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TEACHER KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS ABOUT HISTORY

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USING THE ARTS TO TEACH HISTORY: TEACHER KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS ABOUT HISTORY

By

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ABSTRACT

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TEACHER KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS ABOUT HISTORY

By

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The use of the arts has not been a popular subject in research on history teaching, though several historians and history teachers have written about art as historical evidence and as a pedagogical tool. Most of all, little is known about how, if any, history teachers use the arts in their classrooms and why. To address this gap in research, this study explored and responded to the two following questions: How do secondary history teachers use the arts in their teaching? How do their knowledge and beliefs influence what history they teach and how they teach it in their classrooms?

To answer these questions, I collected data from three sources: interviews, observations, and classroom materials. Three high-school history teachers in Michigan participated in this study. All were experienced teachers with more than 10 years of teaching experience who taught in secondary schools with more than 70% White students. My findings suggest that these teachers use the arts – paintings, music, poems, novels – mainly for the three purposes: Fist, they use the arts to teach the spirit of an age; second, they use the arts to teach the history of ordinary people invisible in official historical records; and third, they teach, both with and without art, the idea of history as art.

To explain the teachers' reasoning behind their decisions to use the arts, I analyzed their beliefs about history and the purposes of teaching history in their

secondary history classrooms as well as their knowledge about history. Findings suggest that the teachers' beliefs and knowledge about history and history teaching are loosely connected to their ways of using the arts. However, findings also indicate that teachers decide to use the arts because of their beliefs about the general purposes of educating students, in the case of these three teachers, to become complete human beings, democratic citizens, and critical thinkers. Teachers' knowledge was also an important factor in explaining their use of the arts. When teachers have a background in art history, they use a wide range of artwork. When teachers have less content knowledge in history and art, despite their intentions, they present the artwork as a mirror of the past rather than as historical evidence that students should analyze critically.

This study offers three implications. First, exploring teachers' reasoning behind their use of the arts, this study helps us understand challenges as well as merits of using the arts to enhance students' historical understanding. More generally, such exploration contributes to the field's understanding of the relationship between teachers' practice and teacher knowledge and beliefs about social studies/history. Second, this study also provides teacher educators with a glimpse of what knowledge and skills teachers need if they are to teach interdisciplinary curricula. Third, this study emphasizes the difficulties of studying knowledge and beliefs, and articulates the following questions. What are knowledge and beliefs? Where does knowledge end and beliefs begin? Knowledge and beliefs are so interwoven together so we need to be careful when we examine knowledge and beliefs. In other words, this study suggests that when we study knowledge and beliefs, we should critically examine the possibility of distinct knowledge and beliefs.

To Dad,
My Very First History Teacher

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Chapter One

Introduction

Art is neither a traditional source in the discipline of history nor a traditional instructional resource in history education. While a few historians have used art – most has been only recently that historians have become interested in using art as a main source for learning about the culture of a given historical period and communicating with readers (Burke, 1991). Similarly, few researchers in history education have examined the role of art in history education as well – either as a research or pedagogical tool. Only two studies (Epstein, 1994a, b; Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998) have focused on the role of art in teaching history, exploring how art can contribute to students' historical understanding, as well as the merits and challenges that using the arts can bring to teaching and learning of history.

My experiences as a field instructor for the last five years reveal a different story: Granted, history teachers do not use art in every unit every day, but they do use various arts in various ways. Some teachers decorate the walls of their classrooms with portraits of historical figures such as George Washington and Benjamin Franklin or old photographs. Some pay special attention to the paintings or photographs in textbooks when explaining historical concepts. Recently released movies are among teachers' favorite topics: *The Patriot* (2000) and *Schindler's List* (1993) are among the movies that teachers refer to when they teach American Revolution or the Holocaust. Some teachers use novels and poems as well. Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* or Sappho's love poems are classics that history teachers often quote or read to students when they teach ancient Greek history.

While history teachers use art on various occasions, some researchers are skeptical about the assertion that simply interacting with art automatically improves students' historical understanding. Researchers found that, as with other primary sources, students are easily deceived by the author's or creator's first hand voice without questioning the credibility of the source (Gabella, 1996; VanSledright, 1998; Wineburg, 1991), and get confused about the boundaries between historical fact and fiction (Gardner & Boix-Mansilla, 1994). Some researchers also suggest that an important factor in determining the effectiveness of the use of art involves the ways the teacher might use art in teaching (Levstik, 1990; VanSledright, 1998). Yet we know little about how teachers use art to teach history: for what purposes do history teachers choose to use the arts in teaching history? How do teachers use the arts to accomplish these purposes? What kinds of arts do they use and when? What are the constraints limiting the teachers' use of the arts?

In this study, I attempt to explore this gap in the research, to describe and explain how history teachers use the arts in their teaching. More specifically, I explore how teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history influence their use of the arts in their classrooms. Therefore, this chapter as an introduction for the study has three goals. First, I discuss the rationales of using the arts in teaching history. Second, I examine what previous studies found about the teacher knowledge and beliefs about history and their relationships to the teacher's practice, and discuss the theoretical framework for this study. Finally I refine my research questions, and present an overview of the chapters to come.

Why Using the Arts in Teaching History?

I begin this section with my personal experiences with art as both a student and a teacher of history. By critically reflecting my own experiences and relating them to current discourses in history and history education, I explain the role of the arts in the teaching and learning of history as well as the roots of my research interests.

The Merits of Using Art to Learn History

Motivating students to learn history. As a student of history, I have been motivated by art to learn more about history. It was my father who first taught me how art could be used as a starting point to delve into a time and place that I did not know. He was a great lover of art and history, and shared this love with his four daughters. Almost every weekend, he took us to museums, art galleries, and historical sites. After each short trip, he would read to us: about painters whose paintings we saw in the museums or galleries; or poems and novels about the historical sites we had visited. He also liked to show us plates of his favorite paintings and tell us stories about them.

I still remember the day when he showed me Raphael's painting, *The School of Athens* (1510-1511). I was eleven. At first sight, nothing looked interesting to me. A bunch of people were lying around, discussing something. Two figures, seemingly teachers, stood at the center, one fingering the sky and the other the ground. My father explained, that the school of Athens was the center of the Greek intellectual world. The two main figures in the painting are Plato and Aristotle. He went on to tell me that Raphael described these two philosophers' – respectively – idealistic and realistic views by having one pointing to the sky and the other to the ground. I did not know what idealistic and realistic views were, but because I had been told the names of Plato and

Aristotle in my elementary school social studies class, I was excited to see what these people looked like in the painting. And I wanted to know more about the time and place where they lived. The next day, I went to the public library near my home and started to read whatever I could find about ancient Greek history. My encounter with Raphael's painting introduced the fascinating world of ancient Greek history to me.

Others have had similar experiences. In one of his lectures, Huizinga (1919/1996), author of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, confessed that his study of the medieval ages in the Netherlands was inspired by an exhibition of early Dutch paintings, which he had seen in 1902 (Haskell, 1993). He had been struck by the contrast in colors used by Italian and Dutch painters, and subsequently become interested in the medieval ages in the Netherlands, following the debate that took place among French and Dutch historians after the exhibit.

Contemporary education researchers also confirm that art can help students become interested in learning history. In their experimental studies of two 6th grade classes, Jones and Coomb (1994) found that students who had been taught with historical fiction remembered more detailed information than those who had been taught with the textbook, and remembered their learning experiences more positively. Smith, Monson, & Dobson (1992) reported a similar finding: In their study of seven 5th grade classes, they discovered that students who had learned history through children's literature recalled more information, and showed more positive attitudes toward their learning experiences than those who had learned through textbooks. In other words, for some students, art can serve as a tool for increasing both motivation to learn history, interest in history, and knowledge of history.

Learning the history of the invisibles. Through art, I also have learned experience of people who were invisible in the textbook. In the fall of 1992, during my junior year of college, there was a Chagall exhibit in Seoul. As a history major fascinated by the idea of the pursuit of equality in the Russian Revolution, I wanted to see the paintings of this Russian painter who had lived during the Revolution. In the first place, I did not like Chagall much. I was disappointed when I discovered that Chagall escaped from the Russian Revolution to Paris, and lived in Paris for the rest of his life. At this point of my life, I believed that a clear distinction could be drawn between the political and the artistic. I was, thus, disheartened in learning that Chagall had not been politically active enough – "brave" enough – to stay in Russia.

Chagall's biography at the exhibit, however, further taught me that the Communist Party prosecuted the minorities during the Revolution, and some of those peoples had fled Russia in order to survive. Russian Jews, including Chagall, were among these persecuted minorities. Now it all started to make sense. That was why Chagall had to leave Russia. That was why Chagall always portrayed his hometown on fire. He described his own horrible experiences as a Jew during the Revolution. I learned in high school and college courses that the Community Party brought minorities into a trial, but neither my teachers nor the book taught me who they were, and what their experiences were like. Chagall's paintings and his biography helped me glimpse who they were and what their experiences were like.

Similarly, social historians have used art to reconstruct the culture of ordinary people, many of whom were illiterate and did not leave a written record – in the form of political documents, diaries, newspapers, and other traditional primary sources in history

– of their own. Nonetheless, they did leave traces of their world and lives: folklore, popular arts, and fine arts that capture the experience of "the other." Microhistorians, like Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Zemon Davis, and Robert Scriber, have all used these forms of evidence – paintings, folklores, and engravings – in the search to document the histories of the common people.

Likewise, a few history educators interested in the use of art have also argued that arts provide a particularly powerful means for teachers to help students connect with the lives of people in the past, including – but not limited to – the masses, or people whose voices and ideas are absent in political and intellectual histories. Epstein (1994a), in her analysis of high school students' class discussion and interviews, found that when students were exposed to a variety of art, they were able to learn African Americans' circumstances by a first-hand voice, and understand what those circumstances looked like and felt like.

Moreover, Gabella (1996) argues that, through their interactions with art, students can develop empathy toward people who lived in a given historical period, in particular socio-cultural groups other than their own such as African Americans. In her yearlong study of the 11th grade U.S. history classroom of Jayne, a social studies teacher, Gabella helped her developing a curriculum in which the arts (including photography, films, paintings, and music) were integrated in most units. Gabella also observed every class session during two focus units, analyzed students' tests, papers, and projects, and conducted weekly interviews with six students. Through this study, she found that students understood how people in the given period felt by attending to the color and the mood of the artworks.

Learning about culture. Lastly, in my own study of art, I learned that the multiple facets of human history cannot be always reduced to political, socioeconomic, and ideological analysis. Again, I encountered early 21st century Russian painters, at a special traveling exhibit in Seoul: this time of the Bauhaus School from the Guggenheim Museum. Although the exhibit mainly included German painters, such as Klee, there were also a few works of Russian painters, like Kandinsky and those who worked with Kandinsky on artistic projects for the new Soviet states. One of these works captured my attention. It was a portrait of a bearded peasant with a cross in the background. I do not even remember this painter's name now. Yet, I do remember how the nametag described him: he was a devoted Communist, and the Communist Party rewarded him for his full-hearted devotion to the Revolution.

My friend, a graduate student in Western art history, asked what I saw in this portrait. He explained that the peasant represents Jesus Christ. Since the Russian artists were prohibited from practicing any religion, this painter had concealed his God in order to avoid censorship. In that moment, his explanations and the painting made me understand the Russian Revolution in a new and complex way. This painter had devoted his life to the Revolution, but he still believed in his God, while the Communist regarded religion as poisonous (like opium) to the people. When I had previously studied the Russian Revolution in books, I always analyzed and explained the Revolution rationally. I had never attended to how people living at that time saw, and felt their world. In attending to the Bauhaus exhibit, I learned that human lives are not so simple that I could analyze and explain them with political, socioeconomic, and ideological frameworks

only. And through this Russian painting, I learned that art could teach us lessons about the deeply rooted human feelings and emotions that we cannot learn from other sources.

