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HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR BEGINNING TEACHING

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HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR BEGINNING TEACHING

By

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ABSTRACT

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR BEGINNING TEACHING

By

Cynthia D. Hartzler-Miller

Recent efforts to delineate a knowledge base for beginning teaching have emphasized several critical issues, including the need for novices to have sufficient content knowledge. However, there has been relatively little investigation into the nature of content knowledge for teaching. What does it mean to understand one's discipline for the purposes of teaching it to young learners of various ages and backgrounds? What knowledge and skills assist teachers - particularly beginning teachers - in adapting and developing subject matter knowledge?

This study describes and explains the nature and contribution of historical knowledge in the practice of two novice history teachers. Through interviews and observations over the course of one school year - designed to uncover autobiographical influences, content knowledge, views of students and learning, pedagogical reasoning, and reflections on action - a conception of subject matter knowledge for beginning teaching emerged.

The findings of this study suggest that the more familiar beginning teachers are with a topic they must teach, the more likely they are to critique content as portrayed in the textbook, select topic-specific narratives to frame their units, illustrate those narratives with concrete images and descriptive detail, be aware of alternative interpretations of events, anticipate student difficulties and generate multiple representations for communicating subject matter. Furthermore, knowledge of historical forces, narratives, and imagination, along with historical-mindedness is particularly useful in novice practice. Beginning

teachers' subject matter beliefs, reaching back to childhood experiences, influence their selection of content and what they are likely to learn about content from practice.

Novices' efforts to transform content for their students are complicated by various factors. Beginning teachers necessarily rely on their own memories of learning content, which can be both a resource and a hindrance in their teaching. They may not know what they know until they try to articulate subject matter to learners. Thus, the first time they teach a topic they are primarily teaching themselves. The task of learning how to manage pedagogical authority may lead novices to view students' prior knowledge as a problem to overcome rather than a teaching resource.

These findings hold implications for professional education, suggesting that one focus for prospective and beginning history teachers involves developing a repertoire of historical narratives and cultivating the use of historical forces, imagination and historical-mindedness as pedagogical tools. A second focus should be on close, mentored interaction with students' work, transcripts and curricular materials in the company of other professionals.

To Roy and Lois - my first teachers -

and to Greg,

who followed his bliss and encouraged me to pursue mine.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not exist if not for two outstanding individuals: Julia Richards and David Parker. Their real names do not appear anywhere in this document, but that in no way diminishes the esteem in which I hold them both. They not only accepted me into their classrooms with my clumsy tape recording equipment, they openly shared with me the thoughts, worries and struggles of their first - the most difficult - years of teaching. In a word, they moved me with their desire to become better history teachers and their faith that time spent with me would be beneficial to them. I never took their participation in this study lightly.

I have known since the beginning of our relationship that I will never be able to repay Dr. Suzanne Wilson for being my dissertation advisor. One simply cannot put a price on her commitment to meet with me weekly over a period of twenty months to keep me focused and writing, her skill in helping me turn my muddled thoughts into coherent sentences, her persistence in pushing me to do intellectual work I had never before attempted, and her willingness to help me prepare for job interviews even though the dissertation was still quite incomplete. Suzanne is among a very very small group of teachers I've had in my life who possess the courage to demand much from me and the wisdom to help me get there.

I chose my other three committee members - Peter Vinten-Johansen, Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Lynn Paine - because I admire their work and value the perspectives they bring to a study about teachers and subject matter. I am deeply grateful for their thoughtful questions and feedback which pushed me to frame the study around a compelling research problem, analyze my data more closely, and write with my readers in mind. About halfway through my

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dissertation defense, I realized the extraordinary skill and commitment my committee members brought to a meeting which I experienced as far more "educative" than "defensive."

I also wish to thank my fellow doctoral students at Michigan State who read many, many versions of this dissertation: Shari Levine-Rose, Brian Yusko, Joan Hughes and Gaston Dembele. Special appreciation goes to Shari and Joan who helped me organize my scattered, nervous thoughts in preparation for the defense. Trudy Sykes, a member of the faculty, gave me excellent feedback on an early attempt to understand some of the differences between David and Julia. In addition, Michael McCann helped me pilot some of the interviews and both Alex Mann and Bob Bain provided experienced history teacher perspectives on my data.

Finally, I extend huge thanks to my colleagues in the Secondary Education department at Towson University. They not only took the risk of hiring me "all-but-dissertation," they went much further than I ever expected in protecting my time so I could complete my degree. I returned to my balloon-filled office and celebration cake with renewed energy to write and teach.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

> I really did not enjoy this class. I do not feel prepared to start my internship next year. . . [Learning about] the subject matter was a waste - that's what my classes are for in my major and minor.
>
> (Prospective social studies teacher, May, 1998)

I still recall how it felt to read this statement among the final course evaluations of my social studies methods class. My student's words both stung and perplexed me - and she wasn't the only one to give such feedback. I had long been concerned about the subject matter knowledge of social studies teachers. As a high school social studies teacher myself, I knew that my efforts to teach World Geography had suffered from insufficient content knowledge. I had worked with a colleague who confessed that his lack of historical knowledge left him no recourse but to read to his students from the textbook, day after dreary day. Furthermore, my personal interest in teachers' content knowledge overlapped with national policy statements aimed at reforming teacher preparation and induction (e.g., Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium, 1992; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). Thus, I believed I had defensible professional reasons for wanting prospective teachers to leave my course with more knowledge of at least a few topics they might one day teach. Yet for some of my students there was a huge disconnect between my assumptions and theirs.

This disconnect surprises no one who has studied the learning-to-teach literature.[1] Preservice programs tend to reinforce the traditional partition between liberal arts coursework and professional training (Lanier & Little, 1986). Teacher candidates enter programs with strongly-held beliefs about teaching derived from the many hours they spend in educational institutions (Britzman, 1986; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Lortie, 1975). It is common for prospective

[1] For reviews of this literature see Carter, 1990; Kagan, 1992; Richardson, 1996; and Wideen, Mayer-Smith and Moon, 1998.

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teachers to hold presuppositions about how much and what kind of content knowledge they need to have. It is also typical for them to believe that real learning to teach happens in the field, not in their university courses (National Center for Research on Teacher Education, 1991).

My professional dilemma grew into a research problem. In order to understand what beginning social studies teachers need to know about their content as they leave their preparation programs, we must first describe and explain the nature of content knowledge for teaching. How is disciplinary knowledge different from content knowledge for teaching? It is one thing for nationally-funded projects such as the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF) to call for "stronger disciplinary preparation that incorporates an understanding of a discipline's core concepts, structure and tools of inquiry" (NCTAF, 1996, p. 76). But what does it mean to understand one's discipline for the purposes of teaching it to young learners of various ages and backgrounds? What knowledge and skills assist teachers in adapting and modifying subject matter?

A second question related to the task of conceptualizing what novices need to know about their content concerns the nature of beginning knowledge and practice. My reviews of the relevant literature revealed that investigations into beginning teachers' content knowledge are quite recent. Veteran teachers frequently comment that they learned their content as they taught it (Ball & McDiarmid, 1990). Although we may not expect beginning teachers to hold the kind of knowledge their more experienced counterparts have, there may be a minimum set of knowledge and skills that enables them to work with content in pedagogically sound ways and develop the appropriate knowledge as they teach. Yet further research is needed to help us understand the nature of beginning teachers' content knowledge and its role in emergent practice.

In this study, I attempt to describe and explain the role of content knowledge in the practice of two beginning history teachers. This introductory

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chapter outlines the assumptions and constructs which frame the study. In the following pages, I explore three relevant issues: notions of teacher knowledge; conceptions of competence in history and social studies teaching; and perspectives on the nature of novice practice.

Teacher Knowledge

Until recently, teacher education did not typically concern itself with the problem of subject matter knowledge since the prevailing assumption was that prospective teachers learn content in relevant disciplinary departments.[2] Colleges of education were responsible only for teaching about pedagogical theories and methods. This is, of course, a false dichotomy: preservice teachers learn about pedagogy when they sit through a history or math professor's lecture and they learn about content when their education professor demonstrates a teaching strategy. Still, educational researchers tended to treat teaching as generic, rather than subject-specific. The "process-product" research in the 1970s, for example, tried to correlate technical and context-free aspects of "effective" teaching behavior with student achievement (Shulman, 1986a).

Spurred on by developments in psychology,[3] researchers in the mid-1980s shifted their attention to teachers' cognition, including knowledge, beliefs and pedagogical reasoning (Clark & Peterson, 1986). Teacher thinking research assumes that teachers are active meaning-makers whose expectations, theories, beliefs, and knowledge shape their judgments and actions in the classroom. Investigators use research methods such as intellectual biographies, simulated task interviews and extensive observations to explore practical and

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[2] Apparently, this hasn't always been the case. Shulman (1986b) points out that in 1875, it wasn't unusual for ninety to ninety-five percent of the questions on state licensing exams to evaluate teachers' content knowledge.

[3] Shulman (1986a) traces the evolution of interest in information-processing and cognitive psychology back to the 1950's when Jean Piaget's work - already thirty years old - gained popularity among American psychologists.

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multi-dimensional features of teachers' professional knowledge (Clark & Lampert, 1986).

Not all scholarship under this umbrella is equally concerned with the role of content knowledge in teachers' thinking. However, several researchers identify content knowledge as one of many variables which influence teachers' pedagogical reasoning. As Wineburg and Wilson (1991) are careful to point out, the idea is not to elevate subject matter to a special status in research on teaching, but to use it as tool for understanding the role of teacher knowledge:

> We use content as a window through which to examine teaching more generally, for we believe that the close examination of teachers' subject-matter knowledge yields keen insights about many aspects of the professional knowledge of teachers. (p. 309)

There are three prominent examples of research programs dedicated to viewing the interaction of teachers' knowledge and beliefs through the window of content: the Knowledge Growth in a Profession project at Stanford University, the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh and Michigan State University's Knowledge Use and Learning to Teach research program. Generally speaking, researchers in these projects used methods consistent with teacher thinking research. They wanted to know how novice and expert teachers made sense of their practice; they studied teachers' biographies, perspectives and orientations; they stayed close to classroom events. Their methods - along with the theoretical constructs they used - produced multi-dimensional portraits of professional knowledge in the context of practice. Because my dissertation study on the historical knowledge of beginning teaching attempts to contribute to this effort, I describe three relevant concepts emerging from that research - content knowledge, transformation, and instructional representations - and summarize key findings.

Content Knowledge, Transformation and Instructional Representations

Typically, content knowledge researchers have taken as a given that "the goal of education is to connect children to the communities of the disciplines"

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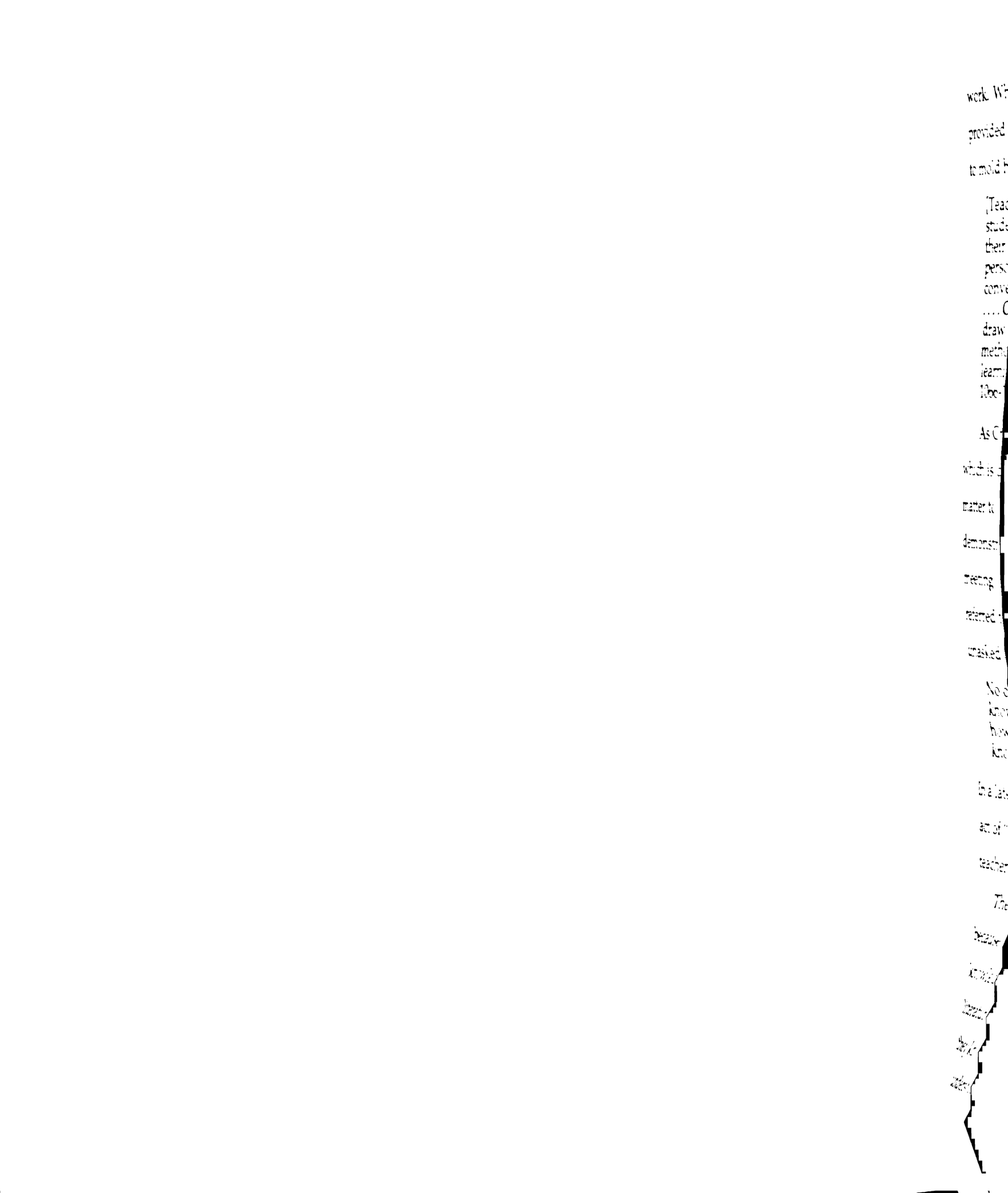
(McDiarmid, Ball, & Anderson, 1989, p. 194). In other words, they define content knowledge in terms of its relationship to disciplinary knowledge. For example, Wilson and Wineburg (1988) use Schwab's (1978) distinctions between the substantive and syntactic structures of a discipline to conceptualize teachers' historical knowledge. They consider teachers' knowledge of facts and concepts, various analytical frames (such as Marxian or Freudian), and knowledge of historiography (the awareness that historians work with incomplete evidence, for example, and that they employ particular notions of causation, chronology and continuity).

Given that school subjects have long been organized around academic domains - humanities, sciences and social sciences - it seems logical to assume that disciplinary knowledge plays some role in teaching. But, as Dewey (1902) pointed out, the purposes of a teacher are quite different from the purposes of an academic scholar:

> For the scientist, the subject-matter represents simply a given body of truth to be employed in locating new problems, instituting new researches, and carrying them through to a verified outcome. To him the subject-matter of the science is self-contained. . . . The problem of the teacher is a different one. . . . What concerns him, as a teacher, is the ways in which that subject may become a part of experience; what there is in the child's present that is usable with reference to it; how such elements are to be used; how his own knowledge of the subject-matter may assist in interpreting the child's needs and doings, and determine the medium in which the child should be placed in order that his growth may be properly directed. He is concerned, not with the subject-matter as such, but with the subject-matter as a related factor in a total and growing experience. (pp. 200-201)

The idea, then, is that teachers do not directly teach what they know about their content. They think about subject matter in terms of their particular students and the kinds of experiences they want to create for them. In the process of selecting and organizing content, teachers draw upon much more than their knowledge of subject matter: knowledge and beliefs about learners, pedagogy, curriculum and context factor in as well. Cruse (1994) is a high school history teacher who reflected on some of the considerations she brings to her



work. While her experience in master's and doctoral-level history courses provided her with a personally rich "intellectual exercise," teaching requires her to mold history content to fit her audience:

> [Teaching] American history requires us to make history relevant to our students. Students want to know why history matters, how it relates to their lives, if at all, and how the study of history might affect them personally. The manner and method we use to confront these questions can convey enthusiasm and ignite a love of history in those whom we encounter .... Or we can perpetuate a distaste for the study of history by failing to draw connections and to infuse our work with energy, effective methodologies and multiple perspectives. For the high school student, learning history becomes a way to fulfill a graduation requirement. (pp. 1066-1067)

As Cruse depicts, teachers' content knowledge has a practical dimension which is delineated by the professional responsibility to communicate subject matter to a captive audience of young people in a way that facilitates demonstrable learning. In an oft-quoted speech given at the 1985 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Shulman (1986b) referred to this pedagogical process as "transformation," identifying several unasked questions:

> No one asked how subject matter knowledge was transformed from the knowledge of the teacher into the content of instruction. Nor did they ask how particular formulations of that content related to what students came to know or misconstrue. (p. 6)

In a later article, Shulman (1987) defined the notion of "transformation" as the act of "think[ing] one's way from the subject matter as understood by the teacher into the minds and motivations of learners" (p. 16).

The notion of transformation is central to professional knowledge research because it signals "knowledge-in-action," the practical application of teacher knowledge. A basic definition of transformation, drawn from the relevant literature, is that it is an act of practical reasoning, in which teachers take what they know about the subject matter and modify it to enable student understanding (Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989; Shulman, 1987; Wilson,

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Shulman & Richert, 1987; Wineburg & Wilson, 1991). These modifications of disciplinary knowledge are called "instructional representations." Representations represent teachers' conceptions of subject matter modified by their sense of what the students under their charge need to learn and how they will learn it. Representations include what are traditionally known as "strategies" (lecture, recitation, small group work, debates and student presentations) as well as the topic-specific analogies, illustrations, examples and explanations provided by the teacher.

McDiarmid, Ball and Anderson (1989) propose several reasons for subsuming both general strategies and topic-specific examples under the same label. Both strategies and examples convey subject matter, a point which challenges the conventional dichotomy between content and pedagogy. Instructional methods that appear content-neutral may intentionally or unintentionally communicate messages about the discipline. Classroom debates over issues raised at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 may portray history as contingent on human choice and context; textbook-generated worksheets, on the other hand, frequently leave an impression of inevitability. [4] Furthermore, since it is possible for representations to be misleading or inaccurate in the messages they convey about the content, it is crucial for teachers to become aware of the representations they are using and evaluate their appropriateness. Teachers' pedagogical approaches, materials, analogies, illustrations, examples and demonstrations can all be evaluated in terms of a common set of warrants:

> Using the notion of representation also connects the inventive work of teaching - making worksheets, tests and designing activities - with the more routine tasks, such as using textbooks. . . . Given this way of thinking, all representations, whether invented, selected or adapted, are subject to similar standards for their pedagogical usefulness and appropriateness. (McDiarmid, Ball & Anderson, 1989, p. 197).

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[4] Similarly, as I mentioned before, an education professor conveys messages about content (whether about its substance, epistemology or both) even when presenting a so-called "generic" teaching strategy.

The term "representation" comes from the cognitive psychology literature which sometimes refers to learners' subject matter understandings as "mental representations." A constructivist theory of learning posits that through experience, individuals construct understandings of the world (Piaget, 1952; Vygotsky, 1978). When learners encounter new phenomena, they interpret them in light of prior knowledge so they make sense. Thus, young learners are not limited to acquiring only the information that adults teach them. They constantly interact with their social environment, and in the process, develop mental representations to explain what is going on around them. Appropriate and pedagogically useful instructional representations, therefore, are those which connect to and extend further than students' mental representations (Wilson, Shulman & Richert, 1987). McDiarmid, Ball, and Anderson (1989) suggest that it is important for teachers to develop a "repertoire of subject matter representations from outside sources and from their own ingenuity" in order to broaden the range of options they have for influencing the subject matter understandings students create in their own minds (p. 196).

Dewey's (1916) theory about the nature of subject matter knowledge and the role of the teacher helps to illuminate this point about appropriate representations. He begins with the assertion that all knowledge is the outcome of thought reflecting on experience. The process of learning subject matter begins early in life, as young children first learn to walk, play, and work and soon develop the capacity to reflect on their actions. In the act of reflecting on experiences and communicating these reflections to others, individuals begin to build subject matter knowledge. For Dewey, subject matter is not, as one might assume, something one encounters only in school. In fact, he argues that a child's experience, "already contains within itself elements - facts and truths - of just the same sort as those entering into formulated study" (1902, p. 189). When Dewey (1902) refers to teachers as concerned "not with the subject-matter as such, but with the subject-matter as a related factor in a total and growing

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experience" (p. 201), he is building a case for a pedagogical approach which treats students' life experience as the starting point of instruction and formulated, organized, disciplinary knowledge as the end point:

> It is a cardinal precept . . . that the beginning of instruction shall be made with the experience learners already have; that this experience and the capacities that have been developed during its course provide the starting point for all further learning. . . . But finding the material for learning within experience is only the first step. The next step is the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form, a form that gradually approximates that in which subject-matter is presented to the skilled, mature person. (1938, pp. 73-74).

Dewey's theory of the continuity of experience provides a basis for studying teachers' content knowledge-in-action. In their acts of transformation - modifying disciplinary knowledge to enable student understanding - teachers may or may not treat students' life experience as the starting point and formulated subject matter as the end point of instruction. Because instructional representations embody what teachers know about their content as well as beliefs about students' preconceptions, teachers' representations can serve as windows for viewing aspects of professional knowledge used (and learned) in the process of transformation. Examining teachers' instructional representations helps researchers view what is being conveyed about both the substance and epistemology of content. Representations may illuminate teachers' beliefs about learners and learning (McDiarmid, Ball, & Anderson, 1989; Wilson, Shulman, & Richert, 1987). Because transformation involves "think[ing] one's way from the subject matter as understood by the teacher into the minds and motivations of learners" (Shulman, 1987, p. 16), the analysis of representations may reveal the extent to which content is transformed in ways that connect it to students' experience.

Summary of Research Findings on Content Knowledge for Teaching

Using these theoretical constructs, researchers have studied mathematical, scientific, language arts, and historical knowledge for teaching. Some have

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focused on experienced teachers, others have compared novices with experts. Not surprisingly, these studies have found that - as one article title put it - "subject knowledge matters" (Leinhardt, Putnam, Stein & Baxter, 1991). It is not uncommon for teachers, especially beginners, to have thin knowledge for some of the subjects they are called upon to teach, despite an earned degree in those subjects (Ball & Feiman-Nemser, 1988; Ball & McDiarmid, 1990; McDiarmid, 1992). Sources of content knowledge such as the typical undergraduate sequence of courses in the arts and sciences are not sufficient; beginning teachers must learn content as they teach it (Ball & McDiarmid, 1990; McDiarmid, 1989). Furthermore, thin content knowledge has significant consequences. Teachers who do not know their subject matter well are more likely to misrepresent both the nature and the substance of the content to students. (Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989; Wilson, 1988; Wilson, Shulman & Richert, 1987; Wilson & Wineburg, 1993). They are less likely to teach in pedagogically sound ways. (Hollon, Roth & Anderson, 1991; Wilson, Shulman & Richert, 1987). Inadequate content knowledge may inhibit teachers' ability to make the content relevant for students and convey it using multiple and intellectually engaging representations. (Grossman, 1990; Leinhardt, Putnam, Stein & Baxter, 1991; Shulman, 1987; Wilson, Shulman & Richert, 1987). Teachers' knowledge of conceptual relationships, modes of inquiry, and disciplinary perspectives bear on their selection of curricular materials, the way they use textbooks, whether and how certain topics get taught, and their ability to keep learning about their content (Grossman, 1990; Holt-Reynolds, 1999; Leinhardt & Smith, 1985; Wilson & Wineburg, 1988; Yeager & Davis, 1995).

Studying instructional representations provides insights into the relationship between teachers' knowledge of students and content. For example, Leinhardt, Putnam, Stein, and Baxter (1991) studied expert elementary mathematics teachers' use of representations. They determined that a critical feature of representations is their "dual nature;" they often have both a "real-world

meaning" and a "symbolic meaning" (p. 109). The real-world meaning is quite intricate and multi-layered, full of detail that makes the representation interesting to students (because it connects to the familiar) but which may distract from the symbolic meaning - the concepts and ideas to which the teacher wants students to attend. For example, a teacher who wants to teach her students about the Cartesian coordinate system might select as a representation a city map with streets running north-south and east-west. Although the map provides a real-world example, it also contains information such as street names, parks and buildings which may distract students from the task of locating positive and negative coordinates. Leinhardt, Putnam, Stein, and Baxter found that teachers' ability to perceive the difficulties students might have with certain instructional representations depended on their familiarity with the specific content.

Wineburg and Wilson (1991) also encountered the issue of representational complexity in their study of two experienced history teachers. These teachers tended to select representations which served multiple purposes. For example, when teaching about the American Revolution, one teacher had students read two pre-war newspaper articles - one pro-rebel and the other pro-British. The articles conveyed conceptual knowledge about the points of debate at that time as well as epistemological understandings about why we have multiple, sometimes contradictory accounts of the past. As the teacher worked to transform his complex knowledge of history into forms his students would understand, he had to skillfully avoid the dual pitfalls of misrepresenting the content by oversimplifying it and confusing students by revealing too much of its complexity at once. Thus, his knowledge of students - developed over years of practice - included finely-tuned understandings about learners' developmental readiness in relation to particular topics.

Knowledge of learners entered into Wilson's (1988) study along with teachers' content knowledge and pedagogical expertise. Experienced teachers

with a great deal of pedagogical experience but thin historical knowledge were able to easily create generic activities (holding a debate, assigning a reading) but they could not evaluate the historical content contained in those representations in relation to students. This finding further underscores the point that some teachers hold subject-specific knowledge of their students: understandings about what their students already know and are likely to find difficult about particular topics.

Naturally, we would expect beginning teachers to have less of whatever knowledge teachers gain from accumulated classroom experience. Wilson (1988) discovered that beginning teachers who had a solid grasp of historical content and inquiry but who had a limited repertoire of instructional representations tended to prefer didactic instruction. These teachers' representations portrayed history as a static body of knowledge and did little to take into account students' interests or prior conceptions. On the other hand, novices whose historical knowledge and repertoire of representations were relatively strong were better able to link concerns about the content with concerns about learners.

Wilson, Shulman, and Richert (1987) claim that the process of selecting and creating instructional representations helps beginners develop skills of pedagogical reasoning. Facilitated by the interaction between a teachers' content knowledge and their need to communicate with learners, this process encourages teachers to explicate their tacit knowledge. They try out a representation on their students and sometimes experience failure. These unsuccessful attempts to communicate previously tacit knowledge spur them to further examine their knowledge and develop new representations. They not only learn to reason pedagogically, they also build a repertoire of representations, conscious awareness of their content knowledge, and insights about their students' prior knowledge and interests.

One implication of Dewey's theory that all knowledge results from reflection on experience is that teachers - like their students - began developing

subject matter knowledge as children. Teachers' content knowledge is influenced by the particular experiences upon which they have had opportunities to reflect. Some scholars suggest that teachers' particular experiences with subject matter lead them to form "subject matter orientations" (Grossman, 1990; Gudmundsdottir, 1991) or "disciplinary perspectives" (Wilson & Wineburg, 1988). Disciplinary perspectives can be powerful influences on teachers' decisions. For example, Grossman (1990) compared the instructional representations used by two beginning English teachers, one of whom had a "text-orientation" and the other a "reader-orientation." Both taught their senior English classes using Shakespeare's play Hamlet. However, the one with the text-orientation used the play to teach students skills involved in literary analysis while the other used it to help students explore aspects of personal experience. Similarly, Wilson and Wineburg (1988) found that history teachers' representations were influenced by whether they had developed historical, political science, or geographic "disciplinary lenses" in their academic training. The geography major explained the role of post-war Japan in terms of climate and location; the political science major focused on economic and political patterns in revolutions, rather than highlighting historical contexts which set one revolution apart from another. Wilson and Wineburg conclude that "when one is unfamiliar with the ways of knowing in disciplines other than one's own . . . new information becomes a slave to the old and fundamental beliefs go unaltered" (p. 538).

In addition, teachers' conceptions of school subjects may be distinct from their personal understandings of the discipline. VanSledright (1996) offers a detailed portrait of a high school teacher with a Ph.D. in history. Because of her experience at the doctoral level, this teacher indicated that she was "probably more sensitive to the fact that history is so interpretive and I guess I probably emphasize that more now than other teachers might" (p. 264). VanSledright,

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however, perceived that an "objectivist" view of history prevailed in her teaching, which he defined as an "emphasis on the accumulation of indisputable evidence for the purpose of drawing verified conclusions and making timeless generalizations" (p. 263). He concluded that mitigating factors prevented this teacher from offering students content that was more consistent with her interpretive view of history. These factors included her beliefs about what it means to teach history as a school subject: the textbook is the unbiased source of factual information; historical facts speak for themselves; tests and quizzes assess students' recall of definitions associated with people, events, laws and documents. McDiarmid and Vinten-Johansen (1993) made a similar discovery about the power of teachers' beliefs about teaching history to young learners. When studying prospective (not yet practicing) history teachers, these researchers found that, although students' participation in a historiography seminar helped them develop deeper understandings of historical inquiry, the experience had no apparent effect on their prior, conventional beliefs about how they would teach history.

Taken together, these studies underscore the notion that instructional representations are "the product of two processes - the comprehension of content and the understanding of the needs, motivations and abilities of learners" (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991, p. 333). Developing appropriate representations hinges on teachers' familiarity with content, topic-specific knowledge of students, disciplinary perspectives, and beliefs about what it means to teach and learn a school subject. One cannot examine the nature of content knowledge for teaching in isolation from teachers' knowledge and beliefs about subject matter and students.

These findings also cast light on the difficulties novices may have as they attempt to modify content in pedagogically sound ways. New teachers' content knowledge is likely to be uneven and novices are unlikely to hold finely-tuned understandings of learners' potential difficulties with particular topics and

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representations. To complicate matters further, learning to transform content seems to depend on interaction between novices and students. There appears to be truth in prospective teachers' comments that real learning to teach happens in the field, not in university courses. It makes sense, then, to focus future research efforts on the kinds of knowledge and beliefs that enable novices to create pedagogically useful representations and develop appropriate knowledge in the context of practice. It is possible that some features of professional knowledge are more pivotal than others in the beginning phase of teaching.

Any effort to contribute to this growing body of work must be clear about its central construct: knowledge. Fenstermacher (1994), for example, reminds us that in conventional philosophy a statement cannot be elevated to the level of knowledge unless it is deemed "justified" and "true." Yet in the content knowledge literature, beliefs about learners, disciplinary orientations and tacit understandings are often labeled "knowledge" - a term that enjoys higher status than "beliefs" or "orientations." As Fenstermacher points out, it is important for researchers to pay attention to their use of the term. Researchers' claims may be treated by practitioners and policymakers as having "epistemic status" when in fact the word is being used merely to classify a potpourri of personal beliefs (p. 34).

Conceptual clarity is unnecessarily compromised when, for example, no distinction is made between naive, unexamined beliefs and knowledge based on careful reflection. For example, Grossman (1990) writes about a novice English teacher who justified his decision to teach literary analysis of classic literature to ninth-graders on the basis of his own fond memories in college English courses. This was a naive belief in the sense that its premise was faulty: ninth graders and their teachers usually do not share the same interests. The English teacher's belief does not carry the epistemic warrant that does knowledge about the special characteristics of young learners and their difficulties grasping new content that is not tailored to their needs and interests. In her description of this

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teacher, Grossman referred to the basis for his pedagogical decisions as "ideas" and "views" - not "knowledge" (pp. 25-27).

The conceptual problem here involves setting a standard for teacher knowledge which acknowledges that teachers' actions are often based on "what has worked in the past, situations, particular instances, trial and error and 'muddling through'" (Orton, 1996, p. 140). Such grounds are not considered to be "justified, true belief" in the conventional sense, but neither are they necessarily unexamined and naive. One approach is suggested by the notion of "practical argument" (Fenstermacher & Richardson, 1993; Morine-Dershimer, 1988; Orton, 1996). Fenstermacher (1994) describes this concept:

> It is possible to take a liberal stance on the matter of justification, such that there are a number of ways of warranting a knowledge claim. . . . Another way to justify that we know something is to offer good reasons for doing or believing it. Indeed, this form of justification might be called the "good reasons" approach. . . . Reasoning of the sort I am referring to here is what Aristotle called *phronesis*: deliberative reflection of the relationship between means and ends . . . . The provision of reasons, when done well, makes action sensible to the actor and the observer. That is a minimal form of warrant for practical action. Such reasoning may also show that an action is, for example, the reasonable thing to do, the obvious thing to do, or the only thing one could do under the circumstances. Each of these is, I believe, a contribution to the epistemic merit of a practical knowledge claim. (pp. 44-45)

The "good reasons" approach gives researchers flexibility in their use of the term "knowledge." Some teacher statements - although not proven to be true according to traditional standards - carry more epistemic weight than "beliefs" because they are based on good reasons and evidence to support claims. Following this argument, in this study I use the term "knowledge" whenever I can show a novice's good reasons and empirical evidence for holding certain beliefs. For example, I call it knowledge when one of the teachers in this study - Julia - believes that her students know more about Martin Luther King, Jr. than Bobby Seale. Her own experience, as well as later events, provided reasonable support for her initial hunch. But whenever the teachers' premises seem unexamined, naive, or partial, I use the term "belief" in order to highlight what is

undeveloped or more disputable in beginning teachers' understandings.

Competent History Teaching

It is perhaps an understatement to say that there is a lack of consensus among educators about what constitutes good history or social studies teaching. The field has been plagued or enlivened - depending on one's perspective - by differences of opinion regarding such issues as the social studies' relationship to the social science disciplines, whether subjects should be taught as separate disciplines or interdisciplinary perspectives, whether teachers should emphasize "cultural literacy" (Hirsch, 1987), "critical literacy" (Giroux, 1988), decision-making (Engle & Ochoa, 1988), or social transformation (Banks, 1991). Even when history is considered as a distinct course, views of competent teaching differ. Should history teachers emphasize chronology, big ideas, heroes, ordinary folk, political history, intellectual history, historical ways of thinking, common culture, multiculturalism, or the detrimental effects of European domination (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1999; Nash, Crabtree & Dunn, 1998; Seixas, 1993; Thornton, 1994)?

To some extent, ideological differences between these various camps may be irreconcilable. Yet some research suggests that history teachers' actual practice cannot be neatly categorized into one camp or another. Romanowski (1996) conducted interviews and observations of nine experienced history teachers. He found that although teachers are guided by their "personal curriculum" (values and beliefs about history which reflect broader debates), they also tailor their teaching in light of the views and expectations of parents and students. Although Evans (1989) found variation in teachers' conceptions of history, a significant percentage of the 160 teachers he surveyed (22%) appeared to have no "coherent philosophy," but rather took "a very pragmatic approach to teaching . . . borrowing ideas and rationales from various traditions" (p. 236). Leinhardt (1994) calls teachers' conceptions of history "a negotiated process, not simply their own personal construction" (p. 213). Still, these and other studies

help to build the case that teachers are - consciously or not - "curricular-instructional gatekeepers;" their beliefs about appropriate subject matter and instructional strategies play a major role in shaping the history students have opportunities to learn. The culture of history teaching in the schools sustains this degree of autonomy by isolating teachers from each other and from pressures to conform to broad curriculum mandates (Thornton, 1991; 1993).

Researchers, like the history teachers they study, are influenced by their conceptions of competent history teaching. Embedded in their work is a "world view or value system related to the purpose of knowledge, a conception of a preferred social order, and a view of the good person" (Stanley, 1991, p. 253). In the content knowledge literature on history teaching, for example, there is a clear preference for practice which connects students to features of history as a discipline. Thus, Leinhardt (1994) defines "mindful" history teaching as that which coaches students in the skills of "historical dialogue," modeled after historians' approaches to interpreting evidence and constructing narratives. Wineburg and Wilson (1991) describe two experienced history teachers who appeared to vary greatly in their use of direct instruction. However, both were portrayed as competent teachers because they treated history as a human construction, creating representations which modeled historical ways of thinking and they continually updated their disciplinary knowledge.

Wineburg and Wilson's (1991) portrayal of these two teachers suggests that there is more than one way to teach history competently, within disciplinary boundaries. In terms of their selection of content, one teacher might approach the American Revolution by considering the influence of individual choice; another by applying theories of revolution. In terms of teaching historical ways of thinking, one teacher emphasizes the close reading of both primary and secondary sources while another combines this with analysis of current events. Some educators separate learning content from acquiring process skills, as Seixas (1993) notes in the contrast between the "chronological narrative" emphasis in

the National Council for the Social Studies' curriculum guide (1989) and the more recently released National Standards for History (1995), which proposes that K-12 students have opportunities to engage in "historical thinking," to "examine the historical record for themselves . . . create historical narratives and arguments of their own . . . and examine the interpretive nature of history" (National Center for History in the Schools, p. 59). But content knowledge researchers have challenged this dichotomy by arguing that:

> Students can learn both the content - the Boston Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts, Sam Adams and the Committees of Correspondence, Lexington and Concord - and historical analysis - examining different interpretations of the same set of characters and events, weighing the evidence presented by historians and source materials, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of various accounts. (Wilson, 1991, p. 100).

Furthermore, some researchers have pointed out that interrogating historical evidence, applying historical imagination, and constructing explanations about historical events are cognitive activities which help students develop more mature subject matter understandings (Downey & Levstik, 1991; Torney-Purta, 1994).

We have several examples in this literature which feature expert melding of historical content and inquiry. Besides the two teachers in Wineburg and Wilson's (1991) work, the teacher in Leinhardt's (1993) study helped students construct a narrative about the Constitutional Convention by comparing the writings of three historians. In his college history courses, Holt (1990) has his students read post-Civil War letters to outline the conflict between aspirations of former slaves, white plantation owners and the federal government. Kobrin (1996) provides high school students with basic rules and a grading structure which guide them in reading documents to identify major themes related to U.S.

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Research on the content knowledge of beginning history teachers, however, suggests that when teachers are not familiar with the processes of historical inquiry themselves, they are more likely to misrepresent this aspect of the discipline, treat history as a fixed body of knowledge and transmit content didactically (Wilson, 1988; Wilson & Wineburg, 1988; Yeager & Davis, 1995). There is evidence to suggest that even when novices hold these epistemological understandings, they do not necessarily believe historical inquiry is appropriate for their students (McDiarmid & Vinten-Johansen, 1993). Although it appears that a "natural affinity exists between history and a cognitive understanding of learning" (Bain, 1995, p. 1) when content is taught alongside historical inquiry, we do not know enough about the combinations of knowledge and beliefs held by beginning teachers which may provide opportunities or obstacles in constructing this kind of practice.

Beginning Teaching

The task of teacher education is to launch candidates on their journey toward skillful, accomplished teaching. One important aspect of this preparation involves providing new teachers with the subject matter knowledge that enables them to transform content to promote student understanding. State and national governments and professional organizations call for teachers to hold knowledge of disciplinary-based understandings and ways of reasoning. But we know that prospective teachers have not typically encountered this knowledge in their elementary or secondary schooling experiences. Even after earning a degree in a content area, beginners' knowledge appears thin (Ball & Feiman-

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[5]None of these reports, however, provide indicators about what students actually learned from these strategies. As Wilson (in press) has pointed out, difficulties in defining good history teaching stem from the absence of research which attempts to correlate subject-specific instructional approaches with student learning. Although this dissertation addresses gaps in the literature related to beginning history teaching, it does not answer the need Wilson identifies.

Nemser, 1988; Ball & McDiarmid, 1990; McDiarmid, 1992). The challenge is especially daunting for history and social studies educators who prepare novices to teach everything from U.S. and world history to geography, economics, government, psychology, sociology and anthropology. Each of these subjects is drawn from distinct, albeit related, disciplines with various lenses for viewing content and inquiry. New teachers trained in one or two of these disciplines are nonetheless expected to teach any social studies course.

This then, is the practical concern about teacher preparation and induction which motivates this study. One impulse is to say that the task is impossible, especially when we consider that content knowledge for teaching is not a direct translation of disciplinary knowledge, but includes knowledge and beliefs which enable teachers to transform what they know, to represent content to young learners. Maybe it is too much to ask teacher education to provide both disciplinary-based understandings which novices are unlikely to encounter in their liberal arts courses as well as knowledge of students that is typically developed after novices enter the classroom. Indeed, as a member of one of the INTASC sub-committees charged with the task of writing standards for beginning teachers, I have often felt overwhelmed by the expansive and demanding lists of expectations we have for novices.

An alternative response is to look for the theoretical problem that lies behind this practical dilemma. Beginning teacher knowledge is poorly conceptualized.[6] This is not because researchers have neglected to study beginning teaching, but because until recently, the focus has been on investigating novices' psychological concerns rather than their knowledge and practices. For example, two literature reviews on beginning teaching portray the

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[6]The Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) uses the term "beginning teacher" to refer to practitioners in their first, second or third years of teaching, a period they call "provisional practice." In this dissertation, I use the same definition of beginning teacher.

first years of teaching as a kind of "culture shock;" initial idealism and humanistic commitments give way to "disappointment and despondency" or "anger" as novices encounter school cultures which do not support their approaches to teaching. Classroom discipline concerns consume novices' time and energy (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998). In an extensive review of studies which asked new teachers to rank their problems and concerns, Veenman (1984) found that beginning teachers' top five concerns included classroom discipline, motivating students, dealing with student differences, assessing students' work and relating to parents.

