a more arresting term, *puberty*. The ancient Greeks coined these terms. Idiocy shares with idiom and idiosyncratic the root *idios*, which means private, particular, self-centered, selfish. "Idiotic" in the Greek context was a term of reproach. When a person's behavior became idiotic—concerned myopically with private things and unmindful of common things—then that person was believed to be like a rudderless ship, without consequence except for the danger it posed to others. This is why Pericles could celebrate Athenian democracy by saying, "We do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all."

Idiocy achieves its force when contrasted with *politēs* (citizen) or *puberty* (public-mindedness). Accordingly, we have a powerful opposition: the private individual and the public citizen. An idiot is one whose self-centeredness undermines his or her citizen identity, causing it to wither or never to take root in the first place. Idiots do not take part in public life. They do not *have* a public life. In this sense, idiots are immature in the most fundamental way. Their lives are out of balance, disoriented, untethered, and unrealized. An idiot is self-defeating, for the idiot does not understand that privacy and autonomy are dependent on the community. As Aristotle wrote, "individuals are so many parts all equally depending on the whole which alone can bring self-sufficiency." Tragically, idiots have not met the challenge of *puberty*, which is the transition to public consciousness: being both a private and public person, and understanding the connection and, therefore, taking one's place on the public stage.

I appreciate de Tocqueville's (1969) perspective on this opposition, too. All democratic peoples face a "dangerous passage" in their history, he wrote, when

they "are carried away and lose all self-restraint at the sight of the new possessions they are about to obtain." (p. 540). Tocqueville's principal concern was that getting "carried away" causes citizens to lose the very freedom they desire. "These people think they are following the principle of self-interest, but the idea they entertain of that principle is a very crude one; and the more they look after what they call their own business, they neglect their chief business, which is to remain their own masters." Just how do people remain their own masters? As Aristotle said, by maintaining the kind of community that secures their liberty. Tocqueville's contribution to our understanding of idiocy and citizenship is the notion that idiots are idiotic precisely because they are indifferent to the conditions and contexts of their own freedom. They fail to grasp the dialectic of liberty and community, mistaking them for opposites when they are, in fact, intertwined. I agree with Chafe (2012) that each pole of this opposition is a major American narrative: that in fact there is no singular American story, whether a nation of immigrants, the struggle for civil rights, or the American Dream, but a tense, dual narrative featuring two plotlines, individualism and community.

I believe we are snared by oppositions like this one, seduced by their dichotomous logic. We succumb, and then take our place at one pole or the other and issue polemics at the other side. Looking for a way out, I have been experimenting with a deconstructive tool called the "semiotic square" (Hébert, 2012). The purpose of drawing a semiotic square is to explore an opposition. The protocol is, firstly, to step back, taking in the periphery, and then re-engaging it with the advantage of that enlarged view. The square helps observers to see that the opposition has a conceptual network that extends beyond the given binary. The dichotomy is only a starting point. Second, the square falsifies the binary and leaves in its place a tension. This distinction is important. Opposites negate one another; they cannot occupy the same space. Meanwhile, poles in a tension can and do co-exist, although not easily—hence "tension." They take meaning from one another; their meanings are related, but how? That becomes the question.

Let's return to the opposition Individualism/Community, which is closely related to Idiot/ Citizen. Using the square (see Figure 1), we find that this opposition has at least four initial possibilities: Individualism, Community, and their true opposites: Not Individualism (the negation or contradiction of Individualism) and Not Community (the negation or contradiction of Community). Not Individualism is a constellation of meanings that includes more than only Community. Community is just one possibility in the category Not Individualism; slavery, childhood, and totalitarianism, for example, also fall into the category. Similarly, Not Community is a set of meanings that includes more than just Individualism. Individualism is only one possibility in the category Not Community; independence, family, and loneliness, for example, also fall into this category. And there are at least two more logical possibilities, both hybrids: Individualism *and* Community, and *neither* Individualism *nor* Community.

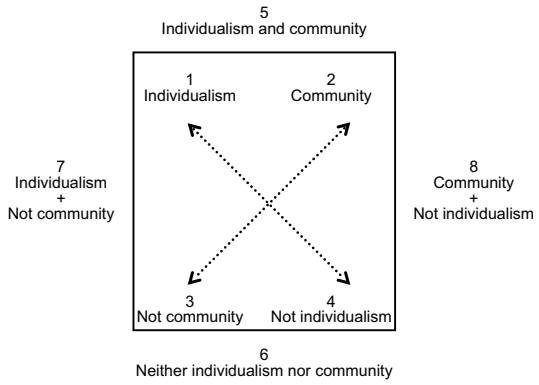

Figure 1. A semiotic square on Individualism/Community.

If this sort of analysis strikes the reader as semantic, it is. But it is not "merely semantic" because it also is pragmatic: language gets things done. Discourse simultaneously shapes the phenomena it purports to describe. The purpose of peering more deeply into an opposition and its orbiting system of meaning is to make visible the array of meanings that stem from the simple binary. As we do this, the binary is destabilized and opened up; we might say that it is "ventilated." The aim is to avoid getting stuck in the initial, closed opposition, and then accepting the dichotomy and shutting down the possibilities at two as if these were the only alternatives and your fate was to take a side. In a bull session this might work; but as a research strategy or a general method of intelligence, it is feckless.

Looking again at Individualism/Community, let's extend the analysis as before to four, and then, with hybrids, to six meanings and this time to eight. We will see that the last two hybrids (positions 7 and 8) reinforce and strengthen one term in the opposition as a consequence of negating its contrary. "Idiocy" can be seen as one such strong position on the square: position 7.

Examining the square in Figure 1, note first that the principal terms in the given binary are found inside the square on the upper horizontal (positions 1 and 2). Their contradictions or negations are diagonally located on the lower horizontal. This completes the first four positions: the two terms and their true opposites. Second, note the hybrids. These are represented outside the square on the four sides and are formed by adding the nearby terms inside the square. This takes us to eight possible meanings.

1. At the top of the Individualism/Community square, we have the hybrid Individualism *and* Individualism. This was formed by adding the terms inside the square on the upper horizontal. If one can imagine or find empirically this combination, in society or policy statements, then this demonstrates that a contrary or tension is not to be confused with a contradiction or negation. Both

the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution are statements of position 5. *Puberty*, in the Greek meaning, marks the achievement of this hybrid in a person's maturation.

2. At the bottom we have the opposing hybrid, Neither Individualism nor Community, which was formed by adding the terms on the lower horizontal. This is a broad field of possibility that excludes only these two categories. I cannot think of an example without leaving the human realm (e.g., rock, water). Can you?
3. To the left, we add the verticals on that side of the square and arrive at Individualism plus Not Community —a strong and intense laissez-faire individualism with no hint of community: *idiocy*.
4. To the right, we add the verticals on that side of the square and arrive at Community plus Not Individualism; in other words, strong and intense collectivism. This is not easy to find in the U.S.—not since the Pilgrims, the Mayflower Compact, and *The Scarlet Letter*. Despite American conservatives' fears, leftist communitarianism in the form of socialism never caught on in the U.S. (Lipset & Marks, 2000).

I have used semiotic strategies to explore a number of tensions that I find in democratic citizenship education in the United States. I will list these tensions along with references to the writing in which I examined them.

- **Idiocy/Citizenship** and **Individualism/Community**, as we have just seen (Parker, 1996a, 2003, 2005, 2014).
- The so-called "international education" movement in U.S. public schools. Central tensions here are **Nationalism/Cosmopolitanism** and **Multicultural Education/ Global Education** (Mitchell & Parker, 2008; Parker, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Parker & Camicia, 2009).
- **Transmission/Transformation**. Should the social studies curriculum transmit the status quo (socialization) or transform it (counter-socialization)? This is an old debate in our field, venerated but hackneyed. Fresh analyses, like Stanley's (2010) are needed (Parker, 1996b, 2010b, 2012).
- **Knowing/Doing** (**Enlightenment/Engagement**). There has been another long standing debate over whether democratic citizens need mainly to know things or mainly to do things, and (similarly) whether educating them should focus on book learning or experiential learning. A hybrid (position 5) is needed: democratic citizens need both to *know* democratic things and to *do* democratic things. A proper democratic education proceeds in both directions in tandem, aiming for enlightened political engagement (Parker, 2001, 2008b)
- **Seminar/Deliberation**. Corresponding to the knowing/doing tension are two forms of classroom discussion. Seminars get little done in the world; rather, they aim to *reveal* the world. Deliberations are all about getting things done: deciding *which* action to take (Parker 2006, 2008b, 2010c; Parker & Hess, 2001)
- **Depth/Breadth**. Advanced high school coursework around the world is strapped to a dysfunctional conception of rigor that features a long list of topics "covered"

at a fast pace: "accelerated learning." But this runs counter to contemporary research on how people learn and what learning is (Parker et al., 2011, 2013).

– **Agency/Structure**. Do individuals and groups, such as professors and teachers, have the power to make social and political change or are they determined by social structures, such as capitalism and patriarchy? Even Marx rejected the binary and took position 5: "Men make history but not in circumstances of their own making" (Parker, 2011b).

DECONSTRUCTION, HILDA TABA, AND CONCEPT DEVELOPMENT

The sewing group had both political and existential consequences. Due to this exposure to traditions other than the United Methodists, my father converted to Catholicism, eventually becoming a deacon, and we became a two-religion household. My sister and I loved it. We had pancake breakfasts with coffee in the church basement on Sundays and spaghetti dinners with wine at the parish on Fridays. Not many years after, I joined the one non-theistic tradition in the group: Buddhism. Steering clear of god-creator concepts altogether, it simply focuses on delusion and enlightenment, suffering and relief.

The precipitating event was this. While I was teaching high school in Denver in the 1970s, I heard that a leading Tibetan meditation master had moved to nearby Boulder. This was Chögyam Trungpa. I began attending his talks, where I encountered the likes of Alan Ginsberg and Anne Waldman who were helping him establish the poetry department at the Naropa Institute. I was drawn to Trungpa's humor, scholarship, and command of English. He was of the "crazy wisdom" tradition of yogis and appealingly unconventional. Mindfulness and awareness were the core curriculum. These are radically empirical practices, emphasizing bare attention. I learned to distinguish between simple observation (bare attention) and thinking (analysis, evaluation), which fed my budding interest in empirical research. Observation is alert, awake, and inquisitive; thinking is conceptual, interpretive, and often judgmental. Both are good. They are not opposites. While they overlap, they are distinct, too: position 5.

Buddhist principles intersect my scholarship in a few ways, mainly in terms of deconstructive strategies like the semiotic square. In Buddhist teachings as in post-structuralism, constructs are not solid, but temporary assemblages that appear permanent. They are conditioned and contingent. The tensions listed above are good examples, but the contemporary discourse that "Our Schools Are Broken" is perhaps the best example of the current era. It is a strong discourse, what Geertz (1983) called a "common sense" or what Galbraith (1958) named "conventional wisdom": a construct that overwhelms competing discourses. At present, one cannot say, and at the same time make sense to anyone, that schools are *not* broken. It would be like speaking voodoo rather than medicine in a hospital. Eyes would roll.

Concepts—pedestrian ones like table and pencil, and extraordinary ones like truth, justice, and gender—also are contingent assemblages that appear solid. Concepts are constructs used to organize our experience and create a predictable experience. Also, like any construct, they inscribe the power relations of the day. (Think of the concepts *marriage* and *planet*: legislation is pending in several states that would solidify a particular definition of marriage, and Pluto was recently voted out of the concept planet by astronomers at their annual meeting.)

With this introduction to concepts out of the way, I can introduce another major influence early in my career—Hilda Taba, the curricularist. With Taba, concept development entered my life like a lion. Her effect on me was both epistemological and pedagogical: She changed the way I thought and the way I taught. Rarely again would I mistake a concept for its label—"table" for an elevated platform with one or more legs—a mistake Taba called "the rattle of empty wagons" (Parker & Perez, 1987).

I never met Taba. She died in 1967 before I encountered her work in the 1970s when I was in my twenties and a new social studies teacher in Colorado. The school district had an ambitious program of professional development for teachers. It was both costly for the district and challenging intellectually and professionally for us teachers. My colleagues and I were young, unmarried, and idealistic, and in it (teaching) for the long haul. Together, we devoured the program. As part of it, two of Taba's former associates, Lyle and Sydelle Ehrenberg, were invited to present a series of workshops based on Taba's work on concept development. The Ehrenbergs had developed a professional development program called "BASICS": Building and Applying Students' Intellectual Competencies. The goal was to improve students' learning of the curriculum by helping them think deeply about it, and then to carry the same thinking strategies into other domains. I participated in the first workshop during summer vacation, where I learned Taba's inductive method of concept development. Taba believed that the school curriculum should revolve around concepts, that learners develop concepts gradually, building and remodeling them recursively, and that major concepts need to be spiraled through the grades: introducing them early on, and then revisiting and refining them as the child matures. "Thought matures through a progressive and active organization and reorganization of conceptual structures" (Taba & Elzey, 1996, p. 132).

I found this a powerful way to address curriculum, teaching, and learning at the same time. It tackled the depth/breadth tension head-on, offering a particular resolution, and made a major contribution to the "higher-order thinking skills" movement of the 1980s.

The Ehrenbergs were brilliant, competent, and kind (a terrific combination), and they were the sort of passionate, quirky intellectuals to whom I've always gravitated. I went to work for them for several years, traveling with them during summers to conduct workshops in St. Louis, Youngstown, and elsewhere. Back in Colorado, I left the classroom for the first time to become a full-time "BASICS trainer"

for the school district. I worked with small groups of teachers, K-12, on concept development. I could see that this work encouraged teachers, quite organically, to revamp their courses. I say "organically" because when they began to teach concepts more deliberately, using Taba's approaches, they realized that all along they had been trying to teach too many concepts—"covering" more than anyone could possibly grasp, and treating concepts (ideas) as mere vocabulary. And so, they began culling the courses, selecting and prioritizing concepts. U.S. History teachers might choose just three concepts, which they spiraled through the eras across nine months. And primary teachers selected just one or two concepts and went into great detail with a multitude of examples: "Families Near and Far" and "Communities: Now and Then." Best of all were the arguments among teachers of the same course or grade over which concepts deserved this much attention.

MENTORS: THE A TEAM

I have already mentioned three of my mentors: Trungpa, Taba, and the Ehrenbergs. I must now introduce four more: two more during my formative years, the 1970s, and one each from the 1960s and 1980s.

While teaching in Colorado, I began taking graduate courses in the social foundations of education. Although I had gone to CU-Boulder as an undergraduate, I attended CU-Denver for my masters degree. There I met two remarkable professors, both serious intellectuals who launched me into studying the philosophy and sociology of education. Marie Wirsing taught the philosophy courses and centered much of her teaching on the Holocaust, which I then knew only in broad outline. She featured it as a turning point in modernity but also as a logical extension of centuries of Christian anti-semitism. Thanks to Wirsing, I read Hannah Arendt and also Plato's education plan and struggled with where to place them in the Individualism/Community tension.

Wirsing introduced me to a sociologist of religion named Sally Geis. Professor Geis became the second reader of my masters thesis and took an interest in my family's sewing group experiment, prodding me to view it through sociological theory (Weber, Durkheim). She also led me into the sociology of teaching via Willard Waller and Burton Clark, and the economics of schooling via Bowles and Gintis. I became curious about a structural dilemma in liberal democracies: the tension between the mass ideology of equal opportunity for vertical mobility—"college for all" and the "American dream"—and the limited number of slots in the upper reaches of organizational hierarchies. While the belief in equal opportunity encourages individual aspirations to make it to the top, numerical realities make upward mobility an impossibility for everyone. Such a society has the dual challenge of motivating achievement through effort while simultaneously denying access to many. Aspiration/Denial is another opposition in which schools play a central role.

In the 1980s, I was teaching at the University of Texas at Arlington, just 30 minutes from Dallas's jazz and Ft. Worth's cowboy two-step. This was my first professor position. In 1984, I managed to get away to Harvard for a brief post-doc with Lawrence Kohlberg, the moral psychologist. While reading his opus, I also read Martin Luther King, Jr. Both of them explored justice deeply, not simply rattling off the term like one of Taba's "empty wagons." Crucially, both believed that intellectual and moral development proceed on intertwined, not separate, tracks—position 5 again. Both scholars have played key roles in my thinking. Chapter 4 of *Teaching Democracy* (2003) brings them together in "Cutting Through Conventional Wisdom."

Earlier, in the 1960s while at CU-Boulder, I met Buckminster Fuller, the inventor and architect. I was dazzled, as we all were, by Bucky's day-long lecture each year at the World Affairs Conference held on campus, and once I had lunch with him and his wife, Anne. He set my mind off on orbits that I hadn't known existed. An iconoclast like Arendt, he cut through conventional wisdoms of all sorts. Most important for me were the ideas that Earth was analogous to a spaceship and that humanity was, indeed, producing enough food to feed the entire crew. World hunger is not caused by a food shortage? That was a revelation.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We who work in education do so in extraordinary times. The university as we have known it for centuries is dying as governments de-fund it. Now, we go for money not to the public but to donors and foundations (gifts and grants) on the one hand and to students themselves (tuition and fees) on the other. Scholars have routinely done this—to an extent—but not to this extent. As always, we serve our masters, but they increasingly are private masters. Steadily, they are shaping both faculty hiring and, thereby, the college curriculum. In this way, they are refashioning the disciplines themselves, including education. Society is becoming subordinate to free enterprise and wealthy individuals; the nation-state is yielding to the market-state. "We the people" (public citizens) are morphing into "we the entrepreneurs" (private individuals) who strategically advantage ourselves on the new "flat" playing field. Schooling itself has been commodified, as Labaree (2010) demonstrates so well. Idiocy is ascendant, and citizenship educators will have to use all the agency at their disposal just to keep alive the idea of the "public": a political culture beyond the private silos of individuals, families, religions, and neighborhoods. This will require no small amount of practical intelligence sharp enough to cut through the strange, new conventional wisdoms that are materializing before our eyes. Here is Community in tension with Individualism like we have not seen before.

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E. WAYNE ROSS

A SENSE OF WHERE YOU ARE

"HAVE YE RECEIVED THE HOLY GHOST SINCE YE BELIEVED?"

> When the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. (Acts 2:1–4, *The Holy Bible*, King James Version)

I was reading *The Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament* (Bruner, 1970) when Brother Gene Davis walked into my office unannounced. Brother Davis was an influential Councilman (deacon) at Eastway Drive Church of God and it wasn't surprising for him to show up at the church in the middle of the day, but what he had to say took me aback. After superficial pleasantries, he got right to point:

"You don't belong in this office and you have no place working in this church. I know, we all know, you haven't received the Holy Ghost."

Pointing his finger at me and then slamming his palm on the desk, he continued, "You haven't spoken in tongues! How can you claim leadership in this congregation if you aren't saved, sanctified, *and* filled with the Holy Ghost?"

He was right, of course. I had never spoken in tongues, never claimed to. Despite years of what seemed to me as earnest prayer and efforts to live up to the spiritual expectations of the Church of God, Brother Davis articulated what I already knew, I was a failed Christian, at least in the Pentecostal church.

It was 1981, and I hand landed my job as Director of Education at Eastway because my dad was the long time senior pastor there. My motivation to return home to Charlotte, NC, after teaching high school social studies in Atlanta, was complicated. My salary at Eastway, while modest, was a few thousand more than I was making teaching at North Springs High School. I was also hopeful that in the near future I could return to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for doctoral work and re-establishing residency in North Carolina made that option more viable financially, but finances were not the only, or most important motivations.

My dad, Bobby G. Ross (2009), who was a well-known old-time fire and brimstone preacher, had never made it a secret that he wanted me to be a minister. During my senior year at Chapel Hill, I was intrigued enough by the idea to explore possibilities that ranged from Union Theological Seminary in New York—a center of liberal

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 163–178.

Christianity and the wellspring of Black Liberation and Womanist theologies—to Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, which though much more conservative than Union, was not yet the right-wing bastion it is today. I applied to Southeastern because of its proximity to Chapel Hill, but even a very generous scholarship wasn't enough to overcome my ambivalence toward a ministerial path.

Taking the job at Eastway, where I led workshops on pedagogy for Sunday School teachers and coordinated the youth and several outreach programs such as the clothing and food bank, was a way to put my interests to the test. I never experienced the metaphysical "call" to ministry that my dad described, but Eastway provided me with an experience where I could explore the true nature of my interests by observing the practical consequences. I believed then and now that things change, and if things change, then truth must also be changeable and nobody can claim possession of any final or ultimate Truth. I should have known that my pragmatic approach to the Eastway experiment itself was evidence that church work, at least of the fundamentalist, Pentecostal variety was not my calling.

My year at Eastway included a very serious study of primarily conservative Christian theology. I was most intrigued with Christian apologetics, the branch of theology that aims to present a rational basis for Christian faith and defend it against objections. I read nearly the entire oeuvre of medievalist, literary critic, and lay theologian C. S. Lewis, including his fiction and poetry. I found Lewis's work stimulating, in particular, *The Case for Christianity* (1943) and *Mere Christianity* (1952). These works helped me to recognize that spaces might exist where it was possible to reconcile my social and political outlook and belief in rationality with Christian belief, if not the Pentecostalism of my upbringing.

My studies also included Christian apologists such as Francis Schaeffer—well known for his writing on theology, philosophy, culture, and the arts as well as establishing the L'Abri community in Switerland—and whose work I found generally repulsive. Schaeffer's *A Christian Manifesto* (1981) was presented as a response to *The Communist Manifesto* (Marx & Engels, 1848) and the *Humanist Manifestos, I and II* (Kurtz, 1973). Schaeffer's manifesto rails against secular humanism and identifies "pluralism" as the primary cause for the "decline of western civilization," arguing that "because the church has forsaken its duty to be the salt of the culture" there is no longer a commitment to "objective truth" in social institutions. Schaeffer's argument became an important and influential spark for rising political activism of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians in the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly on the issue of abortion. (Schaeffer's book *What Ever Happened to the Human Race?*, co-authored with US Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, was also very influential to the thinking and strategies of anti-abortion activists.) In his manifesto, Schaeffer equates women's rights to abortion services with the genocidal aims of Nazi Germany and urges Christians to "defy the false and counterfeit state." Hitler's Germany was a "government [that] had abrogated its authority, and it had no right to make any demands," and for Schaeffer, so to was the government that supported *Roe v. Wade*.

While my dad's politics were very conservative it was rare that he mixed politics and religion, at least from the pulpit. Like most Pentecostal churches, the congregation was working class, conservative, and in the early 1980s, invigorated by the growing political activism promoted by acolytes of Schaeffer's reactionary Christianity, like televangelists Pat Robertson and Jim Bakker's Charlotte-based PTL ministry. So it wasn't uncommon to find anti-abortion literature or other right wing political tracts laid out in the church vestibule or distributed in the narthex by members. I made it my routine to collect and trash as much of that literature as possible.

I had been raised in the church and literally lived beside it, in a parsonage, for most of my life. My dad was a respected and dynamic preacher and my mom leader of women's ministries and my sisters committed Christians who found a place within the church, but I was headed in a different direction.

"MAGGIE'S FARM"

The year of the *Brown v. Board* decision, my parents gave up life as itinerant evangelists and took up residency at Tremont Avenue Church of God in Greenville, SC, where my dad was appointed assistant pastor. Greenville had been considered the "Textile Capital of the World" earlier in the 20th Century and when I was born we lived in a shotgun house previously owned by a local mill.

Life in South Carolina was like the rest of the south at the time, marked by hypersegregation of public facilities, services, and opportunity, which provided the motivation for Jesse Jackson's activism, who as a Greenville native led sit-ins at local Woolworths and Kress stores. The latter resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling *Peterson v. Greenville*, which ruled that private citizens must ignore local segregation ordinances.

My family moved to West Columbia, SC in 1958 and I attended elementary school at Brookland Grammar, an all-white public schools where the history of South Carolina was emphasized and I first learned about the "War Between The States." My consciousness of racial segregation was heightened by the close proximity of the "colored section" of town and our almost total lack of meaningful interaction with African Americans.

Perhaps not technically a total institution in Goffman's (1961) sense of the term, our all-white Pentecostal church nonetheless served a similar purpose, it was organized to protect the community against what were felt to be intentional dangers to it and to provide a retreat and training that served to cut off people from the wider community, at least culturally. As a youngster I always felt I lived in a doubly segregated world. There was the pathological separation of Whites from Blacks on an everyday basis; and this segregation was intensified by a home life that was nearly inseparable from church life at a time when *de facto* racial segregation extended to churches to such an extent that Dr. Martin Luther King (1963) remarked that "We must face the fact that in America, the church is still the most segregated major institution … At 11:00 on Sunday morning when we stand and sing and Christ has no east or west, we stand at the most segregated hour in this nation."

My life within the Church segregated me further from what I considered then as "normal people." The Church of God (Cleveland, TN) sprang from the holiness movement, which places an emphasis on John Wesley's teaching of "Christian perfection," or the idea that it was possible to live life free of voluntary sin and with a total love of god and others. The Church of God in the 1960s still emphasized what they called "Practical Commitments," which were intended to shape the social practices of its members, outwardly separating them from "the world." This was to be achieved by dressing "according to the teachings of the New Testament." The Church demanded modesty, forbade the use of cosmetics and ornamental jewelry, and regulated hair length (no short hair for women or long hair for men). In addition, it was taboo to participate in "mixed swimming," watch movies or television, go to dances or otherwise participate in "ungodly amusements." My dad was considered a "liberal maverick" among his peers because he sponsored church sports teams and had nothing against judicious viewing of television. As I grew older I increasingly felt manipulated, controlled, and constrained by the teachings of the Church and the not-so-subtle expectation that I serve as a role model for my peers. And, I also began to face the contradiction of loving my family whose lives where framed by a total institution I was beginning to call into question and would ultimately reject.

In 1968, with social, political, and cultural upheavals raising my consciousness, we moved from our hypersegregated existence in South Carolina to Villa Heights, a neighborhood on the edge of "uptown" Charlotte, NC, that was predominantly African American. My dad had taken a church whose White membership had fled the neighborhood to more racially homogeneous settings, the church and parsonage located next door were vestiges. Our lives were still defined by the church, but my younger sisters and I were now, suddenly, living as racial minorities in our neighborhood and attending schools that were racially integrated. (At the time, Charlotte schools were technically integrated, but still racially imbalanced, 42% of schools were either completely segregated or had fewer than six students of the opposite race.) Within a couple of years we moved out of Villa Heights and an African American congregation purchased the church building. But, during this time the church, which my dad would pastor until 2005, began its transformation to a predominately African American and Latino congregation.