Just as individuals can experience history through viewing art, cultural historians have used art as evidence to learn about the culture and mentality of people or the spirit of the age in the past. They have explored issues of religion, thought, ambition, and emotion through their examination of the visual arts and literature. Consider, for example, cultural historians including Jacob Burckhardt, Johan Huizinga, and Phillip Aries. Burckhardt (1860/1995) and Huizinga (1919/1996) identified the characteristics – respectively – of Italian and Dutch Renaissance by examining the visual arts and literature as critical sources. Aries (1962) reviewed images of children and adolescents in paintings and literature, and explored how the modern concept of childhood emerged in 16th and 17th century France.

To summarize, my personal experiences and the scholarship of historians and history educators tell us that artwork could be an effective pedagogical tool in teaching and learning history for the three reasons. First, it motivates students to learn. Second, it allows students to learn the history of ordinary people. Third, it also helps students learn the cultures and mentalities of the given historical period. It is also worthwhile to mention that these historians' ways of using the arts tend to parallel the ways in which the teachers' use of artwork in their teaching. I will discuss this connection between the use of the arts in the discipline of history and in history education in Chapter Two.

Challenges of Using Art in Teaching History

Despite all the merits I described above, both historians and history educators claim that simply using artwork does not guarantee students' historical understanding. My experience as an 8th grade history teacher provides one example to support their claims. After I graduated from college, I had an opportunity to teach world history in a middle school in Seoul for six months. As a novice teacher, although I had not read this scholarship, I, too, hoped to share my own learning experiences through art with my students. Unfortunately, although I was a good student of history, I wasn't a successful teacher, particularly when I tried to incorporate art in my teaching. I asked students to examine paintings and listen to music that were created in the period that we were studying. I was convinced that using these kinds of materials would both motivate them to learn history and deepen their historical understandings.

My teaching with the arts, however, was not successful. I taught in a highly centralized school system in Korea, where teachers' success was measured by students' performance on the national examinations. My students did not do very well on the test. The four World History classes I taught usually took the four lowest places out of nine classes in my school. These results made it hard for me to convince my colleagues that they too should use the arts. Above all else, the results made me ask questions about the role of art in teaching history and my own teaching through art: What went wrong? Students seemed to enjoy the class. However, according to the test results, they did not learn very much. It may very well be that I was not teaching significant lessons about history, which the national examinations were to measure; and it might also be that the

test was not designed to test the kinds of historical understanding that I was interested in teaching. The experience left me sobered, wishing to know more about the strengths and limitations of using the arts to teach history.

In the case of historians, Burke (2001) notes that historians should be very cautious when using art as an historical source. While we have sophisticated understandings concerning the strengths and weaknesses of other forms of historical evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, newspapers, etc.), we know little about the strengths and weaknesses of art as evidence. History educators also caution us about an unconditional resolve to use art in teaching: like all pedagogical tools, art is not always helpful in helping students develop historical understanding. Art, for example, can communicate stereotypes, giving students a false sense of understanding the perspectives of the "other." Moreover, art itself tells no stories to us – when, why, and by whom it was created, and how it is related to the given period when it was created – and therefore, students need both background knowledge and imaginative and interpretive skills to use the art responsibly and well.

Even when art might be an appropriate tool, the teacher is a crucial variable in the sound use of that tool. As Seixas (1998) notes, in some cases, teachers do not give appropriate instructions for students to learn from art -- in this case, photographs. In the study of four pre-service teachers, Seixas found that pre-service teachers often did not provide sufficient contextual information so that students could understand photographs within a larger context. Alternatively, they assigned exercises that were too difficult or asked questions that were too difficult. Pre-service teachers also tended to explain one event from one historical perspective without considering a variety of interpretations.

Consequently, both Burke and Seixas argue that to use art effectively, teachers – as well as historians – should know more about art as historical evidence, and should develop skills and knowledge associated with using art as a disciplinary or pedagogical tool.

Theoretical Framework: Explaining the Ways of Using the Arts

How, then do history teachers use the arts in their teaching, if at all? Why do history teachers choose to use the arts in their teaching? What are the factors that make their teaching with the arts successful, unsuccessful, or limited? As history educators argued, do history teachers use the arts to engage their students? How about teaching traditional aspects of history (politics and economics, say)? Again, like some of research findings, do history teachers actually use the arts to teach recent additions to the K-12 history curriculum (including social and cultural history)?

Teachers' responses vary. Some teachers answer that they use art because it "peak[s] students' interest in American history," and "gets students to talk" (Michelewitz, 2001). Others respond that it is because using art can "respect students' different learning styles" (Drake & Frederick, 1990). Epstein (1994a), a researcher and teacher at the time when she collected data for the dissertation, claimed that art could help students better represent their ideas – in particular, students who do not feel comfortable with essays or multiple choice tests.

As these different responses suggest, teachers decide to use a variety of art forms in their teaching for a variety of purposes. The final section of this chapter, therefore, explains a conceptual framework that identifies these different purposes, that is, factors that affect teachers' decisions about using art – specifically, teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching (including the purposes of teaching history).

Although there is no empirical study that explains a clear relationship between knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching, research findings across subject matters suggest that teachers' practices might be explained through what teachers know and believe about the subject that they teach – whether teachers know the nature of the subject that they teach as well as the content, whether teachers are familiar with the topics that they teach and what their disciplinary orientations are.

While I consider teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching as an important factor to explain teachers' ways of using art, current research also suggests that there are other factors that I will need to look at along with teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching, such as their knowledge and beliefs about students and their learning, curricula and the context where they teach. In the below, I review research on teacher knowledge, and discuss possible factors that shape teachers' practice with the arts. Because my interest lies in history teachers and their teaching of history, although I discuss some literature in English, math, and science when it is related, my review will focus on history teaching.

Possible Factors That Explain Teachers' Ways of Using the Arts

Teachers' historical knowledge. During the last 15 years or so, researchers, teacher educators, and policy makers have become interested in teachers' knowledge base and its relation to teachers' thinking and practice. Some researchers have focused on defining what constitutes subject matter knowledge. For example, Grossman, Wilson, and Shulman (1989) delineate several dimensions of subject matter knowledge, including content knowledge, substantive knowledge (e.g., ideas, concepts, facts, and the relationship among these ideas and concepts), syntactic knowledge (e.g., how new

knowledge is created and validated in the discipline) and beliefs about the subject matter. Others have explored whether and how teachers' subject matter knowledge is related to their teaching: how teachers' subject matter knowledge is related to what lesson goals teachers set, instructional strategies they use, questions they ask, and topics and ideas they teach in their classrooms (e.g., Grossman, 1990; Ball, 1991; Carlsen, 1987, 1991; Wilson & Wineburg, 1988).

In English, for example, Grossman (1990) found that teachers' choices of different lesson goals, activities, and instructional strategies corresponded with different orientations that they had toward literature (e.g., a text-orientation vs. a reader-orientation explain how these orientations mapped onto differences in teaching). Similarly, Ball (1990) found in her case studies of three experienced elementary mathematics teachers that when one of the teachers was more knowledgeable of the nature of mathematics as well as the content (e.g., concepts & procedures), the teacher put emphasis on helping students learn to judge the validity of their own ideas and results as much as helping them learn mathematical concepts and skills. Carlsen (1987, 1991) reported similar findings in science. In his study of four novice biology teachers, Carlsen found that when teachers in his case study were familiar with topics, they were likely to use lectures and open-ended laboratory activities rather than seatwork or non-laboratory group projects. Teachers also led more open-ended discussions and encouraged students to ask questions[1].

Researchers in history education make a similar claim: The teacher's subject matter knowledge and beliefs about the nature of historical knowledge may play a central

[1] Since all of this research is small scale and interpretivist, we make neither causal nor general claims about how prevalent these trends would be in the larger population of teachers. Nevertheless, this research helps begin to disentangle the potential relationships between different kinds of subject matter knowledge an d how that is related to teacher's practices.

role in shaping their ways of teaching. Two studies by Wilson and Wineburg (1988b, c) documented the relationship between teachers' (both novice and experienced) subject matter knowledge and their teaching. In the study of four novice social studies teachers with different undergraduate majors, Wilson and Wineburg (1988b) reported that teachers brought in different disciplinary perspectives in teaching, and those different perspectives affected how they view history, and how and what they choose to teach. Two teachers with undergraduate degrees in American studies and American history, for example, believed that history is a construction of human interpretation, and taught the same event from various angles, such as political, social, and cultural perspectives. They also used a variety of sources such as Jazz, novels, and graphs to grasp and represent the atmosphere of the given period. In contrast, two teachers, with undergraduate degrees in anthropology and political science, saw history as a collection of a series of facts, and presented history without enough contextual knowledge, and only from a single perspective.

Similarly, Wilson and Wineburg (1988c) in a study of two experienced teachers, found that when the two case study teachers had thorough knowledge about the nature of history as well as factual information, they organized facts and information surrounding big ideas of the curriculum, and provided students scaffolding for big ideas that students would encounter later. Consider Jensen, one of the two teachers, who understood that authority, freedom, and representation are main themes across American history. Jensen paid careful attention to the opportunities for students to encounter and reflect on these themes and whenever she taught relevant themes, she prepared students to think about those themes for future lessons. For instance, her American history course began with a

conference on "Human Nature," instead of a list of explorers in a unit of the "Age of Discovery." Students read excerpts from philosophers, such as Aristotle, Plato, Hume and Locke, and various political leaders from U.S. history and European history, such as Jefferson, Gandhi, Hitler and Mussolini, and presented these views to the class. Because Jensen knew the same issues would reappear in the lessons about the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and federalism, she could prepare students for these lessons by having them think about the same issues beforehand. She also provided several opportunities for students to think about these issues by having them read textbooks, short stories, and newspaper articles.

Hartzler-Miller (2000) closely examined two novice teachers who both majored in history as undergraduates. During one school year, she interviewed and observed two teachers, Julia and David. In her analyses of variations in their teaching over the course of the year, Hartzler-Miller found that when these teachers were more familiar with a topic, they were more likely to critically look at the textbook content. They also presented to students more detailed stories about events in terms of individual and collective actions and the contexts in which they occurred. These teachers also appeared more able to explain a single event from different perspectives and more apt to use multiple sources to help students learn about the topic. Hartzler-Miller's study reveals that, specifically in the case of novice teachers, content knowledge is a crucial lens for deciding what and how to teach.

Although research confirms that there are chances when teachers who have better subject matter knowledge teach better, there also seems to be evidence that teacher knowledge is not the only factor that determines what and how teachers teach. For

instance, VanSledright (1996), interviewing and observing Dr. Reese, a 14 year- veteran secondary history teacher, who had a Ph.D. in American history, found significant differences between what Dr. Reese understood about history and what and how she taught. As a historian, Dr. Reese had been influenced during her doctoral studies by revisionist historians and the scholarship of historiography, and knew the interpretative nature of history. As a teacher, however, she chose not to address this aspect of historical knowledge when she taught 9th grade history. Instead, she strictly followed the textbook, and emphasized the facts rather than the interpretations of history. Then what else than teacher knowledge explains teachers' decisions of what and how to teach history?

Teachers' beliefs about history and teaching history. To answer this question, a few researchers attend to teacher beliefs about history and history teaching. Through intensive interviews with five teachers, Evans (1994) found that when teachers believe that the purpose of history is to learn about other times, people, and places, they tend to emphasize details of people and events, giving lectures and telling stories, while teachers, who focus on teaching the skills of historical inquiry, tend to include more activities, such as simulations or student debates. In both cases, teachers have a strong educational background in the discipline of history.