Representing subject matter was not on this list. Neither did subject matter figure prominently in the expert-novice studies which sought to identify the kinds of knowledge new teachers develop as they gain experience. In controlled interview settings, these studies found that experts' knowledge of their students is clustered into categories, connected to classroom events, conditional and detailed. In contrast, novices had difficulty interpreting classroom events, weighing the relative significance of student information and developing hypotheses or making predictions based on that information (Berliner, 1988; Carter, Sabers, Cushing, Pinnegar & Berliner, 1987). In a review of expert-novice literature, Reynolds (1992) concluded that beginning teachers have difficulty making "contingency plans," seeing the connections between topics in the curriculum, taking into consideration their students' prior knowledge, determining what to do when they notice student differences in performance or motivation, linking related concepts within a lesson and identifying the sources of student misbehavior.

These expert-novices studies are valuable in that they reveal the complex nature of the knowledge and skills beginning teachers must develop. Good teaching really is a kind of "professional artistry;" much of what goes into the work cannot be grasped except through the experience of actually teaching (Schon, 1987). But the lack of attention to beginning teachers' content

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knowledge is unfortunate, given that this is one resource they must have in order to transform subject matter.

When researchers have explicitly investigated the role of subject matter knowledge and its consequences for what students have opportunities to learn, they have found that, in contrast to earlier findings, novices are concerned about subject matter understanding. Their content knowledge interacts closely with their concerns about engaging students and both concerns affect the kinds of historical texts they select (Noordhoff , 1993; Yeager & Davis, 1995). Novice teachers must learn content as they teach; their content knowledge - along with other kinds of professional knowledge and skill - develops in the act of planning, teaching and reflecting (Wilson, Shulman & Richert, 1987). There is significant variation in beginning teachers' subject matter knowledge. Those with weak knowledge tend to misrepresent both the nature and substance of history (Wilson, 1988). Others may hold interpretivist understandings that lead them to select content and representations which more accurately convey recent developments in historical scholarship (Wilson & Wineburg, 1993).

But studying beginning teachers' content knowledge is a recent development in research on beginning teaching. Without further research, it is difficult to speak about a minimal set of knowledge, beliefs and skills that enable new teachers to work with content in pedagogically sound ways and develop appropriate knowledge as they teach. Without more fine-grained understandings of the combinations of knowledge and beliefs that teacher education can provide, and upon which novices can build expert practice over time, we don't know whether some kinds of professional knowledge are more pivotal than others in the beginning stages of teaching.

Moreover, further research might tell us more about the possible variations in beginning teachers' content knowledge. Insights into the meanings teachers construct about their content and students may help teacher educators and mentors more readily identify the diverse knowledge, beliefs and commitments

novices bring to their practice.

Central Questions Guiding this Study

The points I have raised in this chapter reveal the complexity of the problem of beginning teachers' subject matter knowledge. In the current reform climate calling for "stronger disciplinary preparation" of teachers, we still do not know enough about what is best taught in teacher preparation and what is best learned in the first years of teaching. Research on historical knowledge for beginning teaching is quite young, although findings to date suggest the following: novices vary in terms of the substance and organization of their content knowledge; their exposure to history in school and college may be insufficient, even when they have an undergraduate degree in the subject; their historical knowledge interacts with beliefs about history and learners with consequences for what their students have opportunities to learn. In general, the content knowledge literature provides useful constructs for further investigations: the notion of "transformation," which highlights teachers' reasoning related to connecting students and content; the concept of "representation," which provides a window for viewing aspects of professional knowledge used and learned in the process of transformation; and the construct of "practical argument," which provides some latitude in the use of the term "knowledge." Dewey's (1938) theory about the continuity of experience provides a warrant for judging the extent to which beginning teachers transform content in ways that connect to and extend students' understanding.

Throughout this introductory chapter, I have raised questions for further study. What is a minimum set of knowledge and skills that enables beginning teachers to work with content in pedagogically sound ways and develop the appropriate knowledge as they teach? Are some features of professional knowledge more pivotal than others? What combinations of knowledge and beliefs provide opportunities or obstacles in constructing a practice which melds historical content and inquiry?

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To address these issues, I designed a study which attempts to describe and explain the role of content knowledge in the practice of two beginning history teachers. The study is guided by the following research questions:

What is the nature of content knowledge for beginning teaching?

a. What do novices know and believe about content and students?

b. How do categories of knowledge and belief relate to one another in novice practice?

c. What knowledge and skills assist (or hinder) novice teachers' attempts to transform content?

d. What do novice teachers learn about content and students as they teach?

In the pages which follow, I build a conception of novice teachers' knowledge and beliefs relevant to the process of transformation, the task of modifying disciplinary understandings for the purposes of teaching. In Chapter 2, I discuss my research methods, study design and methodological issues the emerged in the process of data collection and analysis. In Chapter 3, I introduce the reader to the study participants - David and Julia - by describing their subject matter beliefs, school settings, students and curricula. Chapter 4 is an analysis of four episodes of Julia's and David's teaching using a conceptual model which breaks "transformation" into three interactive categories: knowledge and beliefs about content, students and instructional representations. In Chapter 5, I put the pieces back together again in an effort to explain what the portraits of teaching can tell us about historical knowledge in beginning practice. Finally, Chapter 6 includes a discussion about implications for teacher education and beginning teacher support as well as a set of research questions for future investigations.

Chapter 2

EXPLORING HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR BEGINNING TEACHING: A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Overview of Methods and Study Design

In order to study professional knowledge and beliefs in the practice of beginning history teachers, I designed a comparative case field study in which I interviewed and observed two promising beginning history teachers. I chose two teachers who had graduated from the same highly-regarded teacher education institution and had received strong recommendations from their instructors and field supervisors in terms of their content knowledge and success in student teaching. My hypothesis was that observing promising novices could help me speak to assumptions about the knowledge base of beginning teachers. In addition, I assumed that careful research on "best case scenarios" might inform our developing sense of possible and appropriate beginning historical knowledge. I chose to study two such teachers in order to compare cases (Yin, 1994). By using the same methods to study two different people, I hoped to learn more about potential variations than I would with just one case.

Because I wanted to understand beginning teachers' thinking as they transformed knowledge for teaching, I followed naturalistic research principles which promote understanding from an "insider's" viewpoint, gathered multiple kinds of data and allowed grounded theories to emerge. Specifically, I adapted methods and interview protocols borrowed from the Knowledge Growth in a Professional Project at Stanford University and the National Center for Research on Teacher Learning at Michigan State University. I also borrowed an approach Connelly and Clandinin (1985) describe as effective in eliciting teachers' tacit "knowledge in action" (see appendices for interview protocols).

I spent considerable time with each teacher, collecting data around two distinct units: one the teacher designated as "familiar" (based on his or her

content knowledge) and one designated as "unfamiliar."[1] I then observed each teacher teach those topics to two different class periods for the duration of the unit. I structured interviews around particular tasks that elicited the teachers' autobiographies, historical knowledge and beliefs, and pedagogical reasoning in the act of planning and teaching. Finally, I collected documents that the teachers produced as part of their units (such as lesson plans, handouts, student work, tests, quizzes, and seating charts) as well as information from district and state offices concerning socio-economic, cultural and political features of the school, school practices, and the student body.

Finding David and Julia[2]

To locate study participants, I searched for two history teachers who had been teaching less than three years, since that corresponded to the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium's [INTASC] (1989) definition of a "beginning teacher." My primary concern was to find two teachers who had performed well in their teacher preparation program, based upon the measures commonly used to designate promising teacher candidates, however crude those measures might be. I generated a list by talking to social studies field instructors who had worked in a secondary teacher preparation program which requires a subject matter major and a full year internship. I asked each to identify students who stood out in their minds as individuals with "strong subject matter knowledge" and "skills in developing a classroom learning community." These two qualities were explicitly included as part of the

[1]These terms should not be interpreted as fixed and oppositional categories. As the analysis of the data will show, the features of David's knowledge of both familiar and unfamiliar topics differ from Julia's. Thus, the terms should be understood as relative and subjective; David regarded his content knowledge of the American and French Revolutions to be stronger than his knowledge of the Russian Revolution. Julia felt that she knew much more about the Civil Rights Movement than about the Progressive Era.

[2]David and Julia are pseudonyms, as are the names of their schools, students, principals, colleagues and college professors.

program's standards for successful completion of the program. This meant that each field instructor had evaluated their students on precisely these qualities and I could use the final written evaluations to substantiate their more recent recollections.

Once I had generated a list of twelve potential participants, I called each to describe my study and get a sense of their interest. I said I was interested in learning about the experiences of beginning teachers as they interacted with students around the subject of history. Only four out of the twelve were teaching history, even though many of them had majored in that subject. Several told me that they had not been able to find history teaching positions and were teaching in their minor area, such as English or a foreign language. I eventually opted to work with Julia and David.

I arranged to meet informally with each of them in order to set up a schedule for interviews and observations. I also asked them to bring copies of transcripts, collaborating teacher evaluations, and course papers, to help substantiate my impression of them as promising teacher candidates. From the start, I learned something of their differences. David, who later told me he still has papers and notes saved from elementary school, brought me copies of everything I requested. Julia, who later expressed feelings of alienation from some aspects of academia, brought only her collaborating teacher evaluation and said that she wasn't sure where to find her course-related work (she had recently married, moved, and hadn't unpacked all of her boxes). As time went on, I neglected to collect these other documents from Julia, so my claims about her performance in college history courses are based solely on self-report.

Of course, there are limitations to relying so heavily on field instructors and collaborating teachers' impressions to identify potential participants for a study designed to look at "promising" beginning teachers. I return to this issue in the last chapter of the dissertation as it relates to my findings. For now, based on the information I had going into the study, I felt satisfied that David and Julia fit the

profile of a promising beginner.

The table below provides basic information about each of the two participants in the study.

JULIA	DAVID
27-year-old biracial woman	24-year-old Caucasian man
Political Science major, History minor	History major, French minor
First year teacher	Third year teacher
Ninth grade US History	Ninth grade World History
Fairmont HS: 1000 students, 85% graduation rate; 17% free/reduced lunch; 20% non-white	Sycamore HS: 1400 students, 90% graduation rate; 6.6% free/reduced lunch; 11% non-white
Familiar Unit: Civil Rights Movement	Familiar Unit: Age of Revolutions
Unfamiliar Unit: Progressive Era	Unfamiliar Unit: Communist Revolution

Table 1: Profiles of Julia and David

Cultivating the Relationships

In my initial contact with Julia and David, both expressed a high level of interest, commenting that the experience would help them improve their practice. I took this as a good sign. Although I had not identified this as a criterion in my initial search for participants, interest in improving one's practice is frequently cited as an important aspect of good teaching. Also, if they felt they were getting something out of the experience for themselves, I might be able to learn more from them. I knew that I would be posing tough questions, not to mention inhabiting their professional space in their first years of teaching. I was asking a great deal of them and I did not take this lightly.

I was determined to give Julia and David the respect they deserved as willing and novice participants. At one point, this meant risking the possibility that Julia would drop out of the study before it even began. When I called her two weeks into the school year to set up the first interview, she told me she was feeling "overwhelmed" with the life of a first-year teacher and didn't know if she would have time for the research project. She wondered how long the interviews would take. I tried to be straightforward, acknowledging that her participation would place extra demands on her time and assuring her that I would understand if she changed her mind. I tried not to betray my own panic and was tremendously relieved when she decided: "I'll do it, I'll do it."

Throughout the study, I felt a deep gratitude toward David's and Julia's willingness to stick with me until the end, even though it meant coming in early or staying late, providing a desk for me to sit in, and an extra copy of each worksheet. I had told them upfront that there was no monetary compensation, but I tried to repay them in small ways. During each visit, I adjusted my schedule so that our meetings took place at times and locations convenient to them. Once, Julia and I met at a coffee shop close to her house. I brought brownies to an after-school interview with David and coffee to an early morning meeting with Julia. On more than one occasion, I offered to run copies for them between class periods when they were busy with other tasks. In the spring, after data collection ended, I gave each of them a 50 dollar gift certificate to purchase teaching materials from a major publishing company.

It turned out that I was far more anxious about protecting David and Julia's confidentiality than they were. Since I knew other teachers in both buildings, I anticipated having to provide an explanation about my presence. I told both Julia and David that I would not reveal their identities, that I would simply tell anyone who asked that I was doing a research project in the school. I used this line on a few occasions, but both teachers introduced me to their colleagues as someone who was "studying" their teaching. David explained that he would be

referred to by a pseudonym in the final report: "I'm going to be one of those Joe Johns you read about in the research."

Collecting the Data

As I conceptualized this study, I realized I would need to gather multiple kinds of data. Previous studies indicated that life history, content knowledge, and disciplinary orientations impact teachers' transformation of subject matter. In addition, since I wanted to theorize about knowledge in action, I had to find some way to tap into teachers' reasoning close to particular classroom events. And because this was a study of beginning teachers, I needed data that told me something about what might be changing or developing in their practice.

Table 2 displays each type of data I collected.[3] In the Autobiographical Interview, I asked David and Julia questions about their pre-college memories related to learning about history, both in and out of school. They described some significant college history courses and identified influential aspects of the teacher preparation program. I asked them what they thought it meant to "know" history and why high school students should learn history. These questions also triggered quite a bit of detail about the teachers' life histories - what their parents did for a living, the kinds of schools they attended,

[3]The citation abbreviations for data collected in this study are as follows: Interviews are cited by title, date and Roman numeral to indicate whether the interview took place during the first or second round of data collection. "Autobio" refers to Autobiographical Interview; "CK" refers to Content Knowledge Interview; "ROA" refers to Reflection on Action Interview; and "Post-Ob" refers to Post-Observation Interview. Portions of classroom dialogue are cited by class period and date. Thus, "2nd; 11/24/98" refers to a second period class session held on November 24, 1998.

EVENT AND CODE	DATE AND DURATION	TYPE OF DATA	PURPOSE OF TASK
Autobiographical Interview (Autobio)	Beginning of school year (1 hour)	Audio-tape, college transcripts and course papers	Describe educational background and prior experiences learning history and pedagogy
Content Knowledge Interview (CK I and CK II)	Prior to each unit (1 hour)	Audio-tape	Draw a conceptual map of the topic. Discuss items on a "fact list" drawn from a textbook chapter on the topic
Classroom Observations (Coded by class period: 2nd, 3rd, 4th)	Two class periods each day for the duration of each unit	Audio-tape, field notes and copies of handouts, worksheets, student work	To observe professional knowledge in action; teacher-student- subject matter interactions around instructional representations
Reflection on Action Interview (ROA I and ROA II)	Mid-way through each unit (1 - 2 hours)	Audiotape	Identify representations that were planned and unplanned; Explain actions taken when the unexpected happened
Post-Observation Interview (Post-Ob I and Post-Ob II)	After each unit (1 - 2- hours)	Audiotape	Imagine teaching this unit again sometime; Analyze examples of student work; React to vignettes describing approaches to history teaching; Comment on goals for the coming years
Description of School Setting	Throughout the year	Field notes; school data from district and state offices	Documents describe features of the school, school practices and student body

Table 2: Overview of Data Collected

experiences which shaped their values and worldviews.[4]

I designed the Content Knowledge Interview to help me understand David and Julia's content knowledge directly related to the four units I observed. I waited to do these interviews until the teachers told me that they had reviewed the topic in preparation for teaching it. I wanted to assess their topic-specific knowledge while fresh in their minds, reasoning that this would give me the closest approximation of the content they were drawing upon prior to actually implementing the unit. The plan was to have each teacher draw a conceptual map about the topic, followed by a "mind dump:" "Tell me everything you know about this topic, even if you're not planning to teach everything you know to your students." The second part of the interview involved having the teachers look over a "fact list" about the topic which I had gleaned from a current high school history textbook. I asked each to comment on any items they hadn't included in the mind dump. I closed the interview with questions about where and when they had learned about this topic and whether they were aware of alternative or conflicting historical interpretations.

By using both open-ended questions and the fact list, I hoped to get insight into what several researchers (e.g., Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989, borrowing from Joseph Schwab, 1978) refer to as "substantive" and "syntactic" content knowledge. The first of these categories includes knowledge of the facts of historical events and interrelated concepts. This is typically the kind of knowledge college students are tested on in their history courses: What significant events led to the French Revolution? How did Progressive reform

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[4]Prior to the first interview, I piloted both the Autobiographical and the Content Knowledge interview questions with a history major who was currently doing his student teaching. I made a few adjustments based on his responses: to the Autobiographical interview, I added a question about describing the schools they had attended and a phrase about learning history outside of school; I incorporated a concept mapping task into the Content Knowledge interview.

ideas shape political and social institutions?

Syntactic knowledge refers to understandings about the process of historical inquiry - how historians use evidence to construct interpretations of events. It is less common for history courses to emphasize this kind of knowledge, but since some of the current reforms in history education call for teachers to teach about the processes of historical inquiry, I wanted to find out whether or to what extent Julia and David held these understandings. I made some discoveries about the format of this particular interview which reveal some of the complexity of trying to study teachers' content knowledge. I discuss these at the end of this chapter.

I arranged to observe each teacher for two class periods every day for the duration of their units. This enabled me to see each lesson plan twice, with two different groups of students. This method helped me to notice aspects of the teachers' curricular goals and representations that were dynamic and evolving, since no lesson plan was ever taught the same way twice. In addition, I asked the teachers to identify topics with which they felt familiar in terms of the content and topics with which they felt less comfortable or familiar. I made a point to observe one of each, which gave me an opportunity to notice variations in their teaching based on differences in content knowledge (see Table 1 for these topics).

Midway through each unit, I held the Reflection-on-Action Interview. The general rationale for this interview comes from Schon (1983). Teaching, like other complex, uncertain, and ambiguous professional work, relies on knowledge which is very often tacit and intuitive. Schon posits that:

> both ordinary people and professional practitioners often think about what they are doing, sometimes even while doing it. Stimulated by surprise, they turn thought back on action and on the knowing which is implicit in action. They may ask themselves, for example, "What features do I notice when I recognize this thing? What are the criteria by which I make this judgment? . . . How am I framing the problem that I am trying to solve? (p. 50)

I was interested in eliciting David's and Julia's reflections on their actions because, as Fenstermacher (1994) suggests, in this way teachers' tacit understandings may be brought to a level of "practical reasoning:"

> The provision of reasons, when done well, makes action sensible to the actor and the observer. That is a minimal form of warrant for practical action. Such reasoning may also show that an action is, for example, the reasonable thing to do, the obvious thing to do, or the only thing one could do under the circumstances. Each of these is, I believe, a contribution to the epistemic merit of a practical knowledge claim. (p. 45)

I designed the Reflection-on-Action interview around a set of tasks which I hoped would stimulate this kind of "turning thought back on action," especially around moments of surprise. For example, during the first round of data collection, I asked the teachers to comment on a list of representations I had seen them use up to that point. I asked them to tell me which representations they had planned to use in advance, which were generated in the moment and the content they hoped to convey to students with each representation. I also replayed a tape of their teaching or read a transcript and had them do a "think aloud" - stopping at any point where something unanticipated had happened and report on what they had been thinking at the time. These tasks elicited rich detail about the teachers' curricular goals and evolving content knowledge for very specific pieces of the unit.

However, in the second round I created tasks specifically intended to test hypotheses I had generated from my preliminary analysis of the first round. The second Reflection-on-Action interview asked the teachers to recreate what was going through their minds as they planned their units and then comment on any mid-stream adjustments they had made.

The format for the Post-Observation Interview also changed from first to second round. In the fall semester, I asked the teachers to imagine that they were preparing to teach the entire unit again. First, I asked them to evaluate their major representations, identify the ones they would and would not use in the future and why. Then they described the central theme of their unit and

explained whether they would teach it differently next time. Their responses to these questions gave me information about their selection of curricular goals and representations across the entire unit, as well as which lessons stood out in their memory as having been particularly instructive for them as beginning teachers. Finally, in an effort to discover whether the teachers had acquired new content knowledge as they taught, I asked them to recall what they had said in the content knowledge interview (with the aid of the fact list and concept map) in order to find out whether they felt they had learned new content while they were teaching.

At the end of the second semester units, I again changed the interview protocol in order to test my hypotheses. This time, in addition to asking the teachers how they would teach the unit in the future, I had them analyze samples of students' work, react to four vignettes of history teaching, and comment on aspects of their teaching they would like to develop over the next few years.

Obtaining Consent

In my application for university permission to conduct research using human subjects, I had indicated that I would obtain consent from principals and students' parents, as well as the teachers. Prior to the Autobiographical Interviews, I contacted the principal of each school to get approval for the study. Fortunately in those districts, principals held the authority to give approval; I did not have to wait for the decision to get processed at the district level as is often the case in larger school systems. David's principal signed the consent form and made it clear that he didn't want to be further involved. He left it up to David and me to determine procedures for collecting parents' signatures. The only caution he expressed to me was, "Some of these parents are lawyers so make sure they're satisfied."

Julia's principal wanted to be more involved. He provided me with a

computer print-out with the home address of each of Julia's students in her second and third period classes (the sections I would be observing). He wanted me to mail the consent form and cover letter to each parent, with a statement about contacting him about concerns or questions. I did exactly what he requested. The letter indicated that students were to return the consent from to Julia, but for some reason about fifteen students apparently never received their letters. With the principal's permission, I gave these students their consent forms directly.

The return rate was one hundred percent with David's students and about eighty-six percent with Julia's. Several factors account for this difference. Both teachers said they preferred to explain my presence and the consent form process to their students rather than have me do it. That was fine with me, after all, they had relationships with parents and students to maintain. Julia introduced me the first day I observed and explained that they would be receiving consent forms in the mail, if they hadn't already. I was surprised that David chose not to introduce me to his students until I had already been observing for over a week. Students were accustomed to observers in their classrooms, so my presence didn't seem unusual until it became apparent that I intended to keep coming back! When one of his fourth hour students finally said, "Mr. Parker, you never introduced us to the visitor," David explained my presence, distributed the consent forms and offered five extra credit points to anyone who returned them (making it clear that they did not have to give consent to get the points, only return the form to indicate their preference). Several students wanted to know if their real names would be used in my report. At that point, I spoke up and said that I would make up names for them, but if they had a particular preference, they should write it on the form. This appealed to a few of them who immediately called out their preferred pseudonyms.

It hadn't occurred to me until that point that technically I should have obtained all parents' signatures before I started the observations. Logistically,

this was difficult to do - in part because I was negotiating with David and Julia about which class periods I would observe and respecting their professional judgments about when to distribute the forms. I justified the delay in my own mind by reasoning that I had the teachers' and principals' permission to audiotape class sessions, which is something I would do even if no parents consented to my use of students' comments or written work. And, I refrained from making copies of student work until I had obtained parents' consent. In the end, there were only nine students whose words and work I could not use.

Observing in Classrooms

Initially, I had planned to videotape several class sessions, as a way to supplement field notes and audiotape and help me to identify student voices as well as a possible tool to use in the Reflection-on-Action Interviews. I tried this on two occasions in David's classroom, with limited success. I found that without an extended microphone, the video camera was no better than a tape recorder (and perhaps worse) in picking up students' voices. Furthermore, although I was not a total novice when it came to operating a video camera, I found myself distracted by the task of operating it. It also impeded my ability to get a holistic view of what was happening in the classroom at the moment. Naturally, a camera lens puts a frame around interactions so that what is happening outside that frame is not recorded. Since I didn't have the funds to pay someone to run the camera for me, I ceased videotaping.

Eventually, I developed a technique for recording my observations that seemed generative. I placed my tape recorder in a central location and used a sound-grabber microphone which enabled me to pick up all but a few voices. Since I was spending so much time in the classrooms, I quickly learned to recognize students' voices when I listened to the tape. During each class session, I kept a running written commentary of the dialogue, writing as fast as I could, recording virtually very word that was spoken. This required a high degree of

concentration, because my writing was always a few seconds behind the conversation. (My years of sitting through college lectures helped me out here!). Every time there was a substantial pause in the conversation, I was able to look up and notice behavior, which I recorded in the margins. I made no effort to jot down my own thoughts during this time; I was a recording machine.

However, I was able to arrange my schedule so that within 30 minutes of leaving each school I could be somewhere (the library or a coffee shop) to plug in my laptop computer and type up my field notes. As I did so, I kept a list at the bottom of each document containing more analytical comments or questions or ideas of things I needed to ask David and Julia about. During the second round of observations, I also began to integrate my notes from each pair of class periods for the same lesson. I highlighted one class period in bold-face to keep them separate, but this way, I could easily compare what each teacher did or did not change from period to period. I then used my field notes to help me be more selective about which class sessions to transcribe.

During the actual weeks I was observing, this was about all I had mental energy to do. I was committed to typing up my notes on a daily basis, when the classroom events were still fresh in my mind. I left the transcribing to the periods of time between observations, except for the portions I chose to use in the Reflection-on-Action interviews. These needed to be typed up so the teachers could read them as they were listening to the tape.

By the time I had collected all my data and transcribed field notes, interviews and selected teaching episodes, I had gathered a total of 28 hours of observations for Julia, 42 hours of David, 18 hours of interviews and 523 pages of transcript.

Analyzing the Data

My methodological orientation in this study was naturalistic. I wanted to immerse myself in the culture of David and Julia's teaching environments, understand as much as possible what reality looked like from the "insiders'"

perspective and allow theories to emerge from the data. In the final section of this chapter I will say more about the complexities of doing this kind of research.

In a sense, I was analyzing data as I collected it, but my analysis was more concentrated and productive during the breaks in interviews and observations. In the process, I came to see my mind as an instrument of analysis. I prepared myself for the analytical process by reading research journals periodically and by interviewing three "expert witnesses:" Alex Mann, a high school history teacher who recently earned a Ph.D. in Asian history; Bob Bain, a teacher educator with 26 years of history teaching experience and a Ph.D. in social policy and history; and Trudy Sykes, a teacher educator who coordinates field experiences and regularly interacts with prospective and practicing secondary social studies teachers. I met with each of them for an hour to share with them some of my data and get their reactions. Their perspectives helped me to see things - in terms of historical content and pedagogy, as well as aspects of Julia and David's personal orientations - that I might otherwise have overlooked. I also received a great deal of help from my weekly involvement in two study groups composed of doctoral students - who were also collecting and analyzing dissertation data - and one faculty advisor. We read each others' transcripts and analytic memos, co-constructed concept maps, and discussed strategies for displaying data.

I read and reread my field notes and interview transcripts many times over. I looked for themes and patterns pertaining to David and Julia's knowledge and beliefs about content, students, pedagogy, curriculum and context. I bought a large tablet of poster paper and filled it with circles, charts and arrows - all in an effort to display the data in fresh ways. After the first round of data collection, I wrote two analytic memos - one about each teacher - describing their personal backgrounds, views of history, instructional representations and points of surprise. Based on these memos, I created a set of hypotheses about the interaction of their knowledge and beliefs, as well as the aspects of teaching that seemed difficult for them. I turned my hypotheses into predictions about what I

would observe during their second teaching episodes. At the end of data collection, I reread my predictions and found that the comparison to what really happened helped me build explanations. I also used the hypotheses to develop a new set of interview protocols for the Reflection-on-Action and Post-Observation Interviews that helped me to test my hunches.

After the second round of data collection, I was able to identify emergent analytic categories. I then cut and pasted segments from the interview transcripts onto index cards, each with a label such as "conceptions of history" or "beliefs about students." These cards helped me construct my next four memos: one each on David's and Julia's familiar and unfamiliar units. Later, as I was writing various drafts of the dissertation, I referred back to the notecards I hadn't used in order to look for confirming and disconfirming evidence.

In these memos, I tried to describe what I saw and heard in vivid detail. Whenever I had an analytical comment to make, I stuck it into a footnote. Eventually some of these footnotes came together to form the outline of my theoretical argument. Toward the end of second semester, after all interviews and observations were complete, I gave Julia and David early drafts of my memos about them. My analysis was still fairly preliminary at that point, so I didn't get the kind of feedback from them I might have if I had waited until my argument was more developed. Still, their comments were useful. Both pointed out a few factual errors I had made and affirmed my decisions about which aspects of their teaching to focus on.

Reading Teaching

To paraphrase a popular line, research is a journey, not merely a destination. Likely, most readers will be more interested in the final chapter of this dissertation than in this methodological report, but this project taught me as much about doing research as it did about beginning teachers' knowledge. In this last section, I summarize a few insights I gained about research.

I had anticipated that a major hurdle in the effort to understand what teachers know and believe is the fact that so much is tacit. As an observer, I couldn't depend solely on my interpretations of their actions to infer knowledge and beliefs. After all, teacher actions are highly contextualized. Even though I was more than an occasional visitor, how could I know whether a teacher was withholding information for a pedagogical reason or because of lack of knowledge? When teachers simplify content, they may or may not hold more complex understandings. Teachers select certain representations for reasons that may not make sense to an outside observer.

Consequently, I felt quite dependent on David's and Julia's self-awareness. At the same time, I assumed that it would be natural for them to want to explain their actions as if they were part of a deliberate, coherent philosophy, when in fact, beginning teachers may still be sorting through competing purposes and values. So I experimented with various ways to tap into their thinking. I think that some of these strategies were useful but I also believe that, to the extent these teachers made their knowledge and beliefs available to me, it was in large measure due to their own desire to reflect on and learn from their practice.

Although I had not anticipated it, observing two class periods turned out to be fruitful. My presence seemed to sensitize Julia and David to any changes they made across groups of students. It wasn't long before each of them started approaching me to offer spontaneous explanations: "Did you notice I erased the board before second hour but left the diagram on the board for fourth hour? That's because fourth period [students] need more structure." "I decided to give the worksheet to this group today instead of waiting until tomorrow because I think they will need more time to finish it." They also initiated these kinds of comments when they modified a lesson slightly from the original plans they had described in the interviews.

A similar thing happened during the Reflection-on-Action interviews in which each teacher "relived" a lesson they had taught in order to identify where

something unexpected had happened. It seemed natural for them to want to explain what was going on in their heads at the time. I had been a little concerned that David and Julia would hesitate in admitting that they had been caught off-guard in the middle of a lesson. However, perhaps because they were beginning teachers, they seemed to presume that surprises were inevitable - a daily occurrence - and they were quite willing to reflect on those surprises.

I also developed a set of phrases that I would use whenever they had time to talk between class periods. Referring to something that had just happened in class, I would ask "When did you learn to do that?" or "I noticed that you seemed excited by what that student said," or "What's going on with [name of student] today?" This approach seemed less aggressive than asking them "Why did you do that?" and their responses seemed more extensive and involved than I might have gotten had I waited.

Naively, I had assumed it was possible to separate what these teachers knew about their content from their "knowing in action." I believed that the Content Knowledge interview would give me access to the former and observations would give me access to the latter. What happened instead was that David and Julia repeatedly mentioned historical facts or interpretations in their teaching that did not come up in the interviews. Julia actually froze up when I asked her to talk about the items on the Progressive Era fact list, even though I learned later that she was quite familiar with some of them (the NAACP and the Nineteenth Amendment). Both of them surprised me by making knowledge statements while teaching that revealed more understanding than I thought they had. It turned out, for example, that David knew much more about 18th century European social history than he ever revealed during his Age of Revolutions unit. Julia described a scene at a history department meeting in which she had been the sole member who knew that Yugoslavia had been created in the aftermath of World War I (as opposed to World War II).

Experiences like these made me cautious in assuming that I was discovering anything more about David and Julia's historical knowledge than what happened to be triggered in a given moment. This was still useful data; when I put it all together I was able to make claims about the interaction of certain facts and interpretations with particular beliefs or orientations. But I learned I had to be careful about characterizing their historical knowledge as if I had just taken a snapshot of it and could study it under bright lights.

A final insight - perhaps the most important of all - concerns my role as the researcher. I anticipated that my presence in Julia's and David's classrooms would affect the data. My goal was to minimize my influence and I think I succeeded most of the time. I arrived in the classrooms early to set up my equipment. I did not participate in class discussions unless a comment or question was directed at me (which only happened once or twice). When it came to my interactions with the teachers, I tried as best I could to set aside the role I had grown accustomed to playing in schools - the role of field instructor responsible for helping new teachers develop their practice. At the beginning, this was especially hard, because I would reflexively think of comments I could make or questions I could ask to bring something to their attention

On the other hand, there was no question that as an adult in the school, I felt a moral imperative to be a positive presence. This meant that when a student sitting near me asked me to repeat David's directions or a phrase Julia had just erased from the board, I did so. Once on my way into David's building, I moved closer to two boys who were yelling at each other in order to deter a fight.

Similarly, I didn't feel that I could be completely detached in my interactions with Julia and David. After all, they were beginning teachers in need of resources and I was a resource. This reality was apparent from the beginning. Both asked for my advice on more than one occasion. I think they were primarily interested in my point of view as a former social studies teacher, although I'm sure my connections to the university had some bearing as well.

Julia asked me what I would do about students who fall asleep in class or hand in poor quality work. David wondered how to respond to a student who seemed openly annoyed with him. Once, Julia asked me to comment on a handout she had prepared: "How can I improve it?" she wondered.

In each case I was careful with my response to show respect for their autonomy, to make it clear that I didn't have prescriptions for their practice. I said things like "Yeah, I've had that same dilemma" and "What have you done in the past?" or "How is she doing in her other classes?" In the case of Julia's handout, I offered her a summary of the related content she had taught students and asked her how that tied into the worksheet she had created. She had several ideas. I had a particular preference for one of her ideas and told her so. Afterwards, I worried that I had over-stepped my bounds but as it turned out, Julia did not use the worksheet in the way I had encouraged her to. This was a relief because it seemed to suggest that, although she cared about my opinion, she didn't feel obligated to agree with me.

There was another way in which self as researcher entered into this study. I had to keep reminding myself to watch out for the presumption of familiarity based on my own past experience as a beginning, ninth-grade social studies teacher. There were times when I could use my past experience as a resource; I knew enough about experiences common to teachers to be able to make some educated guesses about what might be going through David's and Julia's minds. However, I also found myself judging their teaching against the standard of my own practice. I was initially quite drawn to David's scholarly approach, his interest in intellectual history. I found myself dismayed by Julia's very different sense of what it meant to teach history. My colleagues at the university told me my preference for David was conspicuous in my analytic memos. "You're neglecting Julia" one of them scolded. After this, I make a special effort to read Julia's transcripts more empathetically and David's with a more critical eye. An additional problem was that, with only two teachers in my study, I was inclined

to polarize contrasts. It was only by carefully monitoring myself that I was able to moderate this tendency.

Given the complexity of "reading teaching," this study has all the limitations of this kind of research. A large part of the data relies on self-report: David and Julia's accounts of their knowledge and reasoning which were probably influenced by the natural impulse to look good or the fact that self-understanding is rarely complete. Among the transcripts and field notes stored in two boxes in my office, there is likely some piece of data which seemed inconsequential a few months ago but may later strike me as significant. I continue to reflect on the ambiguity surrounding my role as researcher, a role I negotiated with myself as well as with Julia and David.

All in all, the time I spent with these two teachers was much more personally intense - physically, mentally and emotionally - than I had imagined. Clearly it was for them as well. David asked whether he could have his transcripts because he's thinking he would like to write a book. "There are no interesting books about social studies teaching out there," he explained. Julia commented that the experience was "cathartic" for her. Whereas she felt her colleagues treated her like a blank slate, I at least acknowledged that she "knows some stuff." Indeed, the experience of reading a transcript of her teaching as part of the Reflection on Action interview helped convince Julia herself that she knew some stuff:

> This is so interesting. I'm getting a lot more pedagogically out of the kid's responses, I'm getting a better picture of what kids are thinking. In the class, I'm constantly trying to monitor my own thinking, what my goals are, what kids might be perceiving. But now I can hear voices I didn't necessarily hear. (ROA I, 12/22/98)

In a sense, my task as researcher was similar to Julia's as teacher. I wanted to hear the voices of beginning teachers, the meanings they construct about content, students, curriculum and school culture. In order to do so, I couldn't depend solely on my interpretations of their actions. I needed Julia and David to articulate their tacit and intuitive knowledge and beliefs to me as best they could.

And I needed to position myself so I could hear what might not have otherwise occurred to me.

Chapter 3

JULIA AND DAVID: SUBJECT MATTER BELIEFS, SCHOOL CONTEXTS, STUDENTS, AND CURRICULUM

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the beliefs about history Julia and David brought to their practice as well as the contexts in which they taught. The chapter introduces the reader to each beginning teacher's disciplinary perspectives, conceptions of history as a school subject, work setting, involvements in the life of the school, relationships with colleagues, interactions with and general attitudes toward their students, their typical teaching style, and the curriculum units I observed. My goal is to provide the reader with a global impression of each teacher in which then to situate later chapters.

Descriptions of novices' orientations toward their subject matter are particularly relevant to studies about the nature of transformation. Previous researchers found that teachers' personal theories about what is worthwhile and significant to know, as well as their epistemological beliefs about the nature of knowledge and ways of knowing, influence the process of transformation (Wilson & Wineburg, 1988). In addition, teachers' ideas about the purposes of teaching subject matter are powerful influences on their pedagogical reasoning (Grossman, 1990). In order to understand such beliefs, we need to explore early influences on David's and Julia's process of constructing meaning about what history is and how one comes to know it.

Like their pupils who are trying to make sense of subject matter, Julia and David have been and are students of history, bringing their existing knowledge to bear on any new historical information they encounter. What each of them "knows" about their content is a product of ongoing efforts to adapt to the world as they perceive it: "knowledge consists of those beliefs that 'survive' in the sense that surviving beliefs help the human who holds them" (Orton, 1996). This is similar to Becker's (1968) observation that "every normal person - Mr. Everyman - knows some history" because drawing meaning from the past is

what the mind does before acting in the present:

> History in this sense cannot be reduced to a verifiable set of statistics or formulated in terms of universally valid mathematical formulas. It is rather an imaginative creation, a personal possession which each one of us, Mr. Everyman, fashions out of his individual experience, adapts to his practical or emotional needs, and adorns as well as may be to suit his aesthetic tastes. (p. 13)

Thus, we would expect to find that teachers, like their students, hold personalized historical knowledge. Polanyi (1958) used the phrase "self as a tool of understanding" as shorthand for his central thesis that "into every act of knowing enters a passionate contribution of the person knowing what is being known" (p. 3). Other theorists have emphasized that knowledge is socially-constructed, since people make sense of phenomena within particular social and historical contexts (Dewey, 1916; Vygotsky, 1978). In the following sections, I attend to the social settings in which Julia and David "adapted and adorned" their beliefs about history and what it means to know it.

Julia Richards: Teaching Social History in an Under-Resourced High School

Julia and her Beliefs about History

Julia Richards, 27 years old, does not remember very much about her social studies classes in elementary and secondary school, although she has one striking memory from fifth grade. The previous year, her parents had divorced and Julia had been allowed to choose the parent with whom she would live. She chose her father, which meant a move from Michigan to Colorado:

> I remember in Colorado, the teacher had a map and he said "What states are on here?" I said Michigan, but he didn't want Michigan. It was a teacher question. I felt stupid. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

For young Julia, history was a school subject in which one was expected to memorize "fact-oriented names and dates" and Julia was "not a memorizer."[1] She did not - and still does not - consider herself to be a strong student. She

[1]All quotes are Julia's own words.

thought of her teachers as "robots the government gave" her. And yet, as an adult, Julia decided to become a social studies teacher and now, in her first year of teaching, says that she feels she has finally found her "niche."

Julia explained how her early dislike of history evolved into her decision to become a U.S. History teacher. Julia's father is black and her mother is white. Julia refers to them as "social studies people" because they were constantly discussing social history and politics. She learned early on that, from her parents' perspective, "It was taboo to vote Republican." When she was older, she heard the stories about when her father was a social worker in Kentucky and fought to get indoor plumbing for the elderly, about how her parents were escorted by police out of town because there were laws against black people being in town after dark, about how her parents got shot at while eating in a restaurant and were approached by members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Julia's parents were less concerned about social mobility and competition than they were about encouraging their daughter to identify and express her authentic self. They did not put pressure on her to excel in school:

> [They said] you are who you are, we're not placing any racial or financial constraints on you. You don't have to go to college. . . They didn't even say "you're biracial," they said "you're Julia." They were very accepting of me as a person, and not [solely] because I was their child. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

Because of her parents, Julia was drawn at an early age to historical and contemporary individuals and movements directed toward social change. Her interests rarely found support in school. Only two school events stand out in her memory as occasions in which she felt connected to the curriculum. In seventh grade and then again in high school, she moved back to Michigan to live with her mother and attended a predominantly white school in a semi-rural community. She remembers learning about Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.:

> In seventh grade, we watched the movie Gandhi. I loved it, it made me feel connected to people doing things with other people. I'm very emotional, I cry and connect to the way people were feeling. What was amazing was

> that I didn't talk at all or pass notes during that movie. . . . I remember learning about Martin Luther King Jr. and becoming enamored with his voice and because he was speaking to everyone [about] how compassion works better to change things. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

In the all-white Michigan high school, Julia became conscious of her skin color in a painful way, feeling like she "stuck out like a sore thumb." Yet, teachers and students seemed to pretend that wasn't the case, as if racial histories had no relationship to Julia's present experience. She dreaded any mention of slavery in her history classes because there was no recognition of her connection to that experience. In the predominantly black Colorado schools, "black girls hated me because of my [light] skin color . . . one called me a 'half-breed bitch.'" Looking back, Julia feels that her parents' well-intended "experiment in not making race an issue," made her "naive." "I wasn't warned about what was out there . . . [as I was growing up], society didn't make sense to me."