In Charlotte, I began to connect my own everyday existence to the larger social upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Sports were a huge part of my life and basketball was *the* sport in North Carolina. I, like most of friends, spent hours playing and following the game. And, this interest played a significant role in my early serious thinking about racism, social inequalities, and the politics of resistance. The great Bill Russell's (1966) story of enduring racism as a youngster in Louisiana and then as a basketball player at the University of San Francisco and in the NBA had a profound effect on me, particularly Russell's principled resistance to White supremacy.

At the same time, I read John McPhee's *A Sense of Where You Are* (1966), which profiled future US Senator Bill Bradley in his senior year at Princeton. Bradley had made a splash as part of the US basketball team at the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo

and then led Princeton to the NCAA East Regional Championship. Initially picking up the book for its description of the technical aspects Bradley's game, its lasting impression was Bradley's intense commitment and discipline to athletics and academics. The fact that Bradley taught Sunday School as part of his work in the Fellowship of Christian Athletes made him a logical role model. My pantheon also included Henry Aaron, Muhammad Ali, Oscar Robertson and when Russell exited the NBA I replaced him with Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar). Studying the lives of these athletes help me to come to new and different appreciation of the title of McPhee's book.

Race was the defining social issue of my high school years in Charlotte. As is the case again across the US today (Orfield, Kucera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012), in late 1960s Charlotte the majority of Black students attended mostly Black schools. In 1969, federal judge James B. McMillan ruled that Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) schools were not sufficiently integrated. He argued that the racial imbalance in schools resulted from previous segregation, particularly housing codes that forced Blacks into all-Black neighborhoods, which resulted in racially segregated schools. McMillan ordered the school board to bus students to correct the racial imbalance. The US Supreme Court affirmed McMillan's ruling in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) stating it was insufficient to eliminate racial segregation and that proactive desegregation of schools was necessary. The Swann case became the cornerstone of the federal judiciary's efforts to enforce the US Supreme Court's 1954 ruling *Brown v. Board of Education* and post-Swann Charlotte was wracked with lawsuits and protests (Race in Charlotte Schools, 2011).

By 1971, which would be my first year in high school, the inner city church building had been sold and the parsonage moved to a White neighborhood in northeast Charlotte. Neighborhood angst was palpable as we awaited school assignments in late spring. When our neighborhood was assigned to attend West Charlotte HS, long considered the premiere Black high school in the city, my mother was devastated. she started a prayer campaign. In late summer, our neighborhood was re-assigned and I was bused from the city to a mainly White school in a rural part of the county.

The first week of March 1973 racial tension and distrust exploded into violent disturbances at five CMS high schools. I vividly remember running for safety through the halls and across the campus of Independence High School, while city, county, and state police officers welded nightsticks against confused and combative students. Many students were arrested and loaded on to prison buses. At least nine Black students were seriously injured that afternoon. There is no denying racial tension and distrust were a constant in CMS schools at the time, but fortunately racial conflict was not. Indeed, some schools, Independence being one, were able to achieve academic success and racial peace through collaborative work of students and faculty. I joined the school chapter of the NAACP, as did some other White students, but I was not active in the group. My black friends and acquaintances came mainly from my sports teams and the growing number of African Americans attending my church.[1]

As a prototype of the 1970s shopping mall high school, the curriculum at Independence offered a wide variety of vocational programs and various levels of academic tracking, all of which was reflected in a definition of curriculum that epitomizes the time: "a vital, moving, complex interaction of people and things in a free-wheeling setting" (Trump & Miller, 1972). The school itself was not particularly progressive, but the timing was right for experimentation and many teachers aimed to make what we studied relevant to the current social and political conditions. As a result I had opportunities and encouragement to read authors such as Richard Wright (1943), Ralph Ellison (1952), and James Baldwin (1963) as well as Albert Camus (1947), George Orwell (1954), and Edward Abbey (1962). In social studies, I took a Native American history course, unfortunately titled, "Red Man in America." I read *The Communist Manifesto* for the first time and subsequently provoked my dad's virulent anti-communism by drawing parallels between the New Testament teachings of Jesus and the work of Marx and Engels. Looking back I certainly think we could have had more exposure to women writers and feminist issues, but to me school seemed very relevant. My high school experience reflected an approach to teaching and learning that Jack Nelson would later describe as informed social criticism (Nelson, 1985).

"FEARING NOT THAT I'D BECOME MY ENEMY IN THE INSTANT THAT I PREACH"

My dad had attended the ultra-conservative Bob Jones University for a year in the late 1940s and my mom was a student for a short time at Lee College, a Church of God institution in Cleveland, TN. Both of them strongly encouraged, and expected, that my siblings and I would obtain degrees. But from the pulpit, my dad often warned of the dangers higher education posed to maintenance of faith in Jesus and a real, living God. He often used Emory University theologian and Christian atheist Thomas J. J. Altizer as an example of how the rationality of academics has the potential to destroy faith. Altizer incorporated Nietzche's conception of the "death of God" into his teaching and was the key proponent of theothanatology, a movement that captured public attention when reported on in *Time* magazine in 1965–1966 (Is God dead?, n.d.).

Altizer notwithstanding, my folks were proud to see me head off to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, an institution Senator Jesse Helms once suggested could serve as the state zoo if only it was fenced in. Dad often reassured himself about my university studies (and later my academic interests) by quoting me Proverbs 22:6, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it." In my experience this proverb is false.

At Chapel Hill I explored a wide swath of the social sciences and enjoyed American literature. I interviewed Judge McMillan about the Swann decision and the desegregation of Charlotte schools. The interview was a coup for a freshman political science student studying with Richard J. Richardson, who had just

published the definitive study of the lower federal courts. Judge McMillan was intimidating. He refused to be recorded, then he spent the hour deconstructing my interview protocol and my aims as a researcher. The interview produced no new insights into the politics of school desegregation, but I learned quite a bit about what it means to be researcher. The self-referentialism of New Criticism drove me away from the English department, but the star-studded history department was a wonderful experience. Frank Klingberg's graduate seminar on the Civil War and Reconstruction was an eye-opening (and terrifying) lesson on academic discourse. First class he assigned a book to each student and instructed that we would make a presentation on said book to the seminar prior to discussion (and Klingberg's question period). Assignment for next week: read all 823 pages of *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World Slaves Made* (Genovese, 1976). We then delved into C. Van Woodward, Kenneth Stampp, Fogel and Engerman, David Herbert Donald, and many others. Joel Williamson's course on the history of race relations in the South after Emancipation had a profound effect my personal understanding of race relations, White supremacy, and the culture of the South. Williamson (1984), who was a student of Stampp's, critically deconstructed the conception of a singular mind of the South (Cash, 1941), arguing that post-Reconstruction race relations could "largely be explained by the evolution and interplay of three Southern White 'mentalities'" (p. 1). For Williamson, "mentalities" were something like a mix of mind and matter, a set of beliefs, attitudes, and projected actions. This notion is not the same as—but certainly related to—the sociological construct of "perspective" (Becker et al., 1961) that I later employed in my doctoral research (Ross, 1987).

Thinking that a history degree had limited utility beyond graduate school and academe, and having no interest in either, I decided to try teaching. And my experiences in Peabody Hall had significant influence on the course of my life and career.

Richard C. Phillips (1974) had all 13 of us sitting in a circle discussing John Dewey (1916, 1910) and his relevance for teaching secondary social studies. This was my first introduction to Dewey and he loomed large in our social studies methods class and subsequently throughout my academic career. Phillips' class was not about developing a bag of teaching tricks. I don't even remember discussing lesson plans. His approach was to get us thinking about possibilities and challenging our beliefs about social studies content, schools, students, and what it means to be a teacher. In addition to Dewey we learned systems theory, cybernetics, and social psychology. Besides Dewey our intellectual role models were to include Buckminster Fuller (1981) and Leon Festinger.

Only half in jest, I would say Phillips' methods class seemed to be based on Fuller's idea of ephemeralization—doing more and more with less and less until eventuality you can do everything with nothing. Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory, was not only a way for us to understand and theorize the tensions between beliefs and behaviors pedagogically, but was perhaps presented to us as an early warning system for the conflicting cognitions we would all likely experience in the

classroom. How would we, as novice teachers, respond to the expectations of schools when they conflicted with our beliefs? Festinger theorized that people change their beliefs to fit their actual behavior, not the other way around. This was an issue that ultimately became central to my interests in the influence of social and institutional contexts on teachers' practice.

For some unknown reason, all secondary social studies teachers were sent to student teach in Moore County, about 60 miles south of Chapel Hill. Half of us, myself included, would teach in the northern, tobacco farming part of the county and the other half at a school in the heart of the state's exclusive golf resorts. We dutifully traipsed off in search of housing and discovered that in Jesse Helms country, where UNC often meant "University of Negroes and Communists," we were not welcomed with open arms. Twelve of us, with the help of a local real estate agent, finally managed to convince the owner of a local farm that was up for sale, to let us—six men and six women—live in the farm house in exchange for an exorbitant amount of rent. We called the house "Lock Muse," after the owner, and proceeded to establish a social studies education commune, where our days and nights revolved around social studies curriculum and teaching as well as empirically proving Festinger's propinquity effect.

At the end of student teaching, I had an early morning meeting with Phillips in which he surprised me by suggesting I stay on at UNC and pursue a master's degree. Graduate school had never crossed my mind, but the job market in the mid-1970s was not good and I was overwhelmed by Phillips' confidence in me. In the year that I followed, I took Klingberg's Civil War seminar, among others, and worked as an intern at the NC Department of Public Instruction writing curriculum for a citizenship education project funded by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But my coursework with sociologist Phillip C. Schlechty was the most formative.

Schlechty (1976) is one of the leading thinkers on educational innovation and leadership and his work has always focused on how the ways schools and schools systems are organized, managed, and led affect what goes on between teachers and students in classrooms. An acolyte of Willard Waller (1932), Schlechty's thinking about schools was out of the mainstream of education research in the 1970s, which was dominated by a psychological orientation. And even among sociologists he was unique in his focus on the social dynamics of schooling (as opposed to, for example, social class effects in schools).

Waller's ethnographic studies of schools as miniature societies seemed to me in step with Dewey's desire that school operate like a society so that students' natural curiosity would provoke spontaneous, active learning. But Waller's research highlighted the problematic relationship between schools and their communities. Waller's portrayal of schools has been described as bleak and he has been characterized as hating schools, but loving education (Willower & Boyd, 1989), a disposition I now appreciate.

There are two key insights I took away from Waller that shaped my own thinking about social studies curriculum and teacher education. First is Waller's analysis of the autocratic nature of schools, which he described as "a despotism in a state of perilous

equilibrium" (p. 10). Waller argued that schools are continually threatened because they are autocratic and they are autocratic because they are threatened from within by students and critical parents and from without by various and disparate social, political, and economic interests. Waller illustrates how these conditions divide teachers from students and community and shape teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and action. Second, and logically, is the primacy of teachers in any effort to improve, reform, or revolutionize curriculum, instruction, or schools: "the reformation of schools must begin with the teachers, and no program that does not include the personal rehabilitation of teachers can ever overcome the passive resistance of the old order" (Waller, 1932, p. 458).

I left Chapel Hill for Atlanta, where lying about my ability to coach soccer landed me a teaching job, and much to my chagrin, a state championship soccer team was waiting for me when I arrived.

In Georgia, social studies curriculum was an exemplar of what Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) called "social studies as social science education." I taught anthropology, geography, economics, sociology and world history. In every course I attempted, with varying degrees of success, to stay true to the critical thinking and inquiry approach I had learned in Phillips' methods class, which meant going off script, a lot. In the days before surveillance via standardized tests this was not too difficult and was often viewed as a positive sign of professional autonomy. I taught world history as a history of revolutions (cultural, economic, scientific, and political). I ditched the textbook "The Free Enterprise System in America" to teach comparative economics using a class set of *Comparative Economic Systems: An Inquiry Approach* (Coleman, Soens, & Fenton, 1968), which I found abandoned in the book room. In geography and anthropology, I pieced together courses from unused New Social Studies (Fenton, 1967) curriculum projects: The High School Geography Project and Man: A Course of Study. My use of MACOS put me on the radar of the John Birch Society. I received several mildly threatening, anonymous letters from Bircher hypocrites who tout "personal freedom" but abhor freedom of thought and, as they made clear to me, academic freedom.

I now often talk with preservice teachers about the risks and rewards of internalized adjustment versus strategic compliance, advising them that it is preferable to stay true to yourself and have a short stay in the classroom as opposed to assimilating into an institutional culture to keep your job. I tell them it's better to be like a supergiant star—live fast and die young, detonating as supernova—than a White dwarf star that was once hot, but has run out of fuel, and now lacks the mass to force elements into a fusion reaction. I'd say my time in the classroom is more akin to the former. I certainly had not run my course as a high school social studies teacher, but intellectual interests were prodding me to move on.

"USING IDEAS AS MY MAPS / WE'LL MEET ON THE EDGES, SOON"

My plan was to leave Charlotte, the Eastway church, and return to UNC where I had been accepted into the doctoral program. But, I decided to at least visit The Ohio

State University, where I had been admitted into the curriculum studies program. During that visit Gail McCutcheon turned my world on its head. I was interested in curriculum development, but from a pre-reconceptualist perspective (Pinar, 1975). Over the course of an afternoon, McCutcheon opened my eyes to new ways of thinking about curriculum and previously unimagined possibilities. She had just published "On the Interpretation of Classroom Observations" in the *Educational Researcher* (1981), which drew on her ethnographic research in classrooms (McCutcheon, 1979, 1980) and it was easy to see how her work intersected with my interest in Waller's scholarship, but was of a different world altogether. I was also won over by her audaciousness. Her cheeky parting words to me were "if you don't come to Ohio State, you'll be sorry." On the drive back to Charlotte I realized she was probably right.

At Ohio State, my studies of curriculum theory and educational research were framed within a Habermasian dialectic. My study of curriculum theory and practice was essentially a process of ideology critique, critically examining the reflexive limits of various epistemological models. We continually asked whether a particular curriculum or research paradigm could justify its own presuppositions. McCutcheon had her students read widely within the curriculum field, but also in philosophy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Her curriculum theory seminar included readings by such disparate groups of thinkers as B. F. Skinner, George C. Homans, and Joseph Berger; Clifford Geertz, Charles Taylor, Peter Winch, and Gregory Bateson; and Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, and Paul Willis.

McCutcheon had been a student of Elliot Eisner at Stanford and her research was informed by the exercise of artistry, connoisseurship, and criticism. Like Eisner, she was interested in how professionals "think in action." She had spent time at CARE (Centre for Applied Research in Education) at University of East Anglia and had a commitment to the principles of action research—field-based research aimed at improving policy and practice and enhancing democracy. I was particularly interested how these approaches challenged the dominant techno-rationalism in education and quickly took to the work of Donald Schön and Chris Argyris (1978) to which she introduced me.

The result was a confluence of ideas that united my interests in sociology of teaching (e.g., Schlechty, Waller), social psychology (Festinger, Schön, Argyris), and individuals, community, and democracy (Dewey). I was in a different department, but M. Eugene Gilliom welcomed me into graduate coursework in social studies education and I became the first student from outside the department to complete the doctoral coursework in social studies and teach the secondary methods course. Gilliom (1977) was my social studies mentor at Ohio State, and his approach to social studies teaching epitomized a "theory into practice" ethic, with a direct connection to Alan Griffin's (1942/1992) vaunted dissertation, A Philosophical Approach to the Subject-Matter Preparation of Teachers of History. Gilliom and Phillips, my social studies mentor at UNC, were different sides of the same coin.

Gilliom and Robert E. Jewett (Gilliom & Jewett, 2003), who had recently retired from the faculty, were crucial in my studies of Dewey and what has been called the "Ohio School of Democracy." Jewett was a master of maieutics. I clearly remember sitting at the side of his desk, which was empty save for a framed photo of Dewey, thinking I had conjured the final piece of some philosophical puzzle only to have the rug pull out from under me by one of his incisive questions. Jewett introduced me to pragmatist philosopher Boyd H. Bode (1937), whom he described as the intellectual center of the College of Education during his beginning years on the faculty. And between these two social studies masters I explored the work of H. Gordon Hullfish (Hullfish & Smith, 1961), Alan Griffin, and Lawrence Metcalf (Hunt & Metcalf, 1955) all of whom influenced the ways I think about social studies and practice social studies education.

"AH, I WAS SO MUCH OLDER THEN, I'M YOUNGER THAN THAT NOW"

What I have written above is a version of my back pages. The balance of the story can be found, in part, in my written scholarship, which cannot be separated from my my biography. A clear and unbroken line between the two does not exist. Starting with my doctoral research on teacher socialization, my scholarship has focused on the influence of social, political, and institutional contexts and ideologies on teachers' practices as well as the role of social studies curriculum and teaching in building an equitable and free society against a rising tide of antidemocratic impulses, including greed, intolerance, and emerging fascism. A major concern of mine has been the influence of the standards-based educational reform movement, particularly the impact of high-stakes testing on curriculum and teaching. I have investigated the surveillance-based and spectacular conditions of postmodern schools and society in an effort to develop both a radical critique of the "disciplinary gaze" and strategies teachers, students, and other stakeholders can employ to resist its various conformative, anti-democratic and oppressive potentialities.

There are important elements of my intellectual work not captured in the books, articles, and reviews I have written. Below I briefly outline four motifs that are significant parts of my story: (1) journal and book editing; (2) synergistic relationships with new scholars; (3) political activism; and (4) public intellectualism.

My work as a journal and book editor has, I think, made significant contributions to social studies education. What is, or is not, published in scholarly journals goes a long way toward establishing the boundaries of a field, legitimizing some perspectives and methodologies and negatively sanctioning others. The first manuscript I submitted to *Theory and Research in Social Education* prompted an ideologically driven *ad hominem* response from reviewers. Looking back, that particular manuscript was problematic in a number of ways, but in terms of my future work as a journal editor that experience helped me to see that merely preserving the dominant discourses of the field will set it on a path of terminal decline, driving away scholars who see

themselves as sharing the concerns of the field, but who think differently about them. From the early 1990s, when I edited *Social Science Record* with Stephen C. Fleury, through two terms at *TRSE*, four editions of *The Social Studies Curriculum* (Ross, 2014) and the book *Critical Theories, Radical Pedagogies and Social Education* (DeLeon & Ross, 2010) I strived to present readers with articles that reflected both what the field is and what it might become.

I have always been a bit uncomfortable with the strictures and hierarchical relationships built into work with graduate students. I have, however, been successful in developing synergistic relationships with scholars new to the field. These are not mentoring opportunities, but rather collaborations of various sorts, from which I have taken more than my fair share in terms of intellectual and personal growth. For example, my latest book resulted from an email sent to me by Abraham DeLeon, a new assistant professor at the time. I read his article, and from that point he has played an important role in my thinking about anarchism and education and we have collaborated on several projects including the aforementioned book and the journal *Critical Education*. My work with Kevin D. Vinson began when he had just completed his doctoral program at Maryland and I happened to read an unpublished manuscript of his. I was compelled to phone him to discuss his research and from that point, Kevin became my mentor on post-structuralism and together we have produced over 30 books, articles, and essays. Then there was this fellow, wearing a black leather jacket, who at the end of session I was chairing at NCSS stood up and asked a question that was so incisive and heterodox that afterwards I chased him down the hall of a Washington hotel to find out who he was and where the hell he came from, Detroit it turns out. Rich Gibson was my age peer, but new to social studies education. His knowledge of history and Marxism and skills as an organizer and polemicist have deeply affect on my thought and practice as a social educator. We have been collaborating for nearly 15 years on scholarly projects (e.g., Ross & Gibson, 2007, 2013) and, perhaps most importantly, in support of a community of caring and critical scholars, teachers, and students, who are interested in education that is founded on equality, democracy, and social justice, known as the Rouge Forum.

My political activism has included extensive work in education unions, where I struggled with others for educators' rights to fair compensation and working conditions that supported student learning. Simultaneously, I was an activist for increased democracy within unions, advocating an organizing model or social-movement unionism, focused on boosting involvement of the rank-and-file in grassroots-oriented solidarity campaigns. My union activism crossed over to my activism in professional organizations, such as NCSS, both before and after the formation of the Rouge Forum (e.g., Ross, Gibson, Queen & Vinson, 2012) and continues with the Institute for Critical Education Studies located at UBC (http://blogs.ubc.ca/ices/).

The last of these recurring themes has been my commitment to working outside the confines of academe to engage the public on issues related to my work as a social

educator. I have appeared on television and radio and written for daily newspapers, political journals, union periodicals, even weekly community papers on issues ranging from high-stakes testing, curriculum standards, charter schools, public funding of education, to academic freedom, labor rights, statist views of education, and racism (Ross, 2005). If we confine our work as social educators to the classroom we're likely to have little success, at least in terms of goals that follow from a vision of social studies as informed social criticism.

CONCLUSION

I have continually struggled with authority and hierarchy. At times I have been earnest in my submission, but the arc of my life and work has been toward freedom. The oppressive and inequitable consequences of authority and hierarchical organizations in social relations—the church, the state, and capitalism—have motivated me in my journey from liberal Christian to Deweyan democrat and onward to a concern for creating a society characterized by positive liberty. That is a society where individuals have the power and resources to realize and fulfill their own potential, free from the obstacles of classism, racism, sexism, and other inequalities encouraged by educational systems and the influence of state and religious ideologies. A society where people have the agency and capacity, to make their own free choices and act independently based on reason not authority, tradition, or dogma. As social educators we have much to learn from looking to the past work of Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich, Francesc Ferrer, as well as present day examples of "freedom in education" (e.g., Hern, 2003; DeLeon, 2010).

Reduced to its most basic elements, I believe social studies education, indeed education in general, should seek to create conditions in which students can develop personally meaningful understandings of the world and recognize they have agency to act on the world, to make change. Social studies education is not about "showing" life to people, but bringing them to life. Our aim is not getting students to listen to convincing lectures by experts, but getting them to speak for themselves in order to achieve, or at least strive toward an equal degree of participation.

NOTE

[1] Over the years Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools became known as a place where school desegregation worked. But, in 1999 Judge Robert D. Parker, who was appointed to the federal bench by Ronald Reagan, declared CMS had met the mandate of a unitary system and lifted the court order on busing to achieve racial desegregation—over the objections of school officials. Prior to his appointment as a federal judge, Potter practiced law in Charlotte, was elected as a County Commissioner, and had been a leader in the Concerned Parents Association (CPA), an anti-busing protest group that mobilized against Judge McMillan's original ruling. CPA successfully mobilized public opinion and organized a school boycott, which ultimately failed. CPA then appealed McMillan's ruling to the US Supreme Court, where the busing strategy was upheld, thus making Potter's 1999 ruling ironic (or outrageous).

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AVNER SEGALL

ON BEING CRITICAL

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Scholars whose academic careers have focused on in-depth explorations of a small number of issues or areas, might have the benefit of being able to narrate their intellectual biographies in a more linear, progressive fashion, where one thing draws from and build on the other in a logical manner that, when seen as a whole, provides a coherent image of their academic life. Thinking about my own career, that task is far from easy. First, and from where I stand epistemologically, attempting to narrate a coherent life—academic or otherwise—seems an impossibility, not because elements of a life cannot be told (we tell those to ourselves and others all the time), but because providing a tidy representation of them obscures the fact that life—again, academic or otherwise—is an untidy, messy process, one with beginnings that never end and endings without substantial beginnings, and one we can never fully understand ourselves or cohere fully and tidily for others. Second, my scholarship has had many foci: it has engaged the areas of teacher education, history, geography, standardized testing, museums, popular culture, and religion. And I have explored those issues in the contexts of K-12 schools, university teacher preparation, and institutions and traditions outside of formalized schooling.

What gives unity to this array of endeavors, however, is less the disciplinary area in which they are located or the physical context in which my investigations take place. Rather, what unites these projects is a common examination of the pedagogical nature of knowledge and knowing and the ways in which discourses and practices help position those they engage, the kind of life those discourses and practices make possible and impossible, the imaginations they render intelligible, and the forms of being and knowing they celebrate and/or dismiss and ignore.

Borrowing from critical pedagogy and cultural studies—two areas particularly interested in the pedagogical nature, process, and effects of discourses and/as practices on the negotiation of knowing, subject-position, and identity—I consider pedagogy not simply as that which takes place in classrooms but, rather, as any action (or inaction) that "organizes a view of, and specifies particular versions of what knowledge is of most worth, in what direction we should desire, what it means to know something, and how we might construct representations of ourselves, others, and the world" (Giroux & Simon, 1988, p. 12). Combined with a broad vision of curriculum: a course—intellectual or physical—that structures knowledge and knowing, my scholarly endeavors focus on how a range of pedagogical/curricular

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 179–192.

practices, both inside and outside the classroom, invite individuals and groups to know and not know. As such, and with a primary focus on social education, my scholarship is not only concerned with *what* the practices of (and practice in) social education mean but in *how* they mean and ultimately in what they *do*—that is, the dispositions and subjectivities they help make both possible and impossible.

Also cohering this form of inquiry, and giving rise and body to it, are a variety of critical discourses—borrowed from postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, feminism, cultural studies, queer studies, and critical pedagogy—that mark my epistemological and methodological approaches to my scholarship. They are the lenses through which I see and explore the world and the ones that situate my work and give meaning to it. While these discourses differ in a variety of ways, they often share a common interest in equity, democracy, and social justice, in challenging meta narratives, in questioning how discourses and practices work to legitimate an enforce particular power relations, and how subjectivities, identities, and bodies are constructed and imagined within the socially constructed "real" of political, social, economic, and educational contexts.