Explaining a gap between Dr. Reese's knowledge as a historian and practice as a history teacher, VanSledright (1998) also hypothesizes that Reese might have entered graduate school with a firm objectivist epistemological stance about history and, despite her doctoral studies, might still have had difficulties in switching her original epistemological stance and in fully accepting the interpretative nature of history. VanSledright also wonders whether the disconnect between Dr. Reese's knowledge and

practice might be due to the fact that she had not experienced or observed exemplary teachers who knew how and when to emphasize the interpretative nature of history.

Together, these four studies illuminate how teachers' disciplinary perspectives, familiarity with the content and beliefs about the purposes of teaching history might affect their decisions of what and how to teach history. While none of these studies investigated how teachers' subject matter knowledge affects their use of a particular pedagogical tool – in this case, art – the existing research suggests that quite possibly, teachers' subject matter knowledge and beliefs about history might play a role in how, when, and why teachers might use such a resource in their teaching.

Teacher knowledge about students and learning. Researchers also note that other factors might affect what and how teachers teach. Teachers' conception of the role of a teacher, their understanding of students' intellectual readiness, and external factors, such as mandatory curriculum guides and the pressures of standardized assessment, have all surfaced as potentially significant factors that shape instruction.

VanSledright offers two explanations of the discrepancy between Dr. Reese's knowledge of history and her practice. First, VanSledright suggests that the gap exists because Dr. Reese's school district curriculum and a department examination required her to teach facts rather than interpretations and to have students refer to the textbook as an authoritative and objective account of the past. Second, VanSledright wonders whether Dr. Reese's beliefs in students' readiness or ability help shape her decision not to teach the interpretative nature of history. Dr. Reese, for instance, spent more time in discussing the interpretation of the historical event and the use of historical evidence in an Advanced Placement class than in the regular senior class. Later, Dr. Reese told

VanSledright that she believed that historical inquiry was not appropriate for senior students outside of an Advanced Placement class.

VanSledright's two hypotheses also seem to explain the case of David Parker, a three year-novice World History teacher who participated in Hartzler-Miller's study. Hartzler-Miller (2001) found that although David knows the interpretative nature of history and significant issues in the discipline of history such as objectivity, he wanted to teach a coherent historical narrative rather than the process of historical inquiry. Defining the process of historical inquiry as working with primary sources, David believes that teaching the process of historical inquiry is impractical, given the limited class time and variety of student abilities. Thus, in David's view, the best history instruction he could provide entailed conveying a broad and conceptual narrative in the way that all of his students could understand.

VanSleright's and Hartzler-Miller's research suggest that there is no simple or direct relationship between teachers' subject matter knowledge and what and how they choose to teach. Other factors intervene, including teachers' assumptions about students' readiness and/or ability, as well as district mandates and policies.

Where Should We Go from Here?

To summarize, findings from previous research suggest that art can be used to motivate students to learn and remember more information, to engage with experiences of ordinary people, and to discern beliefs and values of people from the given historical period. Previous research in the discipline of history also reveals that art has been used as historical evidence, which has helped historians understand the cultures and mentalities of a given period and better communicate their understanding to readers. In

addition, research in teacher knowledge and history education suggests that teachers' subject matter knowledge of art and history, and their beliefs about history and teaching history might be significant factors that explain teachers' ways of using art. All three lines of research confirm the importance of my two main research questions: How do the teachers use arts in their teaching? How do their knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching influence their ways of using arts?

Most of all, while previous studies inform us about the potential roles of using art in doing and teaching history, there are areas that previous studies fail to address. As briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, not many studies inquire into why *the teachers* decide to use the arts in their classrooms. Which artwork do they want to use and why? What do the teachers teach with the arts? How do they want to use the arts? What are challenges that they meet while using the arts? In what ways are their rationales for using the arts related to their purposes of teaching history in general? How does their knowledge of art history affect their ways of using the arts? I believe that responding to these questions will give us insights into why and how the teachers use the arts to teach history. A thick description and analysis of why, what, and how history teachers use art in their classrooms will enable history educators to understand which forces shape teachers' ways of using art. In the following section, I end this chapter by a brief overview of each chapter.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 aims to introduce to readers the ways that arts had been used in history teaching and learning. I first define what 'art' or 'the arts' means in this study. Second, I examine how the three schools of historians – cultural historians, social historians, and

postmodern historians – use the arts or the idea of art in their inquiry. Third, I showcase one case of using the arts in historical inquiry by analyzing two chapters from Schama's (1987, 1991) *Embarrassment of the Riches: an Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, and from *Dead Certainties*. Given these two chapter analyses, I will illustrate the three different ways of using the arts in teaching history.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology for this study. I will explain the rationales of why I chose the comparative case study as methodology of this study. I will also discuss lessons that I have learned in collecting and analyzing the data.

Chapter 4 provides a thick description of how the three secondary history teachers in this study used the arts in their classrooms. In order to do so, I will introduce the teachers to the reader, and explain the goals of the units that they taught. I then illustrate two or three critical lessons presented by each teacher. Finally, I will discuss how these three teachers' uses of the arts are similar to or different from each other and align these different disciplinary logics with those exhibited by the three schools of historians I discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 explains what these teachers believed about what history is about and why history should be taught. Then it also explores the influences of their beliefs about history and history teaching on their practice with the arts. This chapter consists of two sections, which will be similar in Chapter 6. I first analyze each teacher' beliefs about history and history teaching, and then examine how those beliefs affect which artwork each teacher uses, and how.

Chapter 6 explores the relationship between teacher knowledge about history and their use of the arts. To analyze the teachers' knowledge, I use Wilson and Wineburg's

(1988) five criteria and discuss the characteristics of each teacher's knowledge. Then, I discuss how each teacher's knowledge might shape why and how he/she chose to use the arts.

Chapter 7 concludes the study, discussing lessons that I have learned in my investigation as well as factors – other than knowledge and beliefs – that explain the three teachers' use of the arts in their classrooms. I also discuss the implications of this study for the field of history education.

Chapter Two

Background

The Evolution of the Meanings of the Arts and How the Arts Are Used by Historians

The main goal of this chapter is to provide a background of the definitions of 'art' and of various ways in which art has been used as evidence in historical inquiry. In doing so, I would like for readers to get a sense of what using the arts in teaching history would be like and why historians, like the teachers, choose to use the arts. This chapter consists of three parts. First, I define "the arts." However, instead of selecting one definition over another, I examine the history of the various definitions of arts, as well as the nature of art. In doing so, I hope to identify the aspects of art that make art a valuable resource for both history and history education. Second, I examine the three groups of historians and how they use the arts – cultural historians, social historians, and postmodern historians. I explore what artwork historians use and why. Third, I describe and analyze the ways in which one particular historian, Simon Schama, has used the arts in his work – what strategies he uses in using artwork and what content he communicates to his readers. While this is a single, in-depth analysis, my goal is to provide readers with both broad brushstrokes and fine-grained discussions of how historians use art. These, in turn, may provide us with a sense of the possible logics available to teachers who use the arts in their history classrooms.

Definitions of Art

Let us begin by examining how the definition of art has evolved throughout history. Since debates concerning the definition of the arts focus on the nature of art, including the significance and value of the arts (Beyer, 1998), the review of these

different definitions of art over time will give us a sense of what the nature of art entails, and of which features of artwork allow various historians to use art in their work.

There have been three major approaches to define art. One focuses on the "art object" itself – a painting or sculpture, say – and explores the internal nature of art in order to understand the characteristics of art. A second approach focuses on the process of creating artwork. In other words, the first approach emphasizes the product of artistic creation; the second, both the artist who creates the artwork and the process of making it. Third, more recently, philosophers of art have provided us with another definition, which attends to the quality of experience that art objects create, called "aesthetic experience." The history of the philosophy of art in Western culture suggests that the emphasis has been moving away from the first (art as object) and second (art as process) approaches toward the third (art as experience) (Beyer, 1998; Davies, 1991). Below, I describe each of these approaches briefly.

The Arts as Artifacts

Representing the physical world. The search for the definition of art began at least with Plato and Aristotle, the early Greek philosophers. While these two take quite different stances toward the role of the arts in society, both philosophers believed that the internal nature of the arts transformed ordinary artifacts into artwork. Plato (1944) argued that the artist represents the mental ideal – for him, the reality – and the work of the artist is to describe images from the mental ideal by copying individual appearances of this ideal. Therefore, for Plato, the work of the artist should be judged based on whether the artist imitates the essential nature [the form] of the reality.

As a student of Plato, Aristotle (1932) agreed with his teacher's definition of art; however, he viewed art as an imitation of the physical world rather than the ideal. He viewed art as an imitation or replication of the mental and physical world. Further departing from Plato, Aristotle argued that creating a work of art involved mere copying. And he emphasized the importance of the role of artists in representing reality. Observing that artists decided on the medium and style by which they would reflect the physical world, Aristotle concluded that not all artworks are equally art-full. Most of all, Aristotle claimed that art was supposed to represent the universal features of nature such as human emotions. By representing this universal feature of the human and physical nature, the arts – for Aristotle – created an experience that helps the audience feel the pity and fear, joy and rapture. And since these emotions were experienced secondhand, the audience was freed from effects of the similar emotions that they might experience in their real life.

Representing emotions and feelings. Other philosophers, such as Bell (1914/1930) and Langer (1953), would agree with Aristotle: art represents and evokes our emotions. They believe that certain feelings are personal and that emotions can be represented by certain forms – lines and colors combined in particular ways. For example, Bell (1914/1930), an art philosopher known as a formalist, defined arts significant form. Langer (1953), a renowned American art philosopher, takes a similar stance. In refuting the idea that the arts should be created for their own sake, Langer argues that works created for a utilitarian purpose can be classified as art when the forms represent human feelings and emotions.

Representing cultural practices. While Bell and Langer emphasize the role of art in expressing the artist's personal emotions and feelings, some art philosophers argue that the arts are instead determined by external factors, such as artists' and art critics' community, or the larger society. Dickie (1971) points out that whether a piece of work is regarded as art is decided by the art world, including artists, art critics, and others who are involved with the institution of art. Art, from this perspective, is a matter of collective and constructed taste. Levinson (1998) elaborates, arguing that whether a piece of work has any relation or resemblance to other works in the history of art determines whether it is art or not. All these philosophers argue that art is defined by the society's or the community of artists' expectations of what art is.

Dewey's (1934) definition of the arts seems to summarize what these 20th century philosophers suggest: he sees the arts not as copies of real or ideal objects, but reflections of emotions and ideas that are not only personal but also associated with the society in general. For instance, Dewey argues that, historically, the arts of the drama, music, painting, and architecture were created not for theaters, galleries, and museums. Instead, paintings and sculpture decorated buildings; music and songs were inseparable of the ceremonies and rites to memorialize people's communities, traditions, and lives; and drama celebrated and reenacted the legends and history of a group's experience (p. 7). Thus, Dewey locates the roots of arts in the collective cultural life and considers art as a cultural practice.

Art as the Process of Creating Art

While some philosophers of aesthetics emphasize the characteristics of art that imitate and represent the physical world, feelings and emotion, and cultural practices,

others argue that art also involves the creative processes entailed. In particular, artists such as Shelley (1900) and Tolstoy (1898) consider art the process of creating art objects (e.g., writing poems or writing novels), and both pointed out that one of the critical features of art is that the artists express their personal emotions of fear, happiness and sadness through the arts (p.511). Philosophers of history have suggested a slightly different definition. Both Collingwood (1938) and Croce (1909/1953) consider art as a process through which artists realize their emotions by giving these feelings a definite form. In particular, Croce emphasizes the role of artistic intuition in the artist's motivation, and Collingwood argues that artistic creation is something that comes from imagination.