Julia's parents tried to protect her from the realities of racial conflict, but her school experiences left her feeling frustrated by the intolerance directed toward her as well as the messages about race conveyed by the hidden curriculum. She noticed that this wasn't just her experience, but a reflection of something going on in society at large. "Society didn't make sense" to her. When things don't make sense, the human mind "fights to create explanations" (Delval, 1994, p. 97). Ironically, history provided a lens for constructing explanations. From an historical perspective, it seemed less surprising to Julia that "the lower class is still having a hard time" and "people are still prejudiced:"

> I never understood the cliche "ignorance is bliss" until I started trying to understand society and looking at all those things that are going on. It's so hard not to feel heavy and frustrated and scared about the future. . . . A friend of mine is real ignorant about social issues and sometimes I think how great, she has no idea. So when I am looking at the negative, it helps me to understand [that] it has only been thirty-three years since segregation laws in the South ended. So if you think about it that way, we have made a lot of strides and how can you expect someone who was racist thirty-three years ago to wake up one day and say "Oh, the law says I'm not supposed to do that so I'm not going to anymore." So that's why I like to connect past [realities] to the present. (CK I, 12/10/98)

It is only partially accurate to call this an "historical perspective." Yes, it relies on some historical knowledge, but it is history in the service of social analysis. What Julia constructed was an explanation of persistent prejudice based on the socialization of attitudes over decades of U.S. race relations. She drew on political and social history to make sense of her experience as a biracial woman.

Perhaps that is why she initially entered college planning a future career in civil rights law. She reasoned that as a civil rights lawyer, she could "speak a message to a lot of people and help them to understand both sides or all sides of racism. I wanted to be a civil rights attorney, help people understand their rights." So she chose to major in political science and at first, minor in English. But "there was something missing" and when she realized that she had actually earned more credits in history than in English, she declared a history minor instead. It wasn't until she was almost finished with her bachelor's degree that she decided to become a social studies teacher instead of a lawyer, and applied for the teacher preparation program as a post-baccalaureate:

> I was sitting at the dining room table with my mom, where most epiphanies happen, and I said, "I think I want to be a teacher." Before then, I had always felt void of [knowing] what my talent was. Because of my experience in school, I thought I would do very well. . . . We didn't talk about prejudice [in school]. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

When Julia entered the teacher preparation program, she imagined that she would be a government teacher: "I love the law, I love the Constitution." But in both her internship and now in her first teaching job, she found herself teaching U.S. history. She bemoans the fact that she didn't major in history, because "You need to major in it to feel confident walking into the classroom. I had eight classes of history and I felt weak walking in. What are the chances you're going to have come across all the facts that your students could ask you about?" Such comments provide clues as to Julia's disciplinary perspectives. As a youth, she viewed history as "fact-oriented names and dates." Now, as a teacher, she is concerned that her history courses did not teach her sufficient facts. And, as a

political science major who "loves the law," she may tend to perceive historical content through a civil rights lens.

Indeed, of the eight history courses Julia took in college, those that stand out in her memory were the History of the Constitution, two African-American history courses and one women's history course. Even in these courses, she found memorizing facts difficult. She didn't "read stuff unless I had to" and sold most of the assigned books at the end of each semester. She admits that she probably wouldn't do well on a test that measured her memory of details. But what she does remember from those courses are the facts, themes, and concepts which connected with or challenged her evolving conception of U.S. History:

> I had never heard of the Harlem Renaissance or the cult of true womanhood or that the Supreme Court molds our lives so much, more than any other branch of government. I also learned that some stuff I had learned in high school was distorted, like [the perception] that Martin Luther King had led the whole civil rights movement or that [the movement] was primarily in the South. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

These history courses provided Julia with knowledge about the experiences of women and minorities in our nation's history, particularly from a civil rights standpoint. They also taught her something about historical research:

> Dr. Stevens gave us primary source documents that were hard to interpret. She had us do historian stuff and make conclusions and evaluate evidence and go find resources of where this person was from and [reach] logical conclusions. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

She says that from this course, she developed a sense that history is"ambiguous and conceptual," in contrast to a subject like math:

> It's not one plus one equals two. It's more like sometimes it's two, but if you do this and this is might be three. In the past couple of years history has changed. That guy who worked at the Swiss bank found these documents saying they laundered money for Hitler. He changed history because we were always going on the idea they didn't [launder money]. And they have proof now that Jefferson had children by his slaves, whereas before they just thought no. (Post-Ob I, 12/22/98)

So Julia has some conception that histories are based on interpretations of evidence which may change over time, but she doesn't emphasize this aspect of

the discipline. What she remembers most from the historiography course is not so much the epistemological issues involved but the realization that there is a "historical way of writing" that she was not good at, based on the feedback she got from her professors.

Julia's historical knowledge and disciplinary perspectives developed long before she entered college. She is interested in historical knowledge which supports social change. She seems to view the discipline as primarily fact-based, although she is aware that historical accounts are created and evolve. This is not surprising, given that the history she encountered in school seemed to consist of trivial facts which were disconnected from personal experience and made her feel "stupid." In contrast, the historical understandings she developed in the context of family and minority group identity-building held explanatory power. History the way Julia constructed it could shed light on why progress toward social and racial equality has been so slow and inspire her with images of nonviolent, collective efforts to "change things" and visions of what might have been:

> Can you imagine if Malcolm [X] and Martin [Luther King, Jr.] had united [as Malcolm had proposed just before his assassination]? . . . We've never had two leaders rise up to that magnitude and I would love to see it happen again. Ahh, I'd love it, it would be beautiful. (CK II, 5/18/99)

This is a formulation of history in which the starting point is not so much the discipline of history as it is social analysis. History is but one tool among many for understanding and changing contemporary society; history serves a broader purpose.

Julia's commitment to use her knowledge to change society is clear: first her interest in becoming a civil rights attorney; later her decision to enter teaching where she could do what her own teachers failed to do: "talk about prejudice." When Julia talks about teaching history, she emphasizes the impact of the past on the present. She wants her students to "remember stuff, although the stuff isn't lists of vocabulary, but understand society and why things happen today,

why there are certain laws that there are." She wants them to be able to explain, for example, "not just what happened in 1492, but why Native Americans would say Columbus Day is a disgusting holiday. Why it's significant today." She is not as present-minded as her colleagues who "want to hurry up and get through all the early history so they can get to contemporary history." She feels that is:

> doing a disservice to students . . . . You can't get to contemporary history without knowing why you got there. You can't get to the '80s without understanding where it came from. To understand the Cold War, you have to understand WWII. (CK I, 12/10/98)

Julia is especially committed to providing her students with historical information which helps them to become more tolerant of others and active in the struggle for social equality and justice:

> [Knowing] history gives you an understanding of society, to understand stereotypes, why people are prejudiced . . . and why people are still angry. You can learn to be tolerant through understanding why we are the way we are. Like if you go from Reconstruction to the Great Depression, you can see how aid was handed out. Minorities didn't get it. Then you can understand why people are still having a hard time and have more tolerance and understand your role as citizens. (Autobio, 10/27/99)

For this reason, Julia gravitates toward historical narratives which teach "lessons about society." History is not something to be learned for its own sake; she finds no intrinsic pleasure, for example, in teaching "descriptions of characters," unless she can use their stories to teach a "lesson about society:"

> Like Celia the slave who was raped by her owner . . . so she killed him. . . Some abolitionist lawyers helped her, kept her throughout the trial, and she was found guilty on the grounds that [the owner] could rape her because she was his [property]. If someone else had raped her, that would be trespassing. . . A story like this reinforces lessons about society. (Post-Ob II,6/2/99)

Julia's beliefs about history correspond closely to Evans' (1994) characterization of the "reformer" who "emphasizes relation of the past to present problems and suggests that history is background for understanding current issues" (p. 189). One can also recognize parallels with the "New History" which emerged in the early 1970s. In the wake of post-modern attacks against

historical objectivity, some historians began producing African-American, working class, and women's histories to promote political and social change. Seixas (1993) notes these developments in the discipline of history coincided with a movement in history education to teach historical antecedents of current controversies and social problems.

While it is likely that Julia's historical understanding has been shaped in part by broader social forces, to simply place her in a particular category of history teacher diminishes the sense of interplay between Julia's encounters with disciplinary content and the rest of her life experience. For example, growing up as the daughter of a black father and a white mother, Julia had been raised to consider Martin Luther King, Jr. as a hero for suggesting that black and white people can learn to live in harmony. She had been taught to reject the anger and militancy associated with Malcolm X, the Nation of Islam, and the Black Panthers. "How could somebody like me hate white people?" she recalled, "It made me feel torn because of being born to my parents."[2]

But when Julia entered college, she encountered new information about Malcolm X. Yes, he held more militant views than Dr. King, but these views could be interpreted as appropriate responses to his social environment. Julia became more sympathetic toward Malcolm because the social environment explanation fit her own life experience. As a teenager and young adult, Julia had struggled to understand why, despite civil rights legislation, she and other people of color still experienced intolerance. She realized that intolerance, at its foundation, is a problem of attitude and understanding, not a legal issue. And

[2] Epstein (1998) discovered that "African-American students' historical perspectives . . . were shaped by their own and their family members' race-related experiences, many of which were marked by racial discrimination and oppression" (p. 418). The students' perspectives were oriented around the historical struggle for equality, concerns about the gap between the ideal and real in discussions about individual rights, and skepticism toward academic accounts of history. Epstein's findings are similar to those described by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) who interviewed 224 African-American adults about their views of history.

foundation, is a problem of attitude and understanding, not a legal issue. And where do people get their attitudes and understandings? From their socialization, their experiences within particular social and cultural contexts. Julia refers to this view as her "eerie understanding of society and of people" that most people don't have, that "developed from my experiences."

Thus, Julia's beliefs about history are the product of an interplay between new information she encounters and prior understandings which have helped her make sense of experience. Sometimes the result is a fresh interpretation which replaces a more naive conception. Sometimes the new information provides further support for her previous understanding. It is not clear that her college courses did much to change her views of the nature of history. Although she listened to her college professors and read scholarly texts when she "had to," she seems to view both the discipline and the school subject much as she did in her formative years, as facts to disseminate. Julia intends to improve on the history teaching she observed as a child in regard to the particular facts she selects: facts and generalizations which support the connection between past and present, particularly around contemporary social issues.

Julia and her School Setting

Julia Richards, 27 years old, teaches ninth and tenth grade U.S. History at Fairmont High School, a school of about 1000 students on the outskirts of a mid-sized Midwestern city. She is a first-year teacher, hired a few weeks after she completed her year-long internship at a school in a neighboring district. About 80 percent of the Fairmont student body is Caucasian; the remaining twenty percent is predominantly African-American, with some Latino and Asian students as well. The community surrounding Fairmont is racially, economically and religiously diverse.

Fairmont has some characteristics of an urban school: it is located in a school

community where 17 percent of students receive a free or reduced lunch and less than 50 percent of eleventh graders score at the proficiency level in science and writing on state assessments. However, nearly 85% of Fairmont's students successfully graduate and a substantial number of students from other districts request admission under the state's choice program. The school district spends $7,467 per pupil per year compared to the national average of $6,146.[3]

In terms of its physical structure, Fairmont High School faces some of the same problems that plague many school buildings throughout the United States - a consequence of inadequate funding and the public's disregard for the environmental conditions conducive to learning. The high school building is a one-story, gray cement block building, with linoleum floors, dingy lockers, dysfunctional drinking fountains, and movable walls separating classrooms that allow the noise from neighboring classrooms to seep through. Julia has to use her own money to purchase desk cleaner, a fan and extension cord. During some of my visits, there was a problem with hallway littering. However, in spite of these less than desirable physical conditions, the social environment at Fairmont has some positive features. There is a positive rapport between students and staff evidenced by the high level of faculty involvement in student events and activities and the freedom that students have to move about the building during the day.

In Julia's classroom, the students' desks are arranged in traditional rows with her desk at the back of the room. Typically, Julia sits or stands at a small table located front and center, piled with books, papers, pens, and overhead markers and a travel mug containing water or coffee. A new television and VCR hang from the ceiling. They were installed last summer, although the equipment isn't networked into a school-wide system the way it is in wealthier school districts. An old set of history textbooks collects dust on a small bookshelf; Julia told me

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[3]Data from 1996-97.

that a soon-to-retire colleague passed them on to her, thinking she could use them. She suspects he was trying to "unload them" onto her. Above all, one's eye is drawn to the posters Julia has selected to decorate her walls. One proclaims "Diversity is our Strength" and another "There is only one race: the human race. Do your part to stop hate." There is a map of Europe during World War II which shows the locations of concentration camps. Squarely in the front of the room, below the chalkboard, hangs another poster with a quote by Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel: "Only the guilty are guilty, the children are not."

As a first year teacher, Julia feels protective of her time. She prefers to spend her time learning about her curriculum, becoming familiar with a new group of students, and developing relationships with her principal and colleagues. She is hesitant to take on extracurricular responsibilities, and when the athletic director approached her about being a cheerleading sponsor, she refused. But, as she described the interaction to me later, he "practically got down on his knees and begged" and Julia was worried that if she persisted in saying no, she would be perceived by her colleagues as unwilling to do her part. So she agreed, but with the stipulation that the athletic director find a second faculty member who would share the responsibility with her. I checked in with Julia a few months later and she said that she was glad she had taken the extracurricular position, but she had told the athletic director that she would not be doing it next year. Julia's sentiment is that extracurricular involvements make it difficult for her to spend the time she needs on developing her professional skills and knowledge.

When Julia talks about her relationships with colleagues, she seems torn between wanting to fit in with her department's culture and needing to assert her own opinions (which she sees as quite different from those held by some of her colleagues). She negotiates this tension by conforming at some times and doing her own thing at other times. For example, at the first social studies department meeting of the year, a veteran history teacher suggested that they

rent the newly-released sequel to Gone with the Wind and show it in the school auditorium over a three-day period to all U.S. history students as an introduction to the Reconstruction period. Julia told me later that she was "shocked" that this teacher viewed this as a serious suggestion. She felt she could not agree to this on the grounds of historical accuracy: she believed the film did not provide the information about constitutional debates over equal protection and the complexities of race relations which she intended to teach her students. So she gathered up her courage and told her colleagues that she didn't want to show the film.

However, the week before Thanksgiving, this same history teacher proposed showing another film to all sections of U.S. History: Far and Away, a story featuring two Irish immigrants played by famous celebrities Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman. This time, Julia agreed to allow her students to view the film, because of the "pressure" she felt to teach common curriculum within the department.

For the most part, the social studies department at Fairmont gives teachers considerable autonomy over decisions about what and how to teach. Some of Julia's colleagues, particularly those who have been teaching for less than five years or so, occasionally stop by her room and ask her "What chapter are you on?" or give her a copy of a handout or worksheet they are using in their classrooms. I observed some of these interactions myself, and in each case, Julia was gracious and friendly. But after the teacher left, Julia expressed her misgivings. Was there an implied criticism in the question about "What chapter are you on?"? She feels badly if she perceives that she isn't "keeping up" with the pace set by her colleagues. At the end of the year, she mentioned to me that at least one fellow history teacher had not managed to get beyond World War II, a fact which I could tell had boosted her own self-assessment, because she had gotten as far as the Vietnam War. Apparently, one of her worries all along had

been a fear that her colleagues would criticize her for not covering the curriculum.

Julia also confided in me her mixed feelings about accepting help from colleagues in the form of worksheets and tests. She rarely, if ever, uses anything they give her because their emphasis seems to be on asking students to memorize lists of information. This is not how Julia wants to teach her class - she recalls how much she hated rote memorization when she was in school. And she feels slightly irritated that no one in her department ever comes to her and asks her for help in working with material she feels she knows a lot about: the Reconstruction period, for example, or the Civil Rights Movement. It is as if her colleagues assume that as a first year teacher, she knows little and all she is trying to do is "survive:"

> I don't think they think I feel as comfortable as I do. There's a lot of stuff I like that I did this year--it's not all about treading water and staying alive. I feel successful. They don't give me credit, they don't realize that I found my niche and my talents. It used to be a big deal, to say I'm a loser, I don't have a talent. And [now] I think I've got it - which doesn't mean I can't improve - but I feel like this is where I'm supposed to be and it feels good . . . . When we were doing wars, I went to [my colleagues] for help, but that's expected because I'm a first year teacher. (ROA II 5/20/99)

Julia sees herself as a teacher and even though she knows she is still learning her craft, she feels she brings strong foundational skills and knowledge to her first year of teaching; she is not just "treading water." She wishes that her colleagues would acknowledge this, perhaps even ask her for her help occasionally. She is hesitant to offer unsolicited advice or suggestions because no one seems to expect that from her. There is, however, one person with whom she shares a more mutual relationship: an English teacher. One day when I happened to be in the room, this teacher stopped by and asked Julia whether she had anything written by Maya Angelou. Julia smiled, pulled out an anthology of Angelou poems and handed it to her grateful colleague.

Julia and her Students

On a typical day in Room 118 at Fairmont High School, Julia stands at her podium which is close to the door as her ninth and tenth graders enter--black, white, Asian, wearing baseball caps and baggy sweatshirts, name-brand backpacks slung over their shoulders. They greet her with adolescent energy - "Hey Mrs. Richards" - and she jokes back - "Got your homework done Jeremy? I'm calling on you first today." The room gets noisier as students fill their seats. Cassandra calls out from across the room: "Mrs. Richards, we need to have a discussion about how you walk around this school and people are like 'Oh, I hate you' and that's their way of saying 'Hello.'" Julia doesn't hear her because she's talking to another student. Several students sit and read magazines or novels while they wait for class to start; a pair of boys enters the room arguing about which fast food burgers are the "nastiest;" another looks to see if Julia is watching and when he sees that her back is turned, he throws his pencil toward the ceiling to see if it will stick in the porous tile. The morning announcements come over the intercom, but no one seems to notice. The equipment is old and the voices are blurry and metallic, making them unpleasant to listen to, even if it were possible to make out what they are saying.

As soon as the announcements are over, Julia calls for attention and within seconds the room is quiet. "Get out your Learning Logs[4] and start writing," she says. There is the sound of backpack zippers opening and more chatter, then quiet again as Julia reads the Learning Log question from the chalkboard where it is written in large letters: "Why do you think the U.S. has a War on Drugs?" Her students spend the next four or five minutes in silence, except for the sound of pens scratching paper and pencils being sharpened. Everyone is writing

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[4]Julia required her students to keep a spiral notebook in which they were to write their reactions to an open-ended question which the class later discussed as a group. She did this on almost a daily basis first semester and much less often during second semester.

something, although one student looks bored and appears to have written no more than a few sentences. Julia is taking attendance and organizing transparencies in preparation for her lecture.

Julia and her students appear to get along pretty well. She does many of the things that help to build rapport: she says please and thank you when making requests; she is quick to compliment a student for demonstrating knowledge or ability. Once she led the class in singing "Happy Birthday" to someone who otherwise was a relatively uninvolved student. Frequently during transitions in her lessons - as students are passing their homework to the front of the room or getting ready to take notes - Julia and her students engage in pleasant bantering:

Student:	(to Julia) Are you coming to our concert?
Julia:	Are you singing?
Student:	Yes and Pamela is playing [violin].
Pamela:	It's going to be non-stop music, first the symphonic band, then the ensemble starts as soon as the band plays their last song. The theme is Music of the Twentieth Century.
Julia:	I have too many things to go to - track, the fashion show - and I have to write your test!
Student:	That's OK, you don't have to.
Julia:	I guess it would be easiest if I made a one-question test.
Student:	Yeah - like "What is your name?' (laughter) (2nd; 5/20/99)

Julia's typical teaching style vacillates between lecture and relatively open class discussions around divergent questions Julia poses. During the lectures, she stands at the front of the room, sometimes at her overhead projector, and asks students to take notes. "Taking notes" means writing down basic information, either copied from Julia's transparency or filling in blanks on a worksheet which follows the content of Julia's lecture. She speaks distinctly and with little inflection; she monologues for two or three minutes before directing a question

to either a particular student or the class in general. The questions are often close-ended, but occasionally, Julia poses a question which requires students to express opinions. Her students rarely initiate their own questions or assert their own ideas unless prompted.

The nature of the discourse is very different during class discussions, which take place whenever Julia has her students complete a "Learning Log" assignment or they may erupt spontaneously when a student interjects a comment or question that stimulates wider participation. Sometimes these class discussions last only a few minutes; other times, they last the entire hour. In these instances, Julia's voice becomes less dominant, the discourse livelier. She shifts slightly from her lecturer stance presenting information in a uni-directional fashion, as students actually respond directly to one another. Still, I never observed Julia take the role of "guide on the side"; student-to-student interaction never lasted more than a few minutes before Julia interjected comments intended to emphasize points she wanted students to remember.

Julia uses sarcasm sometimes when a student repeatedly loses his homework or asks "Are we going to need to know this?", but overall the tone of the classroom is positive and supportive. She describes her classroom as "a nice place to be because you can talk about anything you want to and get respected almost unconditionally." In fact, she suspects that one reason one of her students is not doing any assigned work is because he discovered that he can repeat the course with Julia next year.

At the beginning of the year, Julia described her classroom management style as "laid back but in control," but later, she decided to make some changes in future years:

> Because I'm laid back, sometimes they don't understand the boundaries there. So next year I just want to make those boundaries more clear. When I say work silently, that means work silently. (ROA II, 5/20/99)

I noticed for myself what Julia was referring to. Occasionally, during her

lectures, she would lose the students' attention and there would be an undercurrent of conversation going on. But this was actually a relatively infrequent occurrence, and when Julia raised her voice and told students to "quiet down" they did so, at least for a little while. During the time I observed, I only witnessed one instance of more serious misbehavior. Julia caught a student writing on his desk after she had told him not to; she said to him in an even voice, although loud enough for everyone to hear: "Andy, you are now cleaning all of the desks, come in at lunch." Andy made a half-hearted protest, but Julia's attention had turned back to the rest of the class and their assessment of Woodrow Wilson as a president.

The way Julia handled this incident was unusual for a first year teacher, in that she was able to attend to what her students were doing while she was implementing a lesson. Indeed, I made note of several more occasions in which Julia, during the course of a lesson, noticed and responded without disrupting the flow of the lesson, when students were not paying attention, doing other work, putting their heads down, or feeling upset.

Although the rapport between Julia and her students is strong and positive in both second and third periods, there are differences among the students. Second hour is an "Honors" U.S. history class and almost entirely composed of white, female students. Third hour is a "regular" history class, with slightly more ethnic and gender diversity (see Table 3). The honors students rarely initiated a question or comment; they seemed intent on taking notes and following directions. In contrast, the "regular" history class included about a dozen students who routinely interject comments and questions in Julia's lectures and Julia appeared to enjoy and encourage that mode of interaction. In fact, she told me that third hour is her favorite class because "they're interested and yet don't misbehave.

Period	Females	Males	African-American	East Asian	SW Asian	Latino/a	White	Total Students
2nd	16	8	2	1	1	0	20	24
3rd	14	13	6	1	0	3	17	27

Table 3: Julia's Students

Julia notices differences among her students. Some of them, particularly in her honors class, are "into being a good student:"

> They are going to learn, they will be just fine. It has nothing to do with me as a teacher, as long as I do the minimal amount. If they had done the section questions, chapter reviews, worksheets, quizzes and tests, they would have learned because they have the ability to memorize and the "A student" ability to listen. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

Julia doesn't think that her actions as a teacher have much to do with her honors students' success and she has found that their focus on memorizing and listening sometimes actually inhibits their ability to think creatively. For example, she noticed that some honors students tried to answer an essay-type test question by stringing together all the facts they knew, at the expense of writing a coherent argument. "If something is in their notes," she said, "they think they have to make it fit the essay, even if it doesn't."

Julia tends to speak more positively about students who are not doing as well. Mark, for example, is a flamboyant African-American twelfth grader who is required to take her ninth-grade U.S. history class in order to graduate. Not surprisingly, Mark's interests and personality tend to dominate class discussions; even though Julia tries to persuade him to allow others to speak, it is Mark's comments which garner the most reaction. Julia says that she gets irritated at Mark at times. He walks into the room with an air of authority, he sits at a different desk every day, usually choosing one near an empty chair so he can

elevate his feet. But Julia has decided to say nothing to him about these antics. She perceives that Mark is "invested in protecting his freedom to do things" and if she fought him over his freedom, she, not he "would lose." She says she would rather invest her energy in drawing out Mark's intelligence and interest in history.

Julia also has a few special education students. She says that she makes few modifications in her lessons to accommodate them, because most are earning passing grades. She has noticed, however, that a few of them seem to prefer taking their tests in the learning center, where the special education teacher reads the test questions out loud. Julia has concluded from this that some students "communicate better orally than in writing." She also observed that one student, who had been absent for awhile, seemed to concentrate better and get his work done when she gave him end-of-chapter questions to answer on his own in the library. She then gave him the textbook publisher's test for that chapter and he did very well, in contrast to his usual performance in class. "When we talk about the abstract ideas, he gets frustrated and can't stand taking notes." The lesson she took from this was that "that's what he needs. . . he is learning, he will remember this stuff." It bothered her a little bit that he wasn't doing "what the rest of us are doing because that's important, but he's learning the other stuff." So Julia is willing to expose her students to different content if they seem more successful at it.

Overall, Julia seems to pay attention to characteristics of her students that go beyond their academic and study skills. Toward the end of the year, she told me that it felt "weird" when she realized the kinds of things she had inadvertently learned about some students over the year. For example, she developed the impression that Sandra was "kind-hearted, a Christian who is concerned about loving and helping others. . . she watches Touched by an Angel (a television drama with a Christian orientation)." She told me about another student who

has close to expert knowledge about car mechanics, according to Julia's husband (who is also quite knowledgeable in this area). "He knows my husband is a machinist and he's into that so he talks to me. I'll say something about carburetors and he thinks I know what I'm talking about. So he's connecting to me."

Julia also demonstrated several times that she takes into account her white male students as she teaches lessons that emphasize historical and present-day social inequality and injustice. As much as she wants to "counter the white male perspective" in her teaching, she is aware that:

> There are white men in my class who are going through teenage stuff, who don't want to feel guilty or defensive or resentful. I wouldn't want to close them off. So I say "We don't usually hear this part of history" but I don't say "It's because white men wrote [history]." (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

Julia and her Curriculum

The U.S. History curriculum at Fairmont covers events from Reconstruction to the present, in chronological order, over two semesters. In this first year of teaching the course, Julia followed this order of events, which coincided with the succession of textbook chapters. However, one of the central notions that runs through Julia's comments about her preferred curriculum is the idea that students should primarily be learning about the world they live in through direct experience. History, like any subject taught in the sterile environment of the high school, is only one of many disciplines that can help students to examine social and political issues. In future years, Julia has a plan for modifying the curriculum according to her ideas about what high school students should be learning:

> What I'd like to do in future years is the whole first semester we talk about whose responsibility is it to change society - the government's or ours - and that history is made up of people who took it upon themselves to change society. . . . So spend the whole first semester talking about that, then after Christmas - where we talk about giving but then afterwards the giving stops - then . . . have a project where they figure out how to change society in our own little corner. (Post-Ob Interview, 12/22/98)

I observed Julia teach two units, one in the fall and one in the spring. The fall unit was one she felt she knew very little about - the Progressive Era. It lasted five days and fell between a previous unit "Industrialization, Urbanization, and Immigration" and a subsequent unit on World War I. In the spring, she taught one of her most familiar topics, the Civil Rights Movement, just after the Cold War and prior to a unit on the Vietnam War. That unit lasted eight days. Although these two units were similar in length, this had more to do with Julia's interest in following the department's folk wisdom that, in order to "get through the textbook," teachers should teach one unit a week. As an observer, I saw differences. Julia was stretching what she knew about the Progressive Era to make a one-week unit, whereas in the case of the Civil Rights Movement unit, she seemed to be forcing herself not to teach everything she knew in order to keep it to a roughly one-week unit.

Julia was not inclined to plan daily lessons prior to beginning the unit, due to lack of time and a sense that activities and representations would evolve as she learned about her content from teaching it. She was apologetic about this. She has the impression that she ought to have "specific objectives" in her head because that is what she was taught to do in her education courses. She feels torn about this because having specific objectives before she teaches a unit flies in the face of what she has directly experienced. As a beginning teacher, she finds that "it's impossible to predict what students will say," so she has to come up with examples and analogies on the spot. She tried to create a final test at the beginning of a unit once and couldn't do it: she didn't know what the unit was about until she taught it.

Although Julia predicts that her planning skills will "get better with experience," she also believes that being a teacher has more to do with "who I am" than "what I do:"

> I think that's the only way you can be a teacher. I can't make a plan and say this is what I'm going to teach and that's it, we have to get through it

because I have to hit this benchmark by this day. . . . No, when I'm planning, I don't think about what questions they're going to ask, because even if you try, you'd have no idea where they're coming from . . . . I don't plan, I think I should plan, but I feel I can't. It's all up there [point to her head] and it will come out. (ROA I, 12/22/98)

A comparison between the Civil Rights Movement (her familiar topic) and the Progressive Era (her unfamiliar topic) shows some differences.

Day 1. Time Line of Southern CRM Events	Day 2. Little Rock video	Days 3-4. Changes in voting patterns; lecture on Malcolm X, Black Panther Party and Black Power	Day 5. Video on Malcolm X	Day 6. Unit test

Table 4: Julia's Intended Unit Outline for the Civil Rights Movement

1: Learning Log Discussion on War on Drugs; What is Progressivism?	2: Learning Log (related to qualities of good president); Reforms under Roosevelt; time line assignment	3: Learning Log (related to qualities of good president); Reforms under Taft	4: Learning Log (related to qualities of good president); Reforms under Wilson; Chart of Progressive Goals	5: Unit Exam

Table 5: Julia's Intended Unit Outline for the Progressive Era

Julia had much more prior knowledge about the Civil Rights Movement than the Progressive Era and it showed. For one thing, she had some topic-specific representations in mind for teaching civil rights: a video from the Eyes on the Prize series, another about Malcolm X, and a chart depicting the changes in voting registration patterns as a result of the Voting Rights legislation in 1966. In contrast, the Progressive Era unit included more generic representations: a

time line and a series of Learning Log questions.

In neither unit did Julia deviate very much from her original plan. However, as the tables below show, in the Civil Rights Movement a rather major unexpected event took place.

1: Review of Reconstruction and time line	2: Little Rock video; Writing Activity and Discussion	3: Changes in voting patterns	4: Lecture on Malcolm X, Black Panthers and Black Power	5: White Power vs. Black Power; Heated discussion in 4th period
6: Racism vs. Oppression; Black Panther party speech, Fairmont's Black Student Union, Name your favorite sitcom	7: Civil Rights video	8: Finish video; exam review worksheet		

Table 6: Julia's Actual Unit Outline for the Civil Rights Movement

Day 1: Learning Log discussion and lecture	Day 2: Learning Log discussion and lecture; Time line assignment	Day 3: Learning Log discussion and chart on progressive goals	4: Learning Log discussion and chart on Progressive goals	5: Unit Exam: Explain the four goals of the Progressives, how they reached them and what difference it makes

Table 7: Julia's Actual Unit Outline for the Progressive Era

The big surprise came when Julia started teaching about the Black Power movement. In one class period on Day Five, several white students disagreed

vocally with Julia's comment that there was a difference between "Black Power" and "White Power." This reaction caught her off guard and she spent that evening trying to come up with a lesson that would communicate the idea she was trying to convey in a form she thought her white students would find acceptable and believable. The incident led her to several unanticipated representations which she used in class the following day: a primary document consisting of a speech given by a member of the Black Panther Party, reference to the Black Student Union at Fairmont, and a discussion of racial and sex role stereotypes in television sitcoms. The experience of facilitating discussion around such delicate issues left Julia feeling exhausted and worried that she had "spent too much time" on the events taking place in northern cities. So she substituted the Malcolm X video for one which provided a chronological overview of events in the south.

David Parker: Teaching Intellectual History in a State-of-the-Art High School

David and his Beliefs about History

As a child, David was drawn to history because of its story-like quality, "the whole grandness of seeing history happen and people getting caught up in it . . . Even now when I look at history, I see it as a story with characters." In third grade, David read Walter Lord's A Night to Remember for a school project and became "obsessed" with the story of the *Titanic*. He says that "it was the single thing that sparked my whole interest in history." He also remembers enjoying historical fiction, like Across Five Aprils about the Civil War because "it's not just a story, but it catches you up in a real time and place." This interest in connecting fictional characters with historical places and events continues to this day. When David saw the recent film version of the Cinderella fairy tale, Ever After, he was excited to recognize the chateau palace and authentic dress he had studied about in France the previous summer. For his current pleasure reading,

he is enjoying Harry Turtledove's fictional "alternative histories" which portray what the world might look like if certain major events had ended differently.

David's elementary and middle school experiences were in predominantly white public schools, while he spent his high school years in a private, all-male, mostly white Catholic school. He enjoyed learning history no matter how it was taught, as long as he was encountering new material. He remembers the "Puritan Christmas feast" in sixth grade which involved costumes and "weeks of preparation." He credits his middle school history teacher for giving him his "love for the Civil War." He loved the "difficult" teachers whom his peers "hated:"

> Mr. Malik was a really hard man, a difficult teacher, but he inspired me. . . . I got a lot out of it, but most students hated him. He was a bit of a jerk I guess. (CK I, 11/3/98)

By the time he got to twelfth grade, he realized he knew as much about U.S. History as his Advanced Placement teacher. David was also an exceptional student in college who received 4.0s in all of his history courses.

Well before David entered college, he knew he would become a history teacher. In fact, he saved notes and assignments from elementary and secondary school, thinking that he might need them some day. For example, his notes from Mr. Malik's class are as "thick as a book." In college, he "got into the history side and the education side right away," by pursuing a history major and seeking out a dean's assistantship which enabled him to work with two nationally-known education professors on a K-5 social studies curriculum project. In the history department, he served as the undergraduate history association president and accompanied a history professor on a summer tour of England. He enjoyed "feeling like part of a community, being accepted into a profession, becoming involved in the teaching life of the university."

As one listens to David describe his educational experiences from elementary school through college, several factors seem central to his construction of

historical understanding. For one, his early encounters with history came via historical fiction. Brooks and Brooks (1993) argue that when facts are encountered in the form of stories, the human mind builds more connections between those facts. Indeed, David is extraordinary in his ability to recall historical facts and dates, evidence of the intricate web of knowledge he has built over the years. Secondly, long before David got his first teaching job, he was already thinking about history pedagogically. He identified with his teachers and college professors, sought out extensive contacts with them and learned the discourse of both history and education.

Because David immersed himself not only in learning the products of historical research but also in the culture of academia, he developed a disciplinary orientation around the work of historians. In his high school and most of his college history courses, "[history] was really just absorption; this is history, this is the answer." But one of his undergraduate courses and a recent master's level education course taught him that "being like an historian, that's history." For David, knowing history means understanding it from an historian's vantage point. When he hasn't read what historians have written about a topic, he feels that he lacks important knowledge. One of his favorite pastimes is to visit used bookstores in search of historical narratives. Recently, David decided to limit these visits because he has accumulated eleven bookcases full and "it got to be too much." He goes to that book collection, which includes works by historians on diverse topics in U.S. and world history, to sharpen his knowledge of topics he's interested in, regardless of whether he's preparing to teach them or not. He seeks out information about context and chronology, as well as scholarly interpretations:

> History is unique in that you aren't going to get this anywhere else. It provides a way of looking at the world, seeing yourself, looking at the other subject matter, the sum of human knowledge. Without it, you're lacking in being a human being, not able to see that it's not just you in the world. Knowing the history - the background knowledge to world events - puts events in a context. (Autobio, 10/21/98)

In his references to the discipline of history, David frequently refers to what historians do. What happened in the past is known (or not known, as the case may be) by virtue of the fact that historians construct interpretations. They "take bits and pieces and try to see how they make sense," they "create an order" out of otherwise meaningless details and "tear causes apart and group them into categories to see how they're connected." History has meaning because human beings give it meaning:

> People sometimes refer to [one kind of historical inquiry] as "revisionism." It's all revisionism. If we see the same set of events, we're going to have radically different interpretations. To say that we stick to the facts is dumb. Even the facts we choose to present are slanted by the way we try to make sense of them. The order we create is history, but it's also us. You can never take the bias out of it. People think that because they got it from a certain book it must be true. Even the most primary sources are biased by the individuals who wrote them, their choices about what to leave in and leave out. Even with a camera, there are things you choose to ignore. (CK I, 11/3/98)

In middle and high school, David was "weaned on military history." But in college he realized the appeal of intellectual history. One of the most important classes he took in college was a two-semester European civilization course from a professor with a "humanities perspective:"

> Dr. Clark was the greatest professor I've ever had in the way that he combined music, art, literature, science, everything. A humanities approach to history, it summed up everything that I had been learning, everything comes together, everything about the history of mankind. (Autobio, 10/21/98)

History was still drama, but for David it became a drama in which ideas like humanism, Darwinism, and Marxism took center stage more often than individuals or events. When he talks about Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, for example, David doesn't describe them as individuals, but in terms of ideas they represent, namely, the fundamental debate about the distribution of power in a democracy. He also frequently comments on the interconnectedness of events:

> Most historians view the American Revolution as an outgrowth of the Enlightenment. . . . There's so much evidence to support the connection between the American and the French revolutions: Franklin and Jefferson in Paris, Lafayette [who] sent the key of the Bastille to Washington. (Post-Ob I, 12/18/98)

For David, what is interesting about the American Revolution is its connection to the French Revolution; what makes these revolutions interesting is their connection to Enlightenment ideas about human nature, progress, and liberty.

Thus, David's content orientation seems much more closely aligned with the discipline of history than Julia's. He perceives history through the eyes of intellectual historians and reads scholarly interpretations in order to develop his disciplinary knowledge. There is also a great deal of continuity between David's disciplinary perspective and his conception of history as a school subject. David not only finds intellectual history personally fascinating, he feels it is important for students to learn:

> My ideas about what is worthy [to learn] come out of my humanities background. Ideas are the thing that I emphasize the most. [My students] are going to forget who Pizarro is, I don't care. But if they remember what humanism is, that means a lot to me. . . because those ideas are mind-expanding, applicable and useful in life in general. I do believe in cultural literacy: there are things that if you read something, you're going to have to know it. But there's a lot of things which aren't so important. Ideas like humanism, Social Darwinism, Marxism, the dialectic of changing warfare - these big grand ideas, these larger concepts are much more important. (Autobio, 10/21/98)

But David is clearly not interested in carrying these big ideas too far. What moderates the temptation to try to subsume the entire World History curriculum under a few sweeping ideas was David's socialization into the discipline of history. Because he saw his curriculum in part through the eyes of the discipline, he worried that too much emphasis on themes across the year would weaken the sense of sequence and chronology that is a mainstay of the historians' craft. He worried that presenting history in this way would misrepresent the discipline to students.

I like to have a theme within a given unit, but . . . if you teach all history

> from a thematic base . . . you give up this sense of time, the chronology, understanding history as a series of periods. . . [A whole-year theme] has some appeal, but my fear would be of over-simplifying things. Just like I would beware of single causation. [That's] a horrible mistake in history, to look at anything through a single lens or theme. (Post-Ob II, 5/4/99)

David appreciates the importance of chronology and context, what gives an event "a sense of time." He is tuned to the danger of "presentism," when people mistakenly treat the past as if it was simply an extension of the present. He wants his students to learn about facts and ideas particular to an historical event. David fell in love with history in third grade and he has nurtured that love over his lifetime. Now he wants to recreate that experience for students: "If I could create a *Titanic* experience for every student, I would feel successful." He is also interested in teaching students "skills to help them in their adult life . . . skills like determining the validity of evidence, bias, the validity of witnesses, developing generalizations, facts versus theory." However, he has a belief about the developmental nature of learning various aspects of history:

> When you first start out learning anything new in history . . . you start out with the basics, the details, so when you're reading a history book, you're basically gaining factual knowledge. The interpretation of that and contrary interpretations - it's almost like Bloom's taxonomy - those things come later (ROA, 4/16/99)

David's beliefs about teaching history do not fall neatly into Evans' (1994) categories. There is a bit of "cosmic philosopher" in him when he speaks excitedly about patterns in history. His statements about the importance of knowing what historians do, perceiving history as interpretation resemble the "scientific historian." But he is also like a "storyteller," fascinated by the people and events, the basic facts of history, which, when woven together produce "the whole grandness of seeing history happen." There are strong indications that he is partial to the "cultural literacy" view that students need a common factual knowledge base before they can do more higher-level thinking, although he scorns trivia as facts disconnected from a larger narrative. He seems largely oriented toward the "historical canon," with its focus on Western nations (Seixas,

1993). He also has an affinity for intellectual history which explores the influence of thought, values and subjective meanings on historic individuals and events (Novick, 1988).

Certainly David's beliefs about history have been shaped by these broader debates over the nature of history as a school subject. But his beliefs also bear the imprint of much more direct experience, the influences of family and school on his desire to find a community with scholars. It is not just that he knew how to do well in school; David wanted to participate in the culture of academia, a culture which values intellectualism, Western thought, and cultural literacy. David's orientation toward history was forged in his childhood when he encountered stories from the past that were as compelling as fiction. It was nurtured in high school by teachers who assigned Grapes of Wrath and The Jungle and humorously appointed students to represent opposing interest groups from the New Deal era.