As much as I try, it is impossible for me to point to a particular "original" moment in which my commitment to such lenses and issues took form. I would have liked to say that sometime in my early career as a graduate student a friend handed me a book by Paulo Freire, Foucault, or Derrida and that this gift instantly opened my eyes to all that followed. Or that I stumbled onto a critical pedagogy reader, a postmodern primer, or an anthology of poststructural or feminist readings in the library or was assigned such readings in my graduate courses (an exception being John Willinsky's seminar. That, however, came after I was already fully immersed in such literature). Yet, to my recollection, none of that happened. When I look back on my career, I often ask myself "Why this route?" "Why these issues?" I have yet to come up with a simple answer to such questions.

Part of the answer may be related to the fact that I have lived in three countries that are rather different in their political and social commitments, their overarching narratives, their approach to democracy and social justice, and to the relationship between government and its citizens. I grew up and was educated in Israel, where I also received my B.A. in History and taught high school for three years. I lived in Canada for eight years, where I received my B.Ed and Ph.D. in C&I under the supervision of Peter Seixas And, since moving to Michigan State University following the completion of my doctoral degree, I have lived in the U.S. for the last 13 years. In many ways, then, I am multiply rooted and rootless at the same time, a person with either three countries or none at all to call home. And while not having an anchoring place is sometimes confusing, even frustrating, it has some scholarly advantages, allowing—even compelling—me to see things from "elsewhere," to compare and contrast contexts and, as a result, to ask questions that those fully embedded in a culture, rooted in its discourses, and taking its underpinnings as given, as natural and neutral, might not. Not because they can't but because, from their particular position, they often don't see the need to do so. This state of wandering,

I have found, engenders wondering, inviting questions about particular regimes of truth that govern and sustain societal practices: why are things are as they are? How did they get to be that way? Who and what is privileged/disadvantaged by them? It births inquiry into different national narratives and the assumptions and perspectives that give body to them. It conjures critiques of the spoken and the unspoken, of the practices that underlie them, and of the privileges they afford and withhold. It raises inevitable questions about power and discourse, margins and centers, and the subjectivities they make in/unintelligible.

What has also, I believe, helped foster in me a stance that likes to "disturb" could have something to do with the very culture of education in which I was formed while living in Israel, where continuous critique, dissent, debate, and contestation are part and parcel of public life and, thus, of schooling as well, where students, in general, tend to freely voice their opinions, even if, perhaps because, theirs differ with those presented in the classroom by others. This stood in stark contrast to what I found when I arrived in North America, where classrooms—whether in K-12 or university—are, more often than not, characterized by agreement, politeness, and courtesy. All, no doubt, are beneficial to learning. They do, however, carry a price tag, especially when compliance, conformity, and consensus—as a desired goal—often result in the elimination of difference (Tyler, 1991) and the exclusion of a discussion about the power relations that help sustain the obvious.

One could possibly add to that the fact that my mother tongue is Hebrew, a language which not only uses its vowels very sparingly (resulting in groupings of consonants into which the reader must insert the vowels s/he deems appropriate to make a word meaningful. And different insertions provide very different, at times oppositional, word meanings) but where several consonants and vowels, while sounding identical, render quite different words, depending on which letter you imagine it to be. The result is a very careful listener/reader who is always skeptical, always questioning, and in need of holding in mind multiple possible interpretations for meaning for as long as a particular thought is conveyed. And most often, even after, as the statement is revisited over and again, deconstructed, troubled for what was said, for what was left unsaid, and re-worked for what it could mean otherwise. And language, as we know, is not separable from thought and action. It is, as I hope my writing here will demonstrate, what gives us the means to form a stance in the world, to navigate it, and render oneself intelligible (or not) within it.

This, then, for better or worse, is the dowry I bring with me to the intellectual encounters I explore below.

TROUBLED/TROUBLING READINGS

My doctoral dissertation, which later became the basis for my first book, *Disturbing practice: Reading teacher education as text* (Segall, 2002a)[1], is a critical exploration of learning to teach. The study, a year-long ethnographic project, followed six social studies pre-service teachers during their university- and practicum-based experiences

in order to explore how particular versions and visions of education, teaching, and learning are made possible in pre-service education and what they, in turn, make possible for those learning to teach. Using critical lenses, this ethnographic study extended traditional explorations of how prospective teachers learn to manage ideas and theories in teacher education classrooms to an examination of how the use of ideas and theories in those very classrooms manages those who attempt to engage them. The inspiration for this study came from, at the time, the only two existing, robust critical ethnographies of teacher education: Deborah Britzman's (1991) *Practice makes practice* and Mark Ginsburg's (1988) *Contradictions in teacher education and society*. Both are incisive, nuanced, thought-provoking portrayals of the mechanisms of teacher education as a pedagogical project. What I hoped my work would add to these two very lovely and important studies was first, a particular focus on social studies teacher education and, second, an examination that would also include extensive time with prospective teachers in the field, allowing my work to better relate university and field experiences and highlight the relationship between them. In that regard, the study helped emphasize the connections between the discourses and practices employed (or ignored) within social studies teacher preparation and the discourses and practices prospective teachers used (or refrained from using) in their classrooms, as well as the ways in which theory and practice in teacher education, and the divide between them, are enacted to the detriment of both.

The "critical" nature of the study and its findings were meant not only to challenge conventional thought about the practices of teacher education—in a sense, exposing its underbelly—but also to engender a polemic text that invigorates discussion about/in teacher preparation within the text. To that end, and beyond the text's main, running, ethnographic narrative of my observations of the program and its operations, the text also contained what I refer to as its "second text." Rather than simply devour participants' comments provided during member-checking by "correcting" my text accordingly, the second text—inspired by the conversational interaction between Lewis and Simon (1996), an instructor and graduate student reflecting on the internal politics of knowledge of a shared graduate course at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education—invited participants to speak and respond to my textual constructions of them as actors in my text and to my role as researcher and author. Despite my understandable urge as researcher to respond, to clarify, and justify my work, I tend to mostly stay out of the way of participants' comments, which are provided, unedited and in full, wherever they chose to insert them within the body of the text.

I highlight this particular dialectical methodological facet because it helps illustrate its centrality to the various critical epistemological lenses underlying the study. Indeed, it helps demonstrate, in line with understandings prevailing in critical ethnography, the fictive (or made) nature of research and that data are not simply collected but constructed, and constructed to convey some particular perspectives within the very process of textualization. Writing, it forces us to see, is not an

afterthought to data collection or analysis but, rather, part and parcel of those very processes (Richardson, 1994).

NAVIGATING THE WATERS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

Following the completion of my doctoral degree, I was very much looking forward to "officially" entering the scholarly field of social studies, with which so many of the scholars whose work I was citing—Henry Giroux, Joe Kincheloe, Cleo Cherryholmes, Bill Stanley, Tom Popkewitz, to name a few—were associated. It felt like this was going to be home (intellectual rather than physical, of which I already had too many), a place where my ideas have a history, where they are central and where they are welcomed, even if challenged on merit. This sentiment, however, I soon realized, was somewhat naïve on my part. Many of these scholars, while initially publishing within the field of social studies, had left the field by the time I arrived. Their critical-theory-infused ideas, though central to a variety of (mostly critical) discourses in education, had, by the time I arrived on the scene, been mostly marginalized and/or ignored within social studies. In some ways, then, my entry into the field raised immediate concerns in my mind about the validity and resonance of what I had to offer. It felt like having come to a party bearing gifts but realizing the party had already ended or moved elsewhere.

What I soon found, however, was that while my ideas may not have been central to the field (they are still not today), perhaps even marginal to it, I, as a scholar, have never felt any form of marginalization despite my particular critical epistemological stances. My overall experience has been of a very open, kind, and supportive community of social studies scholars. I fondly recall Linda Levstik and Keith Barton approaching me very warmly (and graciously) following my first ever AERA presentation as a graduate student at AERA in Montreal, or Margaret Crocco and Keith Barton's support and mentoring both within the first CUFA retreat I attended as a faculty member and thereafter. The same should be said of Walter Parker, Bill Stanley, Linda Levstik, S. G. Grant, Cynthia Tyson, Christine Woyshner, and other more senior scholars in our field who have been generous through recognizing my work and inviting me, over the years, to partake in a variety of scholarly endeavors for which they were responsible. They, as well as others in the field (too numerous to list here) have pushed my thinking further and have taught me much. Their support has made being an epistemological "outsider" much easier and much more satisfying. Credit should also go to E. Wayne Ross who, as editor of TRSE at the time, incorporated various critical essays. While such action cannot, itself, change a field, this openness to more overtly political research engendered an important opening that has only grown since.

The same can be said with regard to my own institution—Michigan State University—where I have received nothing but encouragement and support throughout the years, even when I was the first scholar in my department to invoke postmodern/poststructural discourses in his scholarship. This was never an issue in

any of my annual reviews in or in my tenure and promotion case. While there is an increasingly growing expectation from universities—as they move away from the traditional model of the university and further come to resemble corporations—that faculty bring in external funds, my college has been consistent in recognizing the importance of conceptual and/or critical work, regardless of its fundability. Another support factor in working in a large institution is having had a substantial group of social studies colleagues to work with. Jan Alleman, Jere Brophy, Elizabeth Heilman, Kyle Greenwalt, Anne-Lise Halvorsen, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Suzanne Wilson have been wonderful and supportive colleagues with whom to think, teach, exchange ideas and, in the case of Elizabeth and Cleo, also co-edit the book *Social studies—The next generation* (2006). Beyond my immediate community, I have much enjoyed my close collegial relations and friendships with Brenda Trofanenko and Bill Gaudelli. Both have not only been instrumental to my thinking but have also been wonderful co-authors on scholarly pieces (see below). They, as well as the numerous immensely creative doctoral students with whom I have worked through the years, have deepened my thinking and, more importantly, have invited me to experiment, explore, and continue thinking outside (my) box.

Incorporating Critical Lenses in Scholarship on/in Social Studies

Some of the things I found most exciting in the world of scholarship as a doctoral student and ever since are the various issues that critical discourses bring to the fore. I was invigorated by postmodernism's call to question grand narratives and the ideas of Truth, neutrality, and objectivity, and poststructuralism's emphasis on the examination of power, knowledge, and discourse and the ways they operate in conjunction and in multiple directions—forming and governing, at times oppressing bodies and subjectivities through their circulation, but also liberating, providing forms of resistance and re-constitution of subversive forms of knowing and being. Postcolonialism and the scholarship of the Birmingham School assisted in troubling the idea of the "nation," subjectivities, and identities in relation to hegemonic structures of power and domination, as well as how those are expressed and maintained through representations in popular cultural texts. Feminism and queer theory were instrumental through their differentiation between sex and gender, their complexifying of what gender entails, how it "becomes," and "performs." Critical theory/pedagogy, especially the work of Paulo Freire and his North American followers—e.g., Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, Joe Kincheloe, and Roger Simon—resonated with my view of education as an emancipatory project, its focus on social justice and equity, and its subversive nature as it goes about challenging practices that privilege some (things and bodies) at the expense of others. All of the above, coupled with the critical scholarship emerging in the various disciplines comprising the social studies (e.g., Hayden White, Dominic Lacapra, and Joan Scott in History or Henry Lefebvre, Michel de-Certeau, Edward Soja, Gillian Rose in critical geography), provided a foundation for my work within social studies,

helping question and challenge conventions dominant in the field's scholarship and its education. Attempting, as most scholars do, to align these epistemological understandings with corresponding methodological stances, I was attracted to scholarship generated in the area of critical ethnography, itself impacted by the critical discourses mentioned above. I was particularly drawn to the thoughtful ideas of scholars such as James Clifford and Stephen Tyler in anthropology, and those of Patti Lather, Deborah Britzman, Norm Denzin, and James Scheurich, to name a few, who specifically connected such ideas to research in education.

Several of my publications have spoken to these issues directly in the field of social studies education. My first TRSE piece (Segall, 1999) explored a variety of epistemological and pedagogical challenges posed by critical scholarship in/about history and what such challenges might entail for the teaching of history in K-12 classrooms: why we learn history, what we do with it, and how we might imagine it otherwise (see also Segall, 2006a, 2008a, 2009a). My intent in that piece was to help cohere a pedagogical course that resonates with new understandings about history generated within the discipline. A later co-authored piece (Segall & Helfenbein, 2008), while conducting the "traditional" review of research in geography education, also both challenged research in geography to more diligently incorporate critical discourses as well as highlighted how such inclusion could move geography education, and research in/about it forward by looking at the always already gendered, raced, and classed nature of geographic knowledge and practices, the need to explore the socially constructed nature of landscapes, and the ways in which new explorations of space/place can inform us about the geography of everyday practices. Attempting to highlight the promise of new cross-, inter-, and anti-disciplinary critical discourses in social education more broadly, I, Elizabeth Heilman, and Cleo Cherryholmes co-edited the volume, *Social studies—The next generation: Re-searching in the postmodern*, in which emerging scholars, using postmodern, poststructural, and feminist lenses, help demonstrate both the dilemmas and tensions such scholarship raises for established thought in the field as well as the potential such scholarship has to move the field forward.

Exploring the Pedagogical in Curricular Spaces

When one thinks of power, discourses, gender, race, or space as both positioned and positioning—as social constructs that articulate and convey particular assumptions, perspectives, and interests—it's not a huge leap to consider them as pedagogical, at least under the broad umbrella of the term I described at the outset of this chapter. It might be easy for me to point out that pedagogical connection now but it took me a while to make it explicit in my own thinking. This is not because my thinking about those issues and my thinking about pedagogy were separated but, rather, because the uses of the term pedagogy in the context of education has been rather restrictive, confined to what teachers do in classrooms. So although I applied critical lenses to the disciplines comprising social studies and their curricular manifestations in

classrooms, it took me some time to come up with a language that allowed me to use those critical lenses to first connect, and then disturb, the separation we observe in education between curriculum and pedagogy. Though the term pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), a foundational concept in teacher education, attempts to bring content and pedagogy together in meaningful ways, its portrayal of the two as having different properties, I suggested, in fact helps maintain their separation (Segall, 2004a). Challenging that division, and using both a broader definition of pedagogy already circulating in areas of critical pedagogy and cultural studies, I hoped to demonstrate that, while convention in education assumes that content is pre-pedagogical and pedagogy is content-free, the two are very much implicated in the other. That is, all content is created with an intention to teach and, just like classroom teachers, structures readers' experiences by using specific forms of language and authorial/textual devices. Every piece of content is a curriculum in that it charts a particular path that invites readers to form some understandings and, through that pedagogical process, assume particular epistemological and social positionings with which to encounter that content and the world it depicts.

But my interest in the close relationship between pedagogy and curriculum has not been relegated to conceptual renderings or to explorations of already recognized forms of social studies curriculum. I have (Segall, 2003a) examined the nature of maps and their use as pedagogical/curricular invitations for learning and the assumptions, values, and perspectives those convey. I have also explored state standards and testing as pedagogical and curricular instruments, not only with regard to the impact they have in social studies classrooms in public education but in the ways in which they help position teachers to imagine the subject and their own efficacy and sense of self as teachers, as agents, in the process of being subjected to such mandates (Segall, 2003b, 2006b).

Such a focus on pedagogy and curriculum, coupled with my interest in space/place and their pedagogical and curricular functions, has also allowed me to bring my long-standing interest in museums into my scholarly focus. Collaborating with Brenda Trofanenko, whose expertise in museums far surpasses my own, we published a piece that explores the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington D.C. as a curricular/pedagogical space (Trofanenko & Segall, 2012). We examine ways in which the museum pedagogically uses language, image, and spatial arrangements to invite visitors to explore particular renditions of Native American experience that tend to downplay the ramifications of the encounter with White, colonial America both past and present. I have recently submitted a piece that compares the pedagogical stance of the NMAI and the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. to demonstrate that while each deals with different "content," and does so in rather different ways, both museums, nonetheless ultimately use the particular subject matter on display to help bolster the larger American narrative about progress, democracy, and patriotism. Brenda and I have also co-edited a book that explores museums as pedagogical spaces and showcases current, innovative work done at the intersection between the fields of museum studies and education

(Trofanenko & Segall, in press). A focus on the pedagogy of museums should be of particular interest to social studies. This is not only because the content of many museums parallels issues explored in K-12 social studies curricula but, also, because such an exploration helps highlight the often close connection between the structuring of knowledge and knowing in informal learning places and the larger societal narratives they serve. This, then, opens possibilities for a similar exploration regarding that connection in the more formal structures of our social studies classrooms.

On Teachers, Teaching, and Teacher Education

My book *Disturbing practice* was followed by several other publications on teaching, teachers, and teacher education. A number of those (e.g. Segall, 2001, 2002b, 2004b, 2008b) help theorize and challenge specific concepts/practices in teacher education—e.g., the theory/practice divide, pedagogical content knowledge, or the forms by which we include "difference" within social studies teacher education. Others, sometimes "translations" of larger conceptual pieces, have spoken directly to teachers and/or teacher educators about ways to incorporate critical lenses into teaching. I see this line of writing particularly important to allow teachers not simply to learn new theories but to more meaningfully theorize their own practice. I have emphasized the distinction made by Giroux (1994) between a "pedagogy of theory" and a "pedagogy of theorizing" not only *in* those pieces but in the very rationale for writing such pieces (e.g., Segall, 2003a, 2004b). It is also an inherent element in my teaching of pre-service social studies teachers. Much of that practice is described in detail in a piece I co-authored with Bill Gaudelli (Segall & Gaudelli, 2007) in which we first trouble the nature of existing conceptions of "reflection" in teacher education and then, through the lenses of Dewey and critical theory, examine the use of critical social reflection in our two social studies methods courses that invite teacher candidates to theorize rather than simply consume theories generated by others. Engaging reflection as critical and social discourse, we suggest, reveals the idea-making that goes on among pre-service teachers and instructors as they actively engage theory construction. Our intent was not simply to celebrate what we do as teacher educators but to help expose the theories that underlie our practice and the theorizing practices those render possible.

In line with the title of my first book, I see the term "disturbing" as fundamental to my work not only about teacher education but also in my capacity as a teacher educator, where I continuously trouble students'—whether pre-service students or graduate students—existing understandings about education, schooling, teaching, and learning. My intent is never for students to conform to my own view of the world. Rather, it is to provide a pedagogical context that invites them to question their assumptions, to re-examine the values underlying their convictions, and to unsettle that which they believe they already know too well to learn anew. I regard this form of "troubling" and the discomfort it necessarily produces in students as

the very essence and means for an education and a precursor to learning that is meaningful and generative.

More Recent Explorations

One of the biggest benefits of working with smart doctoral students is the synergy that results from that encounter, not only for their own work but also for mine. And while in my pre-tenure years I often separated my work from that of my students—that is, I continued doing my own work while supporting theirs with little infusion of the two—I now relish the residue of that encounter and have, at times, played with it to engender new scholarly endeavors for both of us once their own doctoral dissertations were completed. In that regard, I have recently co-authored a paper with a former student, Jim Garrett (Segall & Garrett, 2013), which explores issues of resistance and ignorance (Felman, 1982) in prospective White social studies teachers' engagement with race and the ways resistance and ignorance are used to allow students to defend their self in light of what Britzman (1998) calls "difficult knowledge." While much of the literature discussing White teachers' responses to race issues speaks to the ways in which they do their utmost to avoid the subject, our paper, using psychoanalytically-infused theories, highlights the ways race is always at the forefront of teachers engagement, even when they refuse to name it explicitly. A corresponding, conceptual piece (Garrett & Segall, 2013) in the *Journal of Teacher Education* explores the implications of the above in/for teacher education.

A paper I am currently writing with Sandra Schmidt and Mark Helmsing (a former and a current doctoral student) conjoins our shared interest in queer theory for the purpose of both exploring social studies as an always already queer subject area as well as to further elucidate what a queer pedagogy in social studies might entail. We hope this paper, and those to follow, will contribute to the small but growing body of literature that helps queer the very processes of normalizing minds and bodies in our field—whether about gender or beyond.

Three pieces I have recently written with Kevin Burke, another former doctoral student, use critical lenses to look into issues of religion and public education. Our first piece (Burke & Segall, 2012), suggests that while several Supreme Court decisions mandated the removal of explicit religious instruction from public schools, religion remains very much present not only through the language, practices, and routines of every-day schooling but also in conceptions of the "child" and assumptions about the role of schools emanating from such conceptions. The piece seeks to elucidate the Judeo-Christian character of schooling in the US as a way of re-imagining discussions regarding the relationship between religion and/as curriculum. Our second piece (Segall & Burke, 2013), connects ideas of testing to the Bible and outlines the twinning of traditional, passive reading of the Bible as containing singular truths with a modern educational system underwritten by these same assumptions about knowledge and expertise lying, as testament, in the teacher and the textbook. We suggest that rather than seeing the Bible as our first authoritative, literal, and fixed text, we ought to consider it

our first *postmodern* text, thus allowing for creative, even subversive, encounters with knowledge. A third piece, on the impact of Jesus as a model for contemporary teaching as a form of sacrifice, is currently in press with *Teachers College Record*.

While social studies is the only "official" curricular space where teaching *about* religion is permitted in school, I am excited to see that several sessions at CUFA in the past few years have also begun to address issues of religion and education more broadly. Rather than ignore the topic, so prevalent in the formation of the U.S. culture and education, and much like discussions about other categories of difference such as race, class, and gender, it is time we also begin exploring religion as one of the issues included within social education scholarship.

LOOKING FORWARD

Though some of my papers have, over the years, been rejected, often without "official" review, for their overtly political nature (an odd notion since all scholarship is always, by its very nature, political) and it has sometimes taken a second and third re-submission of an AERA proposal to no longer be rejected for its theoretical nature or for is winded language, I, naturally, am looking forward to continuing my pursuit of the scholarly issues that matter to me. Still, I do so with some concerns but also with a sense of promise: while much has changed over the years—TRSE now publishes more critical pieces, critical scholarship is presented more regularly at CUFA and AERA, and there is a new generation of critical social studies scholars—it is fair to say that critical discourses, and the perspectives and issues underlying them, still do not appear central to our field. Resulting, critical scholars, whose work is considered at the edges of our field, often choose (and in some cases—through rejections—are made to choose) to publish and present their work in spaces outside of social studies proper. This, I believe is to the detriment of our domain. Rather than exclude, we ought to bring such work into our fold, push our boundaries, extend our imaginations, and help return our field to the center of critical, provocative scholarship it once occupied. To those critical scholars who have remained the field—and there is in fact a number of new and established scholars now using Foucauldian, Derridian, Deluezian, Butlerian, or psychoanalytically infused methodologies, to name a few—the above is not meant as discouragement but, rather as a re-articulation of the work that still needs to be done and of the various—many—fertile spaces within the field in which to do so.

NOTE

[1] Canadian universities require that a doctoral dissertation also be approved by an external examiner—a noted scholar in the field from another university. It was my good fortune that the graduate school selected Joe Kincheloe as my external reviewer. At the end of Joe's written comments, he asked the committee to convey his desire to publish my dissertation as a book in a series he was editing at the time for Peter Lang. I, of course, was extremely flattered—I heard Joe speak at the first AERA session I attended as a graduate student and have admired, and cited, his important work ever since. It took me more than six months to gather the courage to sheepishly email Joe to inquire whether his offer was in

fact serious. Indeed it was. In that regard, Joe's generosity made the journey from dissertation to book a much easier one. It still required much work on my part—somewhat naively I thought that turning a dissertation into a book was a simple endeavor—but I did not need to shop around for a potential publisher and receive the expected rejections along the way.

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WILLIAM B. STANLEY

FROM SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TO SOCIAL EDUCATION IN A TRAGIC CONTEXT

Prior to my senior year in high school, my family moved to South Plainfield, NJ. I had the good fortune to take a "problems in American democracy" course with a wonderful teacher, Larry Carbonetti. For the first time, social studies subject matter came alive. I developed an interest in history and social science that has remained to this day. Unexpectedly, teaching secondary social studies became an interesting career choice. More than that, I had experienced a concrete example of the power of education to prompt change.

EARLY INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

My undergraduate degree in History/Social Science revealed that most of what I learned in K-12 social studies was oversimplified or wrong, mainly propaganda shaped by the Cold War. My professors provided an intellectual foundation for graduate study in history and a liberal (in the New Deal, welfare state sense) political orientation for historical analysis of public policy. I also gained a heightened awareness of how K-12 social studies education could be used as propaganda to reinforce official knowledge and developed a strong hostility to McCarthyism, the John Birch Society, racial segregation, and the Vietnam War. I participated in the civil rights and anti-war movements on campus but had relatively little exposure to Marxism or other left-radical perspectives.

As a new teacher, I had no clear sense of social studies as a field of study. My undergraduate education professors were largely disciples of Dewey, but I lacked a clear understanding of his ideas. My history and social science professors (including my secondary social studies methods instructor) largely ignored or were mildly critical of Dewey. Unconsciously, I embraced teaching the structure of history and the social science disciplines mixed with my limited appropriation of Dewey (e.g., a focus on student interests and social problems) as my approach to social studies education. My long-term plan was to teach secondary social studies, while completing a doctorate in history and securing an appointment in a university history department.

I started my masters in history at Rutgers in 1967 and was thrust into the most intense phase of the 1960s cultural and political ferment. The intellectual battle lines seemed obvious at the time. The Vietnam War, racism, poverty, sexism, and ideological censorship were clearly wrong. I was confident that America had the

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 193–210.

capacity to make major improvements with respect to all these problems, but too often our political system and social institutions (including schools) failed to ensure basic human rights and economic opportunity for minorities, women, and the poor. Graduate studies exposed me to a much wider range of theoretical perspectives, including critical theory, black studies, feminism, Marxism, and American radical traditions in history and social science. I began to understand the limitations of the liberal consensus theory of history and social science gained as an undergraduate. I embraced critical and conflict theory perspectives that led me to raise new questions regarding America's fundamental social, political, and economic institutions.

Meanwhile, my teaching experience revealed that how to decide the best approach social studies education itself was a serious intellectual problem. My initial plans to complete a Ph.D. in history had been challenged by the lack of part time history programs and a dismal job market in the late 1960s. With a family to support, I opted to start a doctoral program in social studies education at Rutgers University in 1972. The courses were offered in the evening, and I could continue teaching full time. The program requirement for one year full time study could be met by a sabbatical leave.