Building upon these definitions of art, Dewey (1934) describes the qualities of the artistic process as follows:

> Any idea that ignores the necessary role of intelligence in production of works of art is based upon identification of thinking with use of one special kind of material, verbal signs and words. To think effectively in terms of relations of qualities is as severe a demand upon thought as to think in terms of symbols, verbal and mathematical. Indeed, since words are easily manipulated in mechanical ways, the production of a work of genuine art probably demands more intelligence than does most of the so-called thinking that goes on among those who pride themselves on being "intellectuals." (p. 46)

Dewey notes that creating art involves intellectual and creative activity that could parallel what mathematicians and scientists do (Eisner, 1994). To Dewey, the process of creating art involves not only emotional but also intellectual activity that should be taught and trained intentionally in school curriculum.

Art as Aesthetic Experience

While philosophers who define art as an object assume that art represents some kind of reality – the physical and mental world and further cultural practices – others

view art as the valuable experience that the audience/viewer has when they encounter these objects. These philosophers, thus, attempted to identify the qualities of experience that turn some experiences into "aesthetic experience." For example, Greene (1991) discusses the meanings that art evokes through aesthetic experience. She argues that when people hear and see artwork, they do not passively accept what the artists express through the artwork. Since the artwork does not tell stories, the audience/viewer has to participate in understanding what the artwork tells, or make meanings by themselves. In other words, aesthetic experiences require the audience/viewer's conscious participation in a work, associated with emotion and imagination.

The experience of emotion and feeling. Beardsley (1983) argued that one of the qualities of an aesthetic experience is its ability to inspire emotion and feeling in the audience and viewer. Similarly, in describing what art could mean for human beings, Dewey (1934) argues that emotion and feeling could bind parts of experience together into a single whole. However, Dewey further asserts that the emotion does not exclude the intellectual. "Intellectual" simply identifies the fact that the experience as having meaning. The most elaborate philosophic or scientific inquiry and the most ambitious industrial or political enterprise have something in common – aesthetic quality (p. 55).

Experience with imagination. Some art philosophers combined the first quality of aesthetic experience – eliciting an emotional response from the audience/viewer with the second quality – active intellectual participation – claim that an aesthetic experience is really the exercising of the imagination. For instance, Collingwood (1938) emphasized the role of imagination in enabling the audience/viewers' emotional responses to artwork – their abilities to identify with, live vicariously through, the arts.

Definition for This Study

In sum, the evolution of various definitions of the arts suggests that there are three approaches to thinking about the nature of the arts (art as artifact, art as creative process, and art as aesthetic experience). Acknowledging these three approaches, philosophers in education also attend educational features of art. For instance, art might help students understand the physical world, as well as emotions and feelings of the artist – specifically in teaching history, the mentalities of people from another time period. More importantly, students' experiences of the artwork might be different from their engagement with other materials.

Given this history of the definition of art in mind, I am not going to use any specific definition of art. Instead, I will use the terms "art" and "the arts" interchangeably, and present below the definition of "the arts" offered by the U. S. Congress that roughly covers all the three definitions: art as objects, art as a creative process, and art as aesthetic experience. I also chose to present the U.S. Congress' definition because it is will give us an idea about prevalent notions of art in the contemporary society:

> The term "the arts" includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, film, video, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of such major art forms, all those traditional arts practiced by the diverse peoples of this country, (*sic*) and the study and application of the arts to the human environment (the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1965).

However, as philosophers have taught us, and as the teachers who participated in this study will illustrate, it is also important to think about the arts as something more

than the objects created. And so for the purposes of this study, I will take heed of Dewey's urging to be generous in our definition of art, attending to the three definitions: art as art objects, art as creative process, and art as aesthetic experiences.

Before turning to a discussion of how historians use art in their research, I should also note that many of the scholars mentioned here have clear ideas about the implications of the nature of art for school, education, and curriculum. Greene (1991), for instance, emphasizes the educational significance of aesthetic experiences, focusing on the meanings that arts can create by aesthetic experience. She argues that aesthetic experiences require the audience/viewer's conscious participation in a work. Knowing "about" things is very different from imagining a fictive world perceptually, affectively, and cognitively. Greene notes that in drawing students' attention to shapes, patterns, sounds, rhythms, figures of speech, contours, and lines, art helps students develop their own understanding of artwork as evidence.

Historians' Use of the Arts at a Glance

I now turn to considering how three schools of historians use the arts in their inquiries. This is not a comprehensive review of how art is used in history, which would be the subject of several dissertations in and of itself. Rather, here my goal is more modest: to explore the relationships between different definitions or conceptions of the arts and how these arts are used by various communities of historians. For example, as we shall see, cultural historians often use art as artifact, while social historians use the arts as expression of ordinary people's emotions and feelings. Postmodern historians consider history as art, thereby emphasizing the aesthetic experience of history.

I begin by briefly discussing how the three schools of historians view and use the arts in their inquiries. Second, I showcase how Simon Schama, a historian who has made a name for himself through his skillful use of art (including engravings, paintings, and folklore) use the arts (Gaskell, 1991). I chose Schama because his ways of using the arts are quite varied. It is my hope that this brief sojourn into history more generally, as well as the more fine-grained analysis of Schama's use of the arts, will provide readers with a sense of how the arts might be used in history classrooms.

The Three Ways of Using the Arts in History

Cultural history: Art as historical evidence. Traditionally, art has not played a main role in historical research, although a few historians have used art as historical sources to make sense of a society's culture, including the beliefs and values of people and communities. As Burke (1991) notes, it has only been during the last three decades that historians have broadened their interest to include not only the history of political events, economic trends, and social structures, but also the history of culture, everyday life, and ordinary people. The increasing interest in cultural and social history drew historians' eyes to the kind of historical sources that they have not often used – art. The publication of the special issues on art in history journals reveals this new interest in art as historical evidence. A group of historians and art historians published a special issue of *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1986) about visual arts as historical evidence. Another group of historians have published *Picturing History* series since 1995, including Burke's (2001) *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence,* and have examined the history of material culture, the history of the body, and the history of religion using the visual arts as historical evidence.

Although historians' interest in art appears to be recently emerging, a handful of historians have used the arts as historical sources as far back as late 19th century, primarily using visual arts such as paintings and literature. In his book, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* Burckhardt (1860/1995) used 15th century Italian paintings and literature to identify characteristics of the Italian Renaissance. Comparing Renaissance art to that produced in the Greek and Roman periods, he identified the commonalities in the culture of Italian Renaissance and of Greek and Roman period. Huizinga (1919/1996), a Dutch historian and author of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, also used art as a critical source in his book. Exploring the age of the Renaissance in the Netherlands, he analyzed styles in the visual arts and literature, claiming that given the repetition of medieval styles in art, the Renaissance in the Netherlands might be simply a part of the later Middle Ages, not a period of re-birth of a new culture. Aries (1962), a French family historian, also reviewed visual arts and literature, using them extensively in his *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. Reviewing images of children and adolescents in art over time, he argued that the modern concept of childhood emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Social history: Alternative resource. Like cultural historians, social historians have used art to learn about the culture of socially invisible people (often women or the "common" people), many of whom were illiterate and, therefore, not as well represented in written and recorded artifacts (Bravati, Buxton, & Seldon, 1996; Burke, 1991). Micro-historians like Carlo Ginzburg (1980) and Natalie Zemon Davis (1983), for instance, used sources, such as the 15th century Italian paintings and folklore in rural France, to recreate a mental world of Italians in the 15th century or beliefs and values of rural peasants in

medieval France. Scribner (1981/1994), a historian of the German Reformation, also uses the visual propaganda in woodcuts and book illustrations as his main source for his argument in *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation.* Scribner (1981/1994) maintains that, because most of underclass Germans were illiterate (only 5% of Germans were literate in the 16th century), visual propaganda was important for both anti-reformists and reformists in spreading evangelical messages. Thus, analyzing visual propaganda, he posits, would be the most helpful way to examine the beliefs and values anti-reformists and reformists wanted to communicate to the illiterate masses, and what messages the underclass Germans were exposed to. Historians interested in African American history also confront the problem of limited "official" records and turn to the arts for insights and evidence.

Photography is another kind of art that historians draw upon as they try to understand the everyday life of ordinary people (Burke, 2001; Davidson & Lytle, 1981). Historians, particularly in the U. S., have used photographs as historical evidence in the fields of urban and social history (Warner, 1970). Works by photographers who documented the living and working conditions of ordinary people, such as Riis (1849-1914), Hines (1874-1940), and Lange (1895-1965), have been examples that historians refer to when they study urban history and social reforms throughout late 19th to early 20th century and the migration during the Great Depression and the New Deal.

While photographs have been accepted as new evidence, historians have nonetheless wrestled with the question of what photographs really represent (Burke, 2001; Davidson & Lytle, 1992; Harrison, 1996). Reviewing historical research in Britain that includes photographs as a main form of historical evidence, Harrison (1996) points

out that, because photography documents the moment something happens, some people initially believe that photography is objective, a mirror of what happened. Yet, he argues, photography also conveys the conventions and ways of seeing of a certain period of time (the collective sense of what constitutes "taste," as I described it earlier in this chapter). For instance, Victorian photography resembles – in many ways – Dutch or French paintings; this is not surprising since many Victorian photographers had been artists or had received artistic training, and all of them were shaped by the central values of that society. Similarly, Robert Coles (1997) argues that photographers make choices in both the content of the photograph they take, as well as how they crop and edit their photographs afterwards, in their efforts to make a point. Given these observations, it is clear that the use of photographs as historical evidence requires that historians attend to these more interpretive and artistic aspects of photography as they consider how to interpret and use photographs as evidence. This is, of course, true of all the sources of evidence that historians use to tap into the lives, morals, beliefs, and experiences of people as they construct social histories.

Postmodern history: History as artistic endeavor. A third group of historians who write about art are the postmodern historians. Their perspective is quite different from that of the social and cultural historians, for they write about history *as* art. Of course, this idea of history as art did not originate with the postmodern age, for many historians – trying to capture the process oriented aspects of the work – have spoken of history as an art or a craft (recall that crafts are included in the U.S. Congress definition of art objects). Asked what would be the critical strengths that make a successful historian, Bailyn (1994) explains the nature of the discipline of history:

> They have got to develop imagination in their work and a disciplined control over their research. And much depends on motivation. Acquiring the discipline of this craft – and it is a craft – is hard for some people. History *can* be an art, it is *never* a science, it is *always* a craft, and to develop craft skills takes discipline, knowledge of the traditions and accomplishment and errors of the past, and above all motivation. (p. 636)

Similarly, in documenting how he helped both college and high school students create and question historical narratives, Holt (1990) argues that while their work is grounded in evidence, historians need imagination to assemble evidence and create a narrative, a model, and a theory. Most of all, "there is always a gap between the story accessible" through evidence and "the story to be reconstructed" (Holt, p. 11), so historians need to fill this gap using their imagination, in Holt's words, "disciplined creativity."

While all the three historians, Bailyn, Holt and Elton, emphasize the role of imagination in historical research and at the same time historical scholarship that builds the imagination, the postmodern philosophers of history, literary critics, and historians have made a stronger argument by redefining the boundaries between history and fiction. Challenging the view that history seeks to document actual past events and find a general rule to explain them, this camp of historians and literary critics have claimed that there is no essential difference between history and fiction (Barthes, 1970; La Capra, 1983; White, 1973). Focusing on the process of creating history and the imagination that work requires, they maintain that although historians are thought to objectively tell what really happened, they are never objective. Historical imagination is not based on objective or value-free judgment of historical scholarship; history involves moral judgment, which is always tethered to values and subjectivity. They must often use the same linguistic devices that novelists use.

Three assumptions run throughout this claim that history should be seen as art. First is the assumption, already noted, that historians use linguistic conventions that novelists use. These conventions make historical accounts sound as if historians are writing about the past as "it really was." Second is an assumption that historians construct history out of the past as novelists construct stories – out of their experiences or imagination. Given the fact that historians never experience the actual past and give their past as novelists construct stories out of their experiences or imagination, a third assumption is that historical accounts are always partly constructed. Based on these three assumptions, some historians and literary critics claim that history is no longer different from fiction, and define history as "a story about the past that historians create by their imagination" (Jenkins, 1991, p.26) rather than "a record to show simply how it really was"(Bann, 1990, p.2).