David and his School Setting

David Parker, 24 years old, teaches World History, Economics and French at Sycamore High School located in a well-to-do suburban community on the outskirts of a mid-sized Midwestern city. He is in his third year of teaching, although this is his fourth year at Sycamore, since he completed his one-year practice teaching internship there. David works in a newly-built, $40 million high school with carpeted hallways and classrooms, vaulted ceilings and skylights. Every classroom has its own television, VCR, computer and telephone. The school is equipped with its own educational access channel which produces and broadcasts daily morning announcements to students in a TV news format. The teacher's lounge has a microwave and coffeemaker, a large refrigerator and soft, comfortable furniture; for lunch, a special cart of food is wheeled in from the cafeteria so teachers can buy and eat their lunch in the comfort of the lounge. Each teacher also has a personal desk in the departmental office, where there is

easy access to a copying machine and a computer with a scanner.

The building is an aesthetically-pleasing place to be, but it is Sycamore's reputation as a place of rich academic opportunity that draws parents from outside the community to request that their children be enrolled there, under the state's choice program. The Sycamore school district is one of the most desirable in the area, with 70 to 80 percent of eleventh graders scoring at the "proficient" level in math, reading and science in state assessments. In 1996, the district admitted seventy-nine students from other school communities. Sycamore parents tend to be well-to-do; only 6.6% of students in the entire district receive free or reduced school lunches and the district spends $8,151 per pupil each year, compared to the national average of $6,146. Ninety percent of Sycamore graduates attend two-or four-year colleges; only 1.5 percent do not finish high school.[5] The high school offers an unusual array of electives, clubs and activities, such as courses in Latin and Statistics, and a camping/canoeing club called Explorers. Out of the 1400 students who attend Sycamore High, 89 percent are white, 5 percent are Asian and the remainder are African-American, Latino and Native American.

In David's classroom, the students' desks are arranged in a semi-circle facing the dry eraseboards (there is no chalk dust at Sycamore High). The floor is carpeted, windows along one wall let in natural light, a television set hangs from the ceiling and serves as a digital clock except when the Sycamore Channel News comes on at 9:00 every morning. David has covered nearly every square inch of the walls with National Geographic posters, reprints of famous paintings, student artwork, Far Side cartoons and jokes he downloaded from the web. Some items around the room are labeled in French. A black-and-white photo of a nuclear bomb explosion hangs over his desk, which is in the far corner of the room; he rarely sits at it except to work at his computer. As evidenced by the

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[5]Data are from the 1996-97 school year.

long row of trophies sitting on the window sills in his classroom, David coaches the Sycamore Quiz Bowl team. He also sponsors French Club, Cinema Club, and the Freshman class. There are a couple of houseplants and a small table-top fountain at one end of his desk. Occasionally when he is alone in the room, often late at night grading papers, he turns off the bright overhead lights and turns on a small lamp which emits a soft, warm glow.

The teacher next door once commented that David's room looks like he lives there. Indeed, if he is not somewhere in the school building or involved in some extracurricular activity on evenings and weekends, David is working at the convenience store next door to the school to supplement his income. He occasionally comments about how busy he is or how little sleep he gets, but not in the form of complaint. Instead, one gets the impression that David is energized by his teaching and extracurricular involvements. On one occasion, for example, I heard him tell the women's soccer coach that he would stop by the field to watch the game as soon as he could take a break from supporting the home baseball team.

David is equally enthusiastic about his role as a member of the social studies department. His colleagues view him to some extent as a resource: one stopped by to ask David for suggestions of historical fiction set during the American Revolution (David offered several off the top of his head). Another colleague and he exchange teaching ideas (and jokes) from the Internet. David is also currently working with this colleague to push for more Asian, African and Latin American content in the World History curriculum; they share the criticism that it is too Euro-centric.

In the faculty dining room, David usually eats with the special education teachers and frequently initiates conversations about students they have in common: "Did you get Jake's paper?" " I'm giving the next test the day before Thanksgiving." " Do you know Aaron likes Laura?" He also reaches out informally to the student teachers in the building. One mentioned that some

parents complained about the way she graded group work. David suggested she try an alternative approach to peer evaluation, in which students choose their own partners with the admonition to "make a wise choice," and their grade can be reduced one grade level for low participation.

The fit between David and his professional environment is good. He's actively involved in a variety of activities at the school, with a strong preference for clubs that attract the most academically-oriented students. His classroom decor reflects his broad range of interests in the arts, humanities, and sciences. He nurtures his collegial relationships around the professional work of providing support to students, designing curriculum, and sharing knowledge about teaching strategies. David clearly enjoys teaching at Sycamore and his rationale reveals his sense of himself as a member of a profession: "If my career keeps going the way it has for the last three years, I would be the happiest teacher. There is an atmosphere of team work and quality education, but we're not content - there's always more to do."

David and his Students

On a typical day in David's classroom, he moves about the room getting things ready as students enter one or two at a time. Most of them wear T-shirts advertising popular brand names and carry backpacks. One student, Karen, jokes "Mr. Parker, you don't have anything written on the board today. That just isn't like you!" Aaron enters the room, pulls out a bag of goldfish crackers and starts munching. When Laura comes in wearing a brightly colored striped shirt over plaid pants, Aaron calls out "Laura, you're looking wild today." Laura smiles with false sincerity and gives him the finger.

David's students seem relaxed and comfortable. A few take off their shoes and sit in their stocking feet. They bring water and small snacks to class, since many of them will not be able to eat lunch until 12:30. One student, Brian, approached me a few days after I started observing and offered an unsolicited

opinion: "World History is fun everyday." It is clear that David helps to create this kind of environment. During the passing periods between classes, he invites early arrivals to collect or staple papers for him; he asks individuals to give feedback on a new seating chart he has created. While he's handing back homework, he makes conversation: "I didn't know you were on the swim team, is there a meet tonight?" "How was lunch?" "Is today your birthday, Ann? How old are you? Have you started driver's ed yet?"

David occasionally begins class with a story or joke. One day, he mentioned that he had thrown up his meal at a restaurant the night before. The class laughed and hooted, one called out "Way to go, Mr. Parker." Eva, who acts more maturely than most students in her class, said in an adult voice, tinged with sarcasm, "Thank you for sharing that with us, Mr. Parker." Later, David told me that he told this story because he figured that it was "typical ninth grade humor" and this is one way he tries to "bond" with his students.

David also displays a natural compassion for students in distress. One day during lunch, he saw one of his students crying on a hallway bench. Even though his next class was starting in 5 minutes, he stopped and sat down beside her. She was upset that she hadn't gotten all A's on her report card, "I've always been an A student," she exclaimed. David reassured her that she doesn't have to be perfect, that she's good at many things. "Look at me, I'll never be an athlete, but I'm good at other things." He told her that when she felt ready to go to her next class, she should come by his room and he would write her a late pass.

David's typical teaching style is what one might call "interactive lecture." He positions himself at the front of the room and he is clearly in charge of the conversation, the flow of information in the classroom. Without question, David is a "sage on the stage." But he rarely carries on a strict monologue. On the contrary, he involves students in his lectures, calling on them to represent branches of government, for example, or to demonstrate Copernicus' view of the movement of the spheres. He regularly invites them to respond and react,

he uses their ideas to supplement his central message. He peppers his lectures with questions to which students answer back, often in chorus. He asks leading questions in order to guide his students to the understandings he holds. He uses repetition because he knows the concepts he teaches are difficult and abstract. The discourse is lively, David leans forward as he talks, moves from one side of the room to another, uses large gestures, creates diagrams on the board, calls on students to respond to his questions and repeats their answers. His face is animated, he speaks at an even pace, but with lots of expression, and he occasionally pounds his stool to emphasize a point. His eyes twinkle, his voice is mellow and soothing.

During the year I collected data, I observed David teach two World History units to two different groups of ninth graders: his second and fourth period classes. There was some ethnic diversity among these students (see Table 8), but socioeconomics and teenage culture have an homogenizing effect. Still, David notices differences between his students. At Sycamore High School, ninth graders are not tracked into different sections of World History. But David has noticed that a kind of "de facto tracking" occurs: students who take band and orchestra tend to be the more successful or serious students and since these courses are offered only in the afternoons, those students fill up the morning social studies sections. At any rate, David finds that his second period students are generally more studious and independent, whereas he finds his fourth period class "more challenging to teach." He feels frustrated at times that, whereas his second hour students tend to take school seriously, his fourth hour students "regard school as a place to come to be entertained for awhile."

Indeed, I noticed the contrast myself. In second hour, a majority of students seem oriented toward doing what they are told, raising their hands politely to speak, never answering a question unless they're sure they are right. A significant number fourth period students blurted out comments to whomever might be listening, saying the first thing that came to their minds (no matter how

unrefined), and seemed to feel freer to make lateral connections with the topic at hand. They were noisier and brought it more gadgets and toys to show their friends. They shared their thoughts with their neighbors rather than waiting for their turn to speak to the entire class, the girls combed and braided each others' hair, the boys looked around to see how much attention they have managed to draw to themselves.

Period	Female	Male	African-American	Asian	Caucasian	Total No. of Students
2nd	12	13	2	4	19	25
4th	13	15	1	1	26	28

Table 8: David's Students

David is careful not to make only negative comments about his fourth hour students. He recognizes strengths that come out in other ways that aren't graded - such as their verbal responses in class or their willingness to take risks with open-ended assignments. He called them his "creative hour," because "they aren't afraid to make mistakes." Once, when he deliberately refrained from giving students much direction in regard to an assignment which required that they make a visual representation to depict the ideology of one of the political parties in pre-Communist Russia, David noticed that more of his second hour students wanted him to reassure them that they were doing the assignment correctly; his fourth hour students were more inclined to draw whatever came to mind, whether it was accurate or not:

> Fourth hour is more comfortable being wrong and making mistakes than any of my other classes. Second hour is sharper. They'll pick up the connections and make the leap and they've got it better . . . but they have more trouble on their own. (ROA II, 4/16/99)

But typically, when David is reflecting on his students' diversity, it is in

regard to their grades in the course. I happened to talk to him one day soon after he had calculated quarter grades. Ten of his fourth hour students received failing or nearly failing marks, compared to only two in his second hour class. Most of these were his inclusion students, who receive additional support from the special education faculty. He commented, "This is depressing," and speculated out loud about what might account for these low grades. For most of them, he figured, "it's because they just didn't do the work. If they did their homework, they would at least pass." He said that since he started teaching, he has learned that many students who are weak academically have particular problems with history courses because "they don't have the cultural literacy and they are concrete thinkers."

David sees history as full of "abstract ideas," some of which are "right over some students' heads." In an effort to accommodate "concrete thinkers," he says he tries to use a variety of teaching strategies: individual reading, group activities, writing assignments, and oral presentations. Also, in the last year or two, he modified his grading system so that students who do poorly on his tests (the most abstract of his assessments, according to David), can still pass the course as long as they make an adequate attempt on homework and projects (which involve students in making posters or other visual presentations). David considers the projects to afford students the opportunity to exert more "control" over the final product than they have on tests or homework and feels frustrated that he has so many students - particularly in his fourth hour class - who don't take advantage of this opportunity.

David wonders why some students don't do homework. He confesses that "I don't really understand them, because I wasn't like that [as a student]." He wonders whether the problem is that some students don't comprehend the abstract ideas presented in class and then feel it is useless to attempt the homework. Or is it the other way around: a student doesn't have the discipline or interest in doing homework and, as a consequence, has difficulty

understanding the content of the course? And then there's the possibility that "some students just aren't bright; they're never going to get A's and B's. I hate to say it, but it's true." Another possibility is that this is a developmental problem: ninth graders may not have been assigned much homework in middle school and some are not mature enough yet to take seriously the consequences of their actions.

At any rate, David is disturbed by the fact that some other teachers, including some of the special education faculty, are "working harder than the student is" to get a student to pass the course. David sees his role as one of "helping the student up to a point." But then he has "no qualms" about failing students who do not do passing work. He does not think it is so terrible to make a student repeat a course. "Perhaps they will do better with a different teacher" or because they are one year older.

One persistent theme in David's interactions with his students has to do with his concern that they develop more studious and academic attitudes. He wants them to become independent readers, writers, and thinkers. To this end, he occasionally presents a lesson on, for example, test-taking strategies or assigns them the task of re-reading a project assignment just before turning it in to double-check the requirements. He also scolds them from time to time, as he did on the day after their disappointing performance on the Reformation and Renaissance test:

> It's time to put away childish things. Put away the Tubby babies and turn off the TV and do some homework. Be an adult. There can be no independence without responsibility. Turning homework in late, or doing it on the bus is middle school stuff. When you get to college you're going to have more independence and more responsibility. (2nd; 11/9/98)

David is not one of those teachers who waters down the curriculum so students pass the course with little effort. He doesn't apologize for having the reputation as someone who gives "hard tests." He considers various possibilities as to why a student might be failing his course, including his own responsibility

to make abstract ideas more concrete and provide a grading structure which allows students to pass even if they do poorly on tests. But, for the most part, it seems to him at this stage in his learning to teach that much of the responsibility lies within each student. Some of his students are able to grasp abstract ideas and others are not; some are proficient at reading for understanding and writing effectively and others are not; some are inclined to finish homework and study for tests and others are not.

David and his Curriculum

The World History curriculum, as agreed upon by the teachers in Sycamore's history department, encompasses 4000 years of major events in chronological order from ancient Greece and Rome to the present (or at least post-Cold War). Previous to this year, the World History curriculum began much later with the Industrial Revolution and "The Age of European Dominance," as the textbook labels it. However, several faculty members were concerned that this did not provide students with sufficient historical background. While David expressed sympathy with his colleague's rationale (and voted in favor of the decision), he also disliked the idea of trying to fit more content into a two-semester course. "The breadth is killing me," he groaned.

I observed David teach two curriculum units, one in the fall and one in the spring. The fall unit lasted 20 days and focused on the "Age of Revolutions." It fell between a previous unit on Renaissance and Reformation and a subsequent unit called "Changes in Ideas" with a focus on the impact of Darwin, Marx and Freud on Western thought. The Age of Revolutions encompassed the period of time immediately preceding the American Revolution through the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution in England and the beginnings of unionization. David considered his knowledge of these topics to be quite strong,

although he had never taught this unit before.[6] The spring unit was actually a series of six lessons about the Communist Revolution of 1917, contained within a larger unit about the years between World War I and World War II. David considered his knowledge of this topic to be weaker. In his words, he has not "studied the topic in depth at all" and "I don't consider that very good. I don't feel like I've got it or that I know a lot about it."

David's choices about how to divide up the 4000-year span of World History are sometimes quite independent of what his colleagues do. For example, most of David's colleagues teach about the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe as separate units. However, there is no requirement that these topics be taught separately and David decided to combine them, along with the American Revolution, into one unit, held together by the concept of "revolution" which he had studied in college. Similarly, David used his own judgment in creating the Communist Revolution unit. His colleagues typically teach about the 1917 Revolution as a completely separate unit. But David felt that this made the topic seem "more important" than other events during the interwar years, such as the independence movement in India and the end of the Chinese dynasty. In his perspective, the Communist Revolution did not need "its own corner, its own unit by itself." So, he decided to give it a more minor place in his curriculum and treated it on par with the other four topics he taught as a package during the Interwar Years: the Treaty of Versailles; the Amritsar Massacre in India; Chinese history from 1911-1931; and the Rise of Fascism.

Despite these deviations from the chapter-by-chapter approach taken by some colleagues, for the most part David taught events in chronological order.

[6]However, he had taught parts of this unit before. He had taught about the American Revolution in his U.S. history courses in two prior years. He had also taught about the Industrial Revolution last year in his World History course, before the department made changes in the curriculum. But, he had never taught about the French Revolution and had never before combined all three into one unit.

One exception was his one-week "Plague Unit" which compared the Black Death plague in fourteenth-century Europe with the current AIDS epidemic. However, David felt strongly that the problem with teaching thematically was "compromising the story, making sense of sequence:"

> You lose sequence, you lose chronology, you sacrifice narrative for meaning. I think you can do it either way, either [focusing on themes or chronology] is valid, but you give up this sense of time [when teaching thematically]. . . understanding U.S. history as a series of periods. You can link these things across [time] - that's good - you should be able to see that the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1796 have a lot to do with the Vietnam War and other protest movements against the government and about civil rights. . . . But I think you should also know that the Alien and Sedition Acts fit here, they have meaning here in this context, outside of being part of a story of civil rights development in U.S. history. (Post-Ob II, 5/4/99)

For neither unit did David prepare daily lesson plans in advance or make decisions about how he would assess student learning:

> I don't always know quite where everything is going to go. I have my plans and I know how I'm going to frame a unit, what I want them to know, but how other things come into play and how to test those? I always wait until the end [to write the test]. I tried it once, making the test earlier, but I found out that not everything on the text did I end up doing and important things that came up . . . I had to deal with. If I'd already written the test, that wouldn't be on there and I would want to test that. So sometimes my objectives change. (ROA II, 5/20/99).

It seems understandable that, as a beginning teacher, David's unit plans would be rather sketchy; writing more detailed objectives, activities, and assessments requires knowledge of how students of a particular age respond to specific content - something that a teacher learns from experience. So David's plans consisted of broad outlines, in which he selected several major representations, sequenced sub-topics and estimated how much time he would spend on each of them. He did not consult district curriculum guidelines because none existed for the course he was teaching. Neither did he refer to national history standards, although he was familiar with both the National Council for the Social Studies (1994) and National Center for History in the Schools documents (1996). He considers these documents to be "excellent" in that they emphasize "conceptual

understanding," but they are also "terribly vague:" "They assume that students are getting some content, some history from [each] time period . . . but there's no cookbook approach to how to do it" (ROA II, 4/16/99).

Without a "cookbook" or extensive prior experience teaching these topics to ninth-graders, David draws upon the knowledge and beliefs he does have to structure a sequence of learning opportunities for his students. Since I explore these dynamics in later chapters, here I simply present the outlines of each unit.

1. What is "revolution?"	2. Read Candide and identify the five Enlightenment ideas	3. Locke and Rousseau	4. Structure of government (students work in their groups)	5. Create a government (groups present to the class)
6. American Revolution	7. French Revolution Play	8. French Revolution	9. French Revolution	10. Industrial Revolution: Choose your own adventure story
11. Effects of Industrial Revolution	12. How Green Was My Valley	13. How Green Was My Valley	14. How Green Was My Valley	15. Review, Jeopardy Game
16. Exam				

Table 9: David's Intended Unit Outline for the Age of Revolutions

Day 1: Student presentations on chapter terms	Day 2: Russian social pyramid	Days 3-4: Compare Russian social pyramid to Sycamore High School; Introduce political	Days 5-6: People's Century video about Lenin and Stalin	A week later: Exam over the Interwar Years

Table 10: David's Intended Unit Outline for the Communist Revolution

A comparison between Tables 9 and 10 shows that David had much more content he wanted to teach about the Age of Revolutions (his familiar topic) than about the Communist Revolution (his unfamiliar topic). This is not only an indication of his familiarity with the former but also his judgment that the American, French, and Industrial Revolutions were more significant events than the one in Russia. He also had more diverse ways to represent the content of the Age of Revolutions: Candide; the structure of government; a play about the French Revolution, a choose-your-own adventure story about the Industrial Revolution and the classic film How Green Was My Valley. In contrast, his representations for the Communist Revolution were the textbook, a social pyramid, the political spectrum, and a documentary video.

1. What is a revolution?	2. Candide	3. Candide	4. Candide	5. Candide
6. Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu Hobbes	7. Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu Hobbes	8. Structure of government	9. U.S. Constitution	10. Causes of the American Revolution
11. What is a revolution?; Causes of the Am. Rev.	12. Effects of the Am. Revolution	13. Guillotine video	14. French Revolution; Time line and Play	15. Causes of Fr. Revolution
16. Industrial Revolution story	17. Benefits and Negatives to the Industrial Revolution	18. Review, Jeopardy	19. Exam Part One: Historian's Exercise	20. Exam Part Two

Table 11: David's Actual Unit Outline for the Age of Revolutions

1: Student Presentations on chapter terms	2: Russian social pyramid; read about Bread Riots in textbook	3: Compare Russian social pyramid to Sycamore High School	4: Introduce political spectrum	Day 5: People's Century video; Homework assignment: "10 sentences on where your political beliefs fall along the political spectrum"
Day 6: Finish People's Century video; Read about the "history mystery" of Anastasia	A week later: Exam over the Interwar Years			

Table 12: David's Actual Unit Outline for the Communist Revolution

A comparison between Tables 11 and 12 reveals that, although David's actual Communist Revolution unit closely followed this original plan, his Age of Revolutions unit deviated considerably. He ended up spending not one, but four, days with Candide in order to provide students with the background information they needed to make sense of it as a satirical piece of literature. The same thing happened with the American Revolution, when he realized that his students did not have the prior knowledge he had assumed. He also added major new content after he started teaching the unit. Montesquieu and Hobbes joined Locke and Rousseau in a discussion about how views of human nature influence the structure of governments. Quite by accident, he happened to see a documentary film about the guillotine which seemed to support his theme so well he decided to show that and postponed the viewing of How Green Was My Valley until the week following the exam. He also extended the unit exam by one day to include an "Historian's Exercise" dealing directly with a theory of revolution he had wanted to serve as a conceptual frame for the entire unit.

Summary

If the collection of studies on the psychological concerns of beginning teachers can claim to represent the typical novice, then Julia and David are clearly not typical. They are not "angry" or "despondent," they are not preoccupied with classroom discipline, they are not so focused on themselves that they fail to attend to the learning needs of their students. On the contrary, these two teachers behave like promising young professionals. They have established classroom routines, they interact appropriately and positively with their students, they are able to attend to simultaneous classroom events, they are finding their place in the institutional culture of the school and they inquire into their own practice. And yet, they still have things to learn. They find it difficult to predict how their lessons will go, what students will find difficult or confusing, and what kinds of assessments they will give. They are inclined to explain poor academic performance in terms of poor study habits or disposition, rather than considering cognitive factors such as information-processing difficulties.

We can also see in these portraits evidence of the work environment that seems so prevalent in schools. Julia and David are expected to carry the full workload of experienced teachers, including extracurricular responsibilities. In Julia's case, she must be very assertive in order to protect the time she feels it will take her to develop her teaching skills. When she does so, she also worries about how this will be perceived by her colleagues. Both teachers experience the tension between wanting to conform to departmental expectations and needing to live by their own convictions. Both teach in schools which offer them a great deal of autonomy, although this comes with the price of further isolating them from their colleagues. This is particularly apparent with Julia who disagrees with most of her colleagues and feels dismayed that they don't regard her as a resource. It may be that David's additional years of experience help him feel more secure in his peer relationships and professional conversations.

In the next two chapters, I select several episodes from Julia's and David's

teaching in order to examine the knowledge and beliefs they draw upon in transforming content for their students. However, this chapter has already provided a glimpse into features of these novices' knowledge and beliefs about subject matter and students. Julia's disciplinary perspective is less about history than about civil rights issues and social analysis. History the way she perceives it explains why progress toward social and racial equality has been so slow and inspires with images of nonviolent, collective efforts toward social change. Julia's experiences learning history do not seem to have shifted her view that history is primarily an accumulation of facts; although she knows that historians interpret evidence, she is not particularly drawn to the process of historical inquiry. Beliefs are apparent in her curricular decisions and in the posters in her room which convey a strong social message. These beliefs seem powerful because they are so embedded in her life experience.

Similarly, David's beliefs about history begin to take shape early in life and are embedded in particular configurations of experience, opportunity, and personality.[7] However, unlike Julia, David found it easy to memorize factual content and his love for reading historical fiction gave him a sense of historical narrative at an early age. His disciplinary perspective maps onto historians' perspectives; he enjoys intellectual history and seeks scholarly interpretations to further his historical knowledge. He wants students to develop this same love for the abstract ideas that shape historical events and he is concerned that students comprehend historical events chronologically and contextually. His preference for intellectual history comes out in his selection of curricular content. The Communist Revolution was about the clashing of political ideologies on first a national, then global scale. The Age of Revolutions was about stages in revolutionary change, what he referred to as the "revolutionary dialectic" or

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[7]Instead of the term "beliefs," other researchers have used the terms "historical positionalities" (VanSledright, 1998) or "temporal bearings" (Seixas, 1996).

"pendulum." His humanities interests show in his eclectic room decor.

David and Julia also bring different orientations toward their students. When David considers the differences between his students, he notices whether they are independent thinkers, disciplined in completing homework and able to fathom abstract ideas. Although he appreciates students who are "willing to make mistakes," he grades them based on whether they "got it right." Julia is more inclined to feel critical toward learners who are "into being good students." She likes the challenge of helping students like Mark who might be dismissed by other teachers because of his defiant behavior. She is not strongly committed to making sure that all students are exposed to the same curriculum and she takes an interest in learning about their non-academic pursuits.

It may be that these characteristics of their knowledge and beliefs interact with their school settings. David teaches in a school with lots of intellectual stimulation and a clear expectation that students will do well on standardized tests and attend college. The physical environment of Julia's school is less conducive to serious learning. The relatively lower socio-economic status and test scores of Fairmont compared to Sycamore students allude to the possibility that Fairmont students lack the "cultural capital" needed to do well independently on academic tasks (Lareau, 1988).

Finally, both teachers have difficulty establishing specific lesson objectives, writing detailed lesson plans and creating assessments in advance because they do not yet know how their students will respond to the topics they teach - a crucial piece of curricular knowledge. As they teach, they are still continually surprised by the content that receives the most attention, by what students have more or less difficulty with, by the unplanned representations that emerge. Curriculum standards do not guide their thinking; they rely on their colleagues, textbooks and (primarily) on their own knowledge to help them create unit plans. Furthermore, their knowledge is uneven for the different topics they must teach: with more familiar units, they tend to teach more content and use

topic-specific representations and are more likely to deviate from their plans.

Chapter 4

REPRESENTING CONTENT TO STUDENTS: JULIA'S AND DAVID'S KNOWLEDGE-IN-USE

Introduction

This study aims to contribute to our understandings of novice teachers' knowledge relevant to the process of transformation, the task of modifying disciplinary knowledge for the purposes of teaching. In this chapter, I take apart the theoretical construct of transformation in order to analyze the knowledge and beliefs David and Julia used in their teaching. In the following chapter, I put the pieces back together again in an effort to explain the nature and contribution of historical knowledge in beginning teaching practice.

In this chapter, I use a conceptual model to examine three significant categories of Julia's and David's knowledge and beliefs: knowledge and beliefs about subject matter, learners and instructional representations. The model is based on constructs developed in the content knowledge literature, in which instructional representations are viewed as "the product of two processes - the comprehension of content and the understanding of the needs, motivations and abilities of learners" (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991, p. 333).[1] Dewey's (1902) theory of the continuity of experience suggests a way of conceptualizing the relationship between these categories of knowledge, as illustrated in Figure 1. Students' life experiences are the starting point of instruction; formulated, organized, disciplinary knowledge is the end point; and teachers' acts of transformation (in

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[1] Researchers have identified other possible categories of knowledge experienced teachers seem to draw upon as they transform content. Wilson, Shulman and Richert (1987), for example, list the following categories of professional knowledge for teaching: knowledge of subject matter; pedagogical content knowledge; knowledge of other content; knowledge of curriculum; knowledge of learners; knowledge of educational aims; general pedagogical knowledge. I limit my analysis to subject matter, students and representations because these three emerged as the most significant types of knowledge in David's and Julia's practice.

the form of instructional representations) are the means.

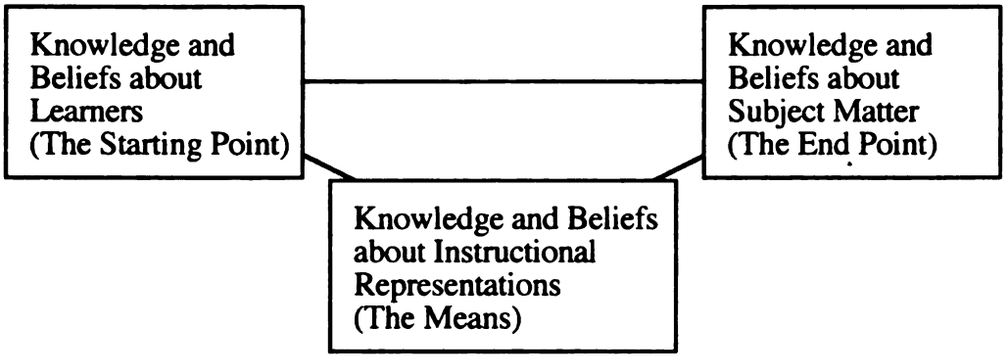

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of Knowledge for Transformation

In my decision to base this study on the notion of transformation, I take a normative stance toward knowledge and teaching. Researchers - like the history teachers they study - are influenced by their conceptions of competent history teaching. Embedded in our work is a "world view or value system related to the purpose of knowledge, a conception of a preferred social order, and a view of the good person" (Stanley, 1991, p. 253). I deliberately linked my study to what I have termed "the content knowledge literature" because I share some of the perspectives often expressed in that literature. These perspectives include preferences for knowledge, beliefs and practices of teaching which treat students as active creators of meaning and aim to connect students to disciplinary knowledge and ways of thinking. I believe that we do a disservice to young learners when we treat their minds as blank slates or assume that they are only capable of understanding "ready-made" knowledge, the products of disciplinary study but not the processes, questions or debates that occupy the minds of expert thinkers. My views and convictions led me to this study in the first place; they also shape the conclusions I draw in this chapter and the next.

In order to make claims about the nature of historical knowledge for

teaching, it is necessary to delve more deeply into these normative conceptions of subject matter and students. Dewey (1916) describes the subject matter knowledge needed by teachers as "formulated, crystallized and systematized:"

> Scientific subject matter is organized with specific reference to the successful conduct of the enterprise of discovery, to knowing as a specialized undertaking . . . . The ideal of scientific organization is, therefore, that every conception and statement shall be of such a kind as to follow from others and to lead to others. Conceptions and propositions mutually imply and support one another. . . . The [chemist's] description of H_2O is superior from the standpoint of place and use in inquiry. It states the nature of water in a way which connects it with knowledge of other things, indicating to one who understands it how the knowledge is arrived at and its bearings upon other portions of knowledge of the structure of things. (pp. 182, 190)

Dewey uses the term "scientific subject matter" to refer specifically to knowledge created in the context of disciplined inquiry. To understand subject matter is to grasp both content and inquiry, interconnected "conceptions and propositions"as well as notions of "how the knowledge is arrived at." Dewey's idea is that teachers need to hold such subject matter understandings because "scientific subject matter" represents the end point of instruction. It is what teachers should be helping their students to develop; it defines the direction of their growth. In history courses, then:

> Students can learn both the content - the Boston Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts, Sam Adams and the Committees of Correspondence, Lexington and Concord - and historical analysis - examining different interpretations of the same set of characters and events, weighing the evidence presented by historians and source materials, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of various accounts. (Wilson, 1991, p. 100).

In this chapter then, I investigate David and Julia's disciplinary understandings - including their knowledge of facts, core concepts, interpretive frameworks and modes of inquiry - as well as their conceptions of school subjects. Because they are history teachers, I examine their knowledge and beliefs related to the discipline of history and the historical topics they were teaching: the historical narratives they constructed by interrelating particular facts and themes; their awareness of multiple historical interpretations; and

personal beliefs about what students should learn about history. Since Julia and David also drew upon other fields and disciplines (political science, sociology, and physics for instance), I include their knowledge and beliefs about other academic subjects within this category as well.

Teachers' content understandings may actually "get in the way," according to Dewey (1916), unless they know their content in terms of its "interplay in the pupils' own experience:"

> There are certain features of scholarship or mastered subject matter - taken by itself - which get in the way of effective teaching *unless* the instructor's habitual attitude is one of concern with its interplay in the pupils' own experience. In the first place, his knowledge extends indefinitely beyond the range of the pupil's acquaintance. It involves principles which are beyond the immature pupil's understanding and interest. In and of itself, it may no more represent the living world of the pupil's experience than the astronomer's knowledge of Mars represents a baby's acquaintance with the room in which he stays. In the second place, the method of organization of the material of achieved scholarship differs from that of the beginner. It is not true that the experience of the young is unorganized - that it consists of isolated scraps. But it is organized in connection with direct practical centers of interest." (Dewey, 1916, p. 183)

Even when teachers know relatively little about a particular topic in their curricula, it is possible for them - by virtue of their adult experiences - to bring knowledge that is "beyond the immature pupil's understanding and interest." Unless teachers realize this, they may be ineffective in introducing students to the "material of achieved scholarship." And yet, herein lies another complication. Students' understandings of physical and social phenomena represent rational efforts to make sense of the matters which directly concern them. Thus, teachers may also be ineffective if they assume that their students are empty vessels and have no prior conceptions of subject matter. The implication of all of this is that for content transformation to be educative, teachers must routinely enter into the "living world " of their students, gather evidence about how young learners organize their experiences, decide where there is "interplay" between students' experiences and content and only then create representations - new experiences upon which students may reflect and

develop subject matter understandings.

Teachers' knowledge and beliefs about learners encompass ideas and assumptions about what is difficult, confusing or easily misconstrued by students when they encounter particular topics or concepts. Additionally, teachers may hold knowledge about points of continuity between students' lived experience and the subject matter. They may hold beliefs about the extent to which students' ideas are a resource for teaching. There may be characteristics of learners that teachers consider for purposes that are secondary to transforming content. However, these are not the focus of my analysis. For example, although David offered a rationale for recounting a story in which he lost his dinner at a restaurant (his belief in the importance of "bonding" with students), I focus my attention on his knowledge and beliefs about learners in relation to the content he teaches.

Because instructional representations embody what teachers know about their content as well as beliefs about students' preconceptions, Julia's and David's representations serve as windows for viewing the other two categories. Representations represent teachers' conceptions of subject matter modified by their sense of what students need to learn and how they will learn it. Representations include what are traditionally known as "strategies" (lecture, recitation, small group work, debates and student presentations) as well as the topic-specific analogies, illustrations, examples and explanations provided by the teacher. An example of the former is Julia's Learning Log activity (mentioned in Chapter 3); an example of the latter is the Learning Log question she posed - "Why do you think the U.S. has a War on Drugs?" - to create an analogy with Prohibition in the 1920s. Teachers have more or less knowledge of useful and appropriate strategies, analogies, illustrations and explanations. They also have beliefs or preferences for particular ways of representing content. In their acts of transformation - modifying disciplinary knowledge to enable student

understanding - teachers may or may not treat students' life experience as the starting point and formulated subject matter as the end point of instruction.

Overlaying this conceptual model of knowledge for transformation onto the actual practice of two beginning history teachers helps us see - not only what novices may know and believe about content and students - but also what knowledge and beliefs assist or hinder novices teachers' attempts to transform content with learners' "needs and doings" in mind. In the sections which follow, I identify what Julia and David knew and believed about content and students, how categories of knowledge and belief related to one another in their practice, the knowledge and beliefs which assisted or hindered them in transforming content and what they learned as they taught.

	UNFAMILIAR UNIT	FAMILIAR UNIT
JULIA	Time Line of the Progressive Era	Black Power and White Power in the Civil Rights Movement
DAVID	Social Inequality and the Communist Revolution	Causes and Effects of the American Revolution

Table 13: Overview of Teaching Episodes

Julia: Transforming the Progressive Era and the Civil Rights Movement

As a first-year teacher, Julia had never taught most of the topics in her curriculum. As a student teacher, she had taught U.S. Government, a course which corresponded well to her political science major and her interest in law: "I love the law, I love the Constitution." But when she received the offer to teach ninth and tenth grade U.S. History at Fairmont High School, she eagerly accepted. She liked the fact that Fairmont, although predominantly white,

offered more racial and economic diversity than many surrounding schools. Julia confessed, however, that in terms of her historical knowledge, she felt "weak walking in . . . . "I look at [the history curriculum] as somebody who minored in history . . . . I have a broad understanding of history."

Thus, Julia makes an interesting case because her mentors considered her to be a promising teacher candidate with "strong subject matter knowledge" and "skills in developing a classroom learning community," yet she found herself assigned to teach relatively unfamiliar content. This is not an unusual predicament for social studies teachers. A comparison with David, who majored in history and had taught World History the year prior to this study, helps to illuminate features of Julia's historical understanding that were weak or absent. Additionally, Julia was able to identify topics in the U.S. History curriculum with which she was more and less "familiar." When we compare her planning and teaching of her unfamiliar topic - the Progressive Era - with her familiar topic - the Civil Rights Movement - we gain insight into those aspects of knowledge and beliefs which remain stable and those which change from one unit to the next.

General and Topic-Specific Historical Knowledge

Julia could not remember learning about the Progressive Era. She could not recall a single lecture or reading about the topic from her college courses. "I don't remember ever hearing that Wilson was a progressive," she remarked. Julia read the textbook to fill in gaps in her knowledge about the Progressive Era, but as she did so, she sought to transform the factual information into a coherent narrative. She was critical of the way in which the textbook organized information about the topic:

> The book has two chapters. The first was [about] Progressives, what happened during progressivism, the muckrakers, Seth Low, the recall law, the primary system. Then in Chapter Ten, they talked about the presidents, what each individual president did, where they came from, what their beliefs were in being president. I don't like using the book. I don't want to say first we're going to talk about the progressives and muckrakers, and then we'll talk about the presidents. I want them to see it all together. (CK I, 12/10/99)

Julia's criticism reflects understandings and beliefs she holds about history. She perceived the textbook's separation of progressives and presidents as a content-specific pedagogical problem that she would have to remedy.[2] In her words, "I started thinking about it in terms of how I think about history." Julia's historical understanding includes a notion that historical details need to form a coherent, meaningful narrative so that learners can "see it all together." Her historical understanding also includes a broad narrative about the struggle for democratic equality and social justice, which she constructed from an array of facts, stories and ideas she encountered throughout her life. She selected the factual information from the textbook chapter that seemed to fit this narrative. She created a storyline that cast the Progressive Era as the triumph of ordinary citizens and activist presidents against undemocratic practices in business and government:

> Before this, government wasn't for the people. . . . This is now how presidents are thinking - represent all the people fair and right, whereas before it was represent all the rich white males fair and right. And [Teddy] Roosevelt said we can't do that anymore because a huge chunk of our population is not being represented. . . . Wilson appointed the first Secretary of Labor and now workers are being taken seriously. . . . Sam Jones, Frances Perkins and Seth Low did things - not because they had to, not because it was their job - but because they wanted to do things for people. They knew it was their responsibility. (CK I, 12/10/98)

Julia remedied the textbook's separation of presidents and progressives by constructing a coherent narrative that she believed would help her students "understand that progressives were this whole thing - some people did some things, other people did other things - and it was a whole belief system in reforming." By characterizing the Progressive Era as "a whole belief system in reforming," Julia was drawing connections in her own mind to other historical periods, other examples of popular efforts to expand democratic representation

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[2] Although Julia never mentioned her familiarity with the research, some studies support the general premise that history textbooks hamper students from assembling facts around big ideas (McKeown & Beck, 1994).

and economic prosperity, such as Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement. She saw how neatly this theme fit with the previous unit on Industrialization, in which she had taught students that a common attitude of the rich had been that "people were great beasts, [they were] stupid, poor. [It was] Social Darwinism - 'I'm rich because I deserve to be rich because I worked hard,' - even though Carnegie got a loan from his mother to buy into the railroad business."

Thus, although Julia relied heavily on her textbook for content knowledge, she adapted the content by casting presidents and progressives as joint players in a larger drama encompassing several periods of U.S. history. She constructed this storyline by drawing on her belief that historical topics are more than collections of facts and her broad narrative of U.S. history. These general understandings - not prior knowledge of the Progressive Era as a distinct focus of historical study - determined the historical facts and meanings her students would have opportunities to learn.

Julia exhibited a similar tendency to think in terms of historical narrative when planning to teach the Civil Rights Movement unit, but in the latter case, the historical knowledge she brought to the task was far more complex. In contrast to her background on the Progressive Era, Julia could easily identify people and events associated with the Civil Rights Movement. She was obviously more comfortable - and confident - talking about the Civil Rights Movement than she was about her unfamiliar topic. She spoke, not in terms of how little she knew ("I don't remember even hearing that Wilson was a progressive"), but in terms of how much she knew:

> In my head there is this huge understanding. Malcolm X was needed in the north, Martin Luther King in the south and that's how I want them to understand the Civil Rights Movement. Not that it was completely in the south and only in the south, because then it sounds like for decades, people just let this [Jim Crow laws] happen to them, that no one spoke up before then and Martin Luther King was the only person trying to do anything about it. (ROA II, 5/20/99)

As with the Progressive Era, Julia thought about historical content narratively. She wanted students to understand that the Civil Rights Movement was actually part of a centuries-long, still ongoing effort to protect the rights of all citizens, with regional differences between north and south, represented by the figures of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. She also linked the regional differences theme to a previous unit, just as she had done with her Progressive Era narrative. In the Reconstruction unit, she had had students consider differences in the economic base between north and south.

But a major difference between the two units was that Julia held prior knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement which she had previously constructed into a narrative. She did not consult the textbook in this case; on the contrary, she found the textbook seriously flawed. She noticed that the textbook chapter on the Civil Rights Movement focused almost entirely on events in the south, that Malcolm X only got "half a section in the entire chapter" and that it made no mention of his pilgrimage to Mecca which led him to denounce his support of black separatism. "So according to this textbook," Julia declared with disgruntlement, "Malcolm X is still alive and preaching black separatism."[3] This response was in stark contrast to Julia's initial dependence on the textbook to develop her understanding of the Progressive Era.