I was fortunate to start my doctoral studies at a time when the field was inundated with various disciplinary curriculum projects and internal debates regarding the origins and purpose of social studies often called the new (and new-new) social studies. This intellectual ferment was largely (but not exclusively) prompted by the federal funding for curriculum development in the wake of the nation's reaction to Sputnik in 1957. The "three traditions" model describing major rationales for social studies education developed by Barth and Shermis (1970) and further refined by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) had a significant impact on my thinking. Barth and Shermis claimed citizenship education was the core goal of social studies and described three basic approaches to accomplishing this end: citizenship transmission; the structure of the disciplines (history/social science education); and reflective inquiry.

Citizenship transmission best described the impoverished social studies education I experienced as a student grades K-12. The other two traditions were presented by Barth and Shermis as preferred alternatives to the transmission rationale. In practice, few social studies teachers actually fit within one tradition (White, 1982). Still, the three traditions model did provide a reasonable way to describe the prevailing approaches to social studies described in the field's literature and a useful tool to analyze arguments for citizenship education.

THE MAKING OF A SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTIONIST

Jack Nelson, my doctoral advisor, introduced me to the work of social reconstructionists Rugg, Counts, and Brameld. Simultaneously, I was exposed to some of the early neo-Marxist work in education (e.g., Freire, 1970; Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Willis, 1977), which reinforced the reconstructionist contention that public education was used as a tool to transmit the dominant social order. For my dissertation, I decided

on a historical and philosophical analysis of social reconstructionism as an approach to social studies. The research included an in-depth study of Rugg, Counts, and Brameld, as well as a thorough review of social studies education theory, with an emphasis on the period from 1945 to 1977.

The reconstructionists argued that America was in a state of crisis and required a new democratic social order based on social justice and a fundamental redistribution of economic and political power. They believed schools could and should play an important role in this process. Although Rugg's work drew the most public criticism (including censorship and book burnings), Counts and Brameld raised the most radical doubts about whether or not existing progressive approaches to education reform, including Dewey's, was sufficient to challenge the existing social order. Count's (1932) call for schools to build a new social order spoke to me and made sense within the context of my intellectual evolution.

For the reconstructionists, mere analysis of social problems absent a prior commitment to a specific vision of a preferred democratic social order could never be sufficient. Since political and economic power was held largely by powerful elite groups, the realization of a truly democratic social order could not happen unless the capitalist economy of the United States was eliminated "or changed so radically in form and spirit that its identity will be completely lost" (Counts, 1932, pp. 6–10). Progressive educators needed to free themselves from philosophic relativism and the undesirable ideological influences of an upper middle class culture. Counts argued "that all education contains a large element of imposition, that in the very nature of the case this is inevitable, that the existence and evolution of society depend upon it, that it is consequently eminently desirable, and that the frank acceptance of this fact by the educator is a major professional obligation" (p. 12).

Social educators could play a key role helping to expose the antidemocratic limitations of individualism and free market economic theory that contributes to and rationalizes continuing disparities of income, wealth, and power. Reconstructionist educators should also promote a strong form of participatory democracy. Agonizing over whether or not this approach to education amounted to indoctrination was a moot point, since the dominant social order was already using education as propaganda to perpetuate the status quo. Any effective approach to social education must include a form of radical counter-socialization on behalf of democratic social transformation.

Dewey believed the schools should assist in the reconstruction of society, but unlike Counts, he rejected promoting a particular theory of social welfare. Instead, schools should participate in the general intellectualization of society by inculcating a "method of intelligence" to provide students with the critical competence for reflective thought applied to the analysis of social problems (Dewey, 1935, p. 334). Education should enable individuals to understand and manage the social forces shaping society (Dewey & Childs, 1933, p. 71). Dewey's seemingly lukewarm reaction to radical reconstructionism struck me as a reformist gesture without the necessary potential to facilitate radical transformation of the social order.

As things turned out, the reconstructionists badly miscalculated both the political temper of the largely middle class public school teachers as well as the actual potential for schools to effect radical social change through education. Traces of reconstructionism remain in contemporary social studies education scholarship. The influence on classroom practice has been marginal at best. Beyond that, there is no easy way to incorporate reconstructionism within the more recent three traditions model posed by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977). Obviously, social transmission is antithetical to social transformation, and a rationale based on the structure of the history and social science disciplines does not address the perceived need for a curriculum oriented by a specific conception of a preferred social order. Even the reflective inquiry tradition, with its primary focus on method, did not adequately address the reconstructionists concerns; Or so it seemed to me at the time. A summary of my dissertation research was published in *Theory and Research in Social Education* (Stanley, 1981a, 1981b).

REFLECTIONS AND REFORMULATIONS: 1980–1992

I believed my dissertation research made an important contribution to social studies by exposing the limitations of the dominant approaches to citizenship education and providing a genuinely radical (and necessary) alternative for teachers. Cherryholmes (1980) use of neopragmatic philosophy and language theory to expose the epistemological naiveté of the three traditions model seemed to provide support for my research conclusions, as did an explosion of neo-Marxist and other critical scholarship in the 1980s that came to be called critical pedagogy (e.g., Apple, 1979; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Giroux, 1988; Kincheloe, 2004; Shor, 1983, Willis, 1977). Critical pedagogy drew on Marxist reproduction theory and Frankfurt School Critical Theory to expand understanding of how curriculum might be used as a site of cultural conflict and resistance to the dominant order.

Nevertheless, developments in women's, ethnic, GLBT, critical race theory, and post-colonial studies in the 1980s, and 1990s soon exposed the overly narrow reconstructionist (and critical pedagogy) focus on class and economics to construct curriculum for citizenship education (e.g., Ellsworth, 1989). Simultaneously, a significant challenge was posed by the emergence of continental philosophy (philosophical hermeneutics, postmodernism, and poststructuralism) and neopragmatism (e.g. Bernstein, 1983; Cherryholmes, 1980; 1988, Rorty, 1979, 1982) on curriculum studies. At the risk of oversimplification, these new philosophical inquiries problematized the philosophical basis for any metanarrative (including any radical critique) of the social order and provoked a mixed response. Rorty, for instance, became a lightning rod for attacks by critical educators (e.g., Giroux, 1988), because he allegedly undermined arguments for educational programs to promote radical social transformation. In contrast, Bernstein (1983) and Cherryholmes (1988) described how these new philosophical developments actually expanded our capacity for critical analysis. Influenced by this scholarship, I began to reexamine

my views. Clearly, I had underestimated the simplistic nature of the reconstructionist faith in the power of schools and social engineering guided by reason and expert "scientific" knowledge to transform the social order. Of equal importance, I came to realize the genuinely radical potential inherent in Dewey's educational philosophy and the emergence of neopragmatism.

CURRICULUM FOR UTOPIA

Curriculum for Utopia (1992) presented a summary of my revised conception of citizenship education. My position shifted from a positivistic conception of counter socialization to a post-positivistic conception of citizenship education as practical competence for participation in a democratic society. The change was nuanced, as an element of counter socialization remained. Democratic citizenship does require the conditions necessary for the exercise of human inquiry and praxis (e.g., an open society, access to information, free speech, and a level of economic conditions sufficient to sustain the existence of individual inquiry and communities of inquiry). While the reconstructionists, and many proponents of critical pedagogy, advocated choosing an approach to education grounded in a prior conception of a just society, the approach I now recommended was based on developing a way of thinking and being-in-the-world that asked each generation to evaluate critically the existing social order and recommend any changes necessary for the general betterment of society. On the other hand, the conditions necessary to sustain strong forms of democracy were still considered essential. Thus, I remained committed to using education to promote a preferred form of democratic government but left open the particular form of political and economic organization democratic deliberation might determine.

My revised position contained two main arguments. First, I reconsidered and accepted Dewey's view that social educators could justify *imposing* a method of inquiry, which might lead students to develop better policy recommendations. In this way, each generation should reexamine and reaffirm the components of the "just" society. Dewey had acknowledged indoctrination was intrinsic to mainstream curriculum, but this fact does "not prove that the right course is to seize upon the method of indoctrination and reverse its object" (Dewey, 1937, p. 236). Any attempt to inculcate a preconceived theory of social welfare would ultimately work to subvert Dewey's method of intelligence and was antithetical to education for democracy.

I also drew on Gadamer's (1975) philosophical hermeneutics and use of the Greek conception of *phronesis* to illustrate the form of practical competence involving human action (praxis) for the sake of doing what contributes to the good society and general human well-being. *Phronesis* is distinguished from *techne* or *poiesis,* which involve the ability to produce something that can be defined or conceived in advance. Rather, *phronesis* entails human thought and action under conditions in which both the ends and means must be determined. As we engage in the process of *phronesis*, intermediate or proximate goals must constantly be reformulated as we reconceptualize our view of human betterment (Stanley, 1992; Whitson &

Stanley, 1990, p. 7). Of course, *phronesis* cannot be practiced in an authoritarian society. In this sense, philosophical hermeneutics and critical pragmatism provide an epistemological justification for democratic education (Stanley, 1992; Westbrook, 2005).

A second argument stressed *phronesis* as the competence required for interpretation of linguistic and aesthetic understanding. Here, the potential of practical competence intersects with the insights of poststructuralism, neopragmatism, and Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia (*Stanley, 1992, pp. 212–213). Meaning is located within the context of language, which determines both the object and act of interpretation (Gadamer, 1975). This insight is related to Derrida's assertion that "there is nothing outside text," by which he meant there is nothing outside linguistic context (Derrida, 1988, p. 136). This does not mean that there is no physical reality outside human awareness. However, human understanding of reality (physical or social) can only be apprehended through language, i.e., a semiotic or linguistic sign system. Furthermore, the meaning of terms employed to discuss our conceptions of reality is a function of the position of each term within a structure or code of linguistic difference that can vary in different contexts. As such, language is fundamentally dialogical and precludes monological interpretations. In contrast, the backlash against multicultural education illustrates the persistence of monologism, a fundamentalist conception of language and meaning typical of totalitarian and fascist regimes. In fairness, the left has not been immune to this form of thinking. I am indebted to the work of an exceptional social educator, Tony Whitson, for helping me clarify these revisions in my analysis.

SOCIAL EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC HOPE

Citizenship education focused on practical reasoning still forms the core of my approach to social studies, but converting this theoretical shift into practice has been a challenge. My research focus was also complicated as I gradually took on more administrative responsibilities. Between 1987 and 2008, I served an appointment as department chair at one university and dean at three others, which consumed an enormous amount of the energy and time available to engage in scholarship. On the other hand, administrative experiences greatly expanded my understanding of the complexities and limitations of education reform.

Dramatic changes occurred in federal and state educational policy between 1987 and my return to teaching in 2008 (Berliner & Biddle, 1996; Ravitch, 2010). Citizenship education is ignored by the 2002 *No Child Left Behind* legislation; the persistent "culture wars," growing political polarization, and the "near death" of liberalism challenge the possibility of public education for democracy. The gap between the expectations of progressive educators and the anti-democratic dimensions of mainstream reform has never been greater. More recently, I have found it helpful to explore certain areas of American intellectual history and social psychology to better

understand current debates on citizenship education. In particular, I have focused on the history of democratic realism, the left's reaction to conservative theory, and research on the limits of human reason and rational decision making.

Democratic Realism

The so-called Dewey-Lippmann debate in the 1920s provides an excellent introduction to democratic realism as a critique of Dewey's educational philosophy. Lippmann was skeptical regarding the potential effectiveness of educational reform to have a significant impact on citizenship education. He concluded that the traditional elements of democratic society (a sense of community, free press, freedom of speech, and public education) were no longer adequate. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and technology had resulted in a highly complex modern society and social problems beyond the capacity of the masses to comprehend. The average person no longer had the time, interest, or competence for meaningful participation in public policy decisions. Given the corporate and government ability to use mass media and education as propaganda to support the status quo, it was unlikely that this situation would change (Lippmann, 1922, 1925).

Lippmann (1922), like Dewey, thought a scientific habit of mind could overcome the constraints impeding our understanding of modern society, and believed the recently created social sciences offered the best way to acquire an accurate understanding of modern society and the knowledge required to make complex policy. However, only a small segment of humanity possesses either the cognitive capacity or interest to benefit fully from the highest forms of education, and only an enlightened elite (of disinterested experts) had the capacity to secure the knowledge necessary to make complex public policy decisions that served the general public interest. Eventually, Lippmann (1925) came to doubt even the capacity of elites to acquire the scientific knowledge to resolve our increasingly complex policy problems.

Dewey (1927) acknowledged Lippmann's accurate analysis of current social and political conditions but rejected his recommendations that elite groups of specialists be established to develop and implement public policy. He also rejected Lippmann's critique of education's potential to develop the reflective citizenship skills required for participation in a genuinely democratic society. On this point, Lippmann was a far better prophet. Dewey's (1927) critique of Lippmann in *The School and Society* was often obscure and inconclusive, and he never adequately addressed the practical problems that Lippmann raised regarding the core assumptions of liberal democracy (Westbrook, 1991, pp. 300–318).

More recently, federal appellate judge and conservative intellectual Richard Posner (2003) made a similar democratic realist critique of Dewey's conception of deliberative democracy and educational philosophy. Like Lippmann, Posner (pp. 183–184, 204–206) considers modern society far too complex for the mass of humanity to make meaningful contributions to public policy decisions. Posner is a pragmatist but, unlike Dewey, does not believe pragmatism supports any general

political valence or epistemological justification for Dewey's conception of democracy (Westbrook, 2005). He is even less confident than Lippmann in the knowledge of experts but believes America's political system provides a workable structure (analogous to Mill's "marketplace of ideas") wherein we are able to vet highly complex technical information in a way that has the best potential for developing effective public policy (Posner, 2003, pp. 14–15, 349–350, 386–387). Posner's conception of mass democracy is based on the work of classical liberal intellectuals like Mill and Hayek, but especially Schumpeter who argued that our political system functions much like a free-market economy, wherein politicians compete to construct publics and sell their candidacy to voters much as entrepreneurs do with products or services (Posner, 2003, pp. 14–19, 204–205, 384–387). In contrast, Posner claims Dewey's conception of participatory democracy is naïve and dysfunctional. Student will be better served by a curriculum that helps them understand how our democracy actually works and why that is the preferred political system.

The democratic realist's arguments apply as well to proponents of critical pedagogy who assume they have identified the preferred vision of a democratic social order (e.g., Brosio, 2004, Giroux, 1988, Hill et al., 2002; Stanley, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011). Certainly critical educators have solid theoretical and evidentiary grounds for their critique. However, critical social educators often seem to be attacking a caricature of our opponents. How likely is it that small groups of critical educators (and their political allies) are the only ones who really understand what is wrong with our society and educational system? Does it make sense to assume that all the advocates of mainstream society and education theories have been either wrong or worse, that the employment of such theories is no more than a cynical attempt to maintain the status quo? Why do dominant political, economic, and cultural assumptions persist and elicit such widespread popular support among all classes and ethnic groups?

I think Lippmann was mostly right in describing the complex challenges to participatory democracy. If anything, his criticisms in the 1920s are even more salient today (Haidt, 2012; Manjoo, 2006). Still, I am not persuaded that the arguments posed by democratic realists are sufficient to dismiss Dewey's approach to social education for democracy. However, I do believe it is a mistake to trivialize or dismiss such conservative critiques as unworthy of serious consideration, as is too often the case (Stanley, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011). I share Westbrook's (2005) conclusion that democratic realists provide a cogent critique of our society that must be addressed by advocates or education for deliberative democracy. In addition, we need to consider a second critique of the optimistic progressive assumptions that have shaped critical approaches to citizenship education, something I explain in the next section.

Dismissing Conservative Theory

I will only say a few words about this issue, but I think it important. Far too often, critical social educators (and most critical educators) do not take the conservative intellectual legacy seriously. In most instances, we construct a caricature of

conservative thought that we use as a foil to our critical theorizing (Stanley, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2011). In my more recent writing, I have looked at the work of Frederic Hayek, Richard Posner, Schumpeter, and Leo Strauss to illustrate how these perspectives can enhance our analysis of citizenship education. First, genuine reflective inquiry, something all critical educators espouse, requires taking seriously the ideas we critique. We see this intellectual respect in Marx's analysis of Adam Smith and more recent analyses of democratic education (Goodman, 1987; Westbrook, 1991, 2005). Understandably, the often bitter experience of the cultural wars has led social educators to adopt an increasingly hostile and suspicious reaction to conservative critics. The danger is that we can overreact and miss important insights provided by our critical opponents. For example, Hayek and Schumpeter represent how the revival of the Austrian theory of market economics poses a number of powerful assertions regarding human nature, our cognitive limitations, and the ever present danger of unintended consequences (Stanley, 2005, 2007, 2011). I have also reexamined the criticism leveled at Leo Strauss as the alleged intellectual mentor for the worst expressions of neo-conservatism (Stanley, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2011). It turns out that Strauss is a far more complex scholar than his critics describe, and the attempts to link his influence to the rise of neo-conservatism and the two wars against Iraq are forced and unconvincing. Again, as "critical" social educators who constantly lament "taken for granted knowledge," we might be expected to display a more sophisticated approach in our analysis of conservative thought. It is the conservative theorists who have often called our attention to the tragic limits of the human condition that I discuss in the next section.

Tragic Dimensions of Social Education

As noted above, most critical social educators have assumed that schooling can play a significant role in helping to create a more just and democratic social order. Our failure to create a more just and egalitarian social order are not inevitable but the consequence of misguided and selfish human behavior, which can be corrected, over time, by better education, laws, and regulations. In contrast, many other scholars have argued that the human condition should be understood as essentially tragic and only a social education program that took this condition into account had the potential to cope with the crisis confronting modern society (Benne, 1967, Burbules, 1991, Hook, 1974, Lasch, 1984, 1989, 1995, Westbrook, 2005). As Burbules (1991) notes, our aims are always in doubt and "uncertainty, confusion, [and] failure" are a given for education reformers (pp. 469–470). He endorses Hook's (1974) observation that the tragic sense of life is reflected in the "defeat of our plans and hopes, the realization that in much grief there is not much wisdom, and that we cannot count …[on] time alone to diminish our stupidities and cruelties" (p. 11). We must understand that "everything we do impinges in a harmful way on someone, somewhere; that for every policy, however well-intentioned, there are unavoidable bad consequences" (Burbules, 1991, p. 473).

The tragic tradition has deep roots in American intellectual history. For example, Henry Adams (1934) found no fundamental truths or causal patterns in American history and claimed that human "experience ceases to educate" (p. 294). Long before postmodernism, Adams had concluded that human knowledge was indeterminate and there was no going back to Enlightenment assumptions regarding reason and values. The Founding Fathers themselves were well aware of the role of factions, passion, and irrationality in human politics. They had designed a political system of checks and balances to secure liberty because they did not believe human reason or principles were capable of doing so alone (Diggins, 1991, pp. 18–19).

I have also discussed the work of theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1932, 1933) and intellectual historian Christopher Lasch (1984, 1989, 1995) to clarify the challenges faced by those attempting to use social education for participatory democratic social reform. Niebuhr was among those left intellectuals who, between the 1930s and 1950s, gradually lost faith in the capacity of liberalism, human intelligence, education, and science to bring about the reforms necessary for a just social order. Niebuhr (1932) understood that modern science, for all its insights, is incapable of providing the human "nerve and will" to resist social injustice. On the other hand, the utopian faith of the Social Gospel movement in the late nineteenth century and the progressive ideas that had guided American social reform movements in the early twentieth century were both naïve and counterproductive because they were based on false assumptions regarding the possibility of human progress.

Niebuhr was especially skeptical regarding the application of ideals and absolutes to social reform. While human ideals (e.g., social justice) can be identified, they are always partial and illusory (Niebuhr, 1932, p. 81). Furthermore, we are incapable of acting consistently on ideals in the real world. In practice, no form of government or approach to education was capable of getting people to work together toward the good of all. The optimistic appeal of progressives like Dewey to disinterested social intelligence as the basis for education and social reform ignored the harsh realities of social life and also denied the masses' need for morale, which can only be "created by the right dogmas, symbols, and exceptionally potent oversimplifications" (Niebuhr, 1933, 203–205). Originally an advocate of nonviolence, Niebuhr came to question the efficacy of that policy. Given the limited capacity of human reason, religion, and education to constrain narrow and predatory self-interest, human conflict was inevitable, an evil no social order could eliminate (Niebuhr, 1932).

Niebuhr remained an activist for social justice, espousing Christian realism, the need to maintain a consciousness of human limits and possibilities as we attempt social reform, motivated primarily by hope and love, not science and social engineering. According to Niebuhr, progressive reformers often overestimate human finitude, acting on the illusion that they were making progress and blind to their own selfish motivations. Even on those occasions when people are able to rise above self-interest and act with the best intentions, the policies they create generally have unintended negative, and often ironic, consequences.

Christopher Lasch provides a more recent example of a critical theory emphasizing the limits of human reason and tragic nature of human existence. According to Lasch (1989), our culture's optimistic faith in human progress has become the dominant ideology of modernism, including liberal, progressive, and totalitarian efforts to construct blueprints for the good society and apply science and social engineering to bring about a new, and presumably improved, social order. The progressive intellectual elite's ideological commitment to progress and belief that they have the knowledge to act in the interest of the masses (including the design of education reform) only intensifies their reform efforts and exacerbates the negative unintended (and often antidemocratic) consequences of their policies (Lasch, 1995).

A tragic conception of education poses a deeply uncomfortable and counterintuitive perspective. Education, by definition, assumes the capacity to change and improve human competence and behavior. Education is bound up with our conceptions of culture, civilization, and human progress. The obstacles to progress can be formidable, and history is replete with examples of oppression based on class, race, religion, ethnicity, and other forms of discrimination. Life is also marked by natural and man-made disasters that disrupt, abort, or destroy educational gains. Still, our culture retains a stubborn faith in education as among our most powerful tools for human progress. We tend to look at human history as a record of humanity using education, slowly but surely, to improve society and expand individual potential despite persistent setbacks. A tragic view of education calls all these assumptions into question.

The Limits of Human Reason

At the heart of the tragic view of education is an awareness of the limits of human reason and the inherent propensity for irrationality, environmental destruction, and violence (e.g., Kahneman, 2011, Haidt, 2012). Both authors document the extensive research demonstrating the limits of human reason and the preponderance of irrational behavior. Haidt (2012) makes a strong case that most individuals start with conclusions and seek evidence to support predetermined conclusions. One must at least ponder how Dewey's method of intelligence or similar critical approaches to social education might actually function under such conditions.

Of course, there is always a danger that a tragic conception of humanity can be misused to rationalize the exploitation and oppression of different groups to the benefit of those in power (e.g., the "Bell Curve" controversy). Nevertheless, social education would be better served by highlighting the limits of human reason, the propensity for irrational behavior, fundamentalist thought, violence, greed, and group prejudice (e.g., Stanley, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2009, 2011).

Any left reconstructionist curriculum theory (including Dewey's) should be filtered through the harsh reality of democratic realism and the tragic-progressive critique of education. With respect to democratic realism, left progressives like Westbrook (2005) acknowledge "the anemic state of American Democracy ... " and

that the "prospects for a more expansive democracy are gloomier today than they were in the early nineteenth century" (p. 199). To acknowledge the tragic limits on human agency is not to argue for either complacency or despair. Dewey's view of education for deliberative democracy grounded by critical pragmatism should remain the "regulative ideal" for critical social educators (Westbrook, 2005, pp. 218–240). To make this claim is to rely on a faith in democracy underdetermined by theory (Westbrook, 2005). As Westbrook reminds us, we can supplement our theoretical limitations with a concept of democratic hope (p. 240).

Lasch (1989) cautioned that we not confuse hope with the optimism associated with a modernist belief in progress. Instead, we should contrast hope with pessimism. Democratic hope "implies a deep-seated trust in life that appears absurd to those who lack it." Those holding this view are prepared for the worst eventualities. "Their trust in life would not be worth much if it had not survived disappointments in the past, while the knowledge that the future holds further disappointments demonstrates the continuing need for hope." In contrast, "a blind faith that things will work out for the best furnishes a poor substitute for the disposition to see things through when they don't" (p. 81). Not surprisingly, this tragic element of Lasch's work is absent from the preponderance of scholarship on social studies. That fact is unfortunate, as a heightened awareness to the tragic and limited dimensions of human reason and our assumptions regarding progress would serve as a corrective to the overly optimistic prevailing rhetoric regarding social education for democracy.

CONCLUSIONS

After 46 years of practice and writing, I have generated far more questions than answers regarding the best way to approach citizenship education for democracy, a quest which seems more complex, elusive, and quixotic than ever. Where do things stand now? First, I am no less committed to a critical approach to social education for strong forms of democratic social transformation, but my definition of what these terms mean and how to implement this approach in practice has morphed over time. My earlier, simplistic attempts to define the preferred social order to orient citizenship education will not work, either philosophically or politically. The best philosophical and political arguments reside in recommendations to enhance students' competence (*phronesis*) to participate in a democratic society. In some respects, my current approach to social studies has some similarities to the much earlier approaches to citizenship education advocated by Hunt and Metcalf (1968), Newmann (1975), and Engle and Ochoa (1988). Early in my career, I was overly critical of these approaches to social education as insufficiently critical of the status quo. I'm far more sympathetic now. While these approaches to critical social education might seem too instrumental or open ended to many, each avoids the worst partisan objections and is generally consistent with the analysis of Dewey, Cherryholmes, Bernstein, and Westbrook's conceptions of critical pragmatism and strong forms of democracy.

That said, a second consideration immediately comes to mind. Participatory democracy does not function like a Socratic graduate seminar. *Phronesis* emphasizes the intellectual and disinterested application of reason to the analysis of public policy in relation to felt social issues/problems. In reality, bias, emotion, irrationality, and self-interest play a large role in human decision making (Haidt, 2012; Kahneman, 2011). Thus, we confront a paradox; the competence to function effectively in a democratic social order also involves elements of manipulation, marketing, and propaganda. Edward Bernays (Tye, 1998), Lippmann (1922, 1925), and others highlighted this problem in the 1920s, and it is more salient today in a time of cable news, talk radio, the Internet, and multiple forms of social media (Manjoo, 2008). Educators have long sought to teach students to identify propaganda techniques. But we must accept that citizenship competence also involves teaching students how to understand and use such techniques to advance social agendas. This paradox seems fundamental to social education for democracy.