In sum, there appears to be a loose correlation between the three definitions of the arts, different schools of historical work, and how those historians use art (see Table 2.1)

Table 2.1. Historians' Use of the arts

	Art	*History*	*Historians*
Cultural history	Art as artifacts	History of cultures and mentalities of people in the past	Burckhardt, Huizinga, Burk, & Aries
Social history	Art as artifacts	History of the ordinary people	Ginzburg, Davis, & Scribner
Postmodern history	History as art	Historiography	Barthes, White, & LaCapra

A caveat is in order here. Although I have pointed out the loose associations among various definitions of art and various schools of historical thought, these ideas about art and its use in history are much more fluid. Much like Dewey, who pulled

together very different ideas under the umbrella of "art," so too historians can conceptualize and use art in a variety of ways, making it nearly impossible to put them in a single cell of any such analysis. My point here is not to make categorical comments about the various uses of history or of the work of historians. My point is rather to explore the varied ways that art and history commingle. To do that in more depth, I now turn to the work of Simon Schama.

A Closer Look at Schama's Use of the Arts

The Embarrassment of Riches. In his book, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, Schama (1997) investigates more than 300 paintings, using them as sources to illuminate what Dutch affluence looked like and how moral sensibilities and patriotism shaped Dutch behaviors in every day life, ranging from ideas about how to educate children to ideas about how to treat women and minorities. Schama's use of art is by far the most extensive analysis of art in the name of history to be offered by a recognized historian in recent times.

Schama's skillful use of art appears when he depicts and discusses Dutch affluence in the 17th century. Let us consider how Schama describes Dutch affluence:

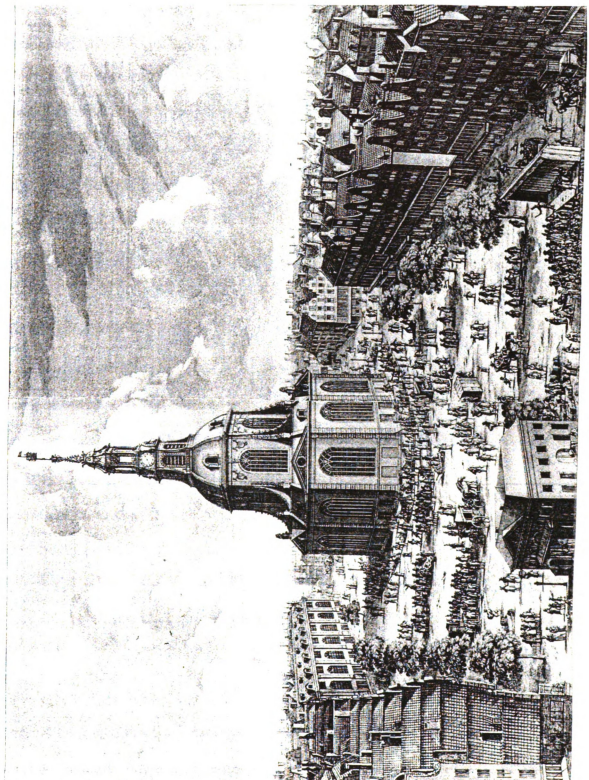
> How much property was good for the Dutch? On the face of it, in the most miserable conditions that Europe had experienced since the fourteenth century, the question was absurd. The Republic was an island of plenty in an ocean of want. Its artisans, even its unskilled workers and its farmers (for it seems a misnomer to call the peasants) enjoyed higher real incomes, better diet and safer livelihoods than anywhere else on the continent... The country's riches seemed invulnerable to the scourges that fell upon the rest of the world with merciless intensity. Capital begot capital with astonishing ease, and so far from denying themselves its fruits, capitalists reveled in the material comforts in bought. At mid-century there seemed no limit, certainly no geographical limit, to the range of its fleets and the resourcefulness of its entrepreneurs. No sooner was one consumer demand glutted or exhausted than another promising raw material was discovered, the supply monopolized, demand stimulated, markets exploited at home and abroad. Would the tide of prosperity ever ebb? (p. 323)

Immediately following this paragraph, Schama exhibits an engraving that occupies the next two pages (pp. 326-327). As soon as the reader finishes reading this paragraph, and turns to the next page, he/she encounters *New Church on the Botermarkt* (See Figure 2.1).

When we look at the engraving, it seems clear that the artist has captured the very essence of the Dutch golden age: The streets are teeming with people, walking or by horses or in carriages, or watching the events on the stage, be that a drama or speech. Noteworthy too is that another new building is now under construction. Most of all, the unceasing skyline of houses standing closely in continuous rows and the magnificent new church at the center, where the architect seems about to finish his final touch, show us the affluence enjoyed by the Dutch in the 17th century. By offering this picture, Schama is doing more than illustrating his claims about Dutch affluence, he is offering the drawing as evidence for those claims.

Consider another example. Schama also uses paintings and engravings to show how Dutch parents wanted to educate their children. Consider his analysis of *A Portrait of a Child* by Jacob Cuyp (pp.545-550, see Figure 2.2), which portrays a little girl wearing a coral necklace with the oversized pretzel in her hand and a dog beside her. Schama argues that the portrait was done for a religious family, and that the little girl's parents wanted to instruct her in the ways in which life is a process of contending with good and evil; for that life, she would need a strong sense of morality. Schama assumes that the objects in the portrait were chosen purposefully, interpreting for his readers the meaning of the coral necklace, the pretzel, and the dog, and using his wide ranging knowledge of Calvinist traditions and German folklore to do so.

Figure 2.1. New Church on the Botermarket. Bodleian Library, Oxford.



For instance, Schama first explains that, in the Calvinist tradition, the coral necklace had been a talisman to protect the wearer against evil, and in Germany and the Dutch Republic, children traditionally wore pretzels on their arms on All Souls' Eve (Halloween) as amulets against evil. Elaborating, he demonstrates that the coral necklace appeared in other religious family portraits, and that pretzels had appeared in other paintings associated with children, such as those of Bruegel and Steen. Using yet another piece of art, Schama argues that the pretzel symbolizes the battle between good and evil. He arranges two paintings as follows: On the top of the page is a painting where two pairs of hands clasp either side of a pretzel; and on the bottom page, is an enlarged version of the portrait of the little girl holding her pretzel in one hand and a leash to her dog in the other (see Figure 2.2). Schama then translates the message on the upper image – "life is but a struggle, and the struggle is predictably between the forces of God and devil, redemption and damnation" (p. 550) – and points out that other printed images confirm his point even more directly, for those images describe the hands being those of the Christian god and devil. Noticing the girl holds the same pretzel in her hand, Schama suggests that the girl's parents wanted the pretzel included to symbolize the importance of instructing their daughter in moral lessons.

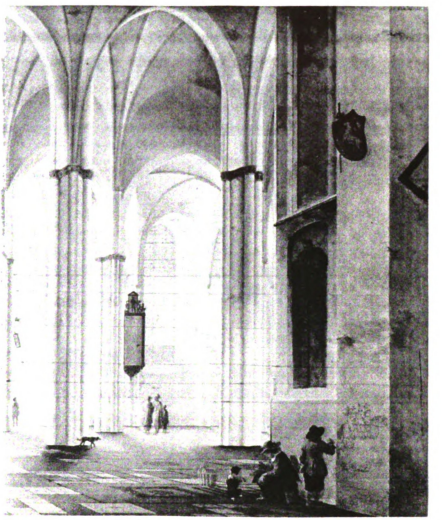
The puppy conveys the same message, although Schama argues that it also symbolizes Christian instruction to children in how to win this battle between good and evil, and to live a moral life. Schama explains that the training of a dog in obedience had been used as a visual analogue to the instruction of children, and that these images appeared repeatedly in Dutch paintings. As evidence, Schama presents four paintings of dogs with children on the next two pages (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2. Pretzels in Two Dutch Paintings.

Emblem from Johan de Brune, Emblemata, 1624. Houghton Library, Harvard University

Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp, Portrait of a Child. Collection of Sir John Plumb, Cambridge, England

Figure 2.3. Puppies in Four Paintings.



Pieter Saenredam,
Interior of the Buurkerk,
Utrecht, 1644. Courtesy of the Trustees,
National Gallery, London

Detail from title page of Cats,
Houwelijck (Amsterdam, 1655)

Jacob Ochtervelt,
Family Portrait, 1663.
Fogg Museum of Art,
Harvard University

Emblem from Roemer Visscher,
Sinnepoppen. Houghton Library,
Harvard University

Jan Luiken, "*De leiband*,"

The first is the painting where one of two boys teaches a puppy to pose. The next is an image in which the puppy stands on its hind legs and, before the puppy, a picture book is opened to a painting of Moses holding the Ten Commandments. The third is a family portrait in which the puppy takes the same posture around a girl and her parents as the puppy's posture in the second painting. The fourth portrays one girl and two ladies strolling outside with a puppy running in the background. Schama notes that these images convey the message that children were to be taught to obey the Christian way, much like how we teach puppies to follow certain commands. He also points out that instruction of the puppy was more often associated with the education of girls than boys, suggesting that, perhaps, obedience might have been a virtue valued in girls more than boys.

To summarize, Schama uses paintings and engravings as evidence to support his claims about Dutch affluence and morality. He also uses these paintings and engravings to make his argument more persuasive, accessible, and communicable to readers. Consider the steps Schama takes, in helping the reader understand 17th century Dutch society. He first identifies clues from paintings and engravings, and then looks for the information that might help him find the meanings of each clue. He consults his background knowledge about German and Dutch culture, and interprets what each clue, such as a coral necklace and a pretzel, means by drawing on his knowledge about allegories, stories, or tales behind those clues. After exploring each clue in the paintings, he weaves the clues together. Thus, he considers the influence of political and theological ideas in creating and developing meanings behind the clues, and connects

those meanings to the larger context of 17th century Dutch society. Finally, he concludes that the Dutch emphasis on morality might come from the need to connect individuals through membership in the Dutch republic.

Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations. As a historian, Schama (1991) has also been interested in the nature of historical knowledge: how it is produced, verified, and warranted. And the title of this piece of historical fiction gives him away: the pun "dead certainties" plays on both questions of certitude and history being about the inaccessible "dead."

In *Dead Certainties*, Schama uses three accounts about the death of General Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham in Canada. He first tells a story about the general's death from the perspective of an imaginary soldier who witnesses Wolfe's death. Dying like all men die on battlefields, alone, in pain, covered in dirt and blood, a soldier approached him, and let him know they had won the battle. The story ends as Wolfe praises God for the victory.

The next account about Wolfe's death is a history painter Benjamin West's masterpiece called *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) (See Figure 2.4). Schama describes how West reconstructed the death of Wolfe from West's own perspective. Although West read a story about how Wolfe died, he did not paint what he read. Wolfe was a hero, so "Wolfe must not die like a common soldier under a bush" (p. 28). Thus, West depicted Wolfe as dying surrounded by 11 soldiers including two Native American and two soldiers who held the British flag as a background. Schama unpacks how West reconstructed this historical scene of Wolfe's death given the artistic conventions at that time and West's own prejudices. For instance, Schama compares two paintings of

West's, *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* and *The Death of Nelson*, and shows the reader that West described the death of historical figures in similar ways.

Lastly, Schama tells a story of Francis Parker, who devoted his life to writing the history of the relationship between England and France in Northern America in the 18th century. By depicting Parker's life as search for the historical truth, Schama tells the reader how challenging it is to capture what really happened in the past.