It is striking what a difference Julia's topic-specific knowledge made in her characterization of the Civil Rights Movement compared to her treatment of the

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[3]Technically, Julia was not correct. The textbook did contain the statement: "In 1964, Malcolm X modified his views, embracing the possibility of interracial harmony. But he did not live long enough to develop his new views. In 1965 he was murdered in New York City" (DiBacco, Mason & Appy, 1997, p. 529). However, Julia's basic point is valid. The overall impression left by the textbook is that very little of importance happened in the north except "an explosion of black anger" in the form of urban riots. The textbook made only passing reference to conditions in the north ("run-down neighborhoods" and "high jobless rate") and no mention of the Black Panther Party's social analysis or neighborhood development activities.

Progressive Era. In the latter instance, Julia rarely moderated her interpretation that progressivism resulted in a more just and democratic society. She presumed a "history as progress" narrative. Given her social justice orientation, one might think that Julia would be generally skeptical of such a narrative, but this was not the case. Instead, Julia's ability to critique historical narratives seems dependent upon her topic-specific knowledge. She did not appear to know details about the Progressive Era with which to counter the portrayal of the time period as a triumph for democratic values. She did not seem to know, for example, that some progressives were proponents of eugenics, the notion that certain categories of people are a detriment to society and should not be allowed to reproduce. She seemed unaware that progressive presidents largely ignored civil rights issues affecting blacks. The narrative she constructed was limited by her reliance on a single, generic interpretation of U.S. History.

In contrast, with the Civil Rights Movement, Julia had both detailed knowledge of specific events and two competing, topic-specific interpretations in mind. Julia understood the regional differences narrative in relation to an alternative, less desirable interpretation. She juxtaposed what she called the "two Civil Rights Movements" emphasis against another interpretation which she felt conveyed inaccurate messages about historical events, that "the Civil Rights Movement is all about Martin Luther King and the south." Her historical knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement focused on the outrage and frustration experienced by blacks, the poverty in northern cities, and the media's skewed portrayal of the Black Panther Party's agenda.

Predicting Students' Misconceptions

In order to transform content, teachers need to consider their students' relevant experience, knowledge, and beliefs. For both units, Julia predicted students' misconceptions, but there were differences linked to her content knowledge. Her predictions for the Civil Rights Movement were specifically

related to the content in that unit. In contrast, her predictions for the Progressive Era unit pertained to general aspects of using time lines to study history.

Julia's topic-specific knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement translated into specific predictions about students' misconceptions. Knowing two competing topic-specific interpretations of the Civil Rights Movement - one Julia deemed true, the other false - informed beliefs about learners. She believed that her students held some misunderstandings about Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party that they didn't have about the southern Civil Rights Movement. She saw her unit as an opportunity to counter misperceptions by telling students about Malcolm's experience that led him to despise whites but later reject separatism, and about the community development work done by the Black Panther Party and its use of the phrase "Black Power."

Julia's predictions about students' misconceptions were based on her knowledge of competing interpretations, which was, in turn, shaped by her own memory of learning about regional differences. As the daughter of a black father and a white mother, Julia had been raised to consider Martin Luther King, Jr. as a hero for suggesting that black and white people can learn to live in harmony. She had been taught to reject the anger and militancy associated with Malcolm X, the Nation of Islam and the Black Panthers. "How could somebody like me hate white people?" she recalled, "It made me feel torn because of being born to my parents." But in college, she encountered new information about Malcolm X which helped her to appreciate rather than reject his viewpoints. She realized that Malcolm's more militant approach was "understandable," given "conditions in the north [where] racism was more subtle." Julia's own preconceptions of the Civil Rights Movement had changed and now she wanted her students to have a similar experience.

Julia felt her hunch about students' misconceptions was confirmed when she saw a colleague's worksheet that stated that "the ideas of World War II set the

stage for the Civil Rights Movement." Although she later admitted that she might have misinterpreted the worksheet, Julia's initial reaction was anger:

> I think she's thinking there that people saw what happened to the Jews, but that's not exactly what happened. People weren't ready for the Civil Rights Movement, it's not like [they said] 'Oh, now we can apply that [violence against Jews] to [our situation]. She's talking about Hitler, but Hitler got his idea for segregating Jews from the United States. Like I've been [telling my students], did we go into the Civil War [to end] slavery? No. Did we go into World War II because of the Holocaust? No. This is misleading. When I saw that [the colleague's worksheet] it made me angry. We send students the wrong message for decades. . . . [We say] the Civil Rights Movement is all about Martin Luther King and the south and it has nothing to do with Malcolm X or minority self-esteem. We just teach that and it's wrong. (ROA II, 5/20/99)

Julia's conviction about "the wrong messages" her students have received was pretty strong. The misconception she thought they had was not simply a matter of having been "bombarded" in elementary and middle school with information about the southern Civil Rights Movement or reading textbooks which omit significant facts about Malcolm X. The misconception had to do with misreading history, casting the Civil War, World War II and the Civil Rights Movement, for example, as victories over racism. Julia's historical knowledge, constructed from both personal experiences as a biracial woman and a few African-American history courses, provided her with an alternative view. In her interpretation, racism continued in spite of efforts to eliminate discriminatory social institutions; people like Malcolm X understood that the effects of racism are enduring poverty and low "minority self-esteem." Pervasive racism nurtured harsh social criticism and militant tactics, particularly among northern blacks. What made Julia angry was that students did not typically hear this interpretation.

Julia made no specific predictions about students' potential difficulties with the content of the Progressive Era. She did, however, express a belief that students were prone to assume historical inevitability. This point came up because Julia planned to use a time line to teach about the Progressive Era:

> [W]hen most people give time lines, they say, "Here it is, fill in the blanks" and nobody ever thinks of history as a decision-making thing, a split-second thing going on. They just think that's the way it was and that's the only way it could have been because nobody ever stops to think . . . . "What if this *hadn't* happened, would the results have been different?" George Washington almost joined the British navy, but his mother didn't want him to. Can you imagine? Just that little thing [could have changed history]. It's weird. (ROA I, 12/22/98)

Julia knew that historical events were not inevitable. She believed that a more accurate view of history was to consider events as the consequences of people's actions and choices. Perhaps this too was an understanding Julia developed in the process of reconsidering her own conceptions of the nature of history.

In both units, we see that Julia had some notions about possible student misconceptions and that these notions were informed by her historical knowledge, whether about history in general or one topic in particular. In a sense then, Julia's historical understandings - shaped by her own memories of learning the content - substituted for the fact that she did not yet have direct experiences teaching this content to young learners. Even without the benefit of the "wisdom of practice," (Shulman, 1987) she was able to consider her students in relation to subject matter. And both kinds of misconceptions identified by Julia seem valid: one related to the substance of content (misunderstandings about Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party) and the other concerned with an epistemological issue (misperceptions of historical inevitability). But as we shall see, variations in Julia's subject matter knowledge impacted her ability to transform content in ways that seemed likely to, in turn, shape students' understandings of either substance or epistemology.

Representing Content to Students

Julia had only two major representations in mind for the Progressive Era unit: a lecture and a time line activity. Her repertoire of representations for the Civil Rights Movement unit was more extensive. She planned to show a video from the Eyes on the Prize series, another about Malcolm X and a chart depicting

changes in voting registration patterns as a result of the Voting Rights legislation in 1966. If, as McDiarmid, Ball and Anderson (1989) suggest, a wider array of representations is needed to influence the range of subject matter understandings students may create in their own minds, then we would prefer Julia's repertoire for the Civil Rights Movement, another apparent benefit of her topic-specific content knowledge.

In both units, Julia relied primarily on lecture to transmit historical information to students, a feature of David's practice as well. In Julia's case, the quality of historical content in each of the two units varied remarkably. In the Progressive Era unit, her lectures were full of uncritical and vague assertions about people and events. She taught that "Roosevelt said the president should take care of people's business with their best interests in mind," that Upton Sinclair wrote about the "rat-infested" meat industry, that the NAACP "was like a union for African-Americans." She framed these references within her narrative of democratic progress, and emphasized how particular pieces of legislation changed things for the better:

> The 17th amendment gives us the choice [about] who goes to Washington for us. . . . When the Constitution was written, they called people "great beasts." They didn't trust us with the right to vote, they didn't give it to us when it came to [Senators], [they thought] that we didn't deserve it. . . . Progressives were free-thinking and forward-thinking . . . . they wanted to change all these things to make a better United States, to make it more democratic, more representative (2nd; 12/8/98)

In contrast, during the Civil Rights Movement unit, Julia provided details to support the narrative. For example, she told her students that Black Panther leaders like Huey Newton and Bobby Seale advocated "self-defense" and "empowerment" for blacks; that they were "militant," not violent. Then, to support this point, she described the Party's efforts to promote community policing, breakfast for kids, Headstart, and after school day care. She emphasized that the Party had strict guidelines against the use of drugs or alcohol. Then she explained, in vivid detail, why the Black Panther Party was

misunderstood by mainstream society:

> Newton, Seale and Cleaver, over the years, they've been misinterpreted. People who write textbooks want to forget about them. The only thing you'd ever hear is that they incited a riot. They have a bad reputation for that, but they didn't start the riot. There was a trial, very discriminatory, like Sacco and Vanzetti. Bobby Seale was bound and gagged during his trial. I've seen the transcript - it was very unfair. Bobby kept speaking up, so the judge bound him to a chair and gagged him. (2nd; 5/25/99)

Julia was able to describe the nature of individual and collective actions and the context in which they occurred; refer to an actual historical document about that particular event; and compare the trial of Seale and Newton to the (possibly unfounded) accusations against Italian-born anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1920. She commented that she knew more than what she had time to teach her students: "This could be a whole unit in itself." And she tied the historical detail back into her narrative, the comparison between the nonviolent and and militant factions within the Civil Rights Movement:

> [Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver] are names every person should know but hardly anyone does. . . . These names should be taught alongside Malcolm and Martin Luther King. The media chooses a golden person and an evil person. Martin was golden; the media didn't report on his cheating his wife. . . . The Black Panthers were the ones chosen by the media to always do wrong. (2nd; 5/25/99)

Julia was not able to provide such detail and elaboration in the Progressive Era unit. Furthermore, her less specific knowledge hindered her ability to use the time line representation for the purpose she intended. She created the time line activity (see Figure 2) to illustrate history as a "decision-making thing," to challenge the propensity to treat historical events as inevitable. She planned to have students respond to a series of questions about the time line - first by writing in their "Learning Logs" and then by sharing their thoughts out loud.[4]

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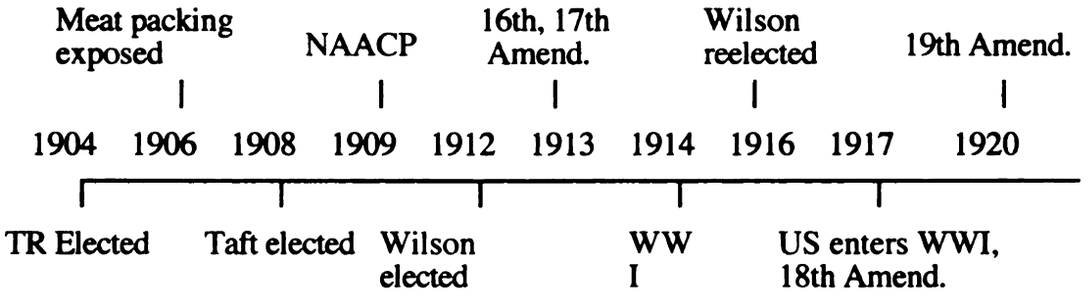
[4] The Learning Logs were spiral notebooks each student brought to class and Julia regularly gave short writing assignments of this nature.



What if Upton Sinclair had not written his book about the meat packing industry?

What would society be like today if the NAACP had never been founded?

How do the 16th and 17th Amendments directly impact our lives?

How long have women had the right to vote? What does that say about respect for women? What can you infer about "catch up time?" Where else does the Constitution mention women?

How does understanding these events help us to understand where society stands today?

Figure 2: Progressive Era Time Line Activity

Julia introduced the writing assignment with her intended goal in mind:

> I don't like that time lines are linear. It makes it look like this is the way history goes, that it's the only way it could have gone. By looking at time lines, it teaches us to memorize these dates and events and think that is history. But that wasn't history, that was a *result* of history. . . . The history is the people who make decisions, like Wilson making the decision to go into World War I. When we look at a time line, it just looks like, "Oh, World War I [happened]." It's very unemotional. But what if we had never gone? (3rd; 12/8/98)

But during the subsequent class discussion, in which she asked students to share what they had written in their Learning Logs, she did not use their responses to explore the nature of history. Rather, Julia treated the exchange as an opportunity to have students reproduce information from lectures:

Julia: What if Upton Sinclair hadn't written The Jungle?

Student: Food would be really gross

Student: It was probably a lot worse than what he wrote.

Student: The government wouldn't have known what was going on.

Julia: What about the NAACP? What would society have been like if they'd never been founded?

Student: We wouldn't have any blacks in high jobs.

Student: Blacks developed, they broke the barrier in the law. It ended segregation in the schools. Laid the ground for the Civil Rights Movement.

Julia: What about the 16th Amendment?

Student: We pay only a percentage, we're not paying as much as we would. (2nd; 12/9/98)

Julia seemed satisfied with a few responses to each question, moving to the next question without probing to access more of students' thinking. Perhaps Julia had said everything she knew about the Progressive Era in her lectures and was reluctant to create a situation in which students asked questions or made comments to which she could not respond. After all, in her Autobiographical Interview, she had expressed the sentiment that her "weak" knowledge of history made her anxious that she hadn't "come across all the facts that your students could ask you about." At any rate, Julia used the time line representation to restate the narrative: life today is much better because of what the progressives did. The idea of "what if" was sub-text and she did not develop it by identifying the ideas and influences which contribute to historical actions, because she lacked the topic-specific knowledge that would have enabled her to do so. For example, Upton Sinclair did not write The Jungle in isolation; he was a member of a group of journalists who developed a provocative style of writing intended to shock and anger readers. The NAACP wasn't just "founded" in a vacuum; W.E.B. DuBois garnered support from educated

northerners, whose positions formed in opposition to the views of another African-American, Booker T. Washington.

The dynamic was different in the Civil Rights Movement unit. The more Julia talked about the Black Panthers, the more she uncovered layers of relevant content knowledge. And the more she realized what she knew that helped her to appreciate rather than reject the militant views of northern blacks, the more representations she generated in an effort to challenge her students' misconceptions.

As she presented the same information about the Black Panther Party for the third time one day, Julia became aware that the point she was trying to make about the militant perspective related to issues of race and power. The slogan "Black Power" emerged from a social critique of white privilege as a system of advantage and power. This was not something that had entered her consciousness while she was planning the unit. The relationship between race and power became newly-conscious knowledge in the act of teaching. In her fourth period class, in the instant she became aware of the nature of the social critique implied by the phrase "Black Power," Julia decided to insert this new content into her lesson. She wrote the words "Black Power" and "White Power" on the board and asked the class to imagine a slave saying the first phrase and a slaveowner saying the second. "What is the difference in meaning?" she asked.

When Julia spontaneously created this representation - "Black Power vs. White Power" - she drew upon a conceptual understanding of race and power that was quite abstract and complicated. Black Power was a cry from the oppressed, calling for the redistribution of power so that African-Americans would have greater access to jobs, housing, and higher education. White Power, on the other hand, signaled the desire of members of the dominant social group to maintain unequal power structures. Again, because her knowledge of the Progressive Era was thin, Julia was not able to generate new representations in

her unfamiliar unit.

Despite the advantages associated with topic-specific knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement, her knowledge was not sufficient to help her avoid misrepresenting the content, both substantively and epistemologically. Although Julia was familiar with the social thinking about race and power that influenced historical actions, she was inclined to play freely with chronological time and historical groups. In other words, she equated the experience of slaves and slaveowners with the experience - 100 years later - of Black Panthers and whites. From an historiographic point of view, past events must always be "historicized," understood in terms of the contexts in which they occur. Social phenomena such as the experience of race and power change over time - not necessarily for better or worse - but in the sense that categories that once held meaning may break down or be replaced. Blum (1999) points out, for example, that:

> In some cities, and institutions blacks hold substantial power . . . Latinos, for example have sometimes complained of racial discrimination by blacks in excluding them from jobs . . . . Similarly, a white child in a predominantly Latino school excluded from social life because of racial hostility is still a victim of racism, even if in the outer society whites as a racial group are more powerful than Latinos as a racial group." (p. 871).

Because Julia did not appear to hold this historiographic understanding about importance of distinguishing past and present, she misrepresented this aspect of the nature of history. She also misrepresented the substance of her message about the Civil Rights Movement. While the historical record supports Julia's statements about the Black Panthers' political efforts to broaden African-American access to jobs, housing and higher education, the facts do not (and cannot) resolve the question about whether there is (in fact) a difference between Black Power and White Power. But in stating emphatically that such a difference exists, Julia blurred the distinction between historical facts and subjective perceptions. Those historical events were as much about the clash between

meanings constructed by historical actors as they were about undisputed historical fact. But Julia tended to treat phrases such as Black Power as if there was only one legitimate meaning rather than several points of view in an historical (and ongoing) debate.

Learning about Students and Content in Practice

Julia's more familiar knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement did not prevent her from misrepresenting certain aspects of content in her teaching. It also did not provide her with an obvious advantage in learning about students and content from practice.

In her attempt to transform her abstract understanding of race and power for students, Julia chose the analogy of slaves and slaveowners, something with which she thought her students would be familiar. She imagined that the analogy would make the difference between "empowerment" and "power to oppress" so obvious to students they would have little difficulty accepting the distinction. Thus, she was surprised when several fourth period students insisted emphatically that there was no difference between Black Power as spoken by a slave and White Power as expressed by a slaveowner. Power was power, these students claimed, no matter who held it. Julia recounted the discussion:

> I had one girl who had a real hard time with things that I was saying. . . . She was one of those who said that the slaves did have choices, the consequence may have been death but they did have choices they could have made. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

According to Julia, several students adamantly agreed with this girl. One called Malcolm X "a racist." Another said he simply did not believe that the Black Panther Party ever accepted white people as members. Julia was taken off guard by their reactions. She had thought the answer was obvious - a slave has less power than a slaveowner, so a slave's call for Black Power is a cry for justice; a slaveowner seeks power to oppress. But the distinction was not so obvious to some students, whose responses told her that they would not simply accept her interpretation.

Perhaps because Julia tended to treat the distinction as historical fact rather than subjective perception, she could not view her students' contrary ideas as points of view in an historical and ongoing debate. However, as Julia reflected on the Black Power vs. White Power incident, she gained a bit of insight into students' minds. At first, she identified two possible explanations for their reactions. Perhaps they didn't believe her because she is biracial and assumed she was putting a "minority spin" on things. Or, perhaps they simply misunderstood what she was trying to say. Either way, Julia's initial assumption was that students would not have had "a hard time" with the representation if she had presented it better or differently. Her preliminary reflections did not include trying to understand the nature of students' prior conceptions. But neither did Julia simply drop the topic and move on. The incident in fourth hour preoccupied her for the rest of the day. When she happened to see one of her fourth period students in the hallway, she pulled her aside:

> I said [to her] "I think maybe you've gotten the wrong idea. I wasn't trying to say that Black Power the way it was interpreted was necessarily a good thing, that it may have been interpreted wrong. But if that's how it was interpreted, then that's what it communicated to people." She said "I know Mrs. Richards, it's just so hard to figure out what your opinion is. Everyone in the class has a different one." (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

In this one-on-one exchange with the student who "had a real hard time" accepting Julia's distinction, Julia framed the matter as an "interpretation." Here, she was suggesting that concepts like Black Power were interpreted in various ways by the public. In a sense, the idea that people construct understanding was confirmed by the student's response. The statement that "it's so hard to figure out what your opinion is" triggered something in Julia, a slight change in her explanation of the fourth period incident. Students may have reacted the way they did because that is what learners do when they encounter new information. The insight made her feel "euphoric" instead of defensive:

> I ended up feeling euphoric that she said she was trying to figure out her opinion. Because that's what I was trying to do all the time - [get them to]

> figure out their own opinion and hope that they'll come to what I consider to be the right opinion. Hopefully it will match mine. . . . That means when she's out there and watching something she'll think either, "Am I conceiving this correctly" or "I don't really know what's going on here, maybe it's something else." (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

Before this encounter, Julia had not explicitly discussed the fact that her goal was to help students think through their opinions. Her lesson plans and teaching about the Black Panthers built on the implicit assumption that she could challenge her students' misconceptions by simply providing them with new information. She assumed that students simply did not believe her assertions because she is biracial or because she had poorly communicated the information. But the student's statement that "it's so hard to figure out what your opinion is" suggested that students were having a hard time accepting the truth because it ran counter to the conceptions they already held. Julia gained an appreciation for the amount of time and effort it might take for students to change their conceptions. Thus, it seemed more realistic to expect students - even if they did not learn the "right opinion" (still blurring the distinction between fact and perception) - to at least leave her classroom more inclined to question their prior knowledge.

The incident is also significant considering what Julia did not appear to learn from it. She did not question her choice of content; the end point of instruction continued to be the assertion that Black Power is not as racist as White Power, as if this were historical fact. The disciplines of history and sociology make critical distinctions between fact and interpretation, but Julia was not viewing her subject matter as an opportunity for students to participate in debates over the meaning of racism so much as for them to accept the meaning which seemed incontrovertible to her. Neither did the incident in her fourth period class cause her to make significant adjustments in her beliefs about the kinds of representations needed to help students construct new understandings. Indeed, although Julia stated that the conversation with the student provided her with

new insight, the insight did not represent a major shift in her thinking. The next day, Julia devoted more time than she had originally planned to the sub-topic about Black Power and White Power, but continued - with one exception - to present information didactically.

Julia's new insight was that students might need more time to change their conceptions. So, instead of moving on to the lesson she had planned - a video about the life of Malcolm X - Julia experimented with two new representations designed to convey the distinction between Black Power and White Power. This is how she introduced the next day's lesson: [5]

> These things are difficult to talk about . . . . Yesterday there was a little misunderstanding about the Black Panther Party. It was a political party, with candidates running for office. And people get upset because this counters what they've been told all their lives. . . . Now we know from yesterday that the Black Panther Party wasn't a gang, but the FBI labeled them a militant nationalist group. (2nd; 5/26/99)

Julia's opening remarks indicated that she continued to frame the disagreement as a "misunderstanding" rather than as historical debate. Her explanation for why there had been a misunderstanding was evidence of her new insight: students' prior misconceptions seem true to them. And then she repeated as fact the interpretation that the "Black Panther Party wasn't a gang," as a transition into the first representation. Julia had found an historical document in one of her college texts: a speech by a Black Panther Party member. She read the speech out loud. In it, a Black Panther Party member stated that the party welcomed anyone who supported the cause. Julia used the document as a piece of evidence to counter disbelief that the party had been open to white membership: "I wanted to read this because it's hard to believe the things that happened during that time," she told her students. Julia's representation implied that yes, the truth is hard to believe. But here are some facts over which there should be no

[5] Although the heated discussion had taken place only in her fourth period class, the next day Julia summarized the discussion and taught the same follow-up lesson to each class.

disagreement, facts supported by an historical document, not something skewed to support a minority viewpoint.

Julia had planned to show the Malcolm X video at this point, but as she looked around the room, she noticed her students staring back at her blankly. "Sometimes I just don't know what you're thinking," she mused out loud. She cast about for another way to represent the content. Significantly, in that moment, she drew on knowledge about students' present experience. She had done this earlier, when she chose the analogy of slaves and slaveowners, reasoning that students were familiar with those historical perspectives. But students living in the late 20th century have had no direct experience with slaves and slaveowners and for her next representation, Julia landed on an analogy much closer to home: politicians vs. janitors. "Close your eyes" she told her students. "Imagine a politician: how old are they, male or female, what are they dressed like, how much education and what race?" After a few gentle proddings, her students closed their eyes and were quiet. She asked them to picture a nurse, a janitor, and a business person. Then she told them to open their eyes.

Julia: Which of these people has power?

Student: A politician

Julia: What kind of power does a politician have?

Student: To make laws

Julia: And those laws affect you, even if they don't care that the seat belt law inconveniences you, because you don't vote. Think about what power is and the difference between racism and oppression. Yesterday we talked about Black Power - what's that saying? It's like slaves saying it - the power to vote, own land, own business, to change things in your own life, not about power *over*. That's when a slaveowner says White Power. What do you think of?

Chrissy: Violence

Julia: That's power to oppress. That's why there's a difference between saying White Power and saying Black Power. So you don't think of a person in color being in business because they don't have

the power to oppress. What do you think people thought of the nurse?

Student: Female.

Julia: This is not to tell you you're racist, but to understand power. If you thought of white people in power - it's not wrong to think that - let's look at the reason you did.

Latia: How society portrays them on TV.

Julia: What's socialization? It's a process of learning social rules and norms. In what ways are we socialized?

Cody: TV, radio.

Julia: We think a nurse is a woman, a politician is a man. It used to be that the only roles for blacks on TV were as maid or chauffeur. Think of the top 10 shows (Students nominate their favorite sitcoms). How many have black people in them? How many are Hispanic shows or Native American? Does TV represent how diverse society is? Friends takes place in New York City, but does it look diverse? So what sneaks into our thoughts without our realizing it?

Student: Racism.

Julia: Maybe. You're socialized into sitting here. (3rd; 5/26/99)

The Imagine a Politician representation underscores what Julia did and did not appear to learn from teaching this unit. She wanted students to adopt her conception of the difference between Black Power and White Power. She had gained a new insight that they were "working through their opinions." She read from an historical document, but couldn't tell from students' faces what they were "thinking." She seemed to have some sense that she needed an instructional representation that revealed to students the presence of racial inequality in their own experience. For the first time in this unit, she intentionally elicited a response from students: "Close your eyes and imagine a politician." Likely, the representation conjured various images, connections and ideas in students' minds, but we get little sense of students' mental activity from the discussion that followed. After two cryptic statements from students, Julia

asserted the conclusion: Black Power refers to the "power to vote and own land," not the power to oppress, which is the meaning of White Power. So while Julia's new insight led her to stay with the topic and generate new representations - including one that directly linked to students' experience - the new representations were just as didactic as the earlier ones.

Another observation about the Imagine a Politician representation is that, although Julia entered into it with the intention to teach historical content, she never made the connection back to the Black Panther Party. Instead, Julia moved the focus of the lesson from power to socialization and finally to the importance of communicating across differences. Perhaps some of this movement is a consequence of the fact that the Imagine a Politician representation was unplanned. Julia had not predetermined what the central message of the representation should be. Thus, the reference to nurses reminded Julia of the topic of gender inequality; the influence of television led her to consider the concept of socialization, which in turn triggered the example of students' socialization into "sitting here." In the end, Julia decided the lesson wasn't really about developing historical understanding after all. Instead, the lesson was about developing the willingness to "talk and listen to one another" about "tough issues." She closed with a statement - not about historical ideas or events or the regional differences she had originally wanted them to learn - but about the group process:

> If you haven't heard this stuff before, it's hard not to get defensive and for some of you, I'm challenging what you thought you knew. But you've done a great job talking and listening to one another, not at one another. I'm proud of you. I want to congratulate you on talking about tough issues that adults, even the United Nations, can't talk about it. (3rd; 5/27/99)

Julia's students responded with a spontaneous cheer, " Yeah!" She liked this way of ending the lesson, though it wasn't what she had planned:

> It ended up that talking about communication was the big theme of the unit. I thought it was going to be tolerance, but where I ended up was how lack of communication and misconceptions perpetuates racial misunderstanding

> and how that leads to resentment, which leads to anger which leads to hatred. . . . The more I realized how many misconceptions were out there, the more I really wanted them to understand if we don't talk about these misconceptions, they're going to remain misconceptions and if we don't know the answers, we just give them to ourselves and they're usually wrong. So it turned into something that I couldn't have predicted. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

She felt exhausted by the attempt to teach a controversial topic. She felt she needed "enough time to recover and heal" before she would raise such issues again. But even though it was difficult:

> I would want to have those discussions again. In a way, I don't want to because it is difficult, stressful and ignorance is bliss. . . . [I]t was hard on me . . . . Next year I can predict who it's going to be and what they're going to say [about Black Power]. I'll have more wisdom about how to conduct a discussion like that. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

Even though the experience had an emotional toll, Julia felt it was so important to "talk about misconceptions" related to race and power issues that she was glad she had not abandoned the effort.

The same thing happened in the Progressive Era unit. In the end, Julia valued most a lesson involving an extended exchange on women's status in contemporary society, during which Julia made no connections to the women's suffrage movement although that was the topic which initiated the discussion. She was pleased that the focus had been on the power of socialization, and thought that her students were learning, not just how to "think about what we see in our everyday lives, how we treat our mothers or how we're going to treat our girlfriends, but look at the whole society and how we're [women] being represented."

In both units, Julia replaced historical content with contemporary social analysis. This seems less surprising in the Progressive Era unit, since it would be natural for her to want to shift the focus of the unit toward a topic she knew more about, such as contemporary gender inequality. Yet the fact that she was more familiar with the content of the Civil Rights Movement - she knew details and held a topic-specific interpretation of regional differences between north and

south - seemed to have little bearing on her tendency to gravitate toward contemporary social and political issues.

One possible explanation for this lies in Julia's "disciplinary perspective" (Wilson & Wineburg, 1988). Julia's content knowledge reflects her subject matter beliefs, the content she believes is worthwhile to know. She is a political science major with a strong interest in civil rights law. She is drawn toward current issues related to social inequality and generalizations that emphasize the power of socialization in shaping attitudes and behavior. Even when she held more topic-specific historical knowledge, Julia gravitated toward the topic of socialization and issues of race, gender and power in contemporary society. Her subject matter beliefs were such that she dropped historical content in favor of social commentary, even when her historical knowledge was stronger.

It may be that Julia's disciplinary perspective also impacted what she was likely to learn about the Progressive Era and the Civil Rights Movement from practice. She read the textbook selectively in her planning for her unfamiliar unit, choosing only the details that supported her narrative. For instance, she decided that the election of 1912 in which Roosevelt formed a third party because of ideological differences with Taft wasn't "very important." The election didn't seem directly relevant to the theme of democratic citizen action. She ignored the substantial section on conservation because it did not deal with intolerance and inequality:

> I decided to skip that. It does have a lot of bearing on the present, but I want them to think about tolerance, acceptance and be more socially conscious people so I spend more time on that, rather than have all these things thrown at them. . . . That's how I try to hold this class together. (CK I, 12/10/99)

The only time Julia expressed concern about her historical knowledge was at the beginning of the school year. She "felt weak walking in" with only a minor in history. And, when I asked her whether she was familiar with alternative interpretations of the Progressive Era, she replied, "I don't have time to read a

book on progressives and another on World War I and then several books so I can get all these different views." No doubt, lack of time is a huge factor for teachers, but another plausible explanation for Julia's satisfaction with her teaching is that her beliefs about history play a mediating role. Ultimately, she hopes to influence students' social attitudes, a goal that in her mind doesn't require a greater knowledge of history than other social or political knowledge.

Conclusions about Julia

Julia's topic-specific historical knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement, organized around two competing interpretations of events, provided her with some advantages. She was able to critique textbook content, select a topic-specific narrative to frame her unit, illustrate the narrative with concrete images and descriptive detail, anticipate student misconceptions and respond to the unexpected with additional lessons and representations. These would all seem to be important tools for transforming content. In contrast, her more general and thin knowledge of the Progressive Era led her to accept a "history as progress" narrative, make vague assertions unsupported by concrete images or descriptive detail, and generate fewer representations which she was unable to use as intended. This finding suggests that novices benefit from indepth study of historical topics. In addition, knowledge of one topic does not necessarily compensate for thin knowledge of another topic.

But as useful as Julia's topic-specific historical knowledge was, it was not sufficient to prevent her from misrepresenting content and shifting the focus from the historical narrative to contemporary social commentary. She treated the meaning of Black Power as timeless, never suggesting that there might be differences between the way slaves, Black Panthers and Fairmont High School ninth graders experience power inequality. Furthermore, she treated the distinction between White Power and Black Power as indisputable, historical fact, because in her conception, the two views did not express subjective perception

but right and wrong understandings. This finding suggests that even though novices may be familiar with epistemological aspects of history (e.g. that history is a "decision-making thing," that it involves studying the lived, social experience of people, including those experiences omitted or distorted in popular accounts), this knowledge may not be sufficient to avoid other misrepresentations of the discipline.

In spite of Julia's more specific knowledge about the Civil Rights Movement, historical content eventually all but disappeared from her unit. Despite her intention to frame the unit around regional differences, the theme evaporated. As in the Progressive Era unit, Julia concluded that the main message was about socialization and practicing a form of civic discourse. This finding underscores the potential power of novices' subject matter beliefs. Disciplinary perspectives and beliefs about what content is worthwhile to learn may determine whether or not students are exposed to historical content in a U.S. History course as well as whether novices are inclined to develop their historical knowledge as they teach.

As a first year teacher, Julia naturally had little experience teaching her content, experience upon which she could develop knowledge of common misconceptions and difficulties. Rather, Julia based her beliefs about what students knew, did not know and could comprehend on the evidence provided by her content knowledge, which was shaped by her own memories of learning the content. These beliefs substituted for her lack of experience in the classroom and enabled her to make predictions about her learners, although one prediction was general and one specific to the content.

Likely, Julia's knowledge of students will develop as she teaches. But just as we saw that her subject matter understandings and beliefs sometimes led her to misrepresent content, Julia's assumptions about learners seemed to constrain her ability to work with their ideas. Although she wondered what students were thinking and even sought out a particular student for a follow-up conversation,

her teaching was heavily didactic. Although she gained some insight into the tenacity of prior understandings, this did not change her inclination to treat those prior understandings as problems to be corrected. Her belief that students held misconceptions and wrong ideas supported a practice in which her role was to present correct information. Students did not interact with the Black Panther speech; Julia read it aloud as if to say, "Now do you believe me?" The Imagine a Politician activity treated students' experience as a resource - specifically, their familiarity with occupational status and television sitcoms - but Julia was quick to insert her conclusions: "That's power to oppress;" "You're being socialized."

Apparently, "think[ing] one's way from the subject matter as understood by the teacher into the minds and motivations of learners" (Shulman, 1987, p. 16) demands something more than detailed content knowledge and beliefs that students need time to develop new understandings. Although her content knowledge and beliefs provided Julia with some pedagogical tools in her efforts to transform content, this was not sufficient. One explanation might be that Julia was lacking certain knowledge that she should have learned in her preparation program, such as an awareness of the importance of historical context when comparing past and present and a repertoire of representations for facilitating students' active constructions of subject matter knowledge. Another hypothesis might be that there are problems with her beliefs, including an assumption that her own memories of learning content are a legitimate basis for determining what ninth graders are capable of comprehending and an inclination to treat students' prior knowledge as problematic. There is no apparent need to investigate students' ideas if the assumption is that their conceptions are deficient and misinformed.

Yet a third possibility is that there are certain features of beginning practice that interact with Julia's knowledge and beliefs. As a first year teacher, Julia was communicating much of her content knowledge for the first time to a live

audience. She was aware of this as a routine experience during that first year of teaching:

> Sometimes I'm concentrating so much on "Am I saying this right?" Trying to get at so many different aspects [of a topic], where I say it this way and that way and then twist it and turn it and try to say it another way. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

The more Julia talked about the Black Panthers, the more she uncovered layers of her content knowledge. And the more she uncovered her own understandings, the more she realized what she knew that helped her to appreciate rather than reject the militant views of northern blacks during the Civil Rights Movement. As she taught her lessons, there was a sense in which she was actually teaching herself. Although she invented the Imagine a Politician representation with her students' experience in mind, in the dialogue that followed she was primarily listening to herself. To some extent, this may have been because the representation was unplanned. Julia hadn't anticipated the kinds of questions that would elicit students' descriptions of and reflections on their own experience of occupational status and television sitcoms. At the same time, if Julia was indeed occupied with the important task of uncovering her own knowledge of the topic, it was understandably difficult for her to pay attention simultaneously to both newly-conscious content and students' constructions of meaning.

This analysis of Julia's knowledge and beliefs raises several questions. What kind of knowledge and beliefs help novices avoid misrepresenting the nature of history? What do novices gain from prior experience teaching particular topics to young learners? Are they less dependent on their own memories of learning the content? Do they spend less time surfacing their own content knowledge and more time exploring students' constructions of meaning? Do they make fewer miscalculations about students' prior knowledge? What kinds of knowledge and beliefs influence novices to maintain the focus on historical

content? One way to begin to answer these questions is to compare Julia's knowledge and beliefs with those of another beginning history teacher: David Parker.

David: Transforming the Communist Revolution and the American Revolution

As a third year teacher, David held an advantage over Julia. He had taught both his unfamiliar and his familiar topic once previously. In both instances, he had already gone through an experiencing of initially discovering what he knew, realizing what the topic was about and learning about students' reactions. Still, David was a beginner, and there was variation in his content knowledge. He felt his knowledge of the Communist Revolution was "shaky," although for different reasons than Julia's unfamiliar knowledge of the Progressive Era.

General and Topic-Specific Knowledge

David readily admitted that he didn't "know much about the Russian Revolution." He blamed this on the fact that he hadn't taken any world history classes in high school and in his college European history survey course, the professor spent only two days on the topic. And even after one experience teaching this content, David felt "shaky" about his knowledge:

> The period between Lenin and Stalin is vague to me even now . . . I know the chronology . . . but the period between the revolution and World War II, I'm missing most of the fence. It's shaky, a couple of beams in there but not many slats. (CK II; 4/13/99)

In part, his self-assessment was based on that previous experience, in which he first realized how much he did not know. The first time he taught the unit, he had planned to teach about the huge inequities in pre-revolutionary Russian society that made communism appealing to the peasant majority. This was a topic with which he felt reasonably comfortable since it was something he remembered learning about in college and since he had seen the movies Dr. Zhivago and Anastasia. But in the middle of teaching the unit, David realized that he was leaving out important information by focusing on pre-revolutionary

Russia:

> It was an interesting way to frame a course about the causes of the revolution, but once you get into it . . . I was constantly saying - and I remember this very, very clearly - "Oh, this is important too." Right in the middle of teaching it, I'd . . . come across this terminology and stuff [in the textbook] and I thought "Geez, I totally missed this, I haven't mentioned anything about these parties. " So I'd say something about the parties, then "Oh my God, Stalin's five year plan and collectivization - I didn't teach them anything about that. . . . Oh shoot, I have to fit this in somehow because this is the place they have it in there. We have to talk about the command economy right now, otherwise where will this appear again?" (Post-Ob II, 5-4-99)

It bothered David enormously that the textbook contained terminology and factual content with which he was unfamiliar. He felt obligated to teach what was in the textbook, but this seemed inadequate because it didn't provide him with "an overarching theme that encompasses everything:"

> I was very detail-oriented; I wasn't comfortable with the material. . . . But I can't just drop this story [about pre-revolutionary Russia] with the death of the czar. The civil war, Lenin, the society he tried to create, the takeover by Stalin - those are still important. . . . So [pre-revolutionary Russia] is a great beginning, but it can't really provide an overarching theme that encompasses everything. (ROA II, 4/16/99)

For his second attempt, David was determined to make the unit more coherent by selecting an "overarching theme." This was similar to Julia's impulse to frame even her unfamiliar unit with some kind of narrative. David's desire for coherence - along with a preference for intellectual history - led him to adopt as an overarching theme the idea that the Communist Revolution and subsequent changes in the structure of Soviet government can be understood in terms of ideological conflict between various political groups. For example, Bolsheviks envisioned a revolution led by party members. Mensheviks advocated leadership by the working class. Constitutional Democrats wanted a constitutional monarchy. Although the textbook did not suggest it, David perceived these ideological conflicts along a political spectrum, with Bolsheviks at the far left and the czar and his supporters at the far right. The political

spectrum, David thought, was a model for organizing the entire unit, since it portrayed pre-revolutionary ideologies as well as "the difference between Stalin and Lenin. If you can see it as a struggle between moderates, conservatives and liberals; that's one way of understanding the Communist Revolution."

David also thought that by treating the Communist Revolution as the outcome of power struggles among various interest groups, Czar Nicholas' assassination "makes 100 percent sense" because he would be viewed by the revolutionaries as a "unifying force for the conservatives. . . . He was killed so he wouldn't be a focus during the civil war for the conservatives to try to make an attempt to put him back into power."

> It does have to make sense. Otherwise it's just a good story and I want them to come away from this with something. Not just a content base, but . . . that you can learn something here that becomes a model, that you can use. (ROA II, 4/16/99)

David found his "overarching theme" - represented by the political spectrum - appealing for some of the same reasons as Julia did with her unit narratives. The theme organized content into a coherent narrative. The theme also linked to other content in his curriculum. The political spectrum was a "universal model" which could be applied, not only to the Communist Revolution, but to the "American system [which has] a variety of interest groups and people with different approaches, different political parties." David, like Julia, seems interested in portraying history as something more than a collection of facts, so that students "come away with something" applicable beyond the particular unit topic.

David also chose a narrative for his Age of Revolutions unit, but this time, the narrative was topic-specific. He used a theory about revolutionary change he had learned in college from a professor who had applied the theory to three revolutions in the World History curriculum: American, French and Industrial. The theory states that revolutions typically evolve through three stages: 1) a segment of the population (usually the middle class) becomes dissatisfied with

things as they are; 2) their actions lead to revolution; and 3) there is a reactionary movement which causes society to return (ironically) to a condition similar to (although not exactly the same as) the earlier pre-revolutionary situation.[6] David referred to the theory as the "revolutionary dialectic" or "pendulum."