In addition, Haidt's (2012) careful exposition of how human reasoning tends to first select particular values or political positions and only then inquire into evidence to support these choices should give us reason for caution and humility as we engage in citizenship education. While Haidt's insights move beyond the limits imposed by the irrational tendencies in human cognition, they also pose a model of problem analysis that, in some ways, is antithetical to the problem solving strategies promoted by most critical social educators. These constraints are not merely a challenge we face as we seek to develop our student's citizenship competence but an intrinsic constraint on our own critical competence as social educators attempting to design and implement curriculum. As we work to expand and strengthen participatory democracy, we do so absent any certainty that we got it right or that our efforts will not make things worse. I see no way out of this curriculum conundrum.

Finally, it is not possible to design a curriculum consistent with the realization of a just democratic social order absent a critical perspective that acknowledges the reality of theoretical pluralism. If we acknowledge this, we are obligated to open our analysis to multiple perspectives (something to which we always pay lip service) and take conservative theory seriously as we conduct practice (see Gutmann, 1997). Acknowledging these constraints involves far more than the mere exhortation to expand the range of practical competence to an ever wider circle of participants. I agree with Segall's (2002) assertion that "… it is not student teacher's inability to imagine otherwise that restricts the possibility of educational change but teacher educator's inability to provide them 'otherwise' experiences that break with the traditional, the expected, the devious, and the taken-for-granted" (p. 167). Put another way, Segall is arguing that social studies teacher education must provide an environment "… where practice as-it-is-practiced gets theorized, where theory is not only *for* practice but is indeed practiced, and where practice is integrated for the kinds of theories and practices it produces and for those it does and does not make possible" (p. 166). But as we seek to provide the educational environment Segall recommends, we should be aware of the possibility we might be flying blind. This

is not a reason to abandon the democratic hope advocated by Lasch and Westbrook. Rather critical social educators must remember we are always teaching "other people's children" and resist the tendency to act as if we alone know what is best for the masses, what must be done, while simultaneously clinging to democratic hope and teaching for democratic citizenship.

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STEPHEN J. THORNTON

IDENTIFYING WHAT MATTERS

The root meaning of education concerns bringing out and developing the faculties and powers within someone. This conception of education is the key to all I do in scholarship and teaching. My interests have most of all been in the subjects of history and geography. According to Dewey (1966), "geography and history are the two great school resources for bringing about the enlargement of the significance of a direct personal experience" (pp. 217–218). Deep interest in one subject leads to other subjects, but within a congenial context: "The external connections of the subject," Whitehead (1967) said, "drag thought outwards" (p. 11). Thus, for example, study of 19th-century European history rather than biological study led me to look at Darwin's contribution to scientific thought and interest in geography to look at the fascinating topic of bird migration.

By the time I was 11 or 12 years old, I was saying that I wanted to be a teacher of history and geography. It seemed like a great life to look forward to, spending my days surrounded by books and considering interesting people, events, places, and their interconnections. Although no one in my family had ever been to college, I felt sure I would go there. My family was highly supportive of my education, but people of modest means. I am a native of Australia. In the 1970s the Australian government offered university scholarships through competitive examinations. I secured one. The scholarship was to study whatever I liked. Although I considered other fields of study such as law, my heart was in history and geography.

I interviewed for some other jobs, but in retrospect I think it was almost inevitable that I would become a teacher. I wanted to spend my days in a job that stimulated me. Although I did not necessarily set out to teach in a boarding school, my first full-time teaching position turned out to be at one. And "full-time" periodically meant seven days a week, morning, noon, and night. But it was fortuitous I ended up in a boarding school because, through that experience, I secured a fuller understanding of the relationship of education to adolescent social and psychological development than can be gotten within the confines of the school day. One of the most striking facts about the teenagers I lived and worked with was that they ranged widely in their academic aptitudes and interests. This insight has never left me. Here was living proof that one-size-fits-all curricula were a poor fit with how students will get the most out their studies and lives.

My first year of teaching, which began with the school year in February 1976, had a lasting impact on me. It realigned and added to my interests but I often doubted

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 211–224.

my instructional effectiveness. The daily grind of teaching made me deal with the communicative and interpersonal dimensions of teaching which previously I had not considered nearly enough. Significantly, my early experiences in planning and teaching courses and lessons forged a scholarly agenda for me in education, although that was far from apparent to me at the time. I was preoccupied with getting through the day. In addition to several extra-curricular activities and duties in the boarding house, for my first year I was assigned six courses at five different grade levels in two subjects. Specifically, my preparations were grades 10, 11, and 12 history and grades 7, 9, and 11 English. The textbooks had all been assigned without input from me. What was relevant and interesting for students to learn? How should I prepare? What would I do in the classroom and what would the students do? On what basis did one decide? Where does one begin? Answering those questions has, in a sense, occupied me ever since.

That first year, what I'd learned from my own "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975) aptly captures most of what I did in the history courses. Much of my own and student activity was based on my memories from secondary school and college. The English-language arts as it is often called in the U.S.-courses proved more of a challenge since the curriculum varied considerably from anything I had encountered as a student. In retrospect, this was a good thing and, in time, I grew from it as a teacher. Initially, however, I struggled in the role of what I'd later call "curricular-instructional gatekeeper." For instance, the announced goal of the lower-track 11th-grade English course was to encourage "general reading," a term which was left undefined. I decided to define it as getting the students, who were non-college bound, interested in reading books for pleasure. Having taken no education courses and never having taken such an open-ended English course myself, this was one of a number of pedagogical challenges where I was compelled to exercise educational imagination if anything was to be accomplished.

Most of all I pined for inspiration on what to teach and how to teach it. I was particularly intrigued by what I heard about the curricular vision of the immediate-past headmaster, who had left the school days before I started there. By all accounts—students, teachers, parents—he was extraordinary: purposeful, firm, and, most of all, imaginative. Although my first few years at the school were effectively immersed in the curriculum he had designed, I was frustrated I had not been at the school a bit sooner so as to have seen his curricular leadership in action. Whatever theories he espoused not only animated others but found their ways into the lived experiences of classrooms. Where did this type of educational inspiration come from, I wondered?

Meanwhile, I felt I should obtain some credential in education and began a program leading to a graduate diploma in education at the local college. Although the college was just a few miles away, the program I was taking was only available via distance-learning with a few days in residence per semester. Then "distance learning" meant by mail. I did not find the time demands of part-time study a happy fit with the long hours I put in at the boarding school and the attention I gave to courses was heavily swayed by my interest in a particular course or instructor. About the same time, I also

began a master's degree program in American history. In retrospect, I realize I would have profited more from both degree programs if I had brought a more reflective view of education to my tasks. As it was, my learning from the two programs was not as connected to my teaching as it could have been.

Nonetheless I grew as a teacher in a number of respects and no longer felt I would be found out as not really belonging in the classroom. I was pleased, sometimes elated, when I was able to draw students into lessons. The creation and enactment of engaging lessons, however, seemed to rest a lot on intuition rather than system. This troubled me because I felt the secrets of success must surely lie in something more definite. I had yet to trust my intuitions and realize that they are more than random thoughts whose warrant is somewhat suspect (see Noddings & Shore, 1984).

On a dreary, rainy Sunday afternoon in July 1979, I was working on a paper for my child and adolescent psychology course. I was having a hard time concentrating on the task at hand when inspiration struck. Then and there I decided it was time to pause in my teaching career. I arranged for a leave of absence. A year away promised adventure. I wrote to four United States universities asking whether they offered a Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) program in history. This plan was proof, too, that my variable interest in my Diploma of Education program of study did not equate to lack of interest in teaching. I wanted, however, to bring the various elements of teaching and curriculum together in an environment where I had the uninterrupted time to focus on them. There were more obstacles to overcome than I had anticipated. For example, until this time I had never heard of the Graduate Record Exam. Even then, I did not take preparation for it any too seriously as I failed to appreciate quite how important it was for admission to American research universities. Fortunately my verbal score was outstanding and I suppose it played a significant part in my being admitted to Stanford's MAT in history.

So in September, 1980 I set out for California. My choice of an MAT program put me in the footsteps of the aforementioned headmaster who had received his MAT from Harvard. Perhaps I would develop a comparable sense of assured educational purpose. I knew something of Stanford because the director of my master's thesis in American history (in Australia), Lionel Fredman, had received his own master's in American history from Stanford. I failed to anticipate, however, how life-changing Stanford's intellectual environment would be for me. I obtained more than I bargained for. I was to put together my view of reflective teaching and its basis in educators' purposes.

Among my early decisions at Stanford were signing up for a graduate colloquium in American history and the next quarter as a grader for an undergraduate American history course. As taken as I was with these experiences, both with the distinguished historian, Don E. Fehrenbacher, I began to realize that my scholarly priority had shifted to embrace the educational issues I encountered in teaching. I became enthralled with what was for me virtually a whole, previously unknown, literature. Early on I came across, for example, Edgar B. Wesley's, *American History in Schools and Colleges*, Ray Allen Billington's *The Historian's Contribution to*

Anglo-American Misunderstanding, Frances FitzGerald's *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century,* Bessie Louise Pierce's *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States,* and edited volumes such as James A. Michener's *The Future of the Social Studies: Proposals for an Experimental Social-Studies Curriculum* and Allan O. Kownslar's *Teaching American History: The Quest for Relevancy.* In effect, I could no longer think about history without considering how I would organize it for instruction.

My courses in the School of Education's Curriculum and Teacher Education program were meanwhile opening up for me a new world of thinking about education, which I proceeded to put together with my love of history. Nagging and persistent questions I had as a classroom teacher were now thrown into relief. I was fascinated by the ideas about conflicting conceptions of curriculum Elliot Eisner presented in his Curriculum Theories and Curriculum Change course. I explored these conceptions as applied to history in my term paper (see Thornton, 2005a). In a second course with Elliot, Educational Connoisseurship and Educational Criticism course, my project was to observe what happened to curriculum theories in real classrooms. This was my first foray into an American schoolroom, a middle-school World history class. My observations were peppered with educational questions and I eventually settled on how the subject matter, life in ancient Greece, could be made relevant to the lives of California sixth-graders. I was on my way in asking why we teach history, and history of what kind and how, that relates to curriculum to be enacted in classrooms. This research method—investigating what teachers were doing and how theory could expand their options in teaching—was to become my standard approach in classroom-based studies.

Meanwhile, enrolled in Richard E. Gross' social studies seminars, I seized the opportunity to extend the course objectives by reading through Stanford's Cubberley Education Library social studies collection. Although I surely failed to open let alone read *every* book, within months, as doctoral students are told will happen and it did, new books increasingly echoed what had become familiar themes to me. One recurring theme in particular captured my attention: worthy goals and subject matter are announced for American history and related courses yet, as John Goodlad (1984) remarked, "something strange seems to have happened to them on the way to the classroom" (p. 212). I was struck that, Goodlad and a few others aside, relatively little of this type of criticism seemed to rest on observation of actual classrooms. Given my interests in the curriculum in action and the purposes and process of teaching American history viewed from inside the classroom, an area of interest for my dissertation began to crystalize.

During my first quarter at Stanford, Drs. Eisner and Gross encouraged me to stay on for a doctorate, which I would have loved to do if I had not been spending my savings for one year at Stanford. They soon found a way to support me through a tuition scholarship, which covered my tuition for the Ph. D. program. But first, I returned—recall I was on leave—to the school where I had taught in Australia. It was one of the most satisfying experiences in my life because I returned to mostly

the same students I had left 9 months before. It was the chance we so seldom are afforded in life: to see if what you have learned can be put into practice under the same circumstances you had previously had. It worked and students and colleagues noticed. As Dewey understood, reflection and education build on themselves leading to more of the same at a more advanced level. I felt at that time I was living what I had learned, and it was heady.

In January 1982, I returned to Stanford. I knew my general area of research interest, curriculum and instruction in American history, but how I thought about it was to be strongly influenced by a number of Stanford scholars such as George and Louise Spindler. Their explorations of cultural transmission in classrooms, although not as centered on subject matter as mine were, introduced me to additional ways of conceptualizing the meaning of what happens in classroom life such as in the ritualistic learning activities they studied in a German village school (Spindler & Student collaborators, 1973).

As time wore on at Stanford, most of all I was influenced by Nel Noddings, whose constant counsel extended to my request for an independent study on Dewey. This soon evolved into "the Dewey seminar," which met one night a week (Thursdays, I think) at her home. David Flinders (2012) has well captured the profound influence this capstone of Nel's mentoring had on its three enrollees (my good fiends Dave and Lynda Stone, and me) who were heavily outnumbered by faculty. Visiting professor, Marianne Amarel, attended all the time. I recall attending once or more—this may not be comprehensive—Elliot Eisner, Denis Phillips, Lee Shulman, Decker Walker, and Lawrence Thomas, an emeritus professor who had directed Nel's dissertation in the 1970s. Denis Phillips (2012) relates that such an informal seminar at a professor's home is unlikely to occur at Stanford these days—what a great loss!

My dissertation study focused on the relationships among what teachers plan to teach, what they do in the classroom, and what students learn, what I came to call "curriculum consonance." I wanted to study what happened to the curriculum in American history to what effects. "Comparatively little," as Paul Robinson and Joseph M. Kirman noted (1986) about the same time, "has been written on the interaction of the curriculum with students or on students' response to the curriculum" (p. 23): What is more, there seemed to have been scant attention paid to the purposes teachers brought to their interactions with the curriculum. Mandated curricular goals routinely call for American history courses to do more than transmit information; their objectives also included improving thinking skills and prompting reflective thinking about the historical antecedents of present-day social life. How do teachers interpret such a mandate which, in effect, imposes a significance test on what is taught? Disclosing the educational significance of what was planned, taught, and learned was at the heart of my study.

True to the spirit of the MAT, I thought the subject matter I was going to observe being taught should be material that I was well-versed in. I initially arranged with a district official for access to school where the teachers would be teaching about the Civil War, which was fresh in my mind from my recent work with Dr. Fehrenbacher.

Access to this first site was, however, denied because the teachers preferred to avoid the intrusion of an outside observer. This was, of course, entirely their right. But it left me with no research site. After much anxiety as to whether I would be able to proceed with my study before the end of the 1982–1983 school year, which would add perhaps a year to my time in graduate school, I was put in touch with another school where, thankfully, the principal and teachers were willing to let me enter their professional worlds.

Since it was now later in the year, the Civil War, according to school lore, is "fought before Christmas," the topic of the unit I was to observe became the United States between the two world wars. I felt entirely comfortable with this replacement from my American history studies in Australia a few years before. I still wonder if the change of subject matter had any significant effect on what I found in my study. Even though I attached importance to it, I suspect the topic made little or no difference to the type of study I was conducting.

My new research site turned out to be advantageous beyond merely securing access. It offered a bonus for my research because "Taylor High" was ideally suited for tracing the effects of the teachers on the enacted and experienced curricula. The three teachers were all White men about the same age and with comparable years of teaching experience, used the same curriculum and textbook, and were teaching classes in the same track to students of relatively homogeneous socio-economic backgrounds at the same school. Thus many of the customary variables used to "explain" how classroom events turned out were "controlled." This helped prevent distractions from my key concern: how the teachers and students interacted with the subject matter and each other and to what effects. My methods included analysis of curriculum documents, interviews with teachers about what they planned to teach, observations of every lesson in the unit on the United States between the two world wars, examination of student written work, and interviews before and after the unit with representative students on what they had learned.

The dissertation defense meeting was chaired by a Stanford historian. Although he asked a few general questions about the state of history instruction in high schools, his presence among an examining panel of educational researchers symbolized for me the transition I had taken at Stanford from one whose chief scholarly interests were in history to one whose chief scholarly interests concerned how history fared in school programs.

Nonetheless, within the education field, my primary identity remained somewhat fluid: Was I a social studies educator who was interested in curricular-instructional questions or a curriculum scholar with a special interest in social studies? My dissertation could be read either way. I interviewed for both kinds of positions. At first, the curriculum emphasis seemed to prevail. Some of my earliest publications were directed at curriculum studies audiences. For example, I had initially set out to study, among other things, the null curriculum, what is not taught. Since one cannot observe what fails to occur, implementation of my research plans led to a hasty re-design of my study. But conversations with Nel Noddings and David Flinders

soon led us to co-authoring an article on the null curriculum, which appeared in a curriculum journal (Flinders, Noddings, & Thornton, 1986).

Although my first faculty position, at the University of Delaware, was primarily in social studies, I continued to keep a hand in the general curriculum field. My first book was to be an edited volume with David Flinders, *The Curriculum Studies Reader* (which is now in its fourth edition). My professional associations, too, have been in both curriculum studies and social studies. For example, I served as chair of College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and in the American Educational Research Association, chair of the Research in Social Studies Education special interest group and program chair for Division B, Curriculum Studies.

Initially my dissertation seemed more noticed in curriculum studies—it won the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development award for the Outstanding Dissertation in Curriculum for 1986, for example—than in social studies. My first publication (Thornton, 1988) based on the dissertation appeared in a curriculum journal, however, most of my teaching assignment at Delaware was in social studies. Experiences with teaching assignments, departmental affiliations, conference presentations, editorial boards, invitations to speak, professional networks, requests to contribute to anthologies, and the like gradually led me more in the direction of social studies, with a decidedly curricular-instructional bent to be sure, more than curriculum studies. In 1990, I became an associate professor in social studies and education at Teachers College, Columbia University, where I was to stay for 15 years before moving to become a department chair at the University of South Florida, Tampa.

One experience that stands out in taking me more in the direction of social studies was an unexpected invitation to join the Editorial Advisory Board for what became the *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*. The board was a small group which included distinguished scholars, headed by James Shaver and including Jean Fair, Catherine Cornbleth, and Tom Popkewitz, and I as the fledgling. Apparently I had been recommended by both the Publications committee and the Research committee of NCSS, which may have meant my work was attracting more visibility within the social studies field than I was feeling it did at the time. At any rate, the board was a wonderful opportunity for a young scholar to be involved in carving up the social studies into chunks and deciding whether each had a sufficient research base to warrant its own chapter. And then helping decide which authority on that subject should be invited to write the chapter. Jim Shaver made clear that we board members should ourselves feel free to suggest ourselves for a chapter.

This was when the keystone concept of my work was to find a name. After sketching the content of the chapter I was proposing—about what happened in the social studies once the classroom door was closed—I was without a name for what I was describing. It was Jim Shaver who suggested that what I meant was the teacher as "curricular-instructional gatekeeper" (Thornton, 1991). As gatekeepers teachers make the key decisions about subject matter and instructional strategy that

students actually experience. Gatekeeping includes the decisions teachers make and implement as well as the criteria they use to make those decisions. In the sense I was to come to use "gatekeeping" was thus a bit different from how it has been used in, for example, mathematics education wherein algebra is referred to as a "gatekeeper" course since passing through it is a necessity for admission to college. In social studies gatekeeping takes on particular importance for a different reason—how and why subject matter is or is not transformed to lead to broader objectives than the transmission of information.

Sometime later Jim identified a study by Saundra J. McKee (1988) as an exemplar of the teacher's role as curricular-instructional gatekeeper. McKee had investigated how and why U.S. history teachers failed to adopt the central tenets of a new critical-thinking curriculum. This kind of study was, in significant respects, a product of its time when researchers were heavily occupied with why curriculum reforms so often failed to get implemented. While never discarding a "fidelity" perspective entirely, I came to see gatekeeping as being more about how teachers' purposes shaped curriculum than a measure of their degree of fidelity to the curriculum developers' intentions. My approach takes into account that fidelity itself can be difficult to discern. Moreover, the aim of fidelity seems to assume there is only one worthwhile way to implement a curriculum. Even more importantly, however, I grew increasingly convinced that teachers' reflection on their purposes and actions is the key to their growth as teachers. Rather than mere implementers of someone else's ideas, I came to place greater weight on the proposition that gatekeeping is a way of understanding what teachers do. Hence, the significance of gatekeeping lay in it helping teachers grow by understanding their gatekeeping and its effects (see Thornton, 1994a).

The *Handbook* introduced teacher-as-gatekeeper into the lexicon of research on the social studies. While the credit for this usually accrued to me, doubtless many scholars had written or thought about gatekeeping in the past without naming it. At the same time as the *Handbook* was being developed I secured a small internal grant from the University of Delaware to study gatekeeping by elementary-school teachers assigned to fourth-grade geography (Thornton & Wenger, 1990). Although we did not set out with this as a central aim of the study, much of what my research assistant, R. Neill Wenger, and I observed was conditioned by geography's enrichment status in the elementary-school curriculum. Geography, for example, received less instructional time than "basics" such as reading and math, and the time geography did get was briefer and later in the day. Without attention to the status of geography, then, it made little sense to speak as if gatekeeping alone satisfactorily accounted for how things turned out. This became a major theme in what we wrote about the study, however, in retrospect we should have emphasized it even more. I failed to anticipate the extent to which the article would be read as an expression of disappointment in the teachers' lack of fidelity to reform proposals in geographic education—proposals that the teachers were not even intending to adopt, making criticism of them along these lines misplaced. This study added to my already considerable concern about

how accounts of research may be read in ways researchers did not necessarily intend. I became warier about how to approach studies looking behind the classroom door.

To a considerable extent, I had assumed to this time at the beginning of the 1990s that gatekeeping was something educators of otherwise widely differing perspectives could agree was central to the process and outcomes of what happened in classrooms. Therefore, reasonable people would agree that changing the curriculum without significant attention to gatekeeping was, if not a fool's errand, at least questionable as to whether it would have the desired effects on practice. I was soon to find that my assumption was more than a little naïve.

I published a brief article called "Should We Be Teaching More History?" (1990). My point was not whether we should or should not. Indeed, I did not even answer the question. Rather I cautioned that widespread efforts then underway to improve school programs by increasing the amount of history were not likely to do much good without attention to gatekeeping. I reasoned that a lot of history was already taught but it failed to have the desired effects on many, if not most, students. So why would more of what was not working be educationally desirable?

In a letter welcoming me to Teachers College, Diane Ravitch, who was then an adjunct professor there, told me I was wrong to oppose teaching more history. I said to her that this was not my intention, however, I doubted teaching more history would change educational outcomes if methods did not change also. Critics of the dominant role of history in social studies programs, meanwhile, hailed my piece.

One of my main points of contention with Diane Ravitch was her assertion, widely made at the time, that history in the schools had largely been pushed aside by "social studies," which were less valuable than history in a variety of respects such as intellectual worth and their allegedly non-rigorous teaching methods. As one who had long regarded social studies as essentially a collective noun for a group of subjects—foremost history, geography, and civics—I wondered if there had been a time when history reigned as supreme in school programs as was being asserted. Answering this question coincided with my new teaching responsibilities on the history of the social studies, which was a required course in the Social Studies program at Teachers College.

A good deal of what I wrote thereafter took issue with "the social studies supplanting history" thesis. This seemed an important argument because if method were to be essentially dismissed as a secondary, or even trivial, consideration compared to history content, then curricular-instructional policies would perpetuate the dull outcomes associated with so much history instruction. One of my first pieces (Thornton, 1996) in this line of work came about because of an invitation to write the lead chapter in a volume commemorating the 75th anniversary of NCSS. The only directions for what the chapter should contain were cryptic: produce a chapter on "the early years of NCSS." It was left to me to judge what about NCSS was noteworthy and what years constituted the "early" years. This vagueness made preparing the chapter more intriguing for me as I got to define the topic and its boundaries.

I did not appreciate at the outset how much the research for this chapter would bolster what I had been saying for some time about social studies and the academic disciplines. It turned out that from the beginning there was a tension in NCSS, as there had been in the invention around the same time of social studies as a standard component of the school curriculum, as to whether social studies was no more than an umbrella-type name for a group of subject-matters or represented a common, distinctive set of methods for teaching the constituent subjects such as history and geography. In other words, was social studies a set of *subjects* about society past and present which simplify the disciplines as understood in higher education or a *method* which utilizes those disciplines and related subject matter for purposes of what Dewey (1938) called "social study." Although the former tends more toward a disciplinary orientation, such as historical knowledge "for its own sake," in practice it is almost always directed to some degree to purposes of social study. It was for this reason that Linda Levstik (1996) dismissed as "specious" the claim sometimes made that school history should be taught "for its own sake" (p. 23).

My interest in what should be taught increasingly led me—frequently influenced by conversations with Nel Noddings—to question the arbitrariness of the content of the curriculum. I (Thornton, 2001b, 2008; Thornton & Barton, 2010) traced, for instance how the conflicting claims of method or process versus particular subject matters deemed educationally worthy had played out over the course of the twentieth century, asking why some forms of social studies emerged with greater legitimacy than others. Also over the course of the 20th century, I (Thornton, 2001a) became convinced that initial teacher preparation programs for social studies had moved away from the demands of curricular-instructional gatekeeping. I suggested that teacher preparation be re-built around the subject-matter demands of teaching.

Teaching Social Studies That Matters (2005b) marked my reflection on and development of the implications of curricular-instructional gatekeeping. In this book I tried to distill what we knew from theory and research—my own and that of others—that supported teaching that transcended the dullness students often report about their learning experiences with the social studies. I have been very pleased with the book's reception in sales and reviews, it won a *Reader's Choice* award from the American Library Association, has been translated into Japanese, and am often asked to speak about it. This suggests to me, which had been my intention, that the book fills a gap in the contemporary social studies education literature.

In ways I would not have anticipated years before my interest in null curriculum also continued. For instance, when I was writing a research review on social studies curriculum and instruction (Thornton, 1994b), there was a voluble national debate on "gays in the military." Yet, as I pored through research on public issues related to diversity I found no reference at all to gays or gay issues in the social studies literature. In this way I contributed what became, I think, the first significant reference to gays in the social studies literature. Later I pointed again to this null curriculum, as the situation had scarcely changed in the following decade (Thornton, 2003). I have

even regarded my recent work on teaching social studies to English learners (Cruz & Thornton, 2009) as also following the null curriculum theme. Because, although there is attention to inclusion of cultures in social studies programs, little had been written about accommodations for learners whose cultures had a first language other than English.

I have held an administrative position since I came to South Florida but I have tried to keep writing. Most recently I have been thinking a great deal about how geography is and can be used to enrich history programs in American history (Thornton, 2007). I plan to explore this topic further through the lens of gatekeeping. But at this point in the chapter I am struck by how much clearer it is to describe what I did some time ago than recently or for the future. I feel as the English historian Hugh Brogan (2001) did when he explained why his history of the United States ended before the present: "to push the tale further … would be possible but not really useful: the pattern underlying events is not yet clear …" (p. viii).