Figure 2.4. Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe.*

My analysis of Schama is meant as a backdrop to the ways in which the three teachers who participated in this study used the arts in their classrooms. It is important to note, however, that historians' and history teachers' practices are different in some important ways. First of all, the purpose of doing history for historians is to create new knowledge. They use art as evidence to persuade other historians and readers. In sum,

Schama uses the arts in two distinct ways. First, like other cultural historians, he uses the arts as historical evidence to learn about the beliefs and values of people in the given historical period. Expanding the traditional pool of resources used – written records in diaries, books, ledgers, court proceedings, and the like, Schama scours pictures for clues about how people lived. Second, he uses the arts as a pedagogical tool in order to communicate with and to teach his readers about the past. They become, for Schama, his argument. By refuting past claims, and sometimes by elaborating on or extending them.

In analyzing Dutch paintings that have children in them, Schama carefully extends Philippe Aries' (1962) claim that Western culture began to view children as human beings distinct from adults and childhood as the age of innocence to be protected. Schama argues that the view on children varies across countries and socioeconomic classes. While Aries focused on the emergence of clothes, etiquettes, or education distinctly for children, Schama argues that children, particularly in the Dutch Republic, represented mischief, as well as innocence, and participated in economic activities like adults, at the same time that they were often well protected and cared for by their families[2]. In so doing, Schama produces new knowledge of the past.

Transition to Chapters Three and Four

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[2] For instance, presenting three paintings in which babies create nose-holding scenes and two paintings in which children pickpocket sleeping adults, he reports that those scenes are typical in Dutch paintings associated with children. Those scenes suggest that simply having children wear different clothes or have different education from adults does not mean that all Western culture saw children innocent human beings, and protected them from the adults' world. At least in Dutch Republic, Schama argues that the society saw children as human beings who reflected the mischievous behaviors and attitudes of the adults' world, and children from underclass families had to already join economic activities like adults rather than be taken care of.

Unlike historians, history teachers do not necessarily create new knowledge about history (although they can). They, instead, create new historical understanding for students (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991), as well as develop a practical knowledge of history teaching. They use arts to help students learn about certain aspects of history, and get students motivated to learn. Because they have different ends in mind, teachers might use art in different ways. They might use art to teach traditional aspects of history (politics and economics, say) or more recent additions to the K-12 history curriculum (including social and cultural history). They also use art to get students interested in learning history.

In the chapters that follow, I explore how and why three different secondary history teachers conceptualized the relationship between history and art, and how they used the arts in their instruction. While their work is distinct from that of the social, cultural, and postmodern historians who served as the basis for this analysis, these disciplinary ideas provide helpful background for understanding the movies and practices of these teachers.

Chapter Three

Methodology

People say writing a dissertation is like making a journey – a journey that is at times hilarious, at other times painful, and eventually rewarding. In my case, this journey was long, one that many times went in unexpected directions. I stumbled upon rocks and pebbles, and at times took a rather circuitous route, rather than a shortcut. In the following chapter, I describe the mistakes I have made and the lessons I have learned while conducting this study. In doing so, first, I explain why I chose comparative case study as a method for this study. Second, I report what I learned from the pilot study. Third, I explain the process of how I recruited the teachers, and collected and analyzed the data. Lastly, I briefly discuss the lessons that I learned while conducting this study.

Research Design: Comparative Case Study

To learn about the relationship between teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and their ways of using art in their teaching, I conducted a comparative case study (Yin, 1989/2003), in which I interviewed and observed three secondary history teachers who have varying kinds of knowledge and beliefs about history. I posed the following questions.

- What do these teachers know and believe about history?
  a. What do they know about history?
  b. What do they believe about teaching history?

- How do they use art in their teaching of history?
  a. How do teachers define art and the purposes of using art in teaching history?
  b. What kinds of art do they use?
  c. What historical content do they explore with art?
  d. What instructional strategies do they use in teaching history with art?

- What additional factors influence these history teachers' uses of the arts in their lessons?

Given these research questions, I chose comparative case study as my method for three reasons. First, I wanted to produce thick descriptions of the three secondary history teachers' uses of the arts in their teaching. By thick description, Geertz (1973) means that it is an ethnography that "incorporates the intentions of the actors and the codes of signification that give the actions meaning for them, what anthropologists call an *emic* account" (Maxell, 1996, p. 98). Given that there are few studies on this issue of teaching history using the arts and that the existing studies focus on the students' side only – what and how students learn history through the arts (Epstein, 1994a, b, 1996; Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998) – it is important to understand why history teachers use art in their classrooms or not, in particular from the teachers' perspectives. I believe that doing a case study would allow me to hear teachers' voices.

My second reason, closely aligned with my first, arose from my pilot study. In doing the pilot study, I noticed that what the teachers said during the interviews did not always parallel what they did in their classrooms. The teachers' practice involved many more elements than those identified by the three teachers in their interviews, depending on the content and the students they taught. Thus, I wanted to hear their voices, but I also wanted to document their practices. Additionally, I wanted to document how the teacher's knowledge and beliefs were displayed in their classroom practices. One of my research questions read: How do the teachers' knowledge and beliefs of history and history teaching influence their ways of using the arts? I wanted to answer this question by documenting the ways the teachers used the arts in real situations. Yin (1989) argues:

> A case study strategy is preferred when the inquirer seeks answers to how or why questions, when the inquirer has little control over events being studied, when the object of study is a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context, when boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear, and when it is desirable to use multiple sources of evidence (p. 39).

By discussing the teachers' knowledge and beliefs in the context of their classrooms, I believe that I will be able to explain the relationship between teacher knowledge and beliefs and their choice of artwork, content and instructional strategies.

Third, I designed this study to be a comparative case study. Each of the three cases is intrinsically valuable (Stake, 1995, p.3), for we learn about each teacher's use of the arts in a particular context. Each of these cases, however, is also "an instrumental case study" (Stake, 1995, p. 3) because although the number of samples is small, this study aimed to theorize and get some general sense of how history teachers use the arts in their teaching history. By closely looking at three cases and then identifying similarities and differences across cases, I was hoping that I would be able to generalize my findings across cases, and create a theory about the relationship between teachers' knowledge and beliefs and their ways of using the arts. I also believed that multiple cases would surface more disconfirming evidence than a single case and would thus enable me to generate a complex theory from the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The Pilot Study

This study began with the pilot study I conducted from August 2001 to March 2002. The purposes of the pilot study were twofold. First, I wanted to test my basic assumption that the teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching with the arts are closely related. Although I consulted research on teacher knowledge and beliefs and their practice in general, I wanted to get a sense of what this relationship was

like before I started a full-fledged dissertation study. Second, by conducting the pilot study, I wanted to develop my own skills in interviewing and observing teachers, as well as in data analysis. Given my five-year experience as field supervisor in a university-based teacher preparation program, I was confident observing the teachers teaching, and taking field notes as well as asking questions for interns to reflect their own practice. However, I wanted to see if my interview and observation skills would work with experienced teachers, and if not, to continue developing my own research capacities.

Keeping these purposes in mind, I interviewed two U.S. History teachers, one in junior high and the other in high school – in two different small suburban Michigan communities. To learn about their knowledge and beliefs about history, I conducted three semi-structured interviews: the first focusing on their biographical and educational backgrounds, the second on their knowledge and beliefs about the nature of historical knowledge, and the third on their view on the use of art in their teaching. For the second interview, I had teachers read two film reviews (Fischer, 2000; Malanowski, 2000) about the movie, *The Patriot* (2001) – the first, giving a good review concerning the quality of the movie and its educational purpose, and the second, criticizing the movie for its historical inaccuracies. After the teachers read the reviews, I asked questions, in particular about what they thought about the reviewers' views on historical accuracy in the movie, as well as how and what they would teach American Revolution if they use *the Patriot*.

The pilot study was helpful in terms of planning what and how to collect data for the dissertation study. First of all, I learned that I was not totally off the track in my interests in the relationship between teachers' knowledge of history and art and their use

of the arts. My data analyses suggested that there was some relationship between teachers' knowledge and beliefs of the nature of historical knowledge and their use of the arts. In particular, the teachers' different emphasis on teaching history seems to influence which resources they prefer to use. Mark valued factual information in learning history, and he preferred to use documentary films rather than Hollywood historical movies. Ray – who believes that history is a muddle, and nobody is sure what really happened in the past – thought that it was worthwhile to use Hollywood historical movies if there is appropriate teachers' guidance, for those movies could raise questions about the nature of historical "truth."

Second, I was able to identify where I needed more data. I noticed that there were other factors that explain what and how the teachers teach history through the arts such as the availability of the resources, time constraints, and etc. For example, the two teachers – at times – chose to use certain kinds of art due to their availability. Mark usually used the school library to get teaching resources. Thus, most of his resources, including PBS movies and books such as *Black Stars of the Harlem Renaissance* (Haskins, 2002), were from the school library. Ray chose novels or films for his history class, considering the price and, in the case of the films, the approximate running time. He also used his English class – Ray teaches both English and American history class – as a resource for his U.S. history class. Mark Twain's novels, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Odyssey* and *Iliad*, and *Red Badge of Courage* are among novels that he uses both for English and history classes. These findings suggested that not only teachers' knowledge and beliefs but also time, financial costs, availability, and how well things align with other classes are among

the factors that we should consider to explain how and when teachers use arts in history teaching.

Finally, the pilot study helped me plan more "focused observations" (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 381) for the study, directing my attention to specific areas, such as students' response to Mark's instruction with the arts, rather than observe everything. After three months later than I completed the interviews, I was invited to one of Mark's lessons about the early and mid 20th century U.S history. One of the challenges I ran into while observing Mark was that there were too many things going on at the same time. Mark was lecturing while showing the Power Point slides. He occasionally wrote on the white board. Students were quiet. Few students asked questions or made comments on the pieces of art that they saw and listened to. However, some nodded their heads when Mark checked whether they followed him. Some took notes while others did not. Two girls in the back silently talked to each other when Mark showed Hayden Palmer's (1937) *The Janitor Who Paints*. They seemed to be talking about the painting, but I did not hear what they were talking about. All these things happened at the same time.

Following the spirit of the qualitative research, I believed at that time, I had to observe and write down everything I saw and heard. However, observing and describing everything that happened were simply unrealistic – I was not able to observe and write down everything. Most of all, what I ended up with after this visit was several pages of single spaced description that was very long, but at times with irrelevant details. This experience helped me to realize that I needed a focus that guides my observation and note taking. What did Mark hope to do in this particular class? Who were his students? What happened chronologically? What kinds of artwork did Mark use? What content did

Mark teach with particular artwork? How did students respond to the artwork? Did students seem to be engaged? If so, what would count as the evidence? These are some of the questions that I wished I had guided my observation and note taking, and those that I used when I created a form that I would use to write field notes for the dissertation (see appendix B).

This experience also helped me take tape-recording of the teachers' lessons considered more important. When I first visited Mark's class, I used only one tape recorder to record Mark's instruction. It was useful, but I learned I needed more tape recorders to capture both Mark's instruction and students' responses. In addition, since Mark was moving while talking, I thought it would be better if I had two more tape recorders, and if possible, used the microphone to capture the teacher's instruction. This would allow the teacher to move without paying attention to where the tape recorders were located. Recording the teachers' instruction would also free me from writing down Mark's instruction, and would allow me to pay more attention to students and their interaction with Mark.

Sampling

Sampling Logic

I used a chain sampling strategy to find teachers for this study (Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 2002; Weiss, 1994). Two participants were the teachers in my pilot study. I found one teacher, Mark, through a professor in college of education; the other, Ray, I found while supervising student teachers – he was the mentor teacher who worked with one of my student teachers. When searching for a third case for my dissertation research, I found Kate through one of my colleagues in graduate school. Because the teachers

believe that art is so seldom used as a critical tool in teaching history – although they do use the arts or have arts in their rooms and textbooks – when I asked the teachers or my colleagues whether they know anyone who uses arts in teaching history, not many people said yes. Thus, the pool of potential teachers to select from for this study was small, and for the most part, my sample is a convenience sample, that is, I have found three teachers who were willing to participate and who use art in some ways.