The revolutionary dialectic appeared nowhere in the World History textbook, but that didn't seem to matter to David. As an overarching theme, the theory was compelling for several reasons. For one, it enabled him to treat each revolution - the American, French and Industrial - as an instance of a "universal model." It provided a generalizable explanation for revolutions, in contrast to the detailed descriptions of events found in the textbook:

> The textbook gives all the background - from the [Intolerable] Acts to the battles . . . and it's interesting if you want to go really indepth. But for a survey course it's more important to understand why these are revolutions. (CK Interview I, 11/3/98)

Secondly, David noted that the revolutionary dialectic linked to future units in the World History curriculum. His next unit - called Changes in Ideas - would include contrasting views of human nature; each revolution contained elements of faith in human reason alongside evil and corruption. Furthermore, these views would reemerge in World War I, the interwar years, World War II and the post-war "age of anxiety." David wanted his students to see how firmly people during the Age of Revolutions believed in "the concept of perfection, that they could conquer nature, constantly improve and have progress" because:

> that dies in World War I. . . . They believed they had created the ultimate society in the Victorian Era, but they end up massacring millions. Thousands die in the Titanic [shipwreck] because of their arrogance in assuming they

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[6] Although David mistakenly attributed this theory to Karl Marx, the model closely resembles one proposed by Crane Brinton (1938) in The Anatomy of Revolution. It is likely that David was exposed to this theory in college, subsequently associated it with the Hegelian notion of the "dialectic" and misremembered it as Marxian. This is yet another indication of how individuals contribute to the construction of their own historical knowledge.

> had created something perfect. So in the 1920s, you find in the years between the wars, around the world and especially in Europe, this *ennui*, this malaise, this boredom, an alienation and disenchantment with society. They pull back and say things aren't so great, progress may not be possible, maybe we're worse than we were before. . . . When you hit World War II, of course things get even worse and people get bitter and question human nature. So this positive, optimistic Enlightened ideal is very important as a theme, because when we get to World War II, we're going to see that the post-war time is called the Age of Anxiety and we fall back and say maybe society isn't the greatest and start to really question ourselves. (ROA I, 11/18/98)

Like Julia, when David was less familiar with a topic, he was forced to choose a more general narrative or theme for his unit. The political spectrum is not a topic-specific model for relating the events of the Communist Revolution, whereas the revolutionary dialectic was a scholarly interpretation specific to the topic of revolution and the American and French Revolutions in particular. But unlike Julia, David was able to support even his less familiar topic with detailed historical knowledge. He could do more than make vague assertions about ideological conflict as a cause of the Communist Revolution. He could place specific political parties along the continuum and explain why one group was considered conservative, another liberal. Because of this knowledge, David was able to avoid oversimplifying historical events with vague assertions and misconstruing history as a story of linear progress.

On the other hand, his inclination toward "universal models" tended to obscure some complexities. Although the political spectrum can be applied to both societies, the meaning of "conservativism" varies across time and place. Likewise, although all revolutions may share some characteristics, suggesting that all follow the same stage-like pattern comes close to subscribing to what Mink (1978) calls "Universal History . . . the claim that . . . there is a single central subject or theme in the unfolding plot of history" (p. 137). The notion of Universal History was popular among historians for centuries, but, says Mink, historians now widely recognize that "the idea of Universal History never made room for the uniqueness, vividness, and intrinsic value of individuals, whether of

individual persons, individual cultures or individual epochs" (p. 138). We shall see how David's knowledge enables him to deal with epistemological issues related to his interest in "universal models" as he develops and uses instructional representations.

Pedagogical Understanding of History

There was a slight, but significant difference in the way David used his narratives compared to Julia. Julia's narrative helped her organize her units and make decisions about the sequence of content: Progressive goals first, then achievements; the southern Civil Rights Movement followed by the northern. She introduced her lectures by telling students the overarching themes in the same manner that she typically presented content: as facts and concepts to which students listened and committed to memory. In contrast, David viewed his narratives as something for students to recreate. The representation of ideological conflict in the form of the political spectrum evolves from examining facts about inequities in Russian society and the various agendas of political groups. David planned to have his students investigate and compare the political groups before introducing them to the concept of a political spectrum.

Similarly, in the Age of Revolutions unit, David planned to have students recreate the narrative, or, in his words, "inductively discover" the pendulum pattern. He would have students "look at the American, French and Industrial Revolutions to build a generalization of what revolutions are composed of." In the case of the American Revolution, for example, David planned to have students look at the causes and effects of revolution in such a way that the pendulum pattern would be apparent. The initial idealism - represented by such revolutionaries as Thomas Paine and Patrick Henry - led to an extreme form of government in the Articles of Confederation and finally to a more moderate form of government in the U.S. Constitution. He would present his students with some facts about these events and help them reflect on them until they

could see the pattern themselves:

> We will look at the French, American and Industrial Revolutions and see how the revolutionary dynamic is there. . . . [The goal is] to determine a pattern for revolutions, . . . what leads to them, what happens in them, the outcomes and to look at whether these are necessarily good things. (CK I, 11/3/98)

In designing both units, David revealed a pattern in his pedagogical reasoning: first, have students work with the basic facts pertaining to a particular case and then look for patterns and see if the generalization fits other cases. His historical knowledge enabled him to identify aspects of the historical content that students could reconstruct. Also, perhaps his reasoning was supported by the fact that he had taught each topic once previously. Since he had already been through an experience of realizing what he knew about the topic, he could focus his attention on involving students more actively in lessons.

David was, like Julia, more inclined to predict student misconceptions with his more familiar knowledge. For example, for one of his first lessons about the American Revolution, David wanted to address the misconception he had identified as a "self-congratulatory view of history." He presumed that students would have difficulty seeing the revolutionary dialectic in the American Revolution because they would be inclined to view the outcome of the revolution as the successful implementation of revolutionary democratic idealism. But the revolutionary dialectic suggested that the new U.S. government was similar, in several key ways, to the British monarchy that had been overthrown:

> People don't often see the revolutionary dialectic in the American Revolution because they don't consider the Constitutional Convention. . . . We do leave the idea of a limited monarchy, but what do we do? We create a parliament with an upper and lower house, which is the same. We create a king we call a president, but then there are checks and balances that aren't there with a king. . . . The U.S. Constitution isn't as democratic as everyone thinks. The only group that's elected is the House, not the Supreme Court or the president or the Senate. (CK I, 11/3/98)

Like Julia, David's ability to identify a misconception is linked to his

knowledge of alternative interpretations. He knew that textbooks often depict the U.S. Constitution as a triumph for democracy. He also knew a counter-interpretation: "the U.S. Constitution isn't as democratic as everyone thinks." Whereas Julia explicitly recalled her own experience of learning a new interpretation of the Civil Rights Movement, David did not mention how he developed his knowledge of alternative interpretations of the American Revolution. Regardless, such knowledge enabled him to predict a possible student misconception, something he did not do with his unfamiliar topic. Furthermore, such knowledge guided his creation of representations designed to challenge those misconceptions.

Representing Content to Students

David had other knowledge about historical content that enabled him to create representations we did not see in Julia's teaching. It was not just that he knew that the notion of clashing political ideologies could be represented by a political spectrum. He also knew that pre-revolutionary Russian society was highly stratified - rather like a pyramid - and to some extent, Russian citizens' social positions shaped their political views. The few who held positions of power and wealth wanted to maintain the status quo; groups lower on the pyramid supported a variety of political changes. David also knew that social hierarchies did not just exist in 19th century Russia; ninth-graders experience social hierarchies everyday. In other words, he noticed a measure of continuity between students' present experience (as high school freshmen at the bottom of their social hierarchy) and the historical content he wanted them to learn (the revolutionary impulses of citizens in late 19th century Russia). Once he realized this, David was able to create a representation intended to mediate between students and subject matter. He provided his students with a visual aid on the board:

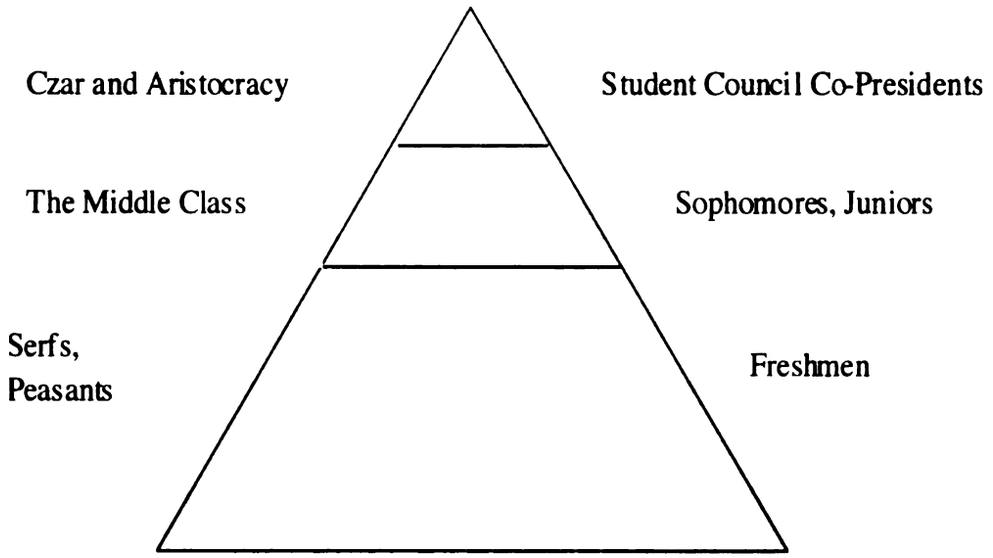

Figure 3: David's Representation for the Communist Revolution Unit

After labeling the left side of the pyramid, David asked his class to "describe the structure of student government." He pointed to the pyramid: "Who's at the top?" The students agreed that it was the co-presidents of the student council, so David wrote their names next to "Czar and Aristocracy." "Then you have sophomores and juniors in the middle and freshmen at the bottom." David placed these labels along the pyramid next to "Middle Class" and "Peasants."

At this point, the conversation became quite lively. When, for example, David pointed out that in the hallway, it is the freshmen who move out of the way of the seniors, not the other way around, his second period class expressed skepticism. Teresa said she thought freshmen moved out of the way because of "politeness" rather than power. Brian reacted negatively to David's suggestion that some students were perceived as "intellectuals" and others as "geeks." "That's being judgmental," he protested. Sean commented "I don't think anyone has power either way."

David offered counter-evidence: "Why is it that student council is trying to change the code of conduct to allow smoking off campus, instead of some issue

that affects freshmen?" He told his fourth period class: "In my second hour, someone thought that we really don't have social classes in the school." That got an immediate reaction:

Corey: That is so wrong, you're judged on your car, your clothes.

David: Shhh. So, it sounds like a lot of you agree with Corey.

Jack: If you get good grades and suck up to the teacher then they give you power.

Dennis: Seniors have power. They set up Spirit Week so they would win everything.

David: Spirit Week is very clear, isn't it? Shows who's the boss. It's an opportunity for them to exercise power and authority. Remember the first week of school, at the assembly where freshmen were duct-taped to the floor? You guys felt like nothing.

Jack: That's because we *are* nothing. (4th; 4/16/99)

This highly interactive discussion continued until the bell rang; nearly every student had something to say about social power at Sycamore High School: popularity, awards ceremonies, student council elections. He had to postpone until the following day an activity in which he divided students into groups corresponding to the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Nihilists, Social Revolutionaries and Duma, with instructions to "show how you will overthrow your student government, based on what your party believes."

To the extent the analogy itself drew out aspects of students' experience that were continuous with the content, there was potential to mislead or confuse students about the historical facts and events. After all, a student council president isn't exactly like Czar Nicholas; the lives of high school freshmen and Russian serfs are quite different. David was able to avoid misrepresenting history because of a combination of his specific knowledge of Russian society and a more general knowledge of history. This knowledge helped him to identify a flaw in one student's comment. The student mentioned that freshmen

would not remain freshmen forever and in fact, they could look forward to being seniors who could flaunt their power over others. David knew right away that if he let that comment go unchallenged, it could "teach the wrong lesson" by suggesting that Russian society was just as fluid as Sycamore society. He interjected: "So one of the issues is - in Russian society, there is no way to move up, but here, you know you'll be up there. But what if you knew you'd never move up?" A student immediately replied, "Revolt."

David's knowledge enabled him not only to precisely identify the error, but also to respond immediately and later, to assess the limitations of the analogy:

> When they talked about "It's just jokes and when we're seniors we'll do the same thing," . . . I [was] thinking on my feet about how this applies. What can I turn this into in terms of the application of Russian society to ours? So I think I said, "How would it be if you knew you could never move out of that position?" And someone said "We would revolt" and that's what I wanted to hear. . . . At that point, they had hit upon something that's in their world - it's true in their situation and in the school - but it wasn't true in Russian society. So I had to say, "That's not true there." (ROA II, 4/16/99)

Central to David's historical understanding of the Communist Revolution was the fact that the Russian hierarchy was extremely rigid. High school freshmen could wait a few years to become seniors. The only avenue for Russian serfs to improve their social standing was to enter the monastery. David knew about this distinction; he also had a sense for the dilemmas such distinctions create in terms of developing historical understanding:

> Presentism - a recent debate among historians - is the danger of placing modern day values on the past. It's really hard not to do and fairly controversial because some people believe that the only reason to study the past is in order to judge it, so we can learn from our mistakes. But if all we do is judge the past, do we really try to understand it? Do we really want to understand a man like Adolf Hitler, or do we want to say that he was wrong? This is a weird, difficult thing. . . . My personal bent is that history without a lesson is pointless. If you don't learn something from history about your world today, then you're not spending time wisely. So as long as they can see the [historical] points of view, it's OK to extract a lesson [for today]. (Post-Ob I; 12/21/98)

David wanted to make sure that students developed "the historical point of view" about Russian society, which in this case meant moderating the tendency

toward universalizing human experience. He was quick to insert information into the discussion that emphasized what was "true in the school but not true in Russian society." Yet in his pedagogical reasoning, David did not subscribe to the view that drawing "lessons from history" represents a misuse of the discipline, as Craig (1989) lamented in regard to politicians' "tendency to universalize particular problems by force-fitting them into overarching historical or dialectical patterns and then using such 'patterns' to justify policy and strategy" (p. 116). As a teacher of ninth-graders, David expressed a "personal bent" toward using history to "learning something about your world today." This is the reason he created the analogy and aimed his lessons toward the political spectrum as a "universal model," applicable to events across time and place. Although David was aware that some historians argue against the practice as a form of presentism, he regarded the process of generalizing to be an important feature of students' mental engagement with history:

> How do I go from the content of the [Communist] Revolution into a concept that they . . . take and apply it and say it has some universality - to be able to use it in other contexts. Like whenever a kid says "This is like--" I get horribly excited. . . . because then you know their minds are taking whatever it is you're doing and applying it to something. And the next step is saying "Is there something here, since I've noticed it came up twice, are there other examples where it may fit into, where it's a universal truth or a generalization I can use? . . . . If you allow for exceptions [to the generalizations] then kids begin to create a pattern of what fits. . . . It's hard to get there though, really hard. (ROA II; 4/16/99)

After the lively discussion about social inequality at Sycamore High School, David divided the class into groups representing Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and the others, assigned the relevant textbook pages, equipped each group with paper and crayons and gave instructions to create posters showing " how you will overthrow your student government, based on what your party believes." David believed the pyramid representation had set the stage for students to "critically think and make connections on their own." Now students would have to apply the textbook's descriptions of party leaders, visions, methods and

timing to the points of view held by the various high school groups. The activity required students to imagine they were - not freshmen - but members of a Russian political party overthrowing the Sycamore student government.

However, the activity did not work exactly as David envisioned. Although students seemed eager to get to work, within a few minutes, he detected problems. Most groups ignored the textbook depictions and drew posters advocating some form of torture or murder of the student council presidents - without reference to the particular ideological beliefs of the group they were representing. Thus, their posters depicted freshmen, burnouts and losers of the school arresting, burning or blowing up the student council. David noticed this and said loudly: "You have to get out your books. Do you know all this information?"

David had intended the pyramid representation to serve as "a step in between" students' experience and the historical content. The analogy that he depicted on the board was something for students to refer to as they applied Russian political parties' beliefs to Sycamore's social structure. But David underestimated the power of students' prior experience. The pyramid representation had suggested that freshmen were like Russian serfs. So, students interpreted the poster-making activity from the perspective of "serfs." As ninth-graders at the bottom of the pyramid, they naturally identified most with revolutionary groups attempting to overthrow the czar. When they drew posters of freshmen killing seniors, they were simply using the historical empathy David had intentionally triggered the previous day. Instead of scolding students for not using the textbooks, David could have stayed closer to the point of continuity. He could have encouraged students to do what they were inclined to do anyway: create the most extreme revolutionary governments seeking to overturn the social hierarchy. Perhaps after they did so, they would be ready to examine the actual consequences of the Communist Revolution, in which radical

changes resulted in more, rather than less, repressive policies toward serfs.

However, David interpreted students' disinterest in the textbook definitions of political ideologies as a problem. His goal was for them to learn the information in the textbook and it appeared that his attempt to use the pyramid representation toward this end had failed. So he reverted to a transmission style of instruction, drilling students on the basic facts about the Russian groups:

> David: The czar is giving the Duma its power. The czar's power is unlimited, so it's really fake power he's giving to the Duma.
>
> Student: Yeah, and that's how it is in this school.
>
> David: So this is the bourgeoisie sparking the revolution. Why is the Duma made up of the bourgeoisie? Who are the bourgeoisie?
>
> Student: Factory workers.
>
> David: Doctors, lawyers, professionals. Serfs are not in the Duma.
>
> Student: So the juniors would overthrow the seniors. And make the freshmen think they have more power but they don't.
>
> David: The Duma wanted a constitutional monarchy. They would allow [the seniors] to remain in control, but their power would be limited. The rest of the power goes to the Duma. (2nd; 4/19/99)

Instead of developing the representation in terms of the continuity between students and subject matter, David became concerned with transmitting subject matter. He did not use the Russia-Sycamore analogy, even when some students tried to raise the connection. In the end, David concluded that he had made the activity too "subjective" when in reality there was "a wrong answer:"

> I always want to be careful. Even though I say this is subjective, there is a wrong way to do this. There is a wrong answer. And so what I wanted them to do was to read, say, the beliefs of the Bolsheviks, what did they stand for, what did they believe should happen in the revolution and then they could go directly to that chart [the pyramid] and say here are the serfs, so we want the freshmen and these other groups to be our revolution. I had that on the board intentionally . . . it was a step in between. They should be able to take [the Russian groups] and look directly at the board and say this is the [Sycamore group]. So when I heard that everyone wanted the freshmen to overthrow [the Sycamore student government], that's not right, that's wrong in a couple of cases. That's not what the Mensheviks

wanted and that's not what the Duma wanted. (ROA II, 4/16/99)

A similar thing happened in the American Revolution lessons. In order to generate a list of causes and effects of the American Revolution (which were not included in the World History textbook), David counted on students' prior knowledge. After all, they had taken U.S. History the previous year. His plan was to assign categories - such as "economic" or "social" - and have students write down on an index card one cause of the American Revolution that fit under their assigned category. He liked the activity because it taught about multiple causation:

> That's an historian's skill - to categorize, synthesize and analyze, tear causes apart and group them into categories to see how they're connected and interconnected. If you can't see multiple causes of events in history, then you aren't at the stage of an historian. (Post-Ob I, 12/18/98)

However, when his first period students returned to class the following day, index cards in hand, David was taken by surprise. Nearly every student had written the same cause: "taxation." This uniformity of response was not getting at the idea of multiple causation and David realized the problem. His students obviously did not remember as much from their eighth grade U.S. History course as he assumed. Now what to do? He had planned to categorize multiple causes of the American Revolution according to the headings he had posted on the board and then move on to talk about the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution, which, perhaps also mistakenly, he had assumed would be familiar. By the end of the hour, David had planned to have students identify the pendulum swing pattern in preparation for applying it to the French and Industrial Revolutions.

Just as he did when he realized students had not learned the textbook information about Russian political groups, David adopted a transmission mode of instruction to provide students with the lists of causes. He became a geyser of information, adding cause after cause to the list until there were nine. This was,

he believed, information students would need before they could comprehend the revolutionary theory. And, although he had originally planned to have students "inductively discover" the revolutionary dialectic, he changed his goals after the first lesson. When he realized students simply did not have the background knowledge he anticipated, he decided to "order it for them:"

> So rather than struggling with ideas, we were battling content. Like with short term and long term effects, they didn't have the knowledge to reorder and reorganize it. Historians face that. You have data and you have to organize it. . . But they didn't have the basic data, so I was giving them information and ordering it for them." (Post-Ob I, 12/18/98)

After the unit was over, David's reflections focused on regrets related to his students' lack of background knowledge:

> I'm not blaming middle school teachers, but I just don't think they got it. They didn't make the connection that our government is in England, that we were sort of second cousins, that whole issue of mercantilism which I decided to skirt completely, that the poor weren't often taxed but had to pay prices. It's complicated, but not too hard for ninth graders. (Post Ob I, 12/18/98)

He blamed himself: "Considering that I was counting on prior knowledge, I should have checked more carefully." He regretted asking students to generate causes and effects on their own, because this "was a lot more than I could chew, a lot more than I'd wanted to do with the kids. . . it was a can of worms but without enough worms in it." His original plan had been to spend one day teaching about the American Revolution. Instead, the lessons lasted four days which made him feel rushed to get through the French and Industrial Revolutions in order to keep the unit within four weeks, which was the maximum time he could afford to spend. Next time, David declared, he will not ask students to generate causes and effects on their own: "I'll give them the causes and they figure out the categories . . . . But this could turn into a whole unit on the American Revolution if I'm not careful. . . . So [I'll] abbreviate the whole thing into one lesson, all in one day."

Unlike Julia, even with his unfamiliar topic David could teach students about

aspects of the nature of history, such as the limitations of relating past and present, because he was familiar with contextual details that set Russian society apart from his students' experience. He had also developed a pedagogical view of relevant historiographic issues, treating the process of universalizing as an important feature of students' mental engagement with history, even though some historians are more cautious about encouraging students to "extract a lesson for today." In comparison to Julia, David seemed more committed to maintaining the focus of his units on historical content, perhaps because of his beliefs and knowledge.

But in both units, David over-estimated students' prior knowledge or their attraction to using their own experience rather than the textbook. They had not utilized the textbook definitions of Russian political ideologies; they had treated the activity as "subjective" when in fact there was "a wrong answer." He did not't want to "blame the middle school teachers," but he was taken by surprise: his ninth graders had no apparent conceptual understanding of the American Revolution; they could recall only that "taxation" was a cause; they could not generate an effect beyond the revolution itself. When David realized his error, he abandoned his initial plans designed to involve students more actively in developing historical understanding and resorted to recitation-style instruction. He took the reins of discussion, in order to deliver the information his students apparently lacked.

Under the circumstances, the approach made sense. David had not anticipated the situation and he reasoned that students needed basic factual information in order to make sense of the units' "overarching themes." But the end result was that, instead of Russian political parties or causes and effects of the American Revolution serving as prerequisite knowledge, tools for constructing historical meaning, they became the instructional goal. The political spectrum and revolutionary stages theory became more pieces of information to be

"ordered." David only realized afterwards that he should have "checked more carefully" and assessed students prior knowledge before making the assignment. But it is unclear what David might have done differently if he had pre-assessed his students' understanding of the American Revolution. Next time, he plans to assume that students' background knowledge is weak and provide the information they need in a one-day lesson. The lesson he appeared to learn from the Communist Revolution unit was that he needs to be clearer with students about when an assignment is subjective and when it is not, rather than a lesson about using students' subjectivity as a tool for developing historical understanding.

Learning about Content and Students in Practice

Both David and Julia were more selective in their use of textbooks with familiar topics than with unfamiliar topics. Therefore, we might expect that David - who had some knowledge of the Communist Revolution - to be more selective in his textbook use than Julia - who remembered almost nothing about the Progressive Era. In fact, the reverse was true. David felt responsible to teach about Lenin, Stalin and command economy even though he hadn't yet figured out how those facts fit together into a meaningful narrative:

> Right in the middle of teaching it, I'd . . . come across this terminology and stuff [in the textbook] and I thought "Geez, I totally missed this, I haven't mentioned anything about these parties. " So I'd say something about the parties, then "Oh my God, Stalin's five year plan and collectivization - I didn't teach them anything about that. . . . Oh shoot, I have to fit this in somehow because this is the place they have it in there. We have to talk about the command economy right now, otherwise where will this appear again?" (Post-Ob II, 5-4-99)

It bothered David enormously that the textbook contained terminology and factual content with which he was unfamiliar. He felt obligated to teach what was in the textbook. Even after twice teaching about the Communist Revolution, David considered his knowledge of the time period inadequate.

One reason David differed from Julia in his use of the textbook for his

unfamiliar unit was his conception of what constitutes sufficient historical knowledge for teaching. There was a felt difficulty built into David's subject matter understanding that led him to frequent used bookstores, collect historical texts on topics in his curriculum and commit himself to evaluate historical significance in light of scholarly accounts. For example, he felt his knowledge of the Communist Revolution was inadequate because it was largely "anecdotal" - based on historical fiction and films. In order to be able to teach "valuable" content, David believed he needed to read scholarly accounts of history, to discover the facts historians rely upon to construct their narratives. In the meantime, he perceived an obligation to trust the facts provided by the textbook. Julia expressed no such felt difficulty in regard to her historical knowledge. She gave no indication that, after teaching a topic once, her knowledge was inadequate or that she would seek out additional resources.

To understand this difference, we must consider David's and Julia's prior experiences with subject matter. David fell in love with history at a young age while Julia found history meaningless until she discovered its connection to her experience as a biracial woman. David became interested in a wide range of historical topics, while Julia's interests centered on civil rights history and contemporary social issues. David enjoyed his encounters with historical texts, while, with a few exceptions, Julia didn't particularly care for the assigned reading in college. Thus, David's historical knowledge and beliefs are such that he is more likely than Julia to keep learning history as he teaches.

But David is more similar to Julia in regard to learning about his students from practice. Like Julia, his interactions with students around content tended to reinforce his inclination to treat students' prior understandings as problems to be corrected. His belief that students held misconceptions and wrong ideas supported a practice in which his role was to present correct information. For example, in David's first lesson about the American Revolution, he created a

representation involving a hypothetical election (in which he identified students as candidates and voters). His purpose was to dispel the anticipated "self-congratulatory view of history" by pointing out to students that the American system of government wasn't as democratic as they might have thought:

David: We say we vote for the presidency - people believe that - but the truth is, you don't. Never has a vote been cast directly for the president by an American citizen, we don't vote directly. There's a group - a shadow group - that most people don't know about, called the electoral college.

LeAnn: Only once or twice has the electoral college voted different from us.

David: Whoa, whoa, let me explain something. When we vote for Clinton or Dole, we are actually voting for a group of people called electors and it is they that vote.

Corey: Why don't we vote for the electors?

David: We'll talk about that in a second. The question is, what does the electoral college do? It actually chooses the president, they can choose anyone they want to--Mickey Mouse if they want to, it doesn't have to be someone on the ballot. Usually they follow what we want; if we all vote for Clinton, then they vote for Clinton. But they are totally independent. Why? What does this say about what they believed about the American People? Let's say we chose Adolf Hitler for our president, he's like "Ein Volk, Ein Reich " and we vote for him. What's the role of the electoral college? To stop our choice for the good of the country. We don't vote for the president, we vote for the electoral college.

Jack: We're screwed either way.

David: Because of this system, the electors have always chosen the president we elected, so far.

LeAnn: No. who was it who--

David: Hold on, hold on. They confused you. . . . [Goes on to explain how electors are chosen and when they cast their votes].

Jack: With this electoral college, I don't know who it was who said we should be able to pick our leaders , and if they don't change things, shouldn't we revolt and--

David: That's Locke. He says if you don't get a government that protects your rights, you have the right to revolt. . . . How democratic is our system?

Marty: Why does it matter?

David: Why does it matter? Because we say we're a democracy and in a democracy you're supposed to choose your own leaders.

Marty: So are you encouraging us to revolt?

David: No, I'm asking you are we a democracy? (4th; 11/18/98)

David's purpose in using the electoral college representation was to cause students to rethink their assumptions about the U.S. system of democracy. But none of his students seemed particularly shocked at David's implication that the government may not be such a glowing example of democracy after all. LeAnn already knew about the electoral college. Jack noted that whether citizens voted directly for the president or not, the country was "screwed." Marty wondered why David was even raising the issue. Afterwards, David worried that he had gone too far in creating disillusionment:

> There is a point to voting. We can still influence our government. I know there's bitterness here because you're being disillusioned, but the reality is that this is how the government is actually structured. So if you understand that, then you know what you're doing. (4th; 11/18/98)

However, these were David's fourth period students, the same ones who had no trouble accepting the notion of power inequities. This particular group of students typically reacted with more cynicism and savvy than David's second period class to issues dealing with politics, social conventions and human nature. Although David didn't appear to interpret the situation this way, it wasn't so much that he created disillusionment as that he provided an occasion in which his fourth period students revealed their prior conceptions, which, as it appeared, may have been quite removed from his entering belief that all students carried the same misconception. And yet David interpreted the discussion as an

intervention in which he provided new information.

Neither did David's pedagogical understanding of history help him out when it came to working with Stephen, an African-American student whom David described as "at risk, on the edge." Stephen frequently rested his head on the desk. He was a "school of choice" student which meant that he lived in an urban school district but applied to attend Sycamore because of its reputation. David surmised that Stephen "didn't have all the tools he needs to be successful, [such as] turning your homework in on time, going home and actually doing assignments, taking notes in class, little things about how to be a student. Those things lead to success and we generally reward them with success." David called him "a nice kid" but predicted that "if he continues with what he has done in the past, he's not going to make it, he's not going to graduate."

In the Communist Revolution unit, David had created an assignment in which students were to write "ten sentences on where you fall in terms of your beliefs along the political spectrum," Stephen wrote:

> I don't think I fit into politics period. The only reasons I have to support my perspection is that politicians lie. There is nothing worse than lieing for money. Plus my religion teaches me not to lie. I know I could be forgiven but I'd rather not take that chance. I know that they lie for sure. Here's an example for 1. you can't tell the people what the want without lieing because people want to much. 2. People today don't respect the truthful ones the think they do, but they are deceived. 3. And if you do lie or commit any other personal crime you will be persecuted for it. (Student work; 4/20/99; phrasing and misspellings unaltered)

David was quite critical of Stephen's essay. He believed that it revealed that Stephen did not understand the point of the assignment and tried to bluff his way through:

> I would say he totally missed the point. "I don't fit into politics period," that's fine, but your beliefs still fit along this spectrum. Even being anti-politician fits on that spectrum. I think he didn't get it. When I read paragraphs like that, a big part of me wonders: is it a snowball job? Did they not understand the assignment, the political perspectives, so they're going to answer something to do with what we were talking about? It's like if you ask someone to write about their favorite pet and they write about their last vacation. I don't get it, the connection isn't being made. (Post-Ob II, 5/4/99)

It didn't seem to occur to David that Stephen's response may have provided insight into Stephen's view of the political process, a view which may influence his interpretation of terms like "conservative" and "liberal," as well as counter what David earlier identified as "a self-congratulatory view" of the democratic system. Instead, David focused his evaluation on the issue of whether or not Stephen did a "snowball job," a deliberate attempt to avoid answering the assigned question.

Although David was able to recognize gaps in his historical knowledge, he was less inclined to do so with his knowledge of students. Perhaps, like Julia, he believed he had sufficient knowledge of students because he considered his own memories as a learner a valid substitute for lack of teaching experience. Another possible explanation may have to do with the nature of beginning teaching, in which novices are learning to manage their newly-bestowed authority vis-a-vis their students. One way to manage this authority is through content: assuming that students' prior knowledge is deficient and misinformed, it makes sense to control the flow of information from teacher to student. David could be clear about his role in the classroom as the bearer of new, correct information as long as he interpreted students' comments as indications of their "self-congratulatory views" and "snowball jobs."

Conclusions about David

The observation I made in regard to Julia seems to hold true for David as well: more detailed, fact-based historical knowledge and knowledge of alternative historical interpretations provides advantages when it comes to transforming content. David held this kind of knowledge for large portions of both units and he used that knowledge to supplement the textbook, select narratives to frame his units, support the narratives with concrete images and descriptive detail, anticipate student misconceptions and respond to the unexpected with additional lessons and representations.

There were features of David's historical knowledge that were missing or weak in Julia's knowledge. He could teach students about aspects of the nature of history, such as the limitations of relating past and present, because he was familiar with contextual details which set Russian society apart from his students' lived experience and because he was familiar with relevant historiographic issues in the discipline of history. He had also developed a pedagogical view of relevant historiographic issues, treating the process of universalizing as an important feature of students' mental engagement with history, even though some historians are more cautious about encouraging students to "extract a lesson for today." Whereas Julia's subject matter beliefs made her inclined to ignore content that did not fit her narrative and shift the focus of her units from historical to sociological content, David's subject matter beliefs had the opposite effect. He had fallen in love with history as an early age - particularly intellectual history - and he wanted his students to develop this same love for chronology, context and abstract ideas that shape historical events. Thus, he tended to be self-critical of his own historical knowledge and quite committed to maintaining the focus of his units on the historical content.

David's pedagogical understanding of history was more developed than Julia's. In contrast to Julia, he seemed more willing to have students play an active role in recreating a unit's "overarching theme." Regardless of whether he was teaching a familiar or unfamiliar topic, he began his lessons by first eliciting some aspect of relevant student experience. Then he tried to bridge these experiences and the themes of the political spectrum or revolutionary dialectic by identifying basic facts pertaining to a representative case: the political agendas of Russian revolutionary groups or the causes and effects of the American Revolution. He planned to have students look for patterns and apply the generalizations to other cases, although he abandoned this part of the lesson when he realized that students had not yet mastered the factual information.

Perhaps it was not simply David's historical knowledge that contributed to his grasp of continuities between subject matter and students. Since he had taught each topic once before, he did not have to teach himself about the relevant content to the extent Julia did. He could focus his planning around identifying points of overlap between subject matter and students and designing representations intended to more actively involve students.

The result was a set of lessons that facilitated a kind of student engagement with content that we did not see in Julia's teaching. David's students worked in groups to generate and depict their ideas about revolution using paper and crayons. He gave them index cards on which they tried to describe multiple causes of the American Revolution. Such representations suggest that David considered his students to hold at least some prior knowledge upon which they could draw as a resource for learning. But this was the exception rather than the rule in David's teaching. Like Julia, David seemed more inclined to perceive deficiencies than possibilities in students' understandings. In both units, he abandoned his initial plans to have students recreate his unit theme. Instead, he took the reins of discussion in order to deliver the information his students had apparently failed to acquire. Perhaps one explanation for this lies in the nature of beginning teaching, in which novices are learning to manage their pedagogical authority. David could be clear about his role in the classroom as the bearer of authoritative information as long as he focused primarily on students' deficits.

Toward Understanding Historical Knowledge in Beginning Teaching

Transformation, as described at the beginning of this chapter, is built on the presumption that the most appropriate representations are those which mediate between the raw, present-oriented experiences of students and formulated, organized disciplinary content. David and Julia were highly-regarded beginning teachers, graduates of a teacher preparation program which - unlike most - required a disciplinary major and a year-long internship. And yet, for the most

part, their practice did not meet the standard; they did not transform content so much as they transmitted it.

The analysis of their practice revealed that more familiar content knowledge did not necessarily translate into more sustained use of students' experience and ideas as a teaching resource. In fact, the more Julia and David knew about their content, the more likely they were to deliver content in the form of extended monologues and recitation-style instruction. Three variables that may affect novices' attempts to connect students and subject matter are related to features of beginning practice. Naturally, novices have undeveloped knowledge of what young learners know, don't know and can comprehend. We might expect beginning teachers' knowledge to develop as they interact with students, particularly around occasions in which students react in unexpected ways. But novices' beliefs about students' prior knowledge - which substitute for their temporary lack of experience - may intervene. Their beliefs may be generalizations novices construct from their own memories of having misconceptions challenged. As such, these beliefs are compelling, perhaps shaping how novices are likely to interpret students' ideas and limiting what novices are likely to learn about students from practice.

A second variable is that when novices are communicating subject matter for the first time, they may be primarily teaching themselves, surfacing their own content knowledge, and figuring out the "big theme of the unit." If beginning teachers are occupied with the important task of uncovering their own knowledge, it is understandably difficult to pay attention simultaneously to students' constructions of meaning. Third, beginning teachers are faced with the task of managing a new role in which they possess authority to influence what happens to their students. They may attempt to manage their newly-bestowed authority by "ordering information." One working assumption to aid them in this effort is the notion that students' prior knowledge is primarily a problem to

be overcome rather than a resource for transforming content.

In the next chapter, I analyze these three variables more closely in an effort to highlight aspects of beginning teachers' knowledge and beliefs that make it difficult to transform content in the normative way I have described. However, the cases of David and Julia are not only illustrative of what is difficult for novices; the cases also provide a glimpse into what is possible. This is so because there were exceptions to the pattern of transmitting content; in a few instances, David and Julia created representations which, to some extent, treated students' prior experience and ideas as a starting point for instruction. When David planned to have students recreate narratives or models by first manipulating historical data, when he asked students to compare social inequality at Sycamore High School and in Russian society and when Julia invited students to close their eyes and "imagine a politician," they were transforming historical knowledge with the "needs and doings" of ninth graders in mind. By considering these representations more closely in the next chapter, we may identify specific features of historical knowledge that are pedagogically significant in the context of beginning teaching.

Chapter 5

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR BEGINNING TEACHING

In Chapter 1, I outlined the research problem guiding this study. In order to understand and theorize about what beginning social studies teachers need to know about their content as they leave teacher education, I argued that we needed to develop our understandings of the nature of content knowledge in beginning practice. The cases of Julia and David provided insight into features of historical knowledge and beliefs that may help novices transform content, as well as features of beginning practice that may make it difficult for novices to attend to their students' learning. The purpose of this chapter is to theorize, first about pedagogically powerful features of historical knowledge and, secondly, about aspects of beginning practice which are relevant to content transformation.

Historical Knowledge for Teaching

For some of their instructional representations, David's and Julia's pedagogical reasoning exhibited a kind of historical knowledge that was less evident elsewhere in their teaching.[1] David's Social Pyramid and Julia's Imagine a Politician representations reflected their ability to recognize some aspect of historical content which was continuous with some aspect of students' present experience. David, for example, created a representation in which students

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[1] As I have done throughout this study, I am using the term "knowledge"in the sense proposed by Fenstermacher (1994). Although the historical knowledge I describe in this chapter does not meet the epistemic warrant of "justified true belief," it does meet the "good reasons" standard. In other words, I do not believe David and Julia were consciously aware of all their uses of historical knowledge; I do not believe they held this knowledge as propositional statements of belief. However, both indicated that they were pleased with the representations they created and would use them again to facilitate student understanding. They referred to the fact that these representations "related to students' lives." I would argue that by providing good reasons and empirical evidence (Fenstermacher's criteria), David and Julia were making "practical arguments" and to do so were drawing upon knowledge, including historical knowledge.

compared their own experience with the experiences of Russians before the Revolution, and then used that comparison to apply knowledge of the six political parties to a hypothetical revolution at their own school. The knowledge that David used to construct this representation was something other than "scientific subject matter." It was historical knowledge for teaching: knowledge of ideological conflict as a force behind historical events; knowledge of Russian serfs and czars as central characters in a story about revolutionary change; knowledge that social hierarchies did not just exist in 19th century Russia but in his ninth-graders' experience as well.

Julia created a similar kind of representation in her Civil Rights Movement unit, although she did not have time to think through her representation beforehand. She invented the Imagine a Politician representation in a matter of seconds, when students surprised her with the perception that there was no difference between Black Power and White Power. Like David, Julia did not simply use her "scientific subject matter" at this point. Rather, to create this representation Julia used historical knowledge for teaching: knowledge about race and power as forces in history; knowledge of the Black Panthers as central characters in a story about civil rights; knowledge that the experience of Black Panthers - the limitations they perceived to be imposed on them by the dominant class and perpetuated by the media - was continuous with messages her own students encountered in their social worlds.

In these examples, David's and Julia's historical knowledge for teaching exhibits three interrelated elements: knowledge of historical forces, historical narrative, and historical imagination. I have chosen these terms deliberately because they appear in the historiographic literature as key concepts in historical research. In the process of building historical explanations, historians attend to the impact of social forces on institutions and groups (historical forces), impose clarity on events by weaving relevant details into coherent narratives (historical narrative), and use their own feelings and experiences to enter into past events

(historical imagination). Although historians and history teachers differ in their purposes, exploring each of these three concepts in more depth may help to illuminate specific features of historical knowledge that are potentially pedagogically powerful.