It seems, in closing, that teacher gatekeeping these days needs to account for what Michael Apple called the "de-skilling" of teaching. Much of the professional literature written for teachers, it seems to me, is more formulaic and less scholarly than a few decades ago and in some locales teachers are required to teach "scripted" lessons that undermine opportunities for teachers to match the curriculum with their students' needs, interests, and abilities. Neither of these developments entirely displaces the teacher's role as gatekeeper but it does signal a trend toward policies that take out of teaching its chief intellectual satisfactions. Since I believe gatekeeping is inherent in the encounter among students, materials, and teachers, I am interested in looking at how current trends affect gatekeeping and what might be done with what is found out.

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BRUCE VANSLEDRIGHT

THE POORLY PLANNED TRAJECTORY OF A SLOW BUT IMPULSIVE APPRENTICE

First, a confession. I have never been a particularly good long-term planner. I'm more apt to follow my nose, focusing on little more than the ground most directly in front of me, impulsively following some curiosity that has sparked my interest, like a hound in the woods sniffing out a fox.

Despite, for instance, being on a clear track toward accumulating enough credits for an undergraduate degree in American history (and considerable debt because it would take me more than five years to gather those credits), about a year prior to graduation I decided that becoming a social worker was the post-baccalaureate job I wanted.

My advisor casually mentioned that, with an impending degree in history, I was basically unprepared for a career in social work; that I most certainly would need to go to graduate school; and also, by the way, that my less-than-glittering GPA might make such a move difficult. When she concluded by remarking that I might want to consider something else, maybe like selling used cars or life insurance (I don't think she actually said that, but she must have implied it), I slunk away rather confused. What could I do after college with a degree in a discipline and subject I loved, but which held less than instantaneous occupational exchange value?

After a bit of pondering, say, maybe my typical 12 minutes, I remembered that I had long been curious about being a teacher. And with some luck, maybe I could even be an American history teacher. After another trip to the advisor's office, she laid out a plan for me in my final undergraduate year to pad my degree with the requisite education courses necessary to become a licensed secondary social studies teacher. Off I went, nose down, relishing this fresh curiosity of becoming a professional educator. In retrospect, I can see that I backed into teaching, or more pointedly, fell into it, lured yet again by the chance to learn something new (and of course the need to pay off my debts). In many ways, the foregoing anecdote sums up my poorly planned trajectory fairly well.

As it turns out, I just happen to enjoy learning the most, and particularly the profound mettle-testing challenges doing so creates. You know, the business of being a student of life (but in my case, not necessarily a good one in the traditional schooling sense). Unfortunately, it has taken me a long time to understand that about myself. The following account, then, is mostly about what I have learned at various key points in my educational career. The supporting casts for the story are twofold:

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 225–236.

Those things I've done that pushed me into situations in which I would be challenged to learn new things and, perhaps most importantly, the key people I have interacted with who prodded and tested my thought processes along the way.

Armed with some idyllic notion of holding a bunch of adolescents spell bound with tales of the American past, who, like me I imagined, were endlessly curious about it, I embarked on my teaching career. I packed up my young family and moved them from Michigan to Denver, Colorado. It didn't take long for the gritty realities of teaching five subjects a day (my primary load was American history, but I also taught psychology, a section of the old "western civilization" course, and occasionally an economics, sociology, or "street law" section) to disabuse me of my idyllic ideas. Unlike me, my students were rarely curious about American history. I was quickly forced to hone a fairly robust dog-and-pony show, supplemented by investigations, discussions about interpretations, historical re-enactments, grainy 16-millimeter film, and even the old standard, the celluloid filmstrip. Those were the tools of the trade when I began. My students seemed to learn very little from my pedagogical machinations. And they didn't seem much to care.

Somewhere around 1980, we moved again, back to Michigan and to a better-paid teaching position. It didn't matter; the results of my efforts were about the same: limited evidence of real learning and understanding. It's hard to convey how demoralizing that can be. Rather than walk away, I stubbornly resolved to do better—try out new pedagogical strategies, tinker with testing approaches, throw out the syllabi regularly and launch new ones, build stronger relationships with my students. In effect, my classroom became a pedagogical laboratory, a place to polish the craft and elicit better learning results. Some things helped a bit and others did not. I kept tinkering.

What I realized much later was that I learned a lot more from my students and how they learn history than I was ever able to teach them. I simply did not know it at the time. Of course, those students are legion and I cannot begin to name them all, but they were catalysts for my learning processes in ways they could never have imagined. I thank them all, every last one.

Continually hounded by doubt about my capabilities, I went to graduate school to become a better teacher. I figured that I just wasn't sharp enough to figure it out on my own. All those smart minds in the College of Education at Michigan State University in the 1980s ought to be able to help me figure out what I could do to engender better learning and understanding in my American history courses. It was a rather single-minded pursuit. It was also deeply naïve.

In an earlier volume in this series of edited books, Michael Katz describes himself as an accidental historian. You might call me an accidental educational researcher. For me, becoming one was mostly another episode in poor long-range planning. But it was also about a set of encounters with astute educational thinkers and researchers then at Michigan State. These included philosophers and curriculum theorists Margaret Buchmann, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Wanda May; policy analysts David Cohen, Richard Elmore, and David Labaree, sociologist Brian Rowan; educational

psychologists Dick Prawat and dissertation advisor Jere Brophy; and teacher-researchers extraordinaire, Magdalene Lampert and Deborah Ball. Among other things, this group of exceptional scholars—Jere Brophy in particular—helped me to understand (gradually) the power of educational research, as both a way to make sense of teaching, learning, and curriculum and as a practice that can help improve all three.

Because I was initially convinced that a doctoral program would make me a better teacher, I attended courses part time and continued teaching full time. After several years of this practice, I was exhausted by the 110-mile, round-trip commute to campus one or two nights a week and during the summers, fell far behind in proper matriculation, and was warned by my then-advisor that, at this rate, I would be unlikely to finish. Quietly alarmed, I finally took leave of my teaching job, entered full-time study and wrangled my way onto a major research program run by Jere Brophy. Despite taking a number of research methods courses required in the doctoral program, it was on this project that I actually began learning how to do systematic, empirical research.

Early in my work with Jere, he looked up at me one afternoon in his office and asked how it was that "my" field (social studies education, of which he considered himself an outsider) could be so long on curriculum theory and so short on the sort of empirical, classroom-based, teaching-learning research that might underpin that theory, especially at the elementary school level. I am reasonably sure I attempted some response, but the fact that I have no recall of what I said suggests that I was generally dumbfounded by his question. His assessment of the field's empirical research work, or rather the lack thereof, was incisive. Following my incoherent mumblings, he noted that our task would be to take on that research. History would be the subject and the upper elementary grades would be the focus. In 1989 and supported by an OERI grant, we began, undertaking case studies of how elementary teachers taught history. We also studied samples of their students, asking them what they thought they had learned from what they were taught.[1]

For most of my last three years at Michigan State, I had the luxury of being supported by this major grant program. Yet it all felt very high stakes in that our research studies, including my dissertation work, became product deliverables to the U.S. Department of Education. I had to learn quickly how to do defensible, empirical research in classrooms and with small children, write coherent and publishable reports, and then ship them to Washington, D.C. The challenge seemed daunting. But as I have noted, that type of mettle testing, and the steep learning curves it begs, invigorate me. Perhaps I learn best only through my mistakes, and Jere was keen to point them out, always, though, in a gentle, professional way.

In my last year on the project, Jere raised the issue one day of what I was planning to do with myself after I completed the program and degree. What, me have a long-range plan? I was too busy with my nose in research brush, trying to complete the dissertation study. He suggested that, if I liked doing research (I did), I might think seriously about becoming an academic, taking up a position at a Research I

institution, and embarking on a research program that was an extension of what I had started in graduate school. Over the next several months, he helped me construct a set of questions and design a succession of research projects that might see me well into the future. It remains hard for me to overstate the importance of what this taught me about planning, although I'm still not sure it has ever sunk in.

Equipped with a research plan that involved a series of case studies of how middle and high school American history teachers taught the subject and their students learned it, I took up residence at the University of Maryland. I began immediately with the research agenda, seeking out expert history teachers in surrounding school districts, who might become potential partners. The idea was to begin mapping teaching and learning experiences in history education that spanned the elementary through high school grades. I imagined this would provide me with a sense of how each experience built upon earlier ones and shed light on how students developed understandings, or did not as so often turned out to be the case. It was an attempt to begin charting the process of learning history from the relative novice state of 9-year olds through those of the more accomplished, high school novices.[2]

Following this series of studies and after pausing to attempt to make sense of what this work was trying to say to me about teaching and learning history, I began to realize that learning seemed to suffer most because of the way the American history curriculum (opportunities students have to learn) was typically designed. Three words repeatedly shouted out at me: breadth trumped depth. And the students paid the price. Anyone who has read the TIMSS reports will immediately recognize this curricular problem, one so common to schooling in the U.S. In the subject of history, teachers effectively contract to teach a blizzard of details that encompass the long narrative of nation-state growth and development. It's a new topic each day and a chapter per week in a frantic, desperate rush to cover it all (as in to cover it up, perhaps?) in the allotted 180-day school year.

How could I have forgotten this from my own experience teaching history? Well, I hadn't. Only now I possessed empirical data that transcended my own personal classroom experience. The lesson: evidenced-based arguments from a variety of sources often hold more potency than personal anecdotes. This was one of the points our graduate-program teachers had tried to impress on us. For me, it seemed to have taken a long time to bore in. Learning from my own research program helped considerably.

During this same period, I had the good fortune of being invited to launch a series of research projects for the federally funded National Reading Research Center (NRRC), half of which was operating out of the University of Maryland and directed by John Guthrie. The other half was housed at the University of Georgia. It was fortuitous timing, and yet again, not something associated with judicious planning on my part.

As I was attempting to conjure up different approaches toward conceptualizing the American history curriculum so that it might actually benefit how students learned it, I was reminded of two parallels involving curricular redesign. The first

was the reform efforts undertaken during the New Social Studies Movement in the 1960s, and the Amherst History Project's attempts in particular. The second was the Schools Council History Project in Great Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. In different ways, both privileged depth over breadth, focused on investigating the past in order to come to understand it, and turned attention toward the importance of teaching procedural concepts (evidence, accounts, source status, reliability) as a basis for supporting the development of that understanding. Both also stressed, again in different ways, critical reading strategies and capabilities.

With the support of the NRRC, I launched two consecutive research projects, turning my attention toward how young students read historical texts and sources. Some of the texts were ones that students encountered as part of the common nation-state development curriculum their teachers were teaching (cursory textbook treatments and the occasional, somewhat more detailed tradebook accounts). Others drew from a more experimental approach in which my research assistants and I asked students to read and make sense of topic-specific but non-standard texts (e.g., primary sources from the Boston "Massacre" that provided considerable depth of eyewitness description). We relied on verbal-report protocols to gather most of our data.

Our goal was threefold: to explore how the fourth- and fifth-grade novices read different kinds of texts, to see if the standard texts produced deeper understandings of a topic than the non-standard texts, or vice versa, and to gauge differences in text/topic interest vis-à-vis the different text types. Although the results spoke in mixed terms, there was a rather pronounced tendency for students to find the primary sources more interesting and engaging, and for them to produce somewhat deeper and more detailed understandings of a topic if they had read the primary source accounts rather than the textbook or tradebook versions.[3]

These studies and two others I conducted with my literacy colleague, Peter Afflerbach, who had helped me master the art of gathering verbal reports,[4] reinforced for me how right both the Amherst Project directors and Schools Council History Project evaluators had been decades earlier when they insisted on the importance of procedural concepts and strategic, critical reading for developing historical understandings. *The capability to think historically precedes those understandings.* Without the former, the latter languishes. It just took me longer to learn this key lesson then it had taken others, and, as was typical for me, I had to learn the lesson on my own through my research work.

Shortly thereafter, I raised my nose out of the research bramble to sniff the broader air, caught a cross current, and then floated along on to my next project. Although most of my work had been focused on student learning in history, the teacher in me had always been asking those pesky pedagogical questions. If students learn history the way the literature and my own studies suggest, what sorts of teaching practices could most adequately facilitate that learning? What, in effect, is a commensurate theory of pedagogy? What would be the earliest grade level such a theory could be applied? And what should the curriculum look like (i.e., the sequencing of opportunities to learn the subject matter)?

In 1998, with support from the Spencer Foundation and influenced by the work of one of my former teachers, Magdalene Lampert in mathematics education, and also historian Larry Cuban, I set about designing a teacher-researcher design experiment that proposed to test a theory of practice and curriculum architecture built up from studies of student learning. Working off the premise that one needed to learn to think historically in order to understand the past, I developed the idea (borrowed might be a better term) of a series of investigative units into early colonial American history. By investigating that colonial past via a variety of source materials, many originals, I could focus students' attention on how to read, analyze, and interpret them in ways that promoted deeper understanding than traditional, textbook-driven approaches. All of this bore considerable resemblance to the Amherst History project of the 1960s and 1970s, work I had studied as a prospective secondary teacher. In January 1999, I took leave from my university position and spent a semester in a fifth-grade classroom testing out my theory and approach.

There, I was back to my beginnings, using a history classroom as a laboratory. This singular study had a most profound effect on me. It tested my pedagogical mettle like no other previous experience. It also challenged my research acumen. As with other teaching experiences, what I learned from those 23 fifth graders, I want to imagine, far exceeded what I taught them. But they also learned a lot I suspect, or at least the data I collected showed that they had. It turned out that 10- and 11-year olds are not too young to begin investigating the past much as historians do, that, if they are explicitly taught to, they can learn how to read, analyze, and interpret carefully, build reasonably sound, evidence-based interpretations, and become deeply engaged and interested in a past that they typically find rather sleep inducing, at least the typical school version of it.[5]

The study also reinforced for me the importance of using a research-based model of learning and academic development in a subject domain as a basis for making pedagogical and curricular decisions. Without such a model, teaching and curricular decisions can only amount to guesswork and invite criticism due to the flimsiness of their data-less rationales. This is another one of those claims that is difficult to overstate, one Brophy was trying to make a decade before when he asked me why the social studies field was so long on pedagogical and curricular theory and so short on evidentiary support.

In retrospect, I see now, having only dimly realized it then, that so many of my research efforts were designed to work out some of the details of such a learning model. Such models need progression markers, to borrow a couple of terms from Rosalind Ashby, Peter Lee, and Denis Shemilt. That is, we need to know which concepts and ideas novices must learn first before they can become more competent thinkers in a domain. We also need to know which ideas they bring to the enterprise that both assist in their learning progressions but also create impasses to growth. If we know what expertise looks like in that domain, we can back map from there. But this backmapping requires research work on how novices deal with concepts and ideas, and in what particular teaching-learning-curriculum contexts. A core of that

work has been done by researchers in Great Britain. Prior to the 1990s, little of it, however, had been done in the U.S. I want to believe that some of my contributions flowed into that gap.

While I was writing up the fifth-grade design-experiment study in its several different forms and talking about it to whomever invited me to convey its outcomes, the late Senator Byrd (D-West Virginia) announced the funding of the Teaching American History (TAH) grant program. Millions of dollars made available to improve the quality American history teaching across the U.S. From 2001 until 2011, my work shifted to TAH program evaluation, again less through careful planning and more so because it looked interesting and served as a new challenge. The primary test involved understanding how to take what I came to know from studies of K-12 students and apply it to how history teachers learned about the subject and how to teach it.

During that decade of TAH program evaluations, I had the utterly good fortune of working with a team of scholars and research assistants who taught me many crucial things about assessment design and mixed-method data analysis. The most notable of these was my colleague, Patricia Alexander. One of her students, Liliana Maggioni, was also a principal contributor. There were three others, Tim Kelly, Kevin Meuwissen, and Kimberly Reddy, my students. Over the course of the decade, this team contributed to evaluation of seven different TAH programs.

One of the more compelling aspects of this work, at least for me, was attempting to make sense of how the teachers' epistemic beliefs influenced what they thought history was, how its claims to knowledge are justified, and how those ideas affect how they approach the teaching of it. Liliana Maggioni designed a set of belief statements and an accompanying Likert scale to begin assessing the TAH teachers' epistemic beliefs about history. I was initially skeptical that such a scale would actually probe such beliefs successfully. For a number of years, we poked and prodded at the data, and fussed over what it might mean. In 2004, we began describing our efforts in print, but did not include results of applying the instrument (called the Beliefs About History Questionnaire, or BHQ) in our evaluation reports until about 2008. By then, we believed we had worked out a method for analyzing the data in meaningful ways.

We came to understand that most of the teachers we were working with held beliefs that were transitional, or, that is, they were otherwise unstable. From an epistemic perspective, doing history is a peculiar project. Despite the desire to locate the truth about the past in its residual objects (relics, artifacts, accounts), investigators cannot fully re-enact that past to see how things actually occurred. The investigator's mental, object-interpretation processes, therefore, become critical ingredients in what we come to call histories. Put a different way, the objects of the past—what can be known—must be mediated by the investigator, the knower. This requires a kind of ongoing coordination between the ideas those objects convey and the work and assumptions of that knower. This coordination is difficult to achieve without the application of agreed-upon criteria for what counts as a successful mediation. One pivotal criterion often cited is the requirement that claims to knowing made by the knower must be rooted in evidence (objects from the past).

Many of the TAH teachers struggled with how to achieve that coordination. The data from the BHQ revealed this repeatedly. Teachers tended to vacillate between over-privileging the objects from the past and over-emphasizing the role of the knower in mediating the meaning of those objects. They had difficulty working out a happy middle ground, and the TAH projects, in spite of their efforts to help teachers understand how history is accomplished, seldom lasted long enough to move teachers' beliefs toward a more successful coordination. We found that same sorts of results when we employed the BHQ with high school students and history majors who were aspiring to become teachers.[6]

For me, the upshot of this work was a confirmation that one's beliefs about what history is and how its knowledge claims are justified are crucial both to doing and teaching it and simultaneously difficult to successfully coordinate without learning a set of criteria that can help manage the process. For history teachers, and their students, the problem is made worse because schooling (e.g., the design of the extant history curriculum and the way it has been traditionally taught and tested) reinforces the importance of the objects of the past, the ones that appear reified in textbooks, at the expense of the role of the knower in mediating the meaning of those objects. This only further convinces me that, if we desire a deeper understanding of the American past from high school and college graduates, they need many more opportunities to investigate it themselves. And they need history teachers who are equipped with powerful interpretive criteria and tools to assist them in learning how.

The questions I took from this work, and ones posed initially by history teachers who had heard me discuss the 1999 design-experiment study, were first, what do history teachers need to know to teach history well, and second, where are they supposed to learn it? They are brilliant questions. Again with support from the Spencer Foundation, I undertook to write a book that explained in as much detail as I could muster what those knowledge structures looked like. I created a history teacher protagonist, named Thomas Becker, and illustrated in detail him teaching an investigative unit on Indian Removal in the 1830s, using the ideas, knowledge, and criteria the foregoing research work helped me to understand. In that book's concluding chapter, I laid out the role different educational agencies could assume in developing more knowledgeable history teachers like Thomas Becker.[7]

One of the more controversial aspects of that book was the chapter on Becker's approach toward assessing his students' growth in thinking historically and understanding the American past. Because Becker's focus was far less on grading and sorting and selecting out students (i.e., testing), much as is current practice, and more on diagnostic assessments that provided him with evidence of student cognitive growth, some people who read the work were puzzled and asked many pointed questions.

This prompted me to follow my customary path of "falling into" a second, follow-up book on assessment strategies in history education. In it, I borrowed heavily

from the innovative designs we constructed and deployed in our TAH evaluation instruments. These included a description of BHQ, as well as DBQ-style essay questions, and weighted multiple-choice items that operated on a principle of having only one incorrect choice among the four A, B, C, and D options. In part, this book was an effort to engage in a conversation about shifting approaches away from the ubiquitous testing-culture strategies and toward forms of diagnostic assessment. The latter are designed to align with a set of investigative teaching strategies (e.g., Becker's) and offer history teachers a means of obtaining ongoing evidence of where their students are along a learning path from novice-like to more competent thinkers. By my lights, that evidence promises to provide opportunities for teachers to adjust practices and learning opportunities in real time and sequentially, thus helping all students attain more powerful thinking capabilities and subsequently deeper understandings.[8]

Even though my experiences suffer from poor planning and I tend to concentrate too closely perhaps on the ground immediately in front of me, I cannot argue that what I have learned has suffered disproportionately. If anything, I suspect that my apprenticeships and intellectual mettle have been enhanced by my myopia, odd as that might be. This is not to say that I recommend it as a course of action. But to the extent that I did plan to go to graduate school to become a better teacher (turning into an educational researcher more or less by accident), having a research agenda in the end did indeed improve my pedagogical craft and skill. I am a much better teacher now than I was. Why? Because I think I learned how to gather and use data from my students to provide me with evidence to justify my choices, or jettison lousy ones as necessary. As I noted, I used to do something like it in my secondary classroom laboratories. However, I simply did not understand then exactly how to use those data as evidence for making wise decisions. Twenty years later, things are different. My current teaching efforts are so filled with diagnostic data-gathering and analysis efforts that my students frequently take to exasperated sighs of suspicion.

As I have moved along this personal path, I want to believe that I also helped fill in empty spaces regarding what we can know about the developmental progressions from young, novice history learners to those with more competence. I have not been the only one to work that seam. I want to recognize, as I think all scholars might, that we stand on the shoulders of giants. I always have been especially blessed to have many of them around me. I'm grateful for their contributions to my growth while remaining simultaneously indebted, even to those who I did not name so as to protect their reputations.

The work I've undertaken has been endlessly amusing and intriguing. It stays so. Little of it was easy. Much of it felt frequently like a hound must feel when chasing a fox that was either never there, or is always so elusive it might as well be. Yet sometimes the pursuit has to be enough. More often than not it was enough for me. All the rest was treasure added.

NOTES

[1] One sample of this work later appeared in Jere Brophy and Bruce A. VanSledright, *Teaching and Learning History in Elementary Schools* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997). But see also an earlier study: Bruce A. VanSledright and Jere Brophy, "Storytelling, Imagination, and Fanciful Elaboration in Children's Reconstruction of History," *American Educational Research Journal*, 29 (1992), 837–859.

[2] This work appeared in a number of journal articles, including Bruce A. VanSledright, 'I Don't Remember—It's All Jumbled in My Head:' Eighth Graders Reconstructions of Colonial American History," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 10 (1995), 317–345 (initially solicited by then-editor O.L. Davis, Jr.); Bruce A. VanSledright, "Studying Colonization in Eighth Grade: What Can It Teach Us About the Learning Context of Current Reforms? *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 24 (1996), 107–145; and Bruce A VanSledright, "And Santayana Lives On: Students' Views On the Purposes for Studying American History," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 29 (1997), 529–557.

[3] This work appeared as Bruce A. VanSledright and Christine Kelly, "Reading American History: The Influence of Using Multiple Sources on Six Fifth Graders," *The Elementary School Journal*, 98 (1998), 239–265, and Bruce A. VanSledright and Lisa Frankes, "Concept- and Strategic-Knowledge Development in Historical Study: A Comparative Exploration in Two Fourth-Grade Classrooms," *Cognition and Instruction*, 18 (2000), 239–283.

[4] Bruce A. VanSledright and Peter Afflerbach, "Reconstructing Andrew Jackson: Elementary Teachers' Readings of Revisionist History Texts," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 28 (2000), 411–444; Peter Afflerbach and Bruce VanSledright, "Hath! Doth! What? Middle Graders Reading Innovative History Text," *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 44 (2001), 696–707; Bruce VanSledright and Peter Afflerbach, "Assessing the Status of Historical Sources: An Exploratory Study of Eight Elementary Students Reading Documents," in Peter Lee (Ed.), *Children and Teachers' Ideas About History*, International Research in History Education, Vol. 4 (London: Routledge/Falmer, 2005), 1–20.

[5] For reports of this work, see Bruce A. VanSledright, "Confronting History's Interpretive Paradox While Teaching Fifth Graders to Investigate the Past," *American Educational Research Journal*, 39 (2002), 1089–1115; Bruce A. VanSledright, "Fifth-Graders Investigating History in the Classroom: Results From a Researcher-Practitioner Design Experiment," *The Elementary School Journal*, 103 (2002), 131-160; and Bruce VanSledright, *In Search of America's Past: Learning to Read History in Elementary School* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

[6] See for example, Liliana Maggioni, Patricia Alexander, and Bruce VanSledright, "At the Crossroads: The Development of Epistemological Beliefs and Historical Thinking," *European Journal of School Psychology*, 2 (2004), 169–197; Liliana Maggioni, Bruce VanSledright, and Patricia Alexander, "Walking On the Borders: A Measure of Epistemic Cognition in History," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 77 (2009), 187–213; Bruce VanSledright, Liliana Maggioni, and Kimberly Reddy, "Preparing Teachers to Teach Historical Thinking? An Interplay Between Professional Development Programs and School-Systems' Cultures," American Educational Research Association Conference (New Orleans, LA, April, 2011); Bruce VanSledright, Liliana Maggioni, and Kimberly Reddy, "Promises and Perils in Attempting to Change History Teachers' Practices: Results From an 18-Month Teaching American History Grant Intervention," American Educational Research Association Conference (Vancouver, BC, April, 2012).

[7] Bruce A. VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policies* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[8] Bruce VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking and Understanding: Innovative Designs for New Standards* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

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ELIZABETH YEAGER WASHINGTON

THE EVOLUTION OF A CIVIC EDUCATOR

The decision to enter a career in teaching has many sources and influences that may, in retrospect, appear to be part of an inevitable flow that may not have seemed so inevitable at the time career decisions were being made. But looking back, I think the flow seems clean and clear. The invitation to write an intellectual self-portrait has been an opportunity for me to look upstream and better understand and appreciate the career flow I have been asked to describe and how it brought me to where I am today. This is my story of a career that has come to focus on civic education, civic engagement, and both American and global citizenship.