Nonetheless, I noticed later that each teacher meets the three criteria that I might use for future studies to purposely select participants (Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 2002). First, they teach American or European history in U.S. secondary school, using art. Secondly, they have more than 10 years of teaching experience. This was especially beneficial, for since they were already established teachers, I did not have to consider factors that I should have considered if they were novice teachers. Third, they have various experiences in learning and teaching history and art. This was also important, because – given that these different experiences shape the teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching – I was able to investigate the relationship between each teacher's varying knowledge and beliefs and their practice with the arts.

Research Sites and Participants

Mark has taught American history to 11th graders for 11 years, Ray has taught American history to 9th graders for 11 years, and Kate has taught American history and European history to 12th graders for 32 years. All use art such as fine arts, popular arts, music, and literature in their classrooms. More specifically, Mark often uses films, visual arts, and music; Ray uses films and historical fictions; and Kate mostly uses visual arts, such as paintings, photographs and sculptures. Mark and Ray work in schools in

suburban, small-sized Midwestern cities, and Kate teaches in a moderately sized Midwestern town. In all schools, more than the 70% of student population is Caucasian. These student demographics are also a limitation of the study, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Despite the commonalities across the three teachers, they also seem to vary in terms of their knowledge and beliefs about history and art, experience of teaching history and art, and the teaching context, particularly the kinds of history courses that they teach. While all three teachers have undergraduate majors in history, they have different minors for their undergraduate degrees and different experiences in teaching art. Mark minored in art as an undergraduate, and before teaching in high school, he had three years of substitute teaching experience of art in elementary school. Ray minored in English, and has been taking credits in history at a local community college. He also has been teaching English along with American history for the last 10 years. Kate minored in English as an undergraduate, and has a master's degree in history. She also took 14 credits of art history from the university in her community. She is currently teaching 12th graders European history and art history in a humanities course. Kate teaches this course with three teachers from other disciplines (literature, music and visual arts) (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Description of Each Teacher's Background

Backgrounds	Katie	Ray	Mark
Undergraduate education			
Major	History	History	History
Minor	English	English	Art
Post college education			
Additional credits	Master's degree in history Additional credits (14) in art history	Additional credits in history from the community college	Master's degree in Teacher Education from MSU
Teaching experiences			
How long?	33 years (American history, European history, & Interdisciplinary course)	10 years (English and American history in junior high school) plus 1 year (English in the independent school)	8 years (History in high school) plus 3 years (art in elementary school)
Courses to teach			
Now	12th grade humanities course (mainly European history and art history)	9th grade English and American history	11th grade American history

Data Collection

To answer the research questions, I collected data from three sources: interviews, class observations, and class materials. Data from each source were compared and contrasted, in particular when data were concerned about the same events. More specifically, data from field notes, my accounts from my observations, and information from knowledge and beliefs interviews and observation related interviews, the teachers' accounts about their practice with the arts, were constantly compared and contrasted. I wanted to identify the intentions and meanings that the insiders – in this case, the teachers – make regarding why and how they use the arts to teach history. By doing so, I wanted to understand the teachers' logics behind using the arts in teaching history instead of a story from my point of view. Thus, I needed the constant comparison across cases. I now briefly describe my data collection strategies.

Interviews

Two kinds of interviews were conducted before I observed the teachers' teaching: a biographical interview and a knowledge and belief interviews (see Appendix A for the protocols).

Biographical interview. I used this interview to build rapport and trust with teachers, and help them understand the purpose of this study. Also through this interview, I aimed to learn about the teachers' personal experiences of learning history as a student in K-12 schools and college and as a teacher since they graduated the college. Because I already collected part of the biographical data from Mark and Ray (i.e., their general background, K-12 experiences, and college experiences) for the pilot study, I tailored the biographical interview in those two cases, dropping questions that I had

already asked in previous interviews. I used an interview protocol similar to that used for the pilot study, adding questions about their post college experiences for this study, and improving on the protocol given the lessons I was learned during the pilot study. This biographical interview took from 45 minutes to one hour.

The knowledge and beliefs interviews. Two knowledge and beliefs interviews were designed to learn what teachers know and believe about history and art, the purposes of teaching history, and the use of art in teaching history. The two interviews were conducted before I observed the teachers' teaching. To get specific responses and relate these interviews to better understand their instruction of the unit, during the first interview, I asked questions specifically about the historical era covered in the unit that I observed. For the second interview, I asked which artwork they would use to teach the unit and what they know about those artworks (e.g., who created when and why) and why they think those artworks are helpful to teach the unit.

This unit was selected by asking teachers which unit they most frequently used art in, as well as whether or not they would feel comfortable having me in their classrooms. Selecting a unit that teachers felt comfortable with might help ease concerns that the teachers have that I might evaluate their teaching. However, it also meant that I would have skewed results, for I would not necessarily be observing typical practice. For instance, in Katie's and Mark's cases, their historical periods – the Italian Renaissance and the Harlem Renaissance – are times when arts were flourishing so that they were able to easily find artwork that they could use as historical evidence. If Katie and Mark have taught different historical periods, I might have had different results. Despite this

limitation, I opted to allow teachers to have their own choice; it was the decision that aligned with my intent to capture teachers' voices in this study.

Observing the Teachers

I spent one and a half months with each teacher to collect data. I made six observations of each teacher's lessons in the fall of 2003 and the spring of 2004. During the observation, I wrote field notes focusing on:

- Topics of each lesson
- The kinds of artwork that the teacher uses
- The activities that the teacher created for students to learn
- The kinds of questions that he/she asks regarding both history and the artworks
- Instructional strategies he/she uses
- Students' responses

After each observation, I also wrote a brief memo about questions or surprises that occurred to me during the observation, and any areas of instruction that I had to pay attention to for the next visit (see Appendix B for the protocol for writing up field notes). With the teachers' permission, I audiotaped every lesson of each teacher. Audiotapes complemented my field notes by recapturing conversations and scenes that I might miss otherwise. This is particularly important for me, for I am an international student. While my command of English is competent, there are other times when I wish I could slow down conversations. Having a second record of the observations helped me revisit events and discussions, and flesh out my field notes.

The observation related interviews. Given that the two knowledge and beliefs interview were intended to offer a big picture of what the teachers know about the unit in

general, the observation-related interviews aimed to understand specifically why and how the teachers used particular artworks to teach particular historical topics and ideas in particular contexts. I also used these interviews to understand the teachers' views of the merits and downsides of using art to teach history. I conducted these observation-related interviews before and after each lesson I observed, since the actual lessons provided a concrete context in which teachers and I could talk more specifically.

I also did observation-related interviews to compare and contrast those with my observation of the teachers. Clearly, there were times when what the teachers told me and what I observed in their class were not the same. For instance, one of Ray's major goals was to create a community of inquiry in his classroom so that students could experience how historians do history by creating historical knowledge. Despite his wish, his class, from my point of view, at times ran like the traditional history classrooms he deplored – with the teacher lecturing and silent students listening. In such cases, observation-related interviews, especially post observation interviews, were helpful for me not to judge why and how Ray did it, but understand why he did so by listening to his own explanation of what had happened in that class period.

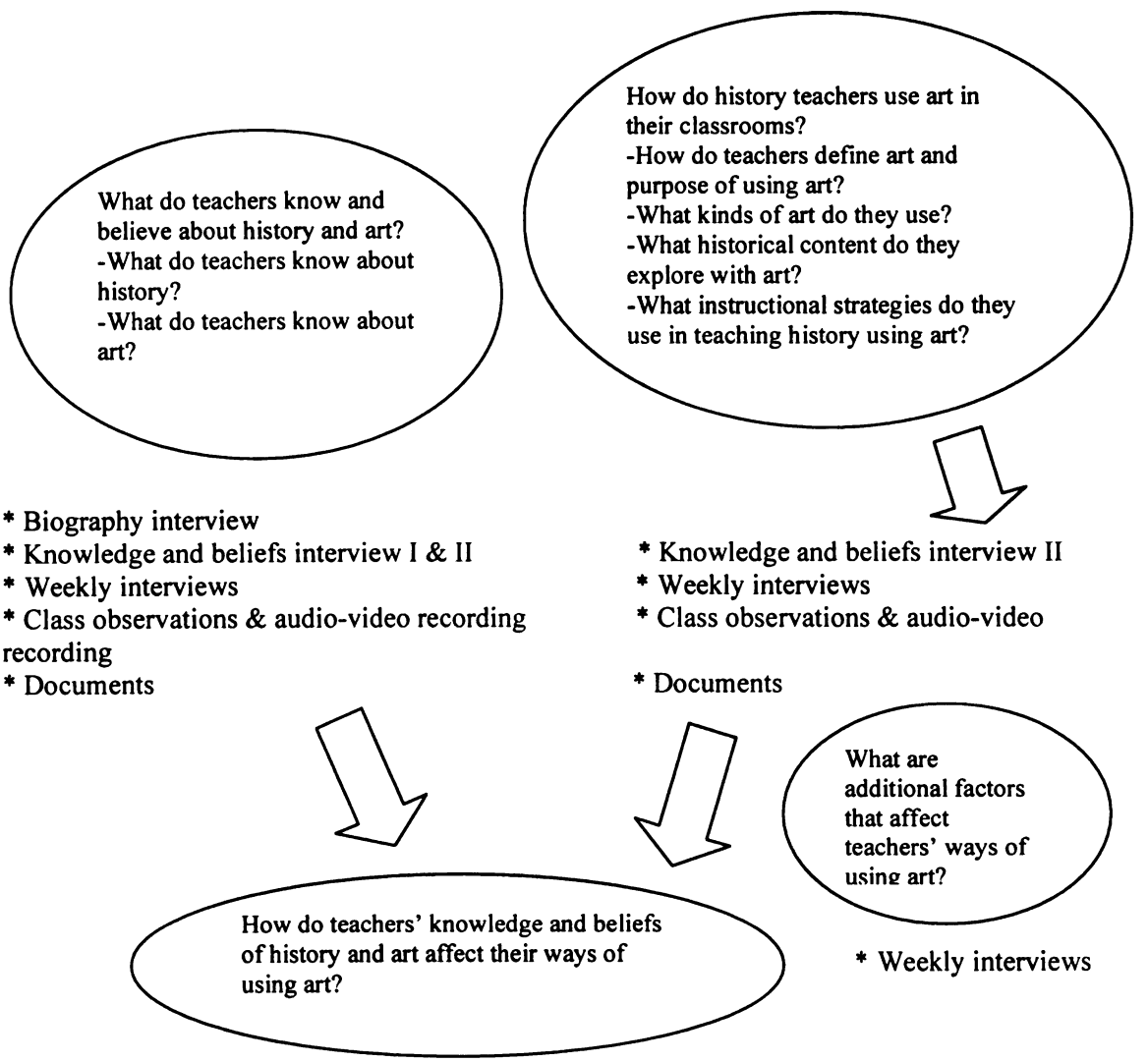
For observation-related interviews, I used semi-structured interview protocols (see Appendix A). I, however, built questions, too, based on what each teacher told me during the interviews, as well as add questions that occurred to me while observing the lessons. I conducted each pre observation interview for three to five minutes, and post observation interview for less than 20 minutes.

Collecting Class Materials

I collected various teaching materials that teachers used during the lesson, including lesson plans (if there were any), copies of the artwork that was used, and teaching materials (i.e. handouts, textbook passages, assignments, etc.). These class materials were helpful in understanding the teachers' reasoning behind their decisions.

In Figure 3.1, I show how each kind of data contributed to answering sub-questions and further main research questions.

Figure 3.1. Connecting research questions, sub-research questions, and data sources



Data Analysis

My data analysis process consists of three stages. The first stage involved writing memos and coding data while collecting data. The second stage included writing a single case and then comparing cases along with linking data with theories in the discipline of history and history education. The third stage involved additional analyses and addressing validity.