Historical Forces

In practicing their craft, historians are not merely interested in understanding the influence of individuals on history. Rather, historians are trained to view the big picture and notice the larger forces acting upon individuals - including economic, social, political, religious, technological and ideological processes. Gustavson (1955) suggests that, although such forces affect our daily lives, most people are unaware of their influence:

> We think of the historical forces in the most simple terms of leading political figures, Congress, Republicans, Democrats and so on. But these are the manifestations of a less obvious reality which, in fact, determines the events that pass before us. The energies and forces which play upon the established institutions assail our senses all the time, are ever-existent, yet form only a confused, meaningless, and scarcely observed series of impressions unless we have additional training. (p. 25)

While historians use research techniques to detect and assess the impact of historical forces on institutions and groups, history teachers may use their knowledge of historical forces to create instructional representations. They may begin with their own socially-constructed historical explanations, or what VanSledright (1998) calls "historical positionalities:"

> By position I mean what some call the thinker's frame of reference on which s/he bases an understanding of the past, or in other words, the person's implicit theory about how things past hang together with things present and make relative sense. (p. 8)

Both Julia and David refer to social forces to explain "how things past hang together with things present." Julia views history in terms of social activist movements and the forces of socialization in shaping attitudes, which in turn influence actions and events. She likes "to connect past to the present" because:

> [W]hen I am looking at the negative, it helps me to understand [that] it has only been thirty-three years since segregation laws in the South ended. So if

> you think about it that way, we have made a lot of strides and how can you expect someone who was racist thirty-three years ago to wake up one day and say "Oh, the law says I'm not supposed to do that so I'm not going to anymore." So that's why I like to connect past [realities] to the present. (CK I, 12/10/98)

From the view of social forces acting upon individuals, it seems less surprising to Julia that "the lower class is still having a hard time" and "people are still prejudiced." In fact, Julia is reluctant to focus her teaching on "descriptions of characters," unless she can use their stories to teach a "lesson about society." Thus, although she mentioned Upton Sinclair, she did so only to illustrate the "whole belief system in reforming" that she perceived as an historical force. She mentioned Bobby Seale and Huey Newton to underscore the notion that power inequalities impact historical events.

For David, history is a drama in which ideas like humanism, Darwinism, and Marxism take center stage more often than individuals or events. When he taught about the Russian serfs or the American revolutionaries, for example, he didn't describe individuals so much as the ideological forces - political views and assumptions about human nature - which shaped their actions:

> My ideas about what is worthy [to learn] come out of my humanities background. Ideas are the thing that I emphasize the most. [My students] are going to forget who Pizarro is, I don't care. But if they remember what humanism is, that means a lot to me. . . because those ideas are mind-expanding, applicable and useful in life in general. (Autobio, 10/21/98)

When historians consider the impact of social forces on the past, a common pattern they attend to is social conflict. The impact of social forces at any given time is usually uneven: some groups may benefit at the expense of others; groups within the same society or community may hold diametrically opposed beliefs. Both David and Julia understood social conflict as a fundamental feature of history. David understood that ideological conflict could explain a range of past and present events, including the Communist Revolution, subsequent changes in the structure of Soviet government, and the current "American system [which has] a variety of interest groups and people with different

approaches, different political parties." Julia understood that there was not one Civil Rights Movement, but two, with regional differences between north and south based on economic forces that pre-dated the Civil War.

With their knowledge of historical forces, including the awareness of social conflict, David and Julia were able to create instructional representations. The political spectrum represented the range of ideological views David wanted his students to identify. The social pyramid represented the influence of economic forces on the Communist Revolution. Julia's Imagine a Politician representation was her attempt to convey the impact of race and power in the past and present.

As pedagogically useful as knowledge of historical forces may be, teachers run the risk of unintentionally communicating the message that there is no such thing as human agency, that events are solely determined by impersonal forces. Most historians these days are wary of two extremes: treating individuals as mere pawns on the one hand and over-emphasizing the actions of a few "great men" on the other:

> The Great Man theory comes naturally to us. Historical figures evoke our interest, sympathy or hate far more than the impersonal functioning of government machinery or the abstract interplay of economic forces. History consists of stories and stories must have heroes and villains. . . . In contrast to this conception of "supermen" are the various theories of the determinists. These often leave little more room for individual choice than the possibility of gauging correctly the direction in which history is moving and then "leading" in that direction. . . . Each side has something to offer. The Great Man theory . . . leaves room for free will and makes of history a genuine struggle whose issue remains in doubt. The other side emphasizes the dependence of a person upon outside factors. (Gustavson, 1955. p. 124)

Although Gustavson, an historian, asserts that "the Great Man theory comes naturally," Julia and David tended to prefer historical explanations based upon "outside factors." As David explained, such explanations served particular pedagogical purposes:

> Sometimes as a teacher I'm pulled in different directions and I try to remind myself in the back of my head that you only have so much you can teach. Try to make it stuff that they're going to be able to use or that they're going to see again . . . . Who cares about the Mensheviks, except as they

[represent] moderate conservatives on the spectrum? (ROA II, 4/16/99)

Neither Julia nor David spent much time in their lessons on historical acts of free will, whether by "great men" or ordinary individuals. True, they mentioned figures like Frances Perkins and Theodore Roosevelt, Bobby Seale and Malcolm X, Rasputin and Lenin, Hobbes and Locke, but their primary emphasis was on the ways in which impersonal forces influenced the course of history. One possible consequence was that their students may have interpreted historical forces as deterministic: socialization determines values and attitudes; social position determines political ideology.

However, one significant difference between the two teachers was that on several occasions, David displayed both his awareness that he tended to focus on "universal themes" and his knowledge that this could be a problem. Julia seemed oblivious to this aspect of her teaching. Although as a novice David tended to teach what he believed to be "most worthy to learn," he was conscious of the need for "balance:"

> Being able to transfer ideas, being able to understand patterns [in history] is a very important thing. The detail makes no sense or little sense without the pattern. . . . But I wouldn't say that I only teach patterns, because I don't think that's effective either. That's just as bad as any other extreme. You have to allow for exceptions to the rule. . . . I'm a big balance person. I hate to commit to any one method or way of interpretation. My fear would be of over-simplifying things. Just like I would beware of single causation. [That's] a horrible mistake in history, to look at anything through a single lens or theme. (Post-Ob II, 5/4/99)

Besides his knowledge of historical forces, David exhibited "historical-mindedness" a "way of thinking, a form of reasoning when dealing with historical materials and present-day problems" (Gustavson, 1955, p. 5). To be historically-minded requires knowledge of historiographic issues or tensions. One such tension lies between "Great Man" and deterministic theories. Another tension lies in negotiating the relationship between past and present. While historical events need to be understood from the viewpoint of those who lived them, the past cannot be understood entirely apart from the vantage point of the

present. Another tension exists between the notions of continuity and change: the past is still at work in the present and yet societies are perpetually undergoing a change process. David's desire for "balance" may be related to his knowledge of the issues historians think about - his historical-mindedness.

Historical Narrative

Historians are story-tellers. Their research aims toward weaving relevant details and facts into coherent, meaningful narratives. This process is fundamental to historical understanding because, as Mink (1978) points out, without narrative one is left with either a pile of concrete detail or a collection of sweeping generalizations:

> On the one hand, there are all the occurrences of the world - at least all that we may directly experience or inferentially know about - in their concrete particularity. On the other is an ideally theoretical understanding of those occurrences that would treat each as nothing other than a replicable instance of a systematically interconnected set of generalizations. But between these extremes, narrative is the form in which we make comprehensible the many successive interrelationships that are comprised by [an occurrence]. . . . Narrative . . is a primary and irreducible form of human comprehension. (p. 132)

Mink describes narrative as a "cognitive instrument," which implies it may serve pedagogical purposes. Indeed, history teachers' concern to organize facts in a way that is memorable and engaging to learners resembles the historians' need to "make comprehensible the many successive interrelationships that are comprised by [an occurrence]" (p. 132). That is why it may be useful to history teachers to organize their historical knowledge into narrative form in order to present history to their students as story:

> Story gives a context for data. Names, dates, legislation, places, struggles, and choices have meaning as the building blocks of the story. . . . [A story] can be the peg upon which innumerable pieces of factual information are hung." (Ribar, 1989, p. 290)

One feature of David's and Julia's historical knowledge for teaching was its narrative organization. When David planned his Communist Revolution unit, he reasoned like a storyteller. The events associated with the revolution had to be

held together by more than mere chronology; the social pyramid became the introduction to a story about oppressed peasants, a wealthy few and middle-class intellectuals competing for power. Similarly, Julia planned to tell a story about the Civil Rights Movement in which northern and southern blacks developed conflicting approaches toward fighting injustice. She was able to spontaneously create the Imagine a Politician representation in part because she had already chosen the story she wanted to tell.

In considering David and Julia's knowledge of historical narratives, several salient points emerge: the role of facts; the role of the historian; and the existence of multiple narratives. For the most part, David and Julia relied on narratives that bore some resemblance to historical interpretations they encountered in college. But across their familiar and unfamiliar topics, there were differences. With familiar topics, they knew a topic-specific narrative; with their unfamiliar topics, they had more general ones.

In terms of their actual practice, this difference was only significant in Julia's case because of the role of facts in relating narratives. Julia's thin knowledge of specific details related to the Progressive Era led her to accept a "history as progress" narrative and make vague assertions unsupported by concrete images or descriptive detail. She could not effectively counter the propensity to treat historical events as inevitable because she could not illustrate her point with reference, for example, to specific influences on people like Upton Sinclair and W.E.B. Dubois. On the other hand, when Julia knew historical details, such as the trial of Bobby Seale, she was able to avoid these particular problems. David had a better grasp of historical detail even for his unfamiliar unit. Throughout his teaching, he was able to provide his students with "the peg upon which innumerable pieces of factual information are hung." (Ribar, 1989, p. 290).

This finding suggests that, in addition to holding knowledge of historical forces and knowledge of narratives for organizing specific topics for instruction, there is no substitute for knowledge of historical facts. Facts make stories come

alive, they provide concrete points of reference for teaching about abstract social forces and historical ways of thinking. But the cases of David and Julia also suggest that ensuring beginning teachers leave their preparation programs with factual knowledge is not a simple matter of exposing them to more content. Certainly Julia had listened to lectures about the Progressive Era, perhaps even read about the topic in college. But by and large, her prior experiences had led her to perceive the content as "fact-oriented names and dates" and regard herself as "not a memorizer." She never experienced the Progressive Era as story. She could remember details about the U.S. Constitution, Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement because her own life story provided the "pegs" upon which she could hang historical facts.

Brooks and Brooks (1993) argue that when facts are encountered in the form of stories - whether in school or out - the mind builds strong connections between those facts. In this regard, David had an advantage over Julia. His early encounters with history covered a wide range of topics, from the Civil War, to the *Titanic*, to the Great Depression. He explored these topics through visits with his grandfather to historic sites and historical fiction. Thu, his orientation to history was primarily through story than isolated facts he was expected to memorize: "Even now when I look at history, I see it as a story with characters." David was extraordinary in his ability to recall historical facts and dates, evidence of the intricate web of knowledge he has built over the years.

Another significant difference between David's and Julia's knowledge of historical narrative related to their grasp - not merely of given stories and the details which supported them - but of the vital interplay between fact and interpretation in the process of creating history:

> The relation between the historian and his facts is one of equality, of give-and-take. As any working historian knows, if he stops to reflect on what he is doing as he thinks and writes, the historian is engaged in a continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretation and his interpretation to his facts. It is impossible to assign primacy to one over the other" (Carr, 1961, pp. 34-35)

In other words, one aspect of historical knowledge is an appreciation for the creative process that gives life to otherwise dead facts and checks the tendency to assume that only one narrative is possible. Such knowledge may have pedagogical power as well. In both of David's units, he planned to have students engage in the creative process by directly manipulating facts relevant to particular narratives. He planned to have students build the political spectrum model from the descriptions of six Russian political groups, just as he planned to have students "inductively discover" the pendulum pattern in the Age of Revolutions unit.

David could do this because he understood the mental activity of historians and to some extent imagined that students could engage in similar thinking. Throughout my conversations with David, he frequently referred to history as the work of historians. To David, what happened in the past is known (or not known, as the case may be) by virtue of the fact that historians construct interpretations. They "take bits and pieces and try to see how they make sense," they "create an order" out of otherwise meaningless details and "tear causes apart and group them into categories to see how they're connected." This is further evidence of his historical-mindedness. Julia had some of this knowledge, but it did not appear to factor into her planning and teaching. She had, like David, taken a course in college where she learned to do historical research:

> Dr. Johnson gave us primary source documents that were hard to interpret. She had us do historian stuff and make conclusions and evaluate evidence and go find resources of where this person was from and [reach] logical conclusions. . . . That [course] helped me reason. (Autobio, 10/27/98)

But unlike David, Julia did not understand her narrative as the outcome of an historian's "continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretation and his interpretation to his facts." As a consequence, she used her knowledge of historical narratives to organize her units and make decisions about the sequence of content: progressive goals first, then achievements; the southern Civil Rights Movement followed by the northern. She presented the narratives

as finished products, something for students to listen to and commit to memory.

A third element in knowledge of historical narratives for pedagogical purposes relates to historical interpretation. There is more than one way to tell a story about the past. Because the historical record is incomplete, because we cannot help but examine that record from particular vantage points, because there has been an explosion of new interpretive lenses such as social, intellectual history and discourse history, as well as "history from below," competing historical narratives exist. When novices choose to tell one narrative to the exclusion of others, they determine not only what students have opportunities to learn about particular topics, but also what students may learn about the nature of history itself.

Julia's and David's knowledge of historical narrative included preferences for particular narratives. David's students had opportunities to learn a narrative that cast Russian peasants as oppressed, the middle class as eager for revolution and ideological forces as deterministic. Julia's students had opportunities to learn a narrative that cast Black Panthers as heroes, the media as villain and the power of socialization to shape attitudes and behavior. At no time did either teacher suggest to students that historians might disagree over how to tell these stories.

One possible explanation for this is that novices may only be familiar with one narrative, so they tell what they know. This seemed to be the case with David in the Communist Revolution unit. He admitted that until he had time to read several scholarly accounts, his knowledge of appropriate narratives was "shaky." Furthermore what novices know about an historical topic is partly a consequence of their subject matter beliefs. Julia and David did not simply absorb new information; they acted upon it, interpreted it in light of prior experiences. Julia was drawn at an early age to historical and contemporary individuals and movements directed toward social change. In contrast to other possible narratives, the ones Julia preferred held explanatory power within the context of family and minority group identity-building. David's preferred

narratives also bore the imprint of family and school influences, contexts that valued Western intellectual thought and cultural literacy.

Even when novices are familiar with more than one interpretation of an event, they may choose not to share all of them with students. Although Julia was aware of alternative interpretations related to the Civil Rights Movement, she related only one of these to students because, in her mind, only one interpretation was correct. She assumed that students had already heard the wrong interpretation: that Black Panthers were "violent" and the Civil Rights Movement was "all about Martin Luther King and the south." More generally, Julia's sense of the discipline was that historians are more accurate in interpreting history now than they used to be:

> When you're talking about history, it's not as bad as it was. It has been used badly in the past, [but now] people are trying to get the truth out of history by interpreting documents instead of bending them. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

This was quite different from David's perception of alternative interpretations. He held the view that all of history is told from a necessarily limited point of view:

> People sometimes refer to [one kind of historical narrative] as "revisionism." It's all revisionism. If we see the same set of events, we're going to have radically different interpretations. To say that we stick to the facts is dumb. Even the facts we choose to present are slanted by the way we try to make sense of them. The order we create is history, but it's also us. You can never take the bias out of it. People think that because they got it from a certain book it must be true. Even the most primary sources are biased by the individuals who wrote them, their choices about what to leave in and leave out. Even with a camera, there are things you choose to ignore. (CK I, 11/3/98)

Furthermore, David described his "agenda" as having "students form more of their own interpretations and be able to see that interpretation as being imposed." And yet, there were no opportunities for David's students to investigate the interpretive nature of history because, in both units, he offered single narratives. This suggests that it may take more than knowledge of alternative narratives for teachers to offer students more than one way of telling

a story. [2]

Historical Imagination

According to Collingwood (1946), historians make distinctions between "the inside and outside of an event" (p. 213). The outside of an event is "that which can be described in terms of bodies and their movements;" the inside of an event is the "thoughts" of historical agents" (p. 213). In order to make sense of the past, historians are required to "re-think" or imagine past thoughts in their own minds. Thus, says Collingwood, what makes an event historical:

> is not the fact of its happening in time, but the fact of its becoming known to us by our re-thinking the same thought which created the situation we are investigating, and thus coming to understand that situation." (p. 218)

In the process of transforming content - in which a major concern is with the interplay between historical subject matter and students' experience - teachers may use historical imagination to identify the past thoughts that resemble some aspect of students' present thoughts. Although neither Julia nor David ever explicitly stated that they were employing "historical imagination," they were clearly able to recognize the "inside of the event," the thoughts, perceptions and attitudes which make the actions of the past sensible to those living in the present. David imagined the experience of Russian serfs who became receptive to the idea of revolution because of vast inequities in Russian society. He could enter into this aspect of the past because the experience of social hierarchy is both historical and contemporary. Once he had identified this "interplay," he

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[2] Aside from the influence of teachers' knowledge and beliefs, the prevailing history curriculum may actually reinforce the practice of telling single narratives. High school history classes are typically taught as survey courses that encompass huge spans of time. Weaving historical facts into coherent narratives is one obvious way to deal with the problem of breadth, because it helps teachers to be selective. The notion of presenting multiple and competing narratives for each topic may require adding on to a curriculum which is already too large. It takes more time to foster understandings about the tentativeness of history than it does to portray history as settled. However, given the current emphasis on coverage rather than in-depth study, it is understandable why novices may organize their units around single narratives which reflect personal preferences.

created a visual representation - the Social Pyramid - to trigger his students' awareness of realities they had experienced. Although some students were more skeptical than others about the existence of social hierarchy in their school, it was clear from the lively discussion that David's representation touched on aspects of students' experience. The students themselves were able to offer specific examples from their own experience that touched on the idea that social positions influence political views. David allowed the discussion to continue for the duration of the class period, reasoning that the time students spent articulating their own understandings of social hierarchy would help them learn about Bolsheviks and Mensheviks later on.

Similarly, Julia imagined the experience of northern African-Americans in the 1950s and 60s, using her knowledge of the continuity between past and present experiences of racial inequality. She invented the Imagine a Politician representation in a matter of seconds, drawing on her latent knowledge of contemporary experiences related to racial inequality. The representation asked students to first consider their own knowledge of occupational status and race as portrayed on television. Then they were to relate their prior understandings to race and power as perceived by Black Panthers. The Imagine a Politician representation was the first strategy that came to Julia's mind that enabled her to make pedagogical use of this interplay between students and subject matter. The representation elicited students' prior experience with television and occupational stereotypes before Julia linked those images to subject matter. In Julia's case, it is more difficult to tell whether students were in fact identifying with aspects of occupational status and television sitcoms that related to racial inequality. Julia drew most of the connections herself and tended to use questions rhetorically rather than eliciting student response. In comparison to David's 45-minute discussion on student government, the Imagine a Politician discussion lasted less than five minutes.

One purpose of learning history is to understand goals, values, beliefs and

thoughts that are different from our own. (Lee, 1984).[3] Wineburg (1999) argues that students of history should encounter "the strangeness of the past, offering the possibility of surprise and amazement, of encountering people, places, and times that spur us to consider how we see ourselves as human beings" (p. 490). Thus, historians do not enter into the inside of events without also considering contextual clues that set the past apart from the present. It is tempting - for a history teacher who does not know better - to project a misleading universality upon thoughts and actions. In fact, we witnessed this in Julia's failure to acknowledge that many contemporary African-Americans may experience the effects of race and power differently than their predecessors, because social conditions change over time. David, on the other hand, was acutely aware of a problem he called "presentism," the "danger of placing modern day values on the past." He was quick to remind students about the contextual differences between Sycamore High School and Russian society, to avoid "teaching the wrong lesson."

The difference between David and Julia here can be accounted for by considering, once again, a feature of David's historical-mindedness. Among the characteristics of historical-mindedness, Gustavson (1955) lists the following:

> When we first travel into the past, we cannot avoid seeing it through eyes accustomed to the twentieth century and, consequently, seeing it in reference to that which seems familiar. . . . This initial stage in the development of historical-mindedness is definitely over when we begin to sense that when we visit another century we are, in fact, foreigners in a strange land. We are then more ready to examine the surroundings as they really were. (p. 178)

David was more likely than Julia to provide his students with information that portrayed the past as "a strange land." He did this - not simply because he knew the historical details, the contextual clues - but also because of his knowledge that

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[3] Lee (1984) argues that historical imagination is one tool for developing historical empathy, or the ability to understand goals and intentions different from one's own.

concern for context is an important aspect of historical reasoning. He expressed such a concern in defense of his chronological approach to teaching history:

> You give up this sense of time [when teaching thematically]... understanding U.S. history as a series of periods. You can link these things across [time] - that's good - you should be able to see that the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1796 have a lot to do with the Vietnam War and other protest movements against the government and about civil rights.... But I think you should also know that the Alien and Sedition Acts fit here, they have meaning here in this context, outside of being part of a story of civil rights development in U.S. history. (Post-Ob II, 5/4/99)

Summary

Julia's and David's historical knowledge for teaching included three interrelated elements: knowledge of historical forces, narratives, and imagination. In addition, their subject matter beliefs shaped the particular historical forces, facts and preferred narratives they used.

Knowledge of historical forces - including social conflict - may be pedagogically useful to novices because it helps them connect topics across the curriculum and relate past to present. As David said, the impersonal forces seem pedagogically significant because they are "mind-expanding, applicable and useful to life in general." Knowledge of historical narratives helps novices tell stories about the past so that students might build connections between facts. Narrative is a "cognitive instrument" which avoids treating history as either a pile of facts or a set of sweeping generalizations. And knowledge of historical imagination serves pedagogical purposes because it enables novices to identify past thoughts that resemble some aspect of students' experience. Starting with students' present thoughts and moving them in the direction of deeper historical understanding is central to a Deweyian conception of content transformation.

Yet as useful as these varieties of historical knowledge may be, novices also need to be aware of potential misuses. An over-emphasis on historical forces can teach students that history is solely determined by impersonal factors. In the telling of narratives, there is no substitute for accurate knowledge of relevant

details, the mental activity of historians, and knowledge of alternative interpretations. Even historical imagination can be misused if it is not accompanied by contextual clues that highlight the strangeness of the past.

An additional kind of historical knowledge for teaching may be historical-mindedness, or knowledge of the issues about which historians think and reason. When novices grasp some of the historiographic issues or tensions within the discipline, when they understand the mental activity of historians, they are better equipped to avoid creating instructional representations that misrepresent the substance and epistemology of history. David's historical-mindedness included a desire for balance between emphasizing patterns and details, caution toward portraying history as progress, awareness of the tentativeness of historical interpretations, knowledge of the defining role of context in historical understanding and a concern for differentiating between past and present.

Still, historical-mindedness is no guarantee that novices will be successful in transforming content with the "needs and doings" of students in mind. Although David desired balance, his lessons portrayed ideological forces as deterministic. Although he planned to have students recreate narratives by manipulating facts themselves, he ended up abandoning those plans in favor of delivering basic information. And although he wanted his students to recognize that "all history is revisionism," he presented narratives as if they were single, uncontested versions of history. These findings would suggest that content transformation does not just require pedagogical understandings of subject matter, although historical-mindedness and knowledge of historical forces, narrative and imagination seem pivotal. There are certain features of beginning practice that may impinge on novices' uses of their historical knowledge for teaching for the purposes of transformation.

The notion of transformation is built on the presumption that the most appropriate representations are those that mediate between the raw, present-oriented experiences of students and formulated, organized disciplinary content. This model implies that teachers need to know something about their students as well as their subject matter. VanSledright (1998) offers one description of the kind of knowledge of students that matters in history teaching. If students' "historical positionalities" (their prior understandings about the past) influence the new meanings they construct and if, as he asserts, there is more diversity than similarity in the range of possible frames of reference students may bring, then the implication for history teachers is that:

> Questions drive much of what these teachers do in history classrooms because they wish to understand how their students think, how students' differing sociocultural, local, ethnic and familial backgrounds influence how they reason. . . . [They] spend much of their time listening to students in an effort to understand how the novice historical thinker's position shifts and changes (and if not, why not) with each new round of historical study. (p. 12)

David and Julia were highly-regarded beginning teachers, graduates of a teacher preparation program which - unlike most - required a disciplinary major and a year-long internship. And yet, for the most part, their practice did not meet VanSledright's standard. Their curriculum was not so much driven by questions as by assertions; they did not spend their time listening to students so much as they transmitted their own historical knowledge.

More familiar content knowledge did not necessarily translate into more sustained use of students' experience and ideas as a teaching resource. In fact, the more Julia and David knew about their content, the more likely they were to deliver content in the form of extended monologues and recitation-style instruction. Three variables which may affect novices' attempts to connect students and subject matter are related to features of beginning practice. Naturally, novices have undeveloped knowledge of what young learners know,

don't know and can comprehend. We might expect beginning teachers' knowledge to develop as they interact with students, particularly around occasions in which students react in unexpected ways. But novices' beliefs about students' prior knowledge - which substitute for their temporary lack of experience - may intervene in the process. Their beliefs may be generalizations novices construct from their own memories of having misconceptions challenged. As such, these beliefs are compelling, perhaps precluding them from asking questions and listening closely to what students actually knew and believed.

Another factor affecting novices' use of historical knowledge is that surfacing and organizing "scientific subject matter" while they teach may distract them from asking questions and listening to their students. Novices may not know what they know until they try to articulate subject matter to learners. The first time they teach a topic, they are primarily teaching themselves. A third factor relates to the fact that novices are just learning to manage their pedagogical authority, coming to terms with their new position of responsibility over content, students and the materials of instruction. One way to manage pedagogical authority is to assume that students' prior knowledge is a problem to be overcome rather than a resource for transforming content. There is no apparent need to investigate students' thoughts, prior experiences and knowledge if the assumption is that their knowledge is deficient and misinformed. In the remainder of the chapter, I explore each of these factors in more depth.

Generalizing from Personal Memories

In addition to subject matter knowledge, content transformation requires teachers to hold fairly specific knowledge of students: what learners of particular ages and backgrounds are interested in, what they are likely to already know about a topic, what they may find difficult. It may help beginning teachers to read research reports about adolescents' historical thinking, but reading about

to read research reports about adolescents' historical thinking, but reading about students seems a weak substitute for direct interaction with live children. And direct interaction with live children is precisely what beginning teachers - especially those in their early twenties - lack.

This is a huge knowledge gap for which novices are compelled to compensate. Grossman (1990) has suggested that beginning teachers necessarily enter teaching with very little knowledge of learners and consequently use themselves as a frame of reference. They recall what learning subject matter was like for them and assume that their students will be the same. Instead of using more empirically-based knowledge of students - which they don't yet have - they treat their personal past experience as knowledge.

We saw evidence of self-referencing through Julia's and David's practice. For Julia, having a past experience learning about the Civil Rights movement was memorable because her own misconceptions had been challenged. This experience was a powerful source of knowledge about students, since she assumed that her students held the same misconceptions she had as a learner. And yet such assumptions may have hindered Julia's ability to notice differences between her students, that their individual "positions" may have resulted in a range of prior conceptions about the Black Panther Party or race relations.

Both teachers tended to interpret their students' academic efforts through the lens of their own schooling. Julia, who found school difficult, believed that to "honors" students, learning comes naturally and they do not need as much help. David, who had always been an "honors" student, believed that learners who do poorly have only themselves to blame. Both teachers also tended to assume that because certain concepts seemed so clear and understandable to them, ninth graders should be able to grasp them with little difficulty. Sometimes their representations were more like direct transmissions of mature, adult formulations of content than adaptations reflecting the more limited prior knowledge of students.

Thus, content transformation in beginning teaching is complicated by the ways in which novices may compensate for gaps in their knowledge about students. When they treat their personal past experiences as knowledge - which is understandable, given that this is all they have to work with - they may fail to see a need to gather further information about their students. This is not to say that they entirely shut down opportunities to learn about their students. On the contrary, David and Julia were clearly developing knowledge about students. David learned that he could not assume ninth graders remembered causes of the American Revolution. Julia learned that her students were actively forming their own opinions about race and power. But to some extent, what novices learn from experience may be limited by their tendency to generalize from the personal to the pedagogical. David interpreted students' lack of background knowledge based on his own memories of school, in which it seemed to him that he learned facts and chronology prior to interpretation:

> When you first start out learning anything new in history . . . you start out with the basics, the details, so when you're reading a history book, you're basically gaining factual knowledge. The interpretation of that and contrary interpretations - it's almost like Bloom's taxonomy - those things come later. (ROA, 4/16/99)

Julia interpreted students' apparent reluctance to appreciate the viewpoints of Black Panthers in terms of her own reluctance to accept Malcolm X until she understood the social influences that shaped his views. For the most part, she responded to the situation by providing students with more information rather than materials with which to interact or questions to elicit more of students' thinking.

Surfacing Content Knowledge

The notion that people act in part on the basis of tacit knowledge has fascinated philosophers such as Ryle (1948) and Polanyi (1958). More recently, Schon (1983) has applied the notion of "tacit knowledge" to professional practice. Generally speaking, his claim is that much of what people know is "implicit in

patterns of action and in our feel for the stuff with which we are dealing . . . a kind of knowing . . . not represented in words at all" (Schon, 1983, p. 59). One question that arises is to what extent tacit knowledge needs to become conscious and explicit, particularly in professional practice. In his descriptions of expert practitioners, Schon explains that tacit knowledge is the consequence of expert practice. Although experts may at one time have been conscious of their "know-how" - such as how to judge distance in a golf game or interpret children's behavior - after encountering the same situation over and over again this knowledge becomes tacit. This suggests that there may be little need for professionals to surface tacit knowledge, since tacit knowledge does not exist until they have already developed expertise. But in a later book, Schon (1987) argues that only conscious knowledge can be directly taught to others. Since content knowledge defines the endpoint of instruction, it makes sense to argue that it is more useful to teachers - both novice and experienced - when it is held consciously rather than tacitly.

If beginning history teachers are to effectively transform content, then, we would expect them to be consciously aware of what they know about their content in order to figure out what aspects of that content may become part of students' experience. But some of what novice history teachers know about their content has not yet been put into words. Beginning teachers may not know what they know until they have first tried to communicate content to students.

Julia was communicating much of her content knowledge for the first time. She was aware of this as a routine experience during that first year of teaching:

> Sometimes I'm concentrating so much on "Am I saying this right?" Trying to get at so many different aspects [of a topic], where I say it this way and that way and then twist it and turn it and try to say it another way. (Post-Ob II, 6/2/99)

The more Julia talked about the Black Panthers, the more she uncovered layers of her content knowledge. And the more she uncovered her own

understandings, the more she realized what she knew that helped her to appreciate rather than reject the militant views of northern blacks during the Civil Rights Movement. As she taught her lessons, there was a sense in which she was actually teaching herself.

Julia's tacit content knowledge was also triggered by students' comments. It was when students surprised her with their reactions to the Black Power/White Power distinction that Julia realized she had knowledge of debates over the meaning of racism. She realized this - not in the quiet moments of planning the unit - but in the liveliness of an unplanned discussion in which students were having difficulty making the kinds of distinctions she could make. As she dealt with this unexpected response, Julia was preoccupied with communicating her knowledge of race and power for the first time. She invented the Imagine a Politician representation with her students' experience in mind, but in the dialogue that followed she was primarily listening to herself. She was not able to simultaneously attend to both her developing subject matter knowledge and her students' conceptions of the content. She held a general sense that students were "figuring out their own opinions" but she was so intent on the difficult task of constructing representations to convey her knowledge that she spent no time trying to learn more about what her students' "opinions" actually were.

To some extent, this may have been because the representation was unplanned. Julia hadn't anticipated the kinds of questions that would elicit students' descriptions of and reflections on their own experience of occupational status and television sitcoms. At the same time, if Julia was indeed occupied with the important task of uncovering her own knowledge of the topic, it was understandably difficult for her to pay attention simultaneously to both newly-conscious content and students' constructions of meaning.

Another angle on tacit content knowledge is offered by Holt-Reynolds (1999). She studied a prospective secondary English teacher who knew her content well, but did not see that her skills as a reader were learned:

> Her expertise was invisible to her, a tacit set of skills she could use, but did not directly identify as belonging in the category . . . of subject-specific pedagogical knowledge. . . . She did not give evidence of *knowing how* those reading actions contributed to her expertise or how they might be useful to less experienced or less skilled readers." (p. 39)

Novices may not be conscious of the cognitive skills or supporting knowledge that helps them comprehend particular topics. For example, both Julia and David understood the topics they taught in terms of abstract notions such as the interaction of race and power, socialization and political ideologies. This was knowledge that had taken them years to develop, perhaps did not make sense to them until they were adults. Julia seemed unaware of the contribution of her own experience in shaping her knowledge. Her understanding was not simply a consequence of having been told about social inequalities by another adult. She had lived the effects of inequality: vicariously through her family stories and directly as a biracial woman rejected by both black and white classmates. David was disappointed that his students seemed unable to distinguish between "liberal" and "conservative" ends of the political spectrum, even after he had provided them with definitions. But what he did not realize was that, in his mind, there was a wide array of prior knowledge and life experience that gave special meaning to the terms. Because he did not appreciate how had come to acquire such knowledge, he ignored the role of prior experience in his students' essays. He focused his evaluation of Stephen's response, for example, on the possibility that the student had deliberately attempted "a snowball job."

Even when novices are conscious of the role played by their own prior knowledge and experiences, they may not always be able to recreate that for their students. Julia, for example, expressed a desire to completely revise the history curriculum in order to give students a one-semester, social action experience, perhaps realizing the difficulty of teaching about social critique to students with limited experience. But aside from the fact that teachers inevitably know things they cannot teach their students, Holt-Reynolds (1999) suggests that

at minimum, teachers ought to at least be aware of how they came to know what they know because "unidentified, unclaimed and untapped subject matter expertise has little power. It lies dormant and useless in a classroom" (p. 45).

The task of surfacing content knowledge - knowledge of what one knows as well as knowledge of how one acquired certain understandings - may occupy the attention of beginning teachers. It appears that this task is closely tied to the act of teaching, communicating content to a live audience. Teacher preparation may provide beginning teachers with historical knowledge for teaching, but much of that knowledge may not become conscious, accessible, and usable until they begin to teach. In the meantime, their efforts to transform content may be complicated by the difficulty inherent in simultaneously surfacing content knowledge and creating opportunities to listen more closely to students' conceptions. Yet even David, who as a third-year teacher had already taught his units more than once, did not use his content knowledge to frame questions to help him understand students' "historical positionalities." There is yet a third variable influencing the use of historical knowledge in beginning teaching: the task of managing pedagogical authority.

Managing Pedagogical Authority

The earliest expert-novice studies presented a developmental model which suggested that beginning teachers are preoccupied with classroom management and establishing their authority in the classroom (Fuller & Bown, 1975; Reynolds, 1992). Once they develop their teacher stance, this argument went, they are ready to move on to the next stage of paying more attention to their students. However, David and Julia's practice suggests otherwise. These novices were not preoccupied with classroom discipline, although this was certainly one challenge they faced as beginning teachers. Neither were they so focused on their content that they failed to attend to students' learning. Rather, Julia and David continually reasoned pedagogically about their subject matter as they organized their units and designed representations.

organized their units and designed representations.

In their new role as creators of a learning environment in which they are attempting to link students and subject matter, novices may use their content knowledge to manage that role. Although we might wish that beginning teachers would spend much of their time listening to students in an effort to understand students' prior knowledge, in fact, doing so increases the complexity of teacher-student interactions. Novices may be inclined to reduce this complexity by "ordering" content for students, as David did when he realized that students could not generate their own lists of American Revolution causes. When David and Julia attempted to use students' present experience as a starting point for instruction, things got messy. David's students were inclined to dwell on extreme political ideologies rather than the broad range of perspectives he wanted them to comprehend. Julia's students disagreed with her and, in the end, she said the experience had been "difficult and stressful . . . . It was hard on me." Managing authority through determining the content and flow of information in the classroom may seem preferable because - since students reveal little of their sense-making - it appears that there are fewer misunderstandings and disagreements.

Perhaps it was as a means to manage pedagogical authority that David and Julia tended to see students' prior knowledge as a problem to be overcome rather than a window into their historical understanding. Identifying a student misconception was a powerful driving force in both teachers' practice, as they focused their lessons on filling gaps in students' knowledge and correcting misunderstandings. Julia assumed her students held wrong beliefs about the Black Panther Party; David figured his students had no conception of undemocratic features of the U.S. government. In both classrooms, a few students tried to insert their knowledge of the Black Panther Party or the electoral college, but David and Julia did not treat those occasions as opportunities to reflect on the logic and persistence of students' prior knowledge

opportunities to reflect on the logic and persistence of students' prior knowledge or the diversity among students. There was no apparent need to investigate students' thoughts, prior experiences and knowledge if the assumption was that their knowledge was deficient and misinformed.

Another way novices may use content to manage authority is to assign students' tasks in which the correct response is to reproduce what is in the teachers' mind. I never observed Julia assign written work (for a grade) that encouraged students to draw upon previously-held knowledge or otherwise construct a response using anything other than the information Julia presented in class. David, on the other hand, occasionally invited students to write about topics he had not yet discussed, such as "Is revolution good or bad?" and "Where do you fall in terms of your beliefs along the political spectrum?" But it was unclear what David intended with these assignments. In Stephen's case, David interpreted the response as a deliberate attempt to avoid answering the assigned question, a move which essentially devalued the authority of Stephen's personal experience with political ideologies.

In pointing out the ways in which novices' need to manage their pedagogical authority may cause them to ignore or dismiss students' sense-making, I do not wish to imply that direct instruction is a misuse of authority or content knowledge. David was not misguided or wrong-headed in his impulse to present accurate, applicable and relevant historical information to students. All teachers must continually judge what content to present directly and what to withhold. Yet there are consequences to didactic modes of instruction, just as there are with more student-centered approaches. And one consequence of limiting students' interaction with information - which may be particularly appealing for beginning teachers - is that it reinforces teachers' professional

role.[4]

Summary

The findings of this study, consistent with the emphasis in the content knowledge literature, underscore the need for beginning teachers' subject matter preparation in historical facts, alternative interpretations and historical ways of thinking. Such knowledge may make a significant difference in novices' teaching. The more familiar beginning teachers are with a topic they must teach, the more likely they may be to critique content as portrayed in the textbook, select topic-specific narratives to frame their units, illustrate those narratives with concrete images and descriptive detail, be aware of alternative interpretations of events, anticipate student difficulties and generate multiple representations. Knowledge of historical details and historical ways of thinking helps novices represent the discipline more accurately.

The study also suggests some features of a pedagogical understanding of history which may be especially good tools for beginning teachers. Knowledge of historical forces, narratives, and imagination - along with certain features of historical-mindedness - may help novice history teachers create instructional representations which mediate between subject matter and their students' immediate experience. At the same time, there appear to be some aspects of beginning teaching which impede novices from developing the kind of knowledge about students which would enable them to more consistently treat students' prior knowledge as the starting point of instruction. When novices generalize from their own memories as learners, when they are preoccupied with surfacing their own content knowledge and when they use content to

[4]McNeil's (1986) study suggests that the phenomenon of knowledge control may not just be appealing to beginning teachers. She found that among experienced social studies teachers, practices such as avoiding controversial topics, reducing content to simplistic fragments, treating all students as equally knowledgeable (or unknowledgeable) and making scant reference to students' immediate experience persisted because the teachers believed such practices reduced discipline problems.

manage their pedagogical authority, they may be less inclined to treat students' ideas as vital resources for teaching.

As a social studies educator, my next impulse is to consider the implications of these findings for teacher education. What kinds of professional experiences would help prospective and beginning teachers develop their knowledge of historical forces, narratives and imagination? Is it possible that a different kind of preparation, support and mentoring could alleviate some of the variables in beginning teaching that impede content transformation? And what should teacher educators do with the awareness that subject matter beliefs - which have their origins in early formative experiences - exert a powerful influence on novices' selection of content and what they are likely to learn about content from practice? I grapple with these questions in the final chapter.

Chapter 6

LEARNING TO TEACH HISTORY

Introduction

Teachers transform their disciplinary knowledge into forms they believe will build upon students' present experience and lead them toward more mature understandings. Knowledge for transformation is that knowledge which enables teachers to perceive an interplay between a particular topic and students' lived experience and to create a representation which mediates understanding. The results of this study suggest that certain features of historical knowledge are especially useful in this regard. Knowledge of historical forces, narratives, and imagination - along with historical-mindedness - may help novice history teachers create instructional representations which mediate between subject matter and their students' immediate experience.

At the same time, there appear to be features of beginning teaching which hinder novices' efforts to transform content. They may be able to create appropriate representations, but their ability to use them effectively hinges on several factors. Novices necessarily rely on their own memories of learning content, which can be both a resource and a hindrance in their teaching. When they are teaching a topic for the first time, they may be teaching themselves, uncovering what they know so that it is conscious and usable. Their efforts to manage their professional roles may cause them to control content in a way that ignores or dismisses students' sense-making. And novices may have subject matter interests which take them away from the content they initially intended to teach.

These findings hold implications for professional education, suggesting that one focus for prospective and beginning history teachers involves developing a repertoire of historical narratives and cultivating the use of historical forces, imagination and historical-mindedness as pedagogical tools. This conception of historical knowledge for teaching is not supported by the traditional model of

teacher preparation, in which candidates are taught to apply generic teaching principles to their disciplinary knowledge. Rather, content and pedagogy appear to be dynamically interrelated as novices consider subject matter through the eyes of their students and weigh the role of fact, interpretation and historical habits of mind in constructing representations.[1] The first section of this chapter describes elements of a social studies methods course that attempts to fuse historical content and pedagogy.

The second section of the chapter is based on the conclusion that, given certain features of beginning teaching, it is unlikely that novices - on their own - will elicit, listen to and use students' prior knowledge as a resource. Beginning teachers in their first few years of teaching need mentored opportunities to interrogate their practice, if they are to overcome their reliance on subject matter beliefs and personal memories as well as the demands of surfacing tacit knowledge and managing pedagogical authority. Traditional models of beginning teacher support may not address the central challenge of helping novices attend to students' ideas as windows into students' prior knowledge. Thus, in the second section of the chapter, I describe possible strategies mentors might use with beginning teachers.