THE BEGINNING

The idea of teaching has been a silent, ever-present force shaping my life, from my earliest memory of growing up in the Deep South city of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, home of the state's capstone university, the University of Alabama. In Tuscaloosa, I formed a vision of myself as a teacher before I ever attended the first day of school. I have an early memory of organizing my bedroom into a multi-cultural and multi-species classroom, with my dolls and stuffed animals as my students. I taught them how to spell, read them stories, and wrote words on a little chalkboard. Not all of them excelled, but, in my memory, all were happy.

My mother graduated from a small Baptist college for women in Marion, Alabama; she earned her teaching degree and began teaching before I was born. So there may be something that makes sense in my "animals and dolls" fantasy emulation of what I imagined her classroom life to be like. But my mother's influence on my ultimate career path was indirect and delayed. Although my mother was an elementary school teacher for many years, I attended a different elementary school and was never a student of hers.

My most powerful first experience of the power of teaching came from Mrs. Jeri Ferguson, my sixth grade elementary school teacher. It was in her class that a shy, nervous young girl won her class spelling bee and gained the confidence to go on to win the elementary spelling bee for all of Tuscaloosa County. It was in her class that a fanciful and introverted child gained an early insight into how a teacher's imagination, creativity, and love for her subject can make all the difference in how a student comes to love learning for a lifetime. From studying American history to Mexican culture to popular music (Mrs. Ferguson especially loved show tunes), I had a learning experience rich (for me) in new perspectives on the world. In middle

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 237–246.

and high school, I experienced other creative and talented teachers who ensured that the love of learning Mrs. Ferguson instilled remained with me. In those years I began to develop a deep affinity for subjects that would form the core of the teaching career that I would eventually have many years later, particularly classes in World History (7th grade), Civics (9th grade), an overseas school-to-school exchange program in Bolivia (10th grade), and American History (11th grade).

A CAREER DETOUR

At the University of Alabama, I enrolled in what was then a relatively new experimental program called "New College," an innovative corner of the university where motivated students working with faculty were encouraged to create their own majors. I fashioned an interdisciplinary major in history and political science, with a minor in English and Spanish. At the end of my freshman year, I went to Washington, D.C., for a summer internship with Tuscaloosa's then-Democratic Congressman Richard Shelby (now Alabama's Republican Senator); it was a practical and somewhat disenchanting education in how politics actually worked in the nation's capital. After that, I refocused my interdisciplinary major to include an International Studies focus, deciding to pursue a graduate degree in Latin American Studies at Georgetown University and a career working for the State Department or other U.S. government agency. My planned career flow, by then, did not include teaching.

For a while, it seemed my career would evolve just as I had planned. I graduated from the University of Alabama with an honors degree in International Studies, was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa, and was accepted as a graduate student in Georgetown's Latin American Studies program. But in one of those changes where the flow of life is altered in ways that do not totally make sense until later, I decided instead to enroll in my second choice, the graduate Latin American Studies graduate program at The University of Texas at Austin. This detour, ultimately, would change everything for me.

My graduate studies at The University of Texas at Austin began in the mid-1980s during marked shifts in United States foreign policy in Latin America, particularly in the Central American countries of El Salvador and Nicaragua. I remember a Latin American politics professor hosting an informal meeting so that graduate students could discuss the 1984 Kissinger Commission Report on Central America. My professor stated, "When I started reading the report, I became confused—I thought I was reading Gabriel García-Márquez because I couldn't distinguish fantasy from reality." In any case, U.S. actions in Central America served as my political awakening, disturbing me greatly while dampening—and darkening—my original enthusiasm for a career with the State Department or any U.S. government agency involved in Latin America. It was at this dark moment of career reassessment that serendipity arrived in the form of an invitation to teach in a summer program for high-achieving high school students at the Texas Governor's School on The University of Texas at Austin campus. At 25, I found myself in my very first teaching job, teaching

a course in Texas-Mexico Relations, based on a powerful book I selected, *Occupied America*, by Rodolfo Acuña.

"ALL IN" TO TEACHING

Almost immediately, I felt I had found my calling, and my passion, which had been there all along though submerged. I shifted my focus at The University of Texas at Austin to taking the education course work to earn my teaching certificate. After another summer teaching a course in Latin American Studies at the Texas Governor's School, I moved to Atlanta for my job search. At age 26 I began a five-year career as an Atlanta area high school and middle school teacher. I taught World History, World Geography, U.S. History, and Street Law. At the same time, I enrolled part time in Georgia State University's College of Education, earning a Masters of Arts in Teaching with concentration in Latin American Studies.

Then world events again altered my career flow. The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the rapid opening up of Eastern Europe to the West and brought with it a sharp demand for English teachers. Already a great admirer of the Czech poet and political leader Vaclav Havel, whose credo included the idea that "the idea of human rights and freedoms must be an integral part of any meaningful world order," I sought out and accepted a teaching position in Czechoslovakia and took a leave of absence from my stateside teaching job. In Czechoslovakia I began to think deeply about what Eastern Europe's experiences and Havel's ideas might add to an understanding of civic education and the teaching of history, both of which the Czechs were willing to take a hard look at reinventing after the demise of Communism.

Ultimately, I decided to return to The University of Texas at Austin, this time to pursue a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction in the College of Education, focusing on Social Studies Education and Curriculum History under the guidance of O.L. Davis, Jr., as my mentor. After earning my Ph.D. in 1995 at age 34, I accepted a position at the University of Florida in the College of Education as an assistant professor of secondary social studies in the ProTeach masters/certification program. Happily, I have remained at UF to this day. As my career has progressed, my research focus has shifted from a focus on historical empathy and perspective taking and wise practice in the teaching and learning of history to civic education and civic engagement.

MAJOR THEMES IN MY SCHOLARLY WORK

As a researcher on the teaching and learning of history and on wise practice in teaching history, I published two books with my colleagues O. L. Davis, Jr., and Stuart J. Foster. In 2001, Davis, Foster, and I co-edited *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*. In 2005, Davis and I co-edited *Wise Social Studies Teaching in an Age of High Stakes Testing: Essays on Classroom Practices and Possibilities*. Refereed journal articles in this area appeared in *Journal of Social Studies Research, Elementary School Journal, Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, Theory and*

Research in Social Education, Canadian Journal of Education, Urban Education, Social Studies Research and Practice, Social Education, and *International Journal of Social Education.* Many of these articles included distinguished co-authors (and formal doctoral students) such as Stephanie van Hover, Emma Humphries, Frans Doppen, and Brian Lanahan, but we were all profoundly influenced by the stellar research of O. L. Davis, Jr., Linda Levstik, Sam Wineburg, and Keith Barton.

PROFESSIONAL MARKERS

In 2001, I became the first female editor of *Theory and Research in Social Education*, which I edited for six years and which gave me the opportunity to learn from first-rate research in my field. But in 2002, everything changed professionally. I was invited to the annual R. Freeman Butts Institute on civic education and had my "road to Damascus" experience that inspired me to go back to Gainesville and reshape my methods courses around a civic education philosophy. Inspired by the work of Patricia Avery, Walter Parker, Diana Hess, Cynthia Tyson, and John Patrick, I began to organize my thinking around enlightened civic engagement and the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and actions needed for effective citizenship. Within a few years, working with the Center for Civic Education, I had presented my own work at the Butts Institute, coordinated several summer seminars on Constitutional issues for social studies methods professors (on such subjects as the First Amendment, national security, and the Patriot Act), and taught seminars for teachers on citizenship issues. Inspired by the work of Cornel West and Benjamin Barber, I taught doctoral seminars on critical issues in democratic citizenship education, and I worked with Emma Humphries to design a new civics methods course for my ProTeach students. But perhaps the most powerful of my civic education professional development experiences and resulting teaching experiences occurred at three Center for Civic Education seminars on the Navajo Reservation in Chinle, Arizona. If a "civically spiritual" experience is possible, then that is what I had. Ultimately, I wrote an article for *Social Education* about integrating Navajo government and sovereignty issues into civics courses and subsequently presented this work to teachers attending the Navajo seminar.

In 2006 I was promoted to full professor, and my civics trajectory accelerated. In 2006, the Florida Legislature voted to require a middle school civics course. In 2010, the Legislature passed the Sandra Day O'Connor Civics Education Act, with more specific mandates about civics content reading, new standards and benchmarks for 7th grade civics, and an end-of-course exam. Civic education in Florida began to move along at warp speed because of a vast need for middle school social studies teacher professional development and the looming exam on the horizon. The Florida Joint Center for Citizenship—a partnership between the Lou Frey Institute for Politics and Government at the University of Central Florida and the Bob Graham Center for Public Service at the University of Florida—invited me to become a Senior Fellow

whose purview would be teacher professional development in civics. Since 2009, I have led a project to develop a year-long 7th grade applied civics curriculum, trained hundreds of 7th grade teachers in this curriculum in over 20 counties, helped develop online professional development programs for middle school civics teachers, and served on the state advisory task force for the legislatively mandated end-of-course exam for civics. I have also written numerous multi-media tutorial scripts for a corporate civics content provider that has contracted with the Florida Department of Education. Most recently, in 2012 I was appointed as a Knight Fellow at the Bob Graham Center for Public Service at the University of Florida, where I have been involved in the development of a pilot course in civic engagement for undergraduate students.

MY MATURE VOICE

I have become intensely interested in the idea of critical civic literacy, which I interpret as the exercising of skills of critical inquiry and analysis to help make meaning of what is happening in civic relationships and institutions in the world around us. As we ask questions and seek knowledge, we can use our understanding to challenge existing power structures. Scholars from John Dewey to Walter Parker have conceptualized civic engagement as active participation in civic institutions in order to influence governance. Parker uses the terms "enlightened political engagement" or "wise political action," explaining:

> Political engagement refers to the action or participation dimension of democratic citizenship, from voting to campaigning, boycotting, and protesting. Democratic enlightenment refers to the knowledge and commitments that inform this engagement: for example, knowledge of the ideals of democratic living, the ability to discern just from unjust laws and action … and the ability and commitment to deliberate public policy in cooperation with disagreeable others. Without democratic enlightenment, participation cannot be trusted … (and) can be worse than apathy.

Parker's work continually reminds me that enlightened political engagement is not easy to accomplish; in fact, it is a continuous goal toward which we work with others who hold different ideas and perspectives than ourselves.

I also greatly admire the work of C. Wright Mills, a public intellectual who pushed citizens and power brokers to challenge institutions to see new possibilities and to solve social problems. Additionally, I find a philosophical anchor in the work of Westheimer and Kahne who have categorized three levels of citizenship: the "personally involved citizen," (the involved yet least engaged citizen), the "participatory citizen" (who attempts greater civic engagement), and the "justice-oriented citizen" (who addresses the root causes of social problems, attempting more intense personal involvement focused on the enhancement of

democratic values). And as David Buckingham's work reminds me, obtaining the information we need to be active citizens requires us to be critically literate not just with regard to laws and government structures, but also with regard to media. Buckingham posits that media cannot be separated from the social and institutional structures in which it is situated. The National Council for the Social Studies 2008 position statement on media literacy emphasizes the importance of analyzing ideology and power as we learn how media are used to position audience and frame public opinion.

THE PERSONAL

Civic education has been professionally motivating and enriching, but I know I would not be as involved or committed were it not for the fact that this enterprise has become deeply personal for me. I have occasionally been a "participatory citizen" as a volunteer in national political campaigns and as a political blogger focused on progressive politics and social change, but my direct, personal involvement as a justice-oriented citizen has been infrequent. I suppose the ultimate justice-oriented experience for me was when my husband and I legally intervened on behalf of Alachua County voters in 2010 because outside interests threatened a lawsuit challenging fraud in the mayoral race and the integrity of the electoral process in the county. We won the case, thanks mostly to a judge who took a great interest in civic education and issued an eloquent ruling that will resonate with me throughout my teaching. In part, the judge wrote:

> The Florida Supreme Court has noted that the real parties in interest in an election contest are the voters. Ours is a government of, by and for the people. Our federal and state constitutions guarantee the right of the people to take an active part in the process of that government, which for most of our citizens means participation via the election process. The right to vote is the right to participate; it is also the right to speak, but more importantly the right to be heard. We must tread carefully on that right, or we risk the unnecessary and unjustified muting of the public voice.

Overall, politics and an interest in world affairs is the main hobby in our home, and we all confess to being political junkies. My husband ran for City Commission in 2012 (losing the race but raising awareness of the hardships faced by our district's poorest residents who cannot pay their utility bills); my 15-year-old son Benjamin loves to talk about local and national politics and has even made a "Citizen Comment" at a City Commission meeting; my oldest son John recently completed his Peace Corps service in Mali and now attends New York University Law School to study international/human rights law; my middle son David recently completed his Peace Corps service in Honduras and now attends Penn Law School as a Toll Scholar in Public Interest Law. When we watch television, it is almost always the news, from Stewart and Colbert to Rachel Maddow. But it is probably recent local issues that

have given me the best "object lessons" about civic decision-making, especially in understanding how easily the democratic ideals of transparency, accountability, and free speech can be so easily subverted by a few people when most are not paying attention. So I am also one of those civics geeks who sits around watching live televised City and County Commission meetings.

HOW I SEE THE ISSUES IN THE FIELD TODAY

My primary concerns can be summed up as follows:

- The challenge for teacher educators/researchers to become and remain relevant to the needs of children's real lives in school is ongoing and critical, complicated by the fact that we are always dealing with a moving target.
- The need to focus on preparing enlightened, engaged future citizens is constantly in conflict with the demands of high-stakes, standardized testing.
- More than ever, teacher educators/researchers must encourage curriculum and teaching that helps children learn to ask meaningful questions about substantive issues they will encounter in civic life.
- For academics in general, the struggle against anti-higher education and anti-public education forces is greater than ever—and more dispiriting than ever.

LASTLY, SOME OF MY CIVIC HEROES

I would be remiss not to mention several people who have left a deep imprint on my civic soul:

- Miss Tennie Davidson, my 11th grade American History teacher who made me dress up as Eleanor Roosevelt on American Heritage Day in 1978 and inspired me to learn about the democratic ideals she tried to uphold;
- Former President Jimmy Carter – one of the world's greatest humanitarians who has stimulated my interest in human rights and civic engagement issues, and whose Sunday School classes in Plains have been deeply meaningful even though I am not religious;
- George Washington, my favorite president, whose "110 Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation" has become required reading for all of the teachers and students with whom I work;
- Bruce Springsteen, whose powerful music and love of country have inspired a special exhibit in the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia that I saw in August 2012. In 2004, Springsteen wrote in the *New York Times,* "The country we carry in our hearts is waiting."

It still waits for all of us, and I want to be there.

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JOEL WESTHEIMER

WHAT KIND OF SCHOLAR?

The only time I remember my mother speaking directly, and with great sadness, about leaving Germany on a *kindertransport* at the age of 10, was when I was back in Frankfurt with her some 40 years later. I was 19 or 20 years old. We were waiting for a train together, just she and I, in the Frankfurt *Hauptbahnhof* (central station). I saw her look at a platform adjacent to the one where we were standing, and she said "That's where I waved goodbye to my mother and grandmother—it looks exactly the same." And, indeed, it did. From both photographs and history books, I knew that although the allied bombing of Frankfurt destroyed much of the city, the central train station suffered only broken windows and minor damage. Only the advertising looked different. My mother remembers smiling while she waved goodbye so that her mother would not cry. She also remembers giving her favorite doll to the girl seated opposite her who was disconsolate. They were two of the 100 girls and boys on the train headed to relative safety in Switzerland. It was the last time my mother would see her family.

Writing an intellectual autobiography seems challenging, because I know that reading an intellectual biography is a bit like reading about love. It falls short of the author's experience. My development as a scholar, like anyone's, is bound up in a variety of life experiences and putting those experiences onto paper (or screen) risks stripping them of their vitality and meaning. Yet pen and paper (keyboard and screen) are the tools of our trade. They are imperfect tools, but they are the tools we have. And so I begin on that train platform in Frankfurt, not because it is the first experience, chronologically speaking, that shaped my scholarly endeavors, or even the most important one. I start there because I am guessing that, although my parents, both German Jewish refugees, spoke relatively little about their experiences during World War II, the intellectual lineage I inherited was surely shaped by the profound injustices that informed their childhoods.

It has been said that we don't choose areas of intellectual inquiry but, rather, they choose us. I'm willing to bet my work in education, democratic community, and social justice are the above-ground products of scholarly concerns with deeper roots. For as long as I can remember, I have been interested in the ways people treat each other, learn from each other, and live together in communities, local, national, and global. When asked to contribute to this volume, I knew my biggest challenge would be in staying within the bounds of social education as a field. Like many academics, I've never been all that comfortable in one field, and my work tends to spill messily across disciplinary boundaries. But then, that is one of the strengths

C. Woyshner (Ed.), Leaders in Social Education, 247–264.

of social education: its capacity for relevance to all teaching and learning. I have always believed social education should be at the center of the school curriculum, because all other subject areas and disciplines are made meaningful through their connection to the social world.

My intellectual development is rooted not just in the books I've read or the scholars with whom I've interacted but also in my experiences as a classroom teacher, camp director, political actor, and amateur musician (the last one being an important counterbalance to the analytical and methodical nature of scholarly work). In what follows, I trace my intellectual journey through the experiences that brought me to my current work. This journey has had more highpoints than I could have imagined (just now, for example, I love my various jobs: University Research Chair in the Sociology of Education, executive director of the research collaborative, Democratic Dialogue, and educational columnist for CBC Radio in Ottawa). But here's a teaser for a few of the more difficult challenges that you'll read about below: by the time I took my current position at the University of Ottawa, 10 years ago, I had flunked out of one university, suffered paralyzing writers' block at another, and was fired from a third. Sometimes, I like to call these my four 'F's: Failed, Fickle, Fired, and Fortunate. I hope that after reading this chapter that you—like me—are left with the sense that the first three are inextricably linked to the last.

SOCIAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM

My earliest and most socially, intellectually, and politically influential experience with institutionally-based education took place not at school but in a youth movement called *Hashomer Hatzair*, an organization with socialist-Zionist roots that began in Europe in 1913. My parents knew that the private schools that both my older sister and I attended in New York City would provide an excellent education but not a socially balanced one. They wanted our academic pursuits to be matched with the kinds of social and educational experiences that nurture a strong sense of conscience, community, and social justice, though they would not have used those words. When I was nine years old, I followed my sister Miriam to weekly meetings in the Bronx with other children and youth, and then to weekend and week-long outings, and finally to summer camp in Liberty, New York.

All of these gatherings, in particular the summer camp, were modeled after the educational and social ideals of the early Israeli *kibbutzim*.[1] Youth and young adults worked together planning educational programs and activities for younger children that emphasized the values of equality, community, justice, and cooperation. For the next 13 years, Hashomer Hatzair helped create a foundation for my ideas about education and community that, although I didn't know it at the time, would become central to my later life as an educator. I became a counselor, area leader, director of cultural activities, and camp director and, upon reflection, I can see at least three aspects of my experiences there that informed my ideas about education for years to come.

The first was democratic socialism (I know, there go my chances for public office). At the camp, the socialist ideal was tied to the hope that we would eventually move to Israel to live a collective life on a kibbutz, but for me, the value was more educational than political and more social than Zionist. Some readers may have had similar experiences to varying degrees in other temporarily "socialist" institutions that hold high the values of communal living, equality of resources, and a shared sense of mission. These may have included other egalitarian summer camps, boarding schools, religious groups, or the military—the latter being perhaps the most socialist of all contemporary North American institutions.

The educational approaches we employed had roots (unbeknownst to us at the time) in the philosophies of John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and other progressives. But what seemed to make them particularly influential was their implementation in the context of a temporary collective life at camp. We had lengthy discussions about whether it made sense to pool the money (and candy!) our parents had given us for camp and how to live together in relative equality and happiness, at least for those six weeks each summer. We held meetings on our responsibilities to others, our values, tolerance, justice, gender equality, and sexuality. In those discussions were the seeds of broader explorations of theories of community, social change, and social justice. For me and my friends, the failed Marxist political experiment of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" was, in the small context of our collective Summer camp life, a successful educational provocation.

Why, I am often asked, are public schools so afraid to stray from mainstream assumptions about how to live? The school curricula and textbooks do not just privilege one vision over others (think capitalism, free-market, consumerism, individualism); often, they pretend that there *is* only one vision. Two years ago, my daughter and her (non-Jewish) friend, Zoe, attended the Perth, Ontario, Hashomer Hatzair summer camp called Camp Shomria. Zoe, as it turns out, *loved* the camp. Her mother asked Zoe why she liked the camp more than the other one she had attended that same summer. Zoe, who her mother described to me as a girl-of-few-words, thought for a moment and then replied: "We didn't really learn about the theory of socialism so much at the other camp." This made me laugh, of course, but it occurred to me that my delight (as an educator and a parent) in her reply came not because the camp exposes youth to an unrealized ideal of egalitarian living called democratic socialism, but rather that the campers are exposed to *ideas* at all. And furthermore, that being exposed to intellectual ideas is, according to Zoe, fun. Kids come away from this experience aware of something called "theory," that there are theories for how to organize our lives or seek equality or justice. Formal schools could learn valuable lessons from this approach.

The second idea about education was rooted in the "youth" part of youth movement. Like many camps, the counselors were teenagers. Unlike most camps, however, there were virtually no adults involved at any level except where tasks like taking out car insurance and balancing the books were involved. Youth and

young adults, almost all under 20, planned, implemented, and evaluated the programs at all levels. This allowed us to draw on our youthful idealism (some might call it "naïveté," but I would not) and a kind of counter-cultural enthusiasm (questioning common assumptions about how societies might best be organized) to create an educational space that served as a pointed alternative to the competitive, individualistic, and relatively infantilizing atmosphere most of us experienced at school. Where our traditional schools asked little and expected little of the children and youth in attendance, at the camp we shouldered what seemed at the time like weighty responsibilities (even adopting, as my former counselor Raviv Schwartz pointed out to me, a counter culture to the counter culture: no smoking, drinking or even makeup allowed!). And for the most part, we rose to the challenge. The youth-teaching-youth culture also ensured that the leaders and facilitators had strong ties to one another—often having grown up together in the youth movement—making for an exceptionally strong form of the kinds of "teacher professional communities" that would later become the subject of my doctoral research.

The third aspect of my years in *Hashomer Hatzair* that influenced my ideas about education concerned the building of strong communities that not only allowed but also encouraged critical thinking and dissent. Strong communities are attractive for their bonds of affection and the sense of shared mission and beliefs they engender. My lifelong friends who I first met in *Hashomer*, Eran Caspi and Danny Factor, both point out that many of us continue to seek out opportunities for the wonderful combination of work and play amid strong relationships that our time in *Hashomer Hatzair* provided. We were young educators, yes, but we also had a lot of fun together. Community was also strengthened through the spirit of *chalutz*—settling the land. This meant that outdoor education and a strong connection to the land was an integral part of fostering community as well. I carried the educational connection to the outdoors through many experiences which I will describe, in part, later in this essay. Here, however, I note that the collective experience in the outdoors gave me not only a love of hiking and other wilderness activities but also planted the seed for the powerful idea of teaching outside of the schoolhouse walls – an idea taken up by well-known groups such as Outward Bound and the National Outdoor Leadership School.

But strong communities have a potential dark side, as in cults and other insular groupings. Community integrity (in both the moral and structural sense) tends to be most tested during times of dissent and disagreement. My most memorable lesson in this regard came in 1982 when Israel invaded Lebanon and became complicit in the massacre of civilians in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. Many of us in *Hashomer* were devastated. The youth leadership, at least in the Northeast, long seeing the North American movement as critical, pro-Palestinian, but still Zionist, felt that the movement could no longer be supportive of a Jewish state that committed such atrocities or allowed such atrocities to be committed under its watch. What was to become of a community organized around a sense of shared beliefs and commitments when those very commitments were called into question? It

would take an entire book to adequately explore what happened, but for the purposes of this essay, it was notable to me that this strong community with a 70-year history turned inward for critical self-examination; we held debates, summits, and countless conversations (sometimes stretching through the night) in an attempt to interrogate commitments that had been at the center of the community's ideals and were now being called into question. I thought of this period often when I later developed my ideas about the benefits and challenges of community and the important role dissent plays in any democratic society or institution.

SOCIAL INQUIRY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Although my early experiences working with children and youth were exciting, my path to education as a career was meandering. At Princeton University I enrolled in the Engineering School to study electrical engineering and computer science. The extent to which computer programming was a part of my early passion still surprises colleagues and friends. But as unlikely a choice as it may seem looking back now, computers in the 1970s and 1980s were new and exhilarating and had a certain counter-cultural cachet that attracted me. In fact, a few of us were once nearly expelled for breaking into the Grumman Aerospace mainframe computer and changing the military contractor's welcome message seen by all employees each morning to "Good morning, Warmongers!" If you want to scratch your head and laugh about the unlikely path I took to becoming a professor of education, you can read about this and my other forays into 'hacking' in a book by former classmate and *Wired Magazine* writer David Bennahum, called *Extra Life: Coming of Age in Cyberspace*: DemocraticDialogue.com/SuperUsers.pdf. Although Bennahum's glowing description of our exploits includes some embellishments, the chapter (and book) make a good read.

On the one hand, the focus of my studies seemed almost incidental to the other educational experiences Princeton had to offer. For most of my time at Princeton, I lived off campus in a group house that served (and had always served) as a gathering place for various campus groups with progressive political and social causes. I joined groups working to improve social conditions and pursue economic justice in Latin America. I became deeply involved in the leadership of the anti-apartheid and divestment protests that swept campuses in the mid-1980s. When civil disobedience arrests began, my parents became very uneasy, fearing that, while in jail, I would miss my final exams and then fail to graduate!

On the other hand, my studies also gave me opportunities for social inquiry that helped shape my world view. I learned a great deal about computer science, but I was more engaged by work on the relationship between technology and society. One professor in particular, Steve Slaby from the Civil Engineering department, offered a course that was path-breaking in its interdisciplinarity. His "Technology and Society" seminars (now common in engineering and science departments, but rare in the 1980s) attracted students from across the campus and introduced me to

authors such as Jacques Ellul (*The Technological Society*), E.F. Schumacher (*Small is Beautiful*), Herbert Marcuse (*One Dimensional Man*), and Paulo Freire (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*). Seeking to avoid large introductory courses whenever possible, I also stumbled on a course by the eccentric Manfred Halpern called "Personal and Social Transformation" and another seminar called "Women in Politics." I enjoyed the latter course so much, that I enrolled in several related courses and eventually became the first male student at Princeton to graduate with a certificate in Women's Studies (it should go without saying that I was the first male *engineering* student to do so as well; but soon after, my high school programming friend, Paul Haar, would become the second).