Throughout this study, I have referred to the notion of transformation as an act of pedagogical reasoning in which teachers rethink subject matter with their students in mind. Although the focus until now has been on beginning history teachers' efforts to transform historical content for secondary students, the notion of transformation may apply to professional education as well. Teacher

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[1] Strictly speaking, the historical knowledge used by historians also has pedagogical features, in the sense that historians (like teachers) must create representations which help readers comprehend texts (McEwan & Bull, 1991). But unless history professors are explicit with their students regarding their pedagogical reasoning, their students (prospective teachers among them) are not likely to develop pedagogical understandings of history in those courses. The social studies methods course I propose in this chapter aims to make pedagogical uses of historical knowledge explicit.

educators must transform the curriculum of teacher education with the "needs and doings" of novice teachers in mind. Teacher educators must identify the most pedagogically useful aspects of their curriculum and come to terms with the force of their beliefs. They must face the possibility that they are generalizing from personal experience, surfacing tacit knowledge and managing pedagogical authority. And, they need to develop their knowledge of students - the knowledge, beliefs, and lived experiences of novice teachers - in order to create appropriate representations. Indeed, this study originated in my own desire - as a novice history educator - to learn more about how my students think. This chapter represents an attempt to apply what I have learned to the curriculum and pedagogy of social studies education.

Preparing History Teachers: Curriculum and Pedagogy in a Social Studies Methods Course

The idea that learning to teach involves learning to view the pedagogical nature of content is not new. Dewey (1904) understood as much when he disparaged an approach to teacher preparation that treated subject matter as something to be "snatched:"

> Everything should be discouraged which tends to put the student [teacher candidate] in the attitude of snatching at the subject-matter which he is acquiring in order to see if by some hook or crook it may be made immediately available for a lesson in this or that grade. What is needed is the habit of viewing the entire curriculum as a continuous growth, reflecting the growth of mind itself. (p. 332)

Dewey believed that teacher candidates were best served if they had opportunities to develop conceptions of subject matter as reflections of "active thought" rather than as fixed, static "classifications, interpretations, explanations and generalizations" (p. 328). Unfortunately, it seems that prospective teachers may well leave their history courses with the impression that history is little more than a pile of facts. Even if they have some sense of the active thought involved in creating historical interpretations, they may assume, as Julia did, that contemporary historians - unlike their predecessors - write unbiased accounts.

Wilson and Sykes (1989) describe what may be a typical undergraduate experience for prospective history teachers:

> They may listen to or read the stories of different historians, but never learn that historians do not agree with one another about the kinds of questions to ask, the ways to answer those questions, or what a reasonable historical explanation may be. They frequently manage to escape doing original work of their own. Intent on marching through as much material as possible, their instructors do not stop to reflect on the debates still raging about whose story counts and whose may not. Too often students assume that only one story is possible. (p. 275)

In an attempt to address this problem, some educators have recently begun to call for changes in the content of history as well as education courses. Grossman, Wilson and Shulman (1989), for example, propose that teacher educators assume responsibility for helping prospective teachers develop subject matter knowledge. Some universities hire former history teachers with Ph.D.s in history to teach in teacher education departments. At California State University in Long Beach, for example, student teachers are supervised by history professors who started their careers as middle and secondary history teachers (Schwarz, 2000). The university also regularly brings together K-16 teachers of history to discuss common concerns: how to motivate students, how to integrate skills and content, and how to use traditional and non-traditional means of assessment.

But such efforts to fuse content and pedagogy encounter numerous difficulties. It is still rather unusual for history professors to show interest in teacher preparation, much less commit time to collaborating with teacher educators and classroom teachers. Recently, two major national reports recommended changes in the hiring, promotion and tenure policies of academic departments in order to facilitate reforms in teacher education. In its report titled To Touch the Future: Transforming the Way Teachers are Taught (1999), the American Council of Education, a coordinating body for institutions of higher education, challenged university presidents to take action on the principle

that "good teachers need to be educated not solely by members of a single department or school, but rather by faculty throughout the entire institution (p. 25). Recommendations from the National Council of History Education's Education and Certification of History Teachers: Trend, Problems, and Recommendations (1998) included requiring history professors to "model the use of primary sources and student inquiry in their own courses" and creating history education courses taught by "teams of subject scholars and experienced teachers in the field."

One example of team-teaching in an effort to fuse historical content and pedagogy is offered by McDiarmid and Vinten-Johansen (1998). McDiarmid, an education professor and former history teacher and historian Vinten-Johansen, co-taught a social studies methods course in which they sought to:

> reverse the conventional approach in "teaching-methods" courses: begin with specific historical events and themes rather than various methods (lecture, discussions, group and individual projects, etc.) they [prospective teachers] might use in the classroom. We believed that [prospective teachers] must thoroughly practice what it means to "know history" and the social sciences before they could set proper learning goals for their pupils and design means to achieve those goals. In particular, we emphasized the critical role that analytical reading and writing play in coming to understand history (p. 4-5).

However, the two instructors found that their students disliked the placement of subject matter at the center of a "methods" course because "they wanted practical answers. Scholarly debates didn't seem relevant to their overriding concern: 'What do I do on Monday?'" (p. 5). The instructors then revamped the course to put a curriculum unit plan at the center, but with an alternative conceptualization of the teaching process, selecting topics for indepth study in order to generate "scholarly-informed" goals for student learning. A similar kind of course has been proposed by Wilson and Sykes (1989). Understanding that prospective teachers experience a felt need to develop practical tools of the trade, Wilson and Sykes envision a course entitled "Knowledge, Its Representations, Its Transformations" that makes instructional representations a

vehicle for teaching pedagogical uses of content:

> Such a course might require that teachers reflect, first, on their own mental representations of the subject matter, second on representations generated by scholars and finally on instructional representations of knowledge they want to present to their students. (p. 278)

As part of my data collection, I used David's and Julia's instructional representations as windows into their knowledge and beliefs about content and students. This same feature of representations may make them useful as pedagogical tools in the curriculum of teacher education. Representations are at once practical strategies, analogies and examples that teacher candidates can add to their repertoire as well as windows through which prospective teachers may view pedagogical features of subject matter. Indeed, during the interviews in which I asked Julia and David to analyze their own representations, the task consistently elicited reflections on content in relation to young learners.

Another consideration related to placing the analysis of representations at the heart of a social studies methods course is that the various types of historical knowledge for teaching I have identified - knowledge of historical forces, narrative, and imagination - are not discrete entities. Rather, this knowledge manifests itself as knowing-in-action. As the researcher, I teased out categories by analyzing instructional activities: David's Social Pyramid and Julia's Imagine a Politician representations, for example. Thus, it may not make sense to teach prospective teachers about historical forces, narrative and imagination and then show them how to apply that knowledge to create representations. It may actually work better the other way: analyze representations as the embodiment of various kinds of historical knowledge and beliefs.

A third rationale for focusing on instructional representations has to do with the finding that an important aspect of historical knowledge for teaching is its topic-specificity. General historical knowledge - about social forces, historical generalizations and historiographic tensions - is necessary, but it is no substitute for topic-specific knowledge. It was when David and Julia were more familiar

with a particular topic that they were able to critique the textbook account, support narratives with descriptive detail, provide an alternative to the "history as progress" narrative, anticipate student difficulties and generate multiple representations. In analyzing instructional representations designed to convey messages about historical topics such as the Progressive Era or the Communist Revolution, prospective teachers may develop their topic-specific knowledge.

As a tool for data collection, I developed four vignettes of history teaching (see Appendix F). Vignettes such as these could be extended, to include much more detail about specific representations used by each teacher, the teacher's reasoning about subject matter and students, and specific examples of students' responses. Prospective teachers could engage in case study analysis around each vignette, debating the following set of questions:

- What is the role of historical knowledge and beliefs in this teacher's reasoning?
- What is the role of knowledge and beliefs about students in this teacher's reasoning?
- What are the strengths and limitations of each representation?

With practice, grappling with such questions could become a kind of habit of mind, an analytic approach teacher candidates could apply not only to hypothetical cases but to their field experiences and "ready-made" representations as well. By ready-made representations, I am referring to the range of curricular materials currently available on the market for teaching history: textbooks, simulations, computer software, collections of historical documents and videos.

In the process of applying these three questions to curricular materials and vignettes, several things could happen. Discussions about historical knowledge and beliefs could provide opportunities to focus on facts, alternative interpretations, historical forces and narratives. Some students may be able to identify problems with representations associated with the nature of the

discipline, providing an opening for teaching about the Great Man theory (Gustavson, 1955), determinism, presentism, and historical-mindedness. Discussions about young learners' experiences with historical representations may prompt inquiry into the notion of "the inside of events." Prospective teachers may begin to cultivate a talent for entering into the thoughts of the past in order to look for continuities with students' present experience.

Another learning opportunity may present itself as a consequence of identifying multiple and sometimes conflicting narratives for the same topic. Westward expansion, for example, can be viewed through the lens of global economic changes or from a social change perspective. The narrative can be told as a story about manifest destiny, a story about imperialistic subjugation, or a story about the consequences of cross-cultural confrontation and cooperation. In discussions about which stories should or should not be told and why, prospective teachers' subject matter beliefs are bound to emerge. As we saw in this study, subject matter beliefs and disciplinary perspectives play a significant role in shaping the content novices select to teach and the content they are likely to learn from practice. The goal of teacher preparation in this regard should be not so much to change novices' beliefs (because beliefs may be profoundly tied to personal past experiences) but to help novices recognize the role of subject matter beliefs in shaping their curricular choices. In a social studies methods course, novices could be encouraged to revisit experiences that helped them develop their preferred historical narratives and disciplinary perspectives. Their life stories may reinforce the notion that subject matter understanding is indeed a process that begins at an early age.

To some extent, this goal relates to the claim made by Holt-Reynolds (1999). Conceptions of what it means to know a subject for the purposes of teaching it should include knowledge of how one personally came to know. Teachers who are self-aware of their own learning process may be better able to provide experiences which help their students develop subject matter understandings:

> Our work as teacher educators would then include helping [prospective teachers] recognize and claim as *learned* expertise the skills and abilities that they take for granted as unlearned. A definition of subject matter expertise needs to include awareness of that expertise as learned, earned, or developed. (Holt-Reynolds, 1999, p. 43)

A final component of a social studies methods course could involve reading and discussing articles such as those published by Holt (1990) and Kobrin (1996). These writings provide descriptions of history teaching that involve melding historical content and inquiry. Holt's article describes representations involving students in reading post-Civil War letters to outline the conflict between aspirations of former slaves, white plantation owners and the federal government. Kobrin's book describes his work with high school students, teaching them to act as historians and construct their own conclusions about the past. One purpose in exposing prospective teachers to these writings is to provide them with images of practice that are probably quite different from their experiences learning history. But it is possible - given the findings of both this study and one conducted by McDiarmid and Vinten-Johansen (1993) - that even when novices enjoyed opportunities to practice historical inquiry as college students, they may reason that it is inappropriate for young learners. Puklin (2000) suggests another purpose for having prospective teachers explore the process of historical inquiry. Even if novices choose not to have young learners act as historians, it may be that teachers' knowledge of historical ways of thinking helps them create better representations. Puklin makes this conjecture based on her personal experience as a secondary history teacher with no pedagogical training:

> I found that knowing how to do history easily led to determining what content knowledge I needed and then to mastering it sufficiently. It also helped meet the challenges of the classroom. Whether engaging heterogeneously-grouped students, guiding students to replace opinion with relevant evidence, pulling student understanding up from events to ideas - knowing how to *do* history gave me both the direction and the instructional guidance to frame the necessary lessons that kept students on task. (p. 8)

Sitting in a social studies methods course, no matter how well taught, is no substitute for interaction with students around subject matter. There is little doubt that teacher candidates need interactions with students to develop their pedagogical understandings of content. But it is precisely in those classroom settings that novices must cope with variables that make it difficult to develop their knowledge of students: generalizing from personal memories, surfacing tacit knowledge and managing pedagogical authority. Coping with all of this is probably, to some extent, an inevitable part of beginning teaching. Yet failure to elicit, listen to and use students' prior knowledge as a resource may not be an inevitable consequence.

Mentoring Beginning Teachers

Learning to teach is an ongoing process. Just as professional education at the preservice stage requires careful consideration of teacher candidates' "needs and doings," professional education at the induction stage cannot ignore aspects of beginning practice which impinge on how novices use their content knowledge and work with students. One feature of beginning practice, for example, is that when novices are teaching a topic for the first time, they are occupied with surfacing content knowledge, an important step in figuring out what a unit of instruction is really about. Because surfacing content knowledge occupies a major part of the time novices spend implementing their lesson plans, it may be unreasonable to expect them to simultaneously attend to students' ideas. However, there is another option. What novices can do to develop their knowledge of students is to use "strategic documentation of practice:"

> Although the bustle of immediacy lends authenticity, it also interferes with opportunities to learn. Being situated in a classroom restricts attention to the sort of teaching underway in that particular class. Further, being so situated confines learning to the rush of minute-to-minute practice. Better opportunities can be created by using strategic documentation of practice. Copies of students' work, videotapes of classroom lessons, curriculum materials, and teachers' notes all would be candidates. (Ball & Cohen, 1999, p. 14)

As part of my data collection, I used "strategic documentation of practice" in order to elicit David and Julia's pedagogical reasoning, their "reflection-on-action." I asked them to listen to audiotapes of their teaching and read short transcripts. I also asked them to examine students' work. In the process - which took place before and after school, away from the distractions of more immediate tasks - both teachers noticed things they could not see while teaching. They interpreted students' comments, they evaluated their representations, they identified what was difficult, confusing, and surprising about their transformations of content. Thus, it would seem that such tools of data collection may also serve pedagogical purposes in professional education.

One important feature of Julia's and David's interaction with audiotapes, transcripts and student work was the fact that I selected particular episodes and representations which I thought held potential and asking questions to probe their thinking. A mentor could play a similar kind of role and assume an even more pedagogical role than a researcher's. Ball and Cohen (1999) suggest that because knowledge for teaching is so complex - characterized by the interaction of content, students, curriculum, pedagogy and context - professional development requires social interaction with other professionals: talking about practice, observing and being observed, collaboratively planning lessons, telling others about what one has learned.

Mentors may select classroom dialogue and student work that helps novices focus their attention on aspects of students they might otherwise overlook. From the perspective of helping novices cope with the tendency to generalize from personal memories and use content to manage authority, transcripts and assignments that highlight differences between students and challenge the notion that students' prior knowledge is deficient may be especially crucial. Mentors may conceptualize the curriculum of learning to teach at this stage as "mind answering to mind:"

What the [novice] needs most at this stage of growth is ability to see what is

> going on in the minds of a group of persons who are in intellectual contact with one another. He needs to learn to observe psychologically - a very different thing from simply observing how a teacher gets "good results" in presenting any particular subject. (Dewey, 1904, p. 324-325)

When beginning teachers generalize from personal memories and use content to manage authority, they are possibly most familiar with traditional forms of history instruction, in which teachers do not differentiate between students' diverse backgrounds and perspectives and the flow of information is decidedly from teacher to student. To some extent, messages about deficiencies in students' prior knowledge may also be reinforced by the recent emphasis on conceptual change theory in some teacher preparation programs. Based on research conducted in the field of science education, the idea that young learners hold misconceptions about subject matter that must be corrected has gained considerable attention in some circles (Posner, Strike, Hewson & Gertzog, 1982). However, it may be more useful to help beginning history teachers conceptualize their students' prior knowledge differently. Torney-Purta (1994), for example, argues that "conceptual change in history can be thought of as involving the addition of layers or the recognition of alternative ontological aspects of issues and problems in history" (p. 113). In other words, learning history may not be a matter of exchanging one set of ideas for another so much as building upon prior understandings. Whereas less mature minds might assume "great men" control history, more mature minds understand that both individuals and impersonal forces shape events. Younger learners may think in terms of single causes; more advanced learners understand the concept of multiple causation.

This conception of prior knowledge calls for a shift in the way novices may typically interpret students' ideas. It has implications for conceptions of pedagogical authority as well, suggesting that teachers must use content knowledge - not merely to identify what is wrong in their students' historical thinking - but also to identify where students are along a continuum of

understanding. To accomplish the latter, novices may find they need to speak less and listen more closely. It is hard to imagine beginning teachers making such a shift in their reasoning and practice without considerable mentoring of the kind described here.

Further Questions

I undertook this study to understand features of historical knowledge for teaching and gain insight into what makes it complicated for novices to develop and use such knowledge in their teaching. As I conclude this study, I am filled with a sense I have barely scratched the surface. A former graduate professor once told me that a good dissertation raises more questions than it answers, so I suppose I have accomplished at least that much.

Although I chose the concept of "transformation" as a tool for analyzing Julia and David's knowledge and beliefs, I cannot say with confidence that I have made much progress toward defining what exactly it is and what it looks like in practice. One reason for this is that, although I interpreted each of the novice's representations as attempts at content transformation, I did not see enough examples of truly outstanding, interesting, or exciting representations to inform a conception of what is possible. Perhaps this merely suggests that beginning teachers tend not to create extraordinary representations, and in this study I speculated about why that might be the case. However, it would be a mistake to generalize across all beginning teachers about this point. It seems that the best way to develop our conceptions of the nature of transformation in history teaching would be to study outstanding examples, as Wineburg and Wilson (1991) did in their case studies of Mr. Price and Ms. Jensen. This is one possible focus for future research.

I also have more questions about historical knowledge for teaching. I argued in this study that, while historians and history teachers share some knowledge - knowledge of historical forces, narrative, imagination and historical-mindedness - there may be something uniquely pedagogical about the

way history teachers hold that knowledge. I am not sure this is true. I also do not know enough yet about the ways in which historians' and history teachers' knowledge differs from the historical knowledge of "Mr. Everyman," Carl Becker's metaphor for the notion that everyone creates historical meaning as part of daily existence. Thankfully, a growing number of scholars are exploring these issues, enabling me to add to the list of books and articles I plan to eventually read. Another method for continuing to analyze historical knowledge involves my ongoing work with prospective and experienced history teachers. The dissertation provided me with a framework for listening to history teachers and viewing their practice. In future years, I hope to test my conjectures about subject matter beliefs and the role of historical forces, narratives, imagination and historical-mindedness by interacting with a wider range of history teachers.

I am also curious about what novices may learn over time when they are analyzing representations (their own or other people's), transcripts and student work in the company of other professionals. How do beginning teachers use what they're learning about students to adapt subject matter? What do they learn about their students over time, given particular conceptions of what it means to learn history? What impressions do they form of different groups of students? How does knowledge of student diversity shape the way teachers modify historical content? What kinds of knowledge and beliefs seem most pivotal in learning to meld historical content with inquiry? I think it would be informative to track novices' learning to teach over time. If historical understanding begins early in life, then what are the different life journeys that lead to different conceptions of teaching and learning history throughout teachers' professional careers?

Finally, there is the matter of school context. An underlying assumption throughout my study was that knowledge for teaching is practical and situated; it is responsive to the unique interactions taking place between a certain teacher

and her particular students within a specific setting. Yet in my attempt to bring order to my data, I treated school context as if it was less important than each teacher's set of knowledge and beliefs. This was a serious omission. Most of the recent reform proposals in history education call for changes in the contexts in which history teachers work, including:

> lower student/teacher ratios, fewer extracurricular duties, less administrative paperwork, more flexible schoolday schedules - to allow for seminars, debates, and extended discussions - and greater teacher authority across the board, from curriculum making to textbook choice. (Bradley Commission, 1988, p. 256)

In fact, school contexts may have such an important influence on teachers' practice that simply reforming professional education in the manner I suggested earlier may not be sufficient. For example, an important component of mentoring beginning teachers involves creating opportunities for novices to talk about practice with other professionals. And yet, for both David and Julia, professional conversations with colleagues were encumbered by a complex array of factors. Both felt that colleagues particularly valued the time spent on extracurricular duties and worried about how other uses of their time might be perceived. Both appreciated the autonomy that allowed them to teach by their own convictions rather than conform to a departmental norm. When conversations with colleagues did take place, they tended to be superficial: "What chapter are you on?" "Here's a worksheet you can use."

Future research on the topic of how beginning teachers use their content knowledge in practice should not neglect the influence of school context. How do personal notions of subject matter knowledge interact with structural treatments of school knowledge? How is developing knowledge of students influenced by the way student diversity and student's ideas are treated throughout the school? What kinds of support enable some teachers to develop more exciting representations of content, in spite of a school culture which isolates teachers from one another and treats learning to teach as a matter of

survival?

In fact, it may be useful to think in terms of multiple, overlapping contexts within which learning to teach history occurs. One context is defined by national debates over goals and methods for teaching history. Another context is more local, reflected in institutional norms that may promote or work against novice history teachers' learning to teach. Yet a third context concerns the knowledge and beliefs individual teachers bring to their practice. Research that provides models and stories about professional learning within these nested contexts may help teachers and teacher educators examine and articulate ideas that are central to teaching practice: ideas about the nature of history, historical understanding and historical knowledge for teaching.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEW

SAY: Thank you for participating in this interview. I will be asking you a series of questions about your educational and professional background, particularly your experiences with learning history. Do you have any questions?

DO: WAIT FOR AND ANSWER QUESTIONS

SAY: What do you remember about your past experiences learning about history, before you entered college?

PROMPTS: In school, out of school; describe the schools you attended

SAY: Can you tell me anything you remember about your college classes in history?

* What was your major?

* Can you tell me about a couple of your history courses (undergraduate and graduate) that were significant for one reason or another?

*Why were they significant for you?
*How did they influence your understanding of history as a discipline?
*Tell me about some of the history papers you wrote.
*What do you think it means for someone to know history? If someone is a self-proclaimed expert in history, what would you expect them to know?
*Anything else you wish to add?

SAY: What influenced you to become a social studies teacher? (Probe for answers pertaining to reasons for becoming a teacher and reasons for choosing social studies)

SAY: Can you tell me a bit about your professional development so far in your career?

* How long have you been teaching?

* What are you certified to teach?

* What courses have you taught in the past and currently?

*What is your favorite and least favorite course to teach?
*Is there any particular reason you feel this way?
*Are there some courses or topics you feel more confident and less confident about teaching?

* Can you describe your teacher preparation program?

*What aspects of the program were significant for you?
*Why were they significant?
*How did the program influence the way you think about teaching history?
*What do you see as the purpose of learning about history in

school?

*What makes it useful or distinct from other subjects?

*Besides the required experiences in your teacher preparation program, what other opportunities have you had to develop yourself professionally?

SAY: Do you still have copies of your college transcript and course papers you wrote that would help me understand some of the details of your educational background, particularly as it relates to your experiences with learning history?

SAY: Is there anything else you would like to add at this point?

SAY: That's the end of the interview. Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX B

CONTENT KNOWLEDGE INTERVIEWS

ROUND ONE

SAY: Thank you for participating in this interview. I will be asking you a series of questions regarding your ideas about the Progressive Era/Age of Revolutions. Do you have any questions?

DO: *WAIT FOR AND ANSWER QUESTIONS*

SAY: For this interview, I want to focus on the knowledge you have about this topic that you have in your head apart from your decisions about teaching the topic. I know that your knowledge and your decisions overlap. For example, you probably have knowledge about what is most significant related to this topic, and because it is significant, that is what you will most likely decide to teach your students. But you probably won't teach everything you know about this topic to your students. I'm interested in trying to get a sense of everything you know, regardless of whether you intend to teach it or not. This will help me to determine how your knowledge is developing while you're teaching the unit on this topic.

DO: *WAIT FOR AND ANSWER QUESTIONS*

SAY:
* Let me start by asking you to break the topic--Progressive Era/Age of Revolutions--into sub-categories. On a piece of paper, list the subcategories that come to your mind when you think of this topic.

SAY:
* Next, I'd like you to do a "mind dump" for each subcategory. Just start talking about the first one, then go on to the next one, etc. Use the textbook to prompt your thinking as needed. Please keep in mind that I am not looking for any particular bits and pieces of information--this is not a "test" in that sense. However, I will interject questions for clarification as you go along.

DO: *WAIT FOR AND ANSWER QUESTIONS*

When the "mind dump" is going on, PROBE FOR:

* How are these (people, events, ideas, contexts, subcategories etc.) related to one another?

* How is this period related to others in (U.S./World History)--periods that came before and after?

* Are you familiar with alternative or conflicting interpretations any historians may have suggested about this period?

When the "mind dump" is over, SAY:

* There are a few items mentioned in the textbook which you did not talk about. Would you comment on them now?

* Do you recall where you acquired your understanding of this period?

SAY: That's the end of the interview. Thank you very much.

ROUND TWO

Say: Go through the textbook chapters related to the topic you are about to teach and do a "mind dump" related to each heading or sub-section in the chapter. Talk to me as if you were teaching me everything you know, including anything you think is important about this topic that isn't in the textbook. Also, it would be helpful if you could point out to me sub-topics that you feel more and less confident about.

Do: Allow each teacher to talk with minimal interruption, asking questions only to clarify meaning. After they have commented on each sub-section, ask the following questions:

- Is there anything else you think is important about this topic that isn't in the textbook?

- Is there anything else you'd like to add about which aspects of this topic you feel more and less confident about?

- As you flip back through this chapter, do you remember anything about where you learned about this topic--high school, college, outside of school altogether?

APPENDIX C

FACT LISTS

French Revolution and Industrial Revolution from D.C. Heath, *World History*

French monarchy faced a crisis
- --Old Regime had 3 estates
- --Louis 16th was a weak ruler
- --National Assembly took power
  - --3rd estate met separately with Abbe Sieyes addressing crowd, changed name to National Assembly
- --Parisians stormed the Bastille
- --Great Fear swept France

Revolution brought reform and terror
- --The Assembly adopted reforms
  - --Rights of Man
  - --Limited monarchy (new constitution)
  - --Departments
  - --State-controlled church
  - Side bar--the rights of women
- --France was split by factions (left, right, centrists in Legislative Assembly)
- --France went to war with Austria
- --The radicals executed Louis 16th (France a republic, new constitution)
- --France created a citizen army
- --Robespierre began the Terror
- --Robespierre fell from power
- --Moderates ruled in the Directory (new constitution)

Napoleon conquered much of Europe
- --Napoleon rose through the army
- --Napoleon seized power
- --A Second Coalition attacked France (Britain, Austria, Russia)
- --Napoleon became emperor
- --Napoleon restored order
  - --economic, social, religious, legal
- --Napoleon extended France's power
  - --battle of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Trafalgar
- --Napoleon dominated Europe

Napoleon's empire collapsed
- --Set up Continental system (cut off trade with Britain)
- --Spanish guerrillas fought the French in Spain
- --Napoleon invaded Russia
- --A coalition defeated Napoleon
- --Napoleon returned briefly, after escaping from prison in Elba, but lost battle with Britain,

Many factors aided in industrial growth
- --changes in farming
  - --enclosure movement
  - --crop rotation
  - --improved livestock
  - --effects on population
- --a rise in population helped industry
- --Great Britain had many advantages
  - --abundant natural resources
  - --favorable geography
  - --favorable climate for new ideas
  - --good banking system
  - --political stability

Britain led in the rise of industry
- --inventions revolutionized the textile industry
- --one invention led to another
- --Watt improved the steam engine

Industry grew and spread to new lands
- --engineers built roads and canals
- --The railway age began (financial support and incentive for invention of engine)
- --Railroads spread across England
- --railroads had far-reaching effects
- --industrialization spread to other countries
  - --U.S.
  - --Europe
  - --side bar--Lowell mill workers
- --Britian led the world in industry

Industry changed ways of life
- --more people lived in cities
- --problems arose as cities grew
- --The industrial revolution changed working conditions
- --Children suffered in mills and mines
- --The middle class expanded
- --Class tensions arose
  - --Laissex-faire government
  - --beginning of unions
  - --continuing tensions

Chapter 17: Progressive Reform from Houghton Mifflin, *A More Perfect Union*

Upton Sinclair
Meat Inspection Act of 1906
Theodore Roosevelt
Square Deal
Samuel Hopkins Adams
Pure Food and Drug Act
Northern Securities Company
conservation

Robert M. LaFollette
Direct primary elections
Civil Service reform
Secret ballots
Initiative
Referendum
Recall

Sixteenth Amendment
Seventeen Amendment
William Howard Taft
Bull Moose Party
Election of 1912

Woodrow Wilson
New Freedom
Underwood Tariff
Federal Reserve Act
Clayton Antitrust Act
Federal Trade Commission

Prohibition
Anti-Saloon League
Carry Nation
Eighteenth Amendment
Child Labor
Florence Kelley
Hull House
Children's Bureau

Eugene V. Debs
Socialist Party of America
Anarchists
Emma Goldman
Industrial Workers of the World

Carry Chapman Catt
Alice Paul
Ida B. Wells
NAACP
W.E.B. Dubois

APPENDIX D

REFLECTION ON ACTION INTERVIEWS

ROUND ONE

1. Tape recording. I'm interested in what you might have been thinking while you were teaching this unit. Listen to the tape recording from 12-9-98. Stop whenever something happened that you hadn't anticipated, or when you say something that you hadn't necessarily planned to say.

SAY: I'm also interested in whether you learned anything about the Progressive Era, for teaching purposes. Would you "tell the story" differently next time?

2. Choose representations to evaluate in retrospect.

(representations are analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations and demonstrations which convey something about the nature and substance of the subject matter to students)

SAY:
* What did they convey to students about the subject matter?
* Would you use them again?

ROUND TWO

Say:

Gather together the materials you used to put together this unit. Re-create what was going through your head as you made your decisions about learning goals, what knowledge and skills to teach, what activities to include, what kinds of assessments to give. Talk about your reasons as much as you can. Talk about what you're purposely leaving out. If this interview takes place after the unit begins, talk about any mid-stream adjustments you've made or plan to make.

Do: Allow each teacher to talk with minimal interruption, asking questions only to clarify meaning. Toward the end of the interview, ask the following questions:

- Do you have anything else to add about what you want students to learn in this unit?

- Do you have anything else to add about your reasons for selecting these particular activities and assessments?

- Do you have anything else to add about your reasons for leaving some aspects of the content out of this unit?

- Did you consult any kind of external curriculum standards document? If so, which one(s) and how did you use them?

APPENDIX E

POST-OBSERVATION INTERVIEWS

ROUND ONE

Comment on the outline from your subject matter interview.

SAY:
* How would you edit this outline in preparation for the next time you teach the Age of Revolutions?
* Would you tell the story any differently next time?

ROUND TWO

Say: Imagine you are getting ready to teach this unit all over again.

- What would you change? Keep the same? Why?
- How does what the students said and did affect your planning for next time?
- What is one alternative way of teaching this unit that you can think of?

Say: Here are some examples of student work from this unit.

- How satisfied are you with these as depictions of their learning?
- What was it you wanted them to learn?
- What evaluative comments would you write to them about this work?

Say: Here are four vignettes that describe various approaches to history teaching. Please read each one and react.

- Which of these do you think your teaching is most like?
- Which of these do you think your teaching will be most like in the future?

Say: When you think about the next couple of years, in what aspects of teaching do you imagine yourself growing the most?

- How will you go about doing that?
- What resources will you need?
- Do you ever think of particular curriculum units that you might develop? How would you go about doing this?

APPENDIX F

VIGNETTES OF SECONDARY HISTORY TEACHING

Ms. Jones

Ms. Jones likes to focus on non-Western and minority history in her history classes. She counters the traditional, white male perspective which she believes dominates most history textbooks by presenting the "untold story" of how non-Western civilizations lived before and after European imperialism and how racial slavery affected and still affects U.S. domestic institutions and foreign policy.

Ms. Smith

On a typical day in Ms. Smith's classroom, she is conducting a lively lecture, full of intriguing descriptions of characters and events in history. Her stories are interlaced with questions directed to her students, based on a reading they had been assigned or a video they had watched. If students can't answer, she provides the answer herself. She expects her students to recall factual information on her tests, as well as interpret charts and graphs. (from Evans)

Ms. Carlyle

Ms. Carlyle teaches her history students to write historical narratives. She gives them actual documents: letters, diaries, photographs, maps, demographic statistics, etc.and teaches them to ask the questions historians ask of such materials: Was this produced by a participant or a commentator after the fact? What is the point of view expressed here? How and why was this document produced and how does that affects its trustworthiness? Students then use the documents to construct a narrative about the particular event under investigation. (from Holt)

Ms Franklin

Ms Franklin teaches her students about big patterns in history: economic systems, religious ideas, political beliefs, etc. She tells her students that this is why the past is so connected to the present; "it's all connected, humans have thought about the same things for centuries." She uses contemporary events and culture to help students relate to the past. For example, she showed them the film Footloose about students who rebelled against their small town's restrictions on dancing in the US in the 1980s, and then asked "what were the similarities of the issues represented in this film to the issues that led to the Protestant Reformation?" (from Evans)

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORMS AND LETTERS

TEACHER LETTER

Dear _____:

You are invited to participate in a study designed to gain better understandings of how beginning social studies teachers' develop their subject matter knowledge in the process of planning and teaching. This has been an under-studied area of inquiry and new insights will be especially helpful to those who are preparing new teachers, designing and implementing induction programs or writing beginning teacher standards and assessments.

As data for this study, I would like to audio-tape private interviews with you several times throughout the school year. One set of interviews will be designed to learn about your personal and educational background and your content knowledge related to two of the topics you teach as part of your curriculum. Another set of interviews will be conducted around two units you teach, one in the fall and one in the spring. These interviews will be held prior to each unit and at various points during and after each unit. The purpose of these interviews is to learn about your pedagogical reasoning.

In addition, I would like to observe your classroom during the fall and spring units and record the activities via audiotape and occasionally videotape. I would like to collect all documents that are produced as part of the two teaching episodes such as lesson plans, handouts, worksheets, tests, quizzes, seating charts, and copies of student work. Finally, with your permission, obtaining copies of your college transcripts, student teaching evaluations and papers you wrote as part of your disciplinary and professional coursework will help me document your background and preparation for teaching.

The total amount of time required from you for this study is substantial, although I will do everything I can to limit the demands on your time. There will be seven to twelve interviews lasting from approximately one to two hours each. I would not expect you to meet with me every time I visit the classroom, but I will need about five minutes of class time near the beginning of the study to talk with your students about obtaining their consent.

There is no funding for this study. Participation is strictly voluntary. You have the right to consent or decline without penalty; you may choose not to participate at all. You have the right to withdraw consent at any time without penalty. You may also withhold consent from allowing certain materials to be used or refuse to answer certain questions. Your decision will not affect your relationship with [Name of University] or result in the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Your identity will be kept strictly confidential. You will be assigned a pseudonym and will be identifiable by gender and subject taught only. Your name, age, physical characteristics, the name and location of your school and all other distinguishing features will be omitted from all reports, presentations and papers for publication. The only existing copies of the documents and tapes will be in my possession and will be kept inaccessible to anyone besides me. With your permission, I may use the audiotapes, videotapes and written work for other research and educational purposes. The data might be used in reports, published articles, presentations at conferences, research groups or teacher education classes. In no case will you or your students' names be identified to these audiences. However, there is some risk that your voice or image could be recognized by

someone who knows you.

Please indicate "yes" or "no" to each statement on the attached form. Your signature at the bottom of this form indicates that have read this letter and understand the nature of your involvement in this project.

Sincerely, Cindy Hartzler-Miller

TEACHER CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in the activities I have indicated below:

1. Private interviews	____yes	____no
2. These interviews may be audiotaped.	____yes	____no
3. Classroom observations	____yes	____no
4. These observations may be audiotaped.	____yes	____no
5. These observations may be videotaped.	____yes	____no
6. Teaching documents. (lesson plans, handouts, worksheets, tests, quizzes, seating charts, copies of student work, etc.)	____yes	____no
7. College transcripts, student teaching evaluations, course papers	____yes	____no
8. Audiotapes, videotapes and written materials may be used for research and educational purposes such as in reports, published articles, presentations at conferences, research groups or teacher education classes--as long as I am not identified by name.	____yes	____no

Signature:_____ **Date:**_____

RETURN FORM and DIRECT QUESTIONS TO
CINDY HARTZLER-MILLER, 1224 E. Hazel St., Lansing, MI 48912
(517)482-097

PRINCIPAL AND SCHOOL DISTRICT LETTER

Dear _____:

I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University, working toward my Ph.D in teacher learning and social studies education. For my dissertation research, I plan to conduct a study designed to gain better understandings of how beginning social studies teachers' develop their subject matter knowledge in the process of planning and teaching. _____ a teacher at _____ has agreed to participate. This letter explains the purposes and design of the study and requests your consent to permit me to conduct the study in your school/district. District participation in this project is voluntary. At any time during the study, the district may withdraw consent without penalty.

Through this study, I hope to describe in concrete and practical terms the knowledge that strong beginning teachers have and use. This has been an under-studied area of inquiry and new insights will be especially helpful to those who are preparing new teachers, designing and implementing induction programs or writing beginning teacher standards and assessments.

There are several kinds of data I wish to gather for this study. About seven to twelve times throughout the year, I would like to audio-tape private interviews with each teacher. These interviews will be designed to learn about the teacher's personal and educational background, content knowledge and pedagogical reasoning at various points in the teaching process. In addition, I would like to observe the teacher's classroom during two instructional units--one in the fall and one in the spring--and record the activities via audiotape and occasionally videotape. I would like to collect all documents that are produced as part of the two teaching episodes such as lesson plans, handouts, worksheets, tests, quizzes, seating charts, and copies of student work. Finally, I would like to obtain copies of his or her college transcripts, student teaching evaluations papers written as part of his or her disciplinary and professional coursework to help me document educational background and preparation for teaching.

The total amount of time required from the teacher for this study is substantial, although I will do everything I can to limit the demands on his or her time. This study will not disrupt the teacher's plans for the day nor any school functions.

The identities of the teacher, students, school and district will be kept strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used at all times when speaking or writing about the research. The only existing copies of the documents and tapes will be in my possession and will be kept inaccessible to anyone besides me. In some instances, excerpts of the data may be shown to selected audiences for other research and educational purposes. The data might be used in reports, published articles, presentations at conferences, research groups or teacher education classes. In no case will teachers', students', school or district names be identified to these audiences.

I have enclosed a copy of the teacher and student/parent consent forms so you can be informed of the consent procedures. If you are willing to grant me permission to conduct this study, please sign one copy of this letter and return it to me in the attached envelope. If you have any questions, please contact me at (517) 482-0974 or my advisor, Dr. Suzanne Wilson, at 353-9150.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I have read this letter and understand the nature of the district's involvement in the study.

Signature: _____ Date:_____

PARENT/GUARDIAN LETTER

October 30, 1998

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University, working toward my Ph.D in teacher learning and social studies education. For my dissertation research, I plan to conduct a study of beginning social studies teachers' content knowledge and teaching practices. Your son's or daughter's history teacher, _____, is participating in this study. This letter explains the purposes of the study and requests your consent to allow me to audiotape and occasionally videotape classroom activities in which your son or daughter is participating.

Through this study, I hope to describe in concrete and practical terms the knowledge that strong beginning teachers have and use. This has been an under-studied area of inquiry and new insights will be especially helpful to those who are preparing new teachers, designing and implementing beginning teacher programs or writing beginning teacher standards and assessments.

There are several kinds of data I wish to gather for this study. In order to get an accurate record of the teacher's practices in the classroom, I will need to audiotape and occasionally videotape classroom activities several times throughout the year. Although the focus of my study is on the teacher, not your son or daughter, it would be helpful to look at samples of students' written work (worksheets, tests and quizzes) in order to document the curriculum of the classroom. Please understand that my purpose is to observe the teacher's normal practices in the classroom; therefore, my presence will not disrupt or interfere with the teacher's plans or your son's or daughter's learning opportunities.

In addition to requesting your permission, I am also interested in making sure that your son or daughter is willing to be involved with this study. Because this involvement should be completely voluntary, you and your son or daughter can decide that he or she will not be a part of the study at all, or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. Choosing not to participate in this study will have no impact on your son's or daughter's right to be a full member of the class. If you and your son or daughter choose not to be involved with the study, I will do everything I can to make sure that his or her voice and image are not recorded and that I do not look at his or her written work. If I should inadvertently tape your son or daughter, I will not use any segments of the tapes in which he or she is present.

All of the data I collect will be treated with strict confidence. Your son's or daughter's name will not be used in any reports about this project and any of his or her identifying characteristics will be disguised. With your permission, excerpts of the data may be shown to selected audiences for other research and educational purposes. For example, the data might be used in reports, published articles, presentations at conferences, research groups or teacher education classes. In no case will the teacher's, students', school or district names be identified to these audiences. However, there is a slight chance that your son's or daughter's image or voice might be recognized by someone who knows them.

Please indicate "yes" or "no" to each statement on the attached form. Your signature at the bottom of this form indicates that have read this letter and understand the nature of your involvement in this project.

Sincerely,

Cindy Hartzler-Miller

STUDENT AND PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM
(Please keep one copy for your records)

I give permission for my son or daughter to participate in the activities I have indicated below:

1. Classroom observations	____yes	____no
2. These observations may be audiotaped.	____yes	____no
3. These observations may be videotaped.	____yes	____no
4. Written work (worksheets, tests, quizzes, assignments)	____yes	____no
5. Audiotapes, videotapes and written materials may be used for research and educational purposes such as in reports, published articles, presentations at conferences, research groups or teacher education classes--as long as my son or daughter is not identified by name.	____yes	____no

Student Signature:_____ **Date:**_____

Parent/Guardian Signature:_____
Date: _____

RETURN FORM and DIRECT QUESTIONS TO
CINDY HARTZLER-MILLER, 1224 E. Hazel St., Lansing, MI 48912
(517)482-0974

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