Taking advantage of a program that allowed for field experiences outside of Princeton, I spent half of my senior year in Argentina, and while I had a job there computer programming, I spent a great deal of my time observing protests by groups like *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*; I also attended the public trials of the military generals who sullied the country through years of state terrorism during *La Guerra Sucia* (The Dirty War). Despite being 22 years old at the time, one of my favorite pieces of writing to this day comes from my time there, a piece called "When Justice Isn't Enough" (see Favorite Works). My ideas about civic education, social education, and social movements were affected both by witnessing a nation recovering from a period of state-sponsored violence and murder of its own people and by experiencing a civic and political culture profoundly different from that in the United States. Margaret Mead wrote that if human beings were fish, the last thing we would discover is water. That's how it was with my understanding of American culture: stepping outside allowed a kind of clarity of vision that is impossible from within.

Also throughout my university years, I composed and played music with my friend Michael Mann, and much of that music was aimed at social commentary. We performed often in a small café on campus where the politically-engaged and the curious hung out. I wrote about homelessness in a song called "Down and Out in Rome." I wrote about the struggles I saw in Argentina in a song called "Catch the Sun." In 1985, I wrote about the burgeoning AIDS crisis in a song called "Poison in the Fog." (I am shocked to read a verse from that song now which said "There's eighteen thousand gone and soon so many more / will be knocking at the door / of the houses that we built/to house the destitute and poor / It's a shame." Eighteen thousand deaths in 1985—that number is now more than 30 million.) The café where we performed was also home to "Progressive Dinners" which brought together students from a wide variety of background to eat together and discuss issues of current social and political concern on campus and beyond. Around the same time, my friend Michael Berkowitz and I, after attending a Pete Seeger concert, started a group called Folksinging Together. We gathered every Sunday evening in front of the Princeton University Library with instruments, song books, and candle lanterns. The small crowds attracted regulars but also passers-by who often became involved in Progressive Dinners and more as a result of their dalliance with folk singing.

The links between politics and music, social movements and socializing, were prominent. All of these groups formed an organizing base from which a successful campus movement to have Princeton divest from stockholdings in apartheid South Africa was later formed.

I enjoyed programming, but as the courses got technically more advanced, I recognized more and more that rather than learning about social movements and social inquiry, I was learning about math and solid-state electronics. The classes that focused on numbers didn't ask the questions that most engaged me: social oppression and the burgeoning South African divestment movement, for example. My studies began to feel focused more on answers and less on questions and I didn't like it. I began to feel misled by my exciting early days of computer science. When my interest flailed at the same time as the mathematics and engineering courses began to get more difficult, I lost my footing. At the end of the fall semester of my second year, I could not recognize most of the symbols on my final exam in an advanced math class. A mix of hubris and foolishness made me think I could squeak by in a subject for which I had lost both interest and ability. Similarly, a course in solid-state electronics neither held my interest nor did I seem capable of absorbing the material. I got a 'D' in the electronics course and an 'F' in the math course. (In the same semester I received an 'A+' in an abnormal psychology course which perhaps was some kind of unheeded message). One week into the beginning of the Spring semester, an envelope was hand-delivered to my dorm room. It contained a letter informing me of my 'involuntary withdrawal' status. I was to leave the university immediately and I would have to reapply in order to be readmitted. Here was the first of the 'F's I mentioned above: kicked out of school.

During my time away from Princeton I simultaneously agreed to be camp director for the *Hashomer Hatzair* summer camp and took a programming job at Chase Manhattan Bank in order to make some money. Each day I would travel from the bank to the offices of the Summer camp. I don't think I fully appreciated the comical tension that existed between the two poles of my dual life as capitalist and democratic socialist. I remember once trying to explain to my boss why I was using Chase Bank's Xerox machines to photocopy a poster for "May 1: International Workers Day." Also during this time, I read a great deal about education for the preparation of workshops for the camp counselors and staff. Education does not happen only at the university, and Princeton gave me an opportunity to recognize how true that is. When I returned to Princeton, I had—for better or worse—learned the art of negotiating the pursuit of what interested me with the more prosaic and practical necessity of passing my courses. I graduated from Engineering with honors (something that my friends still laugh about). But I also had weathered an experience that made me think about motivations and reward in education. The difference between what Mark Twain famously called one's schooling and one's education made its impact on my views of pedagogy and community work.

WHAT TEACHING TAUGHT ME ABOUT SCHOOLING

I began teaching in the New York City Public Schools in 1987 and kept a crude diary of some of my experiences. The entries tended to lean toward tales of Kafkaesque bureaucracy, because taking a detached sociologist's perspective allowed me to laugh rather than lose my mind at some of the obstacles New York City public school teachers face. To this day, I still advise my teacher education students to keep a simple diary at least during their first few years of teaching. Those diary entries led me to want to explore what other people wrote about schools, and it was not long before I had a great number of new influences on my thinking about education. Enrolling in a handful of courses at Columbia University's Teachers College gave me a taste of the scholarly exploration of ideas that I craved. Taking courses with Maxine Greene, Fran Bolin, Jon Snyder, and others gave me entry into a wondrous world of philosophy and praxis. Maxine Greene who continues to be a friend, colleague, and mentor gave legendary lectures on the importance of education for a democratic society. Fran Bolin and Jon Snyder (who was a doctoral student at the time) led us through exercises and activities that explored the tensions between the leaders of the back-to-basics movement. We read *The Nation at Risk* report along with E.D. Hirsh, Allan Bloom, and Diane Ravitch. And we read Deborah Meier, Paulo Freire, Maxine Greene, Lawrence Cremin, and John Dewey.

The field of social education at this time was awash with controversy over whether content was being neglected in the name of progressive education. The push for "cultural literacy" (which generally meant memorizing a lot of facts) contributed to the social studies content wars and made for vibrant scholarly discourse. As the *Nation at Risk* report warned of the "rising tide of mediocrity," those of us studying education reform and witnessing proposed changes in school curricula were caught up in the debates. But while history textbooks and social studies curricula were still light-years behind the kind of contextual historical analysis that historians practiced (who, in turn, were well behind literary critics), these education reformers were calling for yet more reliance on decontextualized facts and stories.

But at the same time that writers like E.D. Hirsh were pushing a back-to-basics facts-based curriculum[2], there was also an opposing force: the growth of service learning pedagogies which focused on experiential, community-based work tied to the school curriculum. Service learning caught my attention because of its kinship with the educational work we did in *Hashomer Hatzair*. (At Stanford, fellow graduate student Joe Kahne and I would later write our first of many articles together on service learning. "In the Service of What? The Politics of Service Learning" was a precursor to the ideas we later explored in citizenship education more broadly.)

As a middle school teacher in a Manhattan alternative public school, I had considerable freedom (certainly more than many teachers today under our current cultural obsession with high-stakes testing and "standards"). I sought—with mixed success—to elevate critical thinking above rote memorization. I used music, politics, and examples from the social world in almost everything I taught, and I enjoyed my students enormously, some of whom I am still in touch with today.

At the same time as I was developing intellectual interests in these pedagogical approaches, however, I was also growing concerned with the isolation experienced by many teachers engaged in educational agendas for social equality and change. My experience working together with my friends in the youth movement seemed a far cry from the insular "egg-crate" experience of teaching that Dan Lortie describes in his 1975 classic, *Schoolteacher*. This experience of isolation and fractured staff mission later led to my first line of research as a doctoral student at Stanford: ideas about community in school reform efforts and, specifically, teacher professional communities that alternately supported or challenged social cohesion among the teachers. While popular reforms asserted the importance of developing shared beliefs among a school faculty, my study showed that the nature of the beliefs (and not only the fact that they were shared) mattered. Schools that reflect ideals of participatory and egalitarian communities, for example, look very different from those that share beliefs in autonomy and individual "excellence."

My doctoral thesis later became the book, *Among Schoolteachers: Community, Autonomy, and Ideology in Teachers' Work* (Teachers College Press, 1998). The contrast between the professional community I experienced as a teacher and the one I had experienced earlier as a camp counselor and camp director was an invaluable element in my understanding and conceptualizing the possibilities for teachers working together.

Despite the courses I took at Teachers College, I became restless. Teaching was exhausting work, and I wanted more time to reflect on my evolving understanding of schools and schooling. I also knew that I was required to obtain a master's degree to continue teaching, and I began looking at full-time graduate programs.

MY MENTORS AT STANFORD AND THE STANFORD EXPERIENTIAL CURRICULA PROJECT

When I arrived at Stanford University in June 1989, I was full of enthusiasm for exploring, intellectually, the experiences I had had as a teacher. The handful of courses at Teachers College gave me a taste of the scholarly exploration of ideas that I craved when I was teaching. I was enrolled in the M.A. program, and my intention was to return to K-12 teaching when I finished. Through a mix of serendipity and opportunity, I went on for a Ph.D. rather than returning to classroom teaching. (To this day, I continue to find ways to spend time in schools, both to keep my intellectual work in line with the realities of practice and also because I sometimes miss teaching children.)

The Stanford school of education in the late 1980s and early 1990s was thriving. Housing a long list of influential scholars in a variety of fields, Stanford was an exciting place to be. Students were not without their complaints, of course, but I am keenly aware of the immense opportunities for scholarly engagement the school fostered. My thesis supervisor, Larry Cuban, was my most influential mentor. I have known Larry for 25 years now and he remains an intellectual mentor as well as a close friend. His lengthy experience as a social studies teacher and district superintendent gives him insight into and respect for the connections (and tensions) between research and

practice that I admire and always seek to emulate. But Larry was not my only mentor. David Tyack, Nel Noddings, Lee Shulman, Milbrey McLaughlin, Elliot Eisner, Mike Atkin, and the anthropologists Ray McDermott and Shirley-Brice Heath, among others, gave generously of their time and frequently engaged and challenged me in a variety of ways. Long hikes with Tyack, bike rides with Cuban and Tyack, dinners and Passover Seders with Shulman and McLaughlin, Dewey seminars in the home of Noddings—these all supplemented classroom time and became an integral part of my education at Stanford. Stanford is also where I met my aforementioned lifetime colleague and friend, Joe Kahne. At Stanford, I was introduced to these leading scholars' own work but also to work by Judith Warren Little, Roland Barth, and Ann Lieberman on teacher professional communities. I studied theorists like John Dewey, Amy Gutmann, Michael Apple, Ivan Illich, Joel Spring, and Benjamin Barber, and education reformers and critics like Ted Sizer, Seymour Sarason, and Deborah Meier.

One of the reasons I decided to stay on for my Ph.D. was the opportunity to develop and teach a course which I called "Experiential Curricula: The Case of Wilderness Education." Drawing on the scholarly work I was absorbing and my own teaching experiences, I wanted to teach a course that would build on the powerful educational experiences I had both in my middle school classroom in New York City and in informal education in the youth movement where I gained an early appreciation for the outdoors as an educational space. It is well beyond the scope of this essay to detail what I later founded as the Stanford Experiential Curricula Project, but if you're interested, you can read about it in "Collective Action, Collective Reflection: Preparing Teachers for Collective School Leadership" and in "Building Community: An Experience-Based Model" (both in my list of favorite works). The project ran for 5 years during which Stanford teacher education students studied and developed experience-based curriculum that brought hundreds of urban San Jose high school students across the Golden Gate Bridge to Point Reyes National Seashore for weekend-long educational experiences. These courses did not teach about the wilderness or about nature as much as they explored the possibilities for project-based educational experiences outside of schoolhouse walls. It was the kind of massive undertaking only a single late-twenties graduate student could attempt, but it provided me with critical insights into the tense relationship between educational theory and practice, especially as it pertains to the social significance of teaching and learning.

My deep involvement with both the Stanford and the San Jose students, however, gave me doubts about academia and what I saw as the antagonistic relationship between scholarship and passion, between the life of the mind and the life of the heart. I was haunted by what Pat Graham wrote in her 1992 book, *S.O.S.: Sustain Our Schools*: "Most ed-school professors today would rather explain a problem than solve it." I became restless and fickle (there it is, my second 'F'). Theory is so neat and tidy, I found, even seductive. It has simple suppositions. But practice is messy. An excerpt from a poem I wrote for the School of Education newsletter gives a sense of my state of mind at the time. I claim no talent for poetic artistry, but it accurately portrays the crisis of confidence in my choice to pursue a Ph.D. (see Figure 1).

Why do you go removing yourself so
From worlds and ways of life?
What do you do by comparing and contrasting
Slicing bits with a well-trained thought-knife?
What do you gain by splitting yourself from you
By removing yourself from me?
What philosophy invokes you to
Treat passion objectively?
What sort of fairness do you chase
In defending what you expound
When knowledge comes from living and
Not the other way around.
I wonder when you'll recognize that
For whatever it is worth
In addition to my mind
I've got a body on this earth.
I'm pensive yes, but passionate
And that's where my truth lies
"Anti-intellectual" you say?
Just anti-cut and dry.
What do you gain by removing yourself from me
By estranging yourself from you?
What knowledge what authority
Treats life as "false" or "true?"
If I respect your logic
Will you respect my gut
Or can we rise above
These distinctions used so much?
Why do you think about
Instead of thinking through the soul?
How do you view this world
If I may ask and be so bold?
I do not wonder with you
Rather at you when I sigh
And speculate how swiftly
Academia bleeds life dry.
What do you gain by ripping yourself from you
By separating yourself from me?
What inner want incites you to
Treat passion objectively?

Figure 1. Truth Seeker.

In addition to questioning my career path (or maybe because of it), I suffered paralyzing writer's block and spent some time with a palpable sense of spinning my wheels. I know that I am not alone in experiencing such difficulties at the thesis stage of graduate education. Often, our intellectual work is necessarily bound up with our innermost values and aspirations. That makes the consequences of "getting it right" too high. One aspect of my situation did offer me some bittersweet humor which may have helped: I was writing about professional community because community has always been important to me, but I was writing about it alone. Although the isolation and loneliness that the thesis process entailed was sometimes painful, the irony seemed like just the right touch of absurd. Many months later, and with support from friends and family, I finished the final chapter while relatives were already booking plane tickets to attend graduation! Barbara Leckie, to whom I am now married, made special teas and work-plans, and elaborate graphs of my progress; my dear friend Pam Burdman once sat with me for an afternoon while I wrote. I made final edits while sitting on the floor of Larry Cuban's porch; when Larry came out to get the morning paper, *there* I was with papers scattered hither and thither. We laugh about it still today. Despite my reservations about academia, I had been smitten with the love of ideas, and the path from thesis to the book *Among Schoolteachers*, greatly assisted by Teachers College Press director Carole Saltz and her staff of amazing editors, was smoother than I had anticipated.

I share my struggles with writing and my history of ambivalence towards academia not as an act of self-revelation but rather because I believe those struggles shaped my views of social education and teaching and learning more broadly. I wanted my work in graduate school to be relevant much in the same way I remember my New York City middle-school students seeking relevance when they asked me that timeless schoolhouse question: Why do we have to know this? I continue to believe social education holds the answer to that question. "The educator," writes Dewey, "is responsible for [selecting activities] which lend themselves to social organization, an organization in which all individuals have an opportunity to contribute something" (1938, p. 56). Education, he reminds us, is not merely preparation for something in the distant future. It is, for the teachers and students who live out their daily lives in school, life itself. This is as important a realization for a primary school teacher and her students as it is for a doctoral student working to complete a thesis.

FIRED FROM NYU, VICTORY WITH THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

In January 1996, I began my first tenure-track position at New York University. I spent six years fully absorbed by my research trajectory and my teaching. My work then focused on the theory and practice of democratic communities in education, especially as related to questions of social, political, and economic justice—a focus that remains important to me today. From studies of the way educators conceive of and enact learning communities to studies of civic and democratic education theory

and practice, the common analytical arc seems to be the interrogation of underlying political and ideological commitments and the ways these commitments support or contradict theories of social equality and justice. In different contexts and through varying methodological approaches, I have repeatedly found that the rhetoric and enactment of education reforms—including the creation of teacher professional communities, community service learning programs, democratic and civic education strategies, and "character" education initiatives—mask important differences in underlying goals and values. These differences have enormous social and political consequences for the kind of society schools help to foster. I believe that research that helps to make these fundamental goals and practices visible clarifies for theorists, policy-makers, and practitioners the likely effects of school programs on the health of our democracy.

Despite being in the odd position of having been housed in the elementary teacher education program at NYU, colleagues such as Robby Cohen, Jonathan Zimmerman, Niobe Way, Diana Turk, and Chelsea Bailey provided an intellectual home. Also from 1996 to 2002, Joe Kahne, then an assistant professor at the University of Illinois-Chicago (now Dean of the School of Education at Mills College), and I undertook a variety of research projects together. The most influential of these for both of us was a 3-year project funded by the Surdna Foundation under Robert Sherman's Democratic Values Initiative. Joe and I studied ten programs that utilized community-based pedagogies to foster civic and democratic engagement among youth and young adults. We employed a mixed-method approach so that we could not only examine the programs' effects on students (a pre/post survey design) but also provide rich descriptive data about why and how these effects came about. The framework for three visions of the "good" citizen that we describe in "What Kind of Citizen?" emerged from this research. Over the following years, we refined (and continue to refine) our understanding of democratic education and civic engagement reflecting on this work. The exchanges that Joe and I have had throughout that time and in the years that followed are a potent source of both intellectual creativity and collegiality.

It would take an entirely different essay to trace the events that led to my being fired from NYU in 2001, and in fact, I have written about that experience in an article and book chapter called "Tenure Denied" (see Favorite Works) But this third 'F' of my academic trajectory is so closely linked to the fourth ("Fortunate") that it is worth mention. NYU was embroiled in what would later become a landmark case in labor relations over the right of graduate students to unionize. Knowing that I was a supporter, the UAW which was representing the graduate students in their struggle asked if I would be willing to testify before the National Labor Relations Board of the United States on their behalf. I thought about it, consulted with colleagues and mentors, and decided that I would. You'll have to look elsewhere for the details on what happened next, but in less than a year following my testimony, the *New York Times*, under the headline "New York University Denied Tenure to Union Backer," reported that the U.S. government's National Labor Relations Board

"charge[d] New York University with illegally denying tenure to a professor who had testified in favor of allowing graduate students to unionize." The *Chronicle of Higher Education* headline read "A Promising Professor Backs a Union Drive and Is Rejected for Tenure." Smaller papers and magazines made similar observations.

I was more concerned at the time with wanting my job back than with thinking about the broader implications (the cacophony of negative publicity heaped on NYU offered a sense of just desserts to be sure). But thrust into the public position as I was did raise one particular concern for my scholarly interests in democratic education: nearly every news story cast my lot as an isolated incident of vengeful retribution by a few university administrators rather than as a case of something much larger than one professor (me) or one university (NYU).

For the past decade I have been happily employed by the University of Ottawa, and I am pleased to report that my children have not gone hungry. But whether others view my earlier dismissal as scandalous or justified, I find the following irrefutable: the forces that set the process in motion and enabled it to continue are an inevitable byproduct of dramatic changes the academy has been facing in the past several decades. These changes have little to do with individual university employees and much to do with changes in the structures and workings of the academy itself—not only NYU, but also private and public universities across the United States and Canada. The experience deeply affected my thinking about democratic processes in higher education but also in classrooms and institutions across the field of educational scholarship and practice. It also served as a lesson in collegiality and friendship. For every colleague who crossed the street to avoid me as if I had contracted some terrible contagious illness, 10 colleagues offered support. Both at NYU and across the country, professors I knew well and some I hardly knew at all, both untenured colleagues and former presidents of the American Educational Research Association, spoke out forcefully against the attack on academic freedom and freedom of political expression that my case represented. The political became personal and, once again, the experience reinforced for me the connections between scholarly and societal work, the social part of social education.

GOING PUBLIC

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, I became interested in changing definitions of patriotism and how it is taught in schools. My perspectives on ideology and schooling derived from both the theorists I had studied previously and some I had not (Martha Nussbaum, for example). I edited a special issue of *Phi Delta Kappan* on patriotism and education and then expanded that work in the book *Pledging Allegiance: The Politics of Patriotism in America's Schools* (Teachers College Press, 2007). I also wrote the entry on "Patriotism and Diversity" for James Banks' excellent reference volume on Diversity and Education (Sage, 2011). I was particularly interested in the changing political landscape in schools in the wake of September 11, 2001 and the ongoing Iraq war. To promote dialogue between

academics and the public, I also co-founded with my new Canadian colleagues Sharon Cook and Martin Barlosky *Democratic Dialogue*, a research collaborative committed to inquiry into democracy, education, and society. *Democratic Dialogue* explicitly seeks ways to foreground voices that are often overlooked in academic work, bringing scholars, practitioners, policy-makers, and the public together in fruitful and productive discourse. I began to appear more frequently on radio and television and in newspapers both because I enjoy it and also because it fulfills my desire to move scholarship beyond the academy. More recently this has meant my appointment as education columnist for CBC Radio's Ottawa Morning show, a position that affords me the opportunity to interact with people from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives on schooling.

For the past decade, I have placed an ever-increasing emphasis on making the knowledge I gain from research and scholarship accessible to a broad audience. Grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and from the Center for Research on Civic Learning and Engagement in the U.S. have allowed me to create teams of doctoral student researchers to further investigate the civic role of schooling in fostering an egalitarian democratic society. My appointment as University Research Chair carried institutional support for this work allowing me to bring together research and teaching activities in a particularly holistic manner. Both at the graduate and undergraduate levels, and within and outside of teacher education programs, I have taught courses in the social foundations of education that encourage students to study the relationship between schooling and social and political conditions in the local, national, and global community. I also teach courses that examine sociological and political concerns in school as they relate to educational research and methods.

In these respects, I am fortunate indeed: fortunate to be able to choose who to read and what to write; fortunate to have been shaped by so many thoughtful and provocative scholars whose work continues to inform my own; and fortunate to be able to communicate my ideas in so many forms including teaching, writing, and media such as radio and television.

As I look forward, issues of democracy, community, and social and economic equality in education will remain central to my scholarly focus. I am currently working on three projects. The first concerns the notion of the "public" in public education. As school goals have increasingly turned towards narrow conceptions of education as job-training, the idea of "the public good" has been relegated to a quaint ideal. I am interested in how this happened, the consequences for schooling broadly, and social studies and history education, in particular, and in what we can do to reverse the trend. The second project engages the impact of corporatization on universities' commitments to democracy, equality, and community. As universities continue to remake themselves in the image of the corporation, this book project examines the impact on faculty, students, and administrators. As in so many social and political arenas today where democratic and egalitarian interests are pitted against economic ones, democracy seems to be losing.

Finally, John Rogers from UCLA and I (with input from Kahne as well) have been constructing the first in-depth empirical examination of what schools do to develop young people's understanding of economic inequality. The Occupy movement began when the Vancouver-based magazine and activist group *Adbusters* proposed a peaceful occupation of Wall Street to protest the ever-increasing corporate influence on the world's democratic institutions and processes. Since then, the terms 1% and 99% have become household shorthand for these disparities raising questions about increasing economic inequality as a threat to democratic life. Yet we know almost nothing about whether or how schools address economic inequality as a subject of study. We're hoping to shed some light and also explore how lessons about economic inequality reflect prevalent cultural and political ideas about citizenship and the "good" society.

These are the kinds of questions and explorations that I love and that give meaning to my work. I have not slain the dragon of ambivalence when it comes to weighing the importance of writing an article, teaching a class, speaking to the media or organizing community work at a given moment. And writing can still paralyze me. What kind of scholar? I still don't know. Educators face many obstacles to improving schooling. Today, we trust teachers less and less and standardized tests more and more. We prescribe medications to a shockingly high percentage of students to make them attentive and "normal" (even when a *majority* of children in some neighborhood schools are deemed "not normal"—can a majority of children really be "not normal?") Reform policies at the highest levels are made without any evidence that they will work. And students are treated alternately as blank slates waiting to be trained, as clients waiting to be served, or as consumers waiting to buy. In some schools, the entire school day is reduced to almost nothing but test preparation in only two subject areas: math and literacy. Meanwhile elaborate reward and punishment systems are instituted to keep students engaged. It sometimes seems that in the quest to improve students' focus and interest, the only thing we are not trying is to actually make the curriculum interesting and worth focusing on. Social studies educators are all but ignored in the reform deliberations.

In the face of these conditions, it would seem easy to lose hope. But as Vaclav Havel observed, hope is not the same as choosing struggles that are headed for success: "Hope … is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out" (2004, p. 82). Hope requires, as the late Historian Howard Zinn eloquently wrote, the ability "to hold out, even in times of pessimism, the possibility of surprise" (2010, p. 634). The singer-songwriter-activist Holly Near expressed this artfully in her anthem to the many social change movements that have existed for as long as there have been things to improve. Change does not always happen at broadband speeds, but knowing one is part of a timeless march towards good goals makes much of what we do worthwhile. In her song *The Great Peace March*, Near sings: "Believe it or not / as daring as it may seem / it is not an empty dream / to walk in

a powerful path / neither the first nor the last …" If I could hope for one certainty in anyone's arc as a teacher and a scholar, it would be this: the knowledge that—whether in the face of successes or setbacks—we are walking in a powerful and worthwhile path.

NOTES

[1] *Hashomer Hatzair* was aligned with the left-wing Mapam Party in Israel and the Kibbutz Artzi movement. Prior to the establishment of the state of Israel, Hashomer Hatzair created the Socialist League of Palestine, the only Zionist political party in the Jewish community in Palestine to accept Arab members as equals, support Arab rights, and call for a binational state in Palestine. Staunchly anti-religious, the secular youth movement wing of Hashomer Hatzair organized youth to fight the Nazis, most notably in Warsaw where Mordechai Anielewicz, the leader of Hashomer Hatzair's Warsaw branch, went on to lead the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

[2] Hirsh was publishing books that would have been easy targets for a Saturday Night Live sketch with titles such as *What Every Third-Grader Should Know* consisting of hundreds of pages of unrelated facts that Hirsh had decided formed the foundation of all human knowledge.

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