My framework has been developed as I analyze the data. Comparing three cases and reading literature in history helped me identify three groups of historians' use of the arts, including cultural history, social history, and postmodern history. Three ways of historians' use of the arts allowed me to see and interpret the teachers' logics behind their decisions of using the arts in their class.

Reading literature while analyzing data was different from reading literature to prepare a proposal. When I read literature while analyzing data, because I already knew my data, I was able to see where and which of the three teachers was similar to or different from historians. I was also more careful to look at the differences across the historians' use of the arts, and find similarities and differences between the teachers' and historians' use of the arts. For instance, Ray's idea of history as art pushed me to go back to the literature about postmodern historians' debate on the fictional elements of history. Mark's emphasis on the history of the invisibles pushed me to take a close look at social historians' work.

While I had some experience analyzing data from my pilot study, I nonetheless needed to learn a great deal about data analysis while doing this research. In terms of technique of data collection and analysis, I drew heavily on four central texts: *The*

Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (Maxwell, 1996); *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (Miles & Huberman, 1994); and *The Art of Case Study Research* (Stake, 1995). I also learned a great deal about what researchers do in qualitative research by reading methodology appendices by Cusick (1992), Kennedy (2005), Lareau (1989/2000), and Wilson (2003).

Stage One: Data Analysis During/After Collecting Data

Transcribing interviews, writing field notes & memos. The initial data analysis began with memo writing while I was collecting data. As soon as I completed each interview and class observation, I would listen to the tape recording, read the field notes, and wrote a memo as an initial data analysis. In this memo, I briefly wrote about thoughts and ideas that occurred to me while reviewing the data, including puzzles, and questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This memo writing was enormously helpful in terms of both collecting and analyzing the data. The questions and puzzles in the memos often led me to find newly emerged patterns and themes. They also led me to recognize critical coding categories that I did not anticipated but I might have to integrate into the coding categories later, if it appears repeatedly. Given these memos, I was also able to create questions that I should add for the following interviews, and discover areas that I should pay more attention to during the following visits (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For instance, while reviewing field notes on Katie's lesson on December 18, I found Katie made an interesting comment on a bestseller novel, *Da Vinci Code* (Brown, 2004). Katie emphasized with students that this novel, although the author

claims that it is based on historical evidence, is only a fiction. She added that students should never be confused this novel with history. On that day, I wrote in my memo:

> How do teachers deal with issues outside of the classroom such as historical novels? Interestingly, Mark mailed me a special issue of *American Heritage* on Truth and fiction: The power of the historical novel. When teaching Leonardo Da Vinci, Katie talked about the book called *Da Vinci Code*. She explained to students that this book has no evidence and scholars she respects do not buy its theory, and it's only fiction. (Memo 12/23/04)

Because I knew Katie was careful in using historical novels in history classrooms, and Mark was also interested in using historical novels, I wondered what she believes about the use of historical novels in history class. I, thus, added questions when I conducted the post observation related interview:

- You made a passing reference to the *Da Vinci Code* in class, which I found intriguing. In part, because the book is so popular and I was interested in your views on it. Let's say that one beginning teacher wants to use *Da Vinci Code* as his/her course material. What kind of advice would you like to give him/her?

    a. Do you think it would be a good resource to use? If so, in what ways?
    b. Would it have any limitations as a source? If so, can you tell me about those? (Memo, 1/17/04)

These questions allowed me to learn what Katie believes in the nature of historical knowledge.

Coding and writing thematic summaries. While doing data analysis, I kept adding categories. The first coding categories came from the sub-research questions that frame this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Given the questions guiding this study, an initial set of coding categories might look something like this: knowledge and beliefs of history, knowledge and beliefs of art, definitions of art, the purpose of using art in teaching history, the content that the teacher teaches through art, the instructional

strategies in using art, and other factors to affect the ways of using art. Similar coding schemes have been used by other researchers investigating teacher subject matter knowledge (Grossman, 1990; Wilson, 1988a).

I used a software program called N-Vivo for coding the data. One of the big merits of using this software is that it is possible to code the data based on different coding categories, leaving the original data untouched (Kennedy, 2005). I read the interview transcripts and field notes multiple times, and looked for the data that fall under each category, and added the data to the tree nodes that represent each category. Newly emerged categories kept being added to the free nodes. For instance, Mark's case, his concerns about students made me add more categories about students, such as creative art as a tool to motivate students. Because I created interview protocols (specifically the ones for weekly interviews) that are very open-ended, using sub-research questions as initial coding categories allowed me to break down the data, and find sub-patterns or sub-themes more easily.

New coding categories also emerged when I read the data that did not fall under the initial coding categories. I call it "left out data" (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I looked through these left out data, and saw if I could find any patterns or themes that I have not thought of. For example, I noticed that each of the three teachers' practices were similar to three different groups of historians' practices with the arts later. After I found these patterns, I went back to my literature review again, and saw where I needed more literature. I then read more literature in history and see how the three groups of historians – cultural historians, social historians, and postmodern historians – use the arts in their practice. By recognizing the three groups of historians' uses of the arts, and comparing

those with the three teachers' uses of the arts, the teacher's logics, each of which resembles each group of historians' became evident.

I then wrote summaries on my findings about each category including pre-decided categories and newly added ones. I also began the process of looking for disconfirming evidence, that is, evidence that contradicts my summaries which was a critical process in scholarship (Popper, 1965).

Stage Two: Write-up Cases and Linking Data to Theory

Writing a single case summary and making comparisons across cases. At this stage, I wrote a case study of each teacher. I looked for connections among findings about each coding category (i.e., sub-research questions and newly added categories that emerge while data being analyzed), and answered main research questions: How do history teachers use art in their classrooms? How do history teachers' knowledge and beliefs of history affect their ways of using art? How do additional factors interact with teachers' knowledge and beliefs of history and influence their way of using art? In responding to these three main questions, I first created a "check list" for each teacher (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 107), and re-organized the thematic summaries of the data. I put three main research questions in the first column, put the coding categories (i.e., sub-research questions) in the second column, and organized the thematic summaries (see Appendix C). This checklist allowed me to re-sort and cluster the data, and synthesize the findings to answer research questions. Although I hoped that this initial form of data display would be productive, in retrospect, data analysis was an iterative and unpredictable process. I created a half dozen such data displays before I found one

suitable for organizing the data and enabling the writing of the case studies. Based on the synthesis that I eventually find that works, I wrote each case.

To make comparisons across cases, I created another big chart to compare findings from each teacher (see Appendix C). This time, I paid attention to similarities and differences in teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and their ways of using art. I also attended to what other factors, such as accessibility of resources, cost and time, and the relations to other classes, differ among three teachers, and see how these different factors influence their ways of using art.

This process of data analysis was never linear and complete. I wrote one case analysis, and while not finishing it, I moved on to the next case. Analyzing another case helped me see another aspect of the previous case. For instance, while analyzing the three teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching, I found that Mark and Ray shared their beliefs in why we should teach history. Although their languages sounded a little bit different, underneath, both Mark and Ray discussed the role of history teaching in preparing their students to become democratic citizens. Ray wanted them to become critical, not taking stories on their face value, by learning who tells the story and why.

Mark wanted them to be knowledgeable about the past and given that knowledge, and to make a reasonable decision. Mark wanted students to become democratic citizens and Ray wanted students to become critical thinkers – both of them believes that they teach history for they want students to be critical and democratic citizens. Recognition of Mark's and Ray's different purposes of teaching history led me to go back to Katie's case, and see her purposes of teaching history. As well as sharing the same purpose of preparing students to become citizens, Katie has her own distinct purpose of teaching

history. She believes that as a humanistic discipline, history should be taught for its own sake. In this way, comparing cases helped me see things that I would have not thought of without comparing the three cases.

Linking data to the theory. As Lareau (1989/2000) notes in her book, *Home Advantage*, I began this study, believing that good qualitative study starts with data, and my job as a researcher is to describe what happened and what the teachers thought. While describing the case, themes and patterns, and even theories would emerge. I spent six months writing the first version of two data chapters, and turned in those chapters to my advisor. The feedback I got from her was that my chapters had only descriptions, and descriptions were not enough. I needed arguments. To respond to this feedback, in the first place, I needed to figure out what it means to have an argument in chapters. After puzzling a couple of weeks, I went back to the readings. This time, I went back to the readings in history and history education. As I found an exemplary use of the arts from Schama's book, I read and read to look for theories I could use to explain my findings. While reading historians' work, unexpectedly for me, there are quite a few historians who use the arts – in particular cultural historians and social historians. Postmodern historians too have something to do with art. Although they do not use the arts as evidence, postmodern historians consider history as art and try to teach what history is. I used these three schools of historians who use the arts as three paradigms I would use to sort, categorize, and analyze data of the three teachers[3].

[3] As shown in Chapter Four, Five, and Six, there seemed to be a tendency that one teacher used the arts in similar ways to cultural historians and the other in similar ways to social historians. However, there were also occasions that the teachers used the arts in similar to both cultural and social historians or used all the three approaches by cultural, social and postmodern historians.

These three paradigms also allowed me to describe each teacher equally. The goal of this study is neither measuring who had more knowledge and stronger beliefs nor explaining the causal relationship between teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and their practice with the arts. The goal is, as all the other case studies do, to understand each teacher's logic behind their decisions of using the arts in class (Stake, p. 18). The three paradigms helped me identify the distinct features of each teacher's knowledge and beliefs of history and history teaching.

The three stages of analysis all presume that multiple and varied representations of the data. They afforded me opportunities to explore my research questions in meaningful ways. Because of the nature of qualitative data analysis as such, however, I was not able to guarantee that these analyses would be the central or core analyses upon which my work was based. New analyses, alternative representations, and other ways to present and re-present the data emerged as I delved into the data and discussed my analyses with committee members, my advisor (who I met with every other week), and other colleagues. In the following, I will explain biases I brought in this study, and how I dealt with these.

Stage Three: Checking Validity

Stake (1995) notes, "All researchers recognize the need not only for being accurate in measuring things but logical in interpreting the meaning of those measurements" (p.108), and this is necessary for qualitative researchers as well as quantitative researchers. In the following I describe and explain how I checked the validity of my data analysis. I used the three strategies in the below adapted from Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research.*

Search for discrepant evidence. I looked for places where I could see the evidence of discrepancy in what the teachers say and teach. This provides me another insight: what the teacher know and believe are different. As VanSledright (1996) notes in his study of Ms. Reese, that the teacher knows is filtered through her beliefs when she teaches or she might not be comfortable about how historical knowledge is created and how tentative it is. For instance, as a historian, Katie seems to know how to make historical argument. However, she does not want to teach it in her lessons. In discussing *Da Vinci Code* (Brown, 2004), Katie emphasized students that none of scholars she respects do not believe a theory developed in the book.

Comparison with findings from other studies. I compared findings from this study with those from other studies, in particular studies done in the field of teacher knowledge and beliefs across subject matters and history education. In particular, findings in the recent scholarship of history education were used to check the validity of my study. Findings from VanSledright's (1996) study of Ms. Reese, a historian and high school teacher, Evans's (1994) study, Hartzler-Miller's (2000) study, and Wilson & Wineburg's (1988b, c) study of novice and expert teachers were compared and contrasted while I analyzing the data. Although these studies do not directly discuss the relationship between teacher knowledge and beliefs and the teachers' use of the arts, their explanation of the relationship between teacher knowledge and beliefs and their practice allowed me to make hypothesis about the relationship between teacher knowledge and beliefs and their use of the arts.

Getting feedback. Lastly, in order to check the validity of my interpretation of the data, I got feedback from my advisor, committee members, and colleagues on a regular

basis. My advisor and I met every other week. I brought my analytic memo along with portions of data I worked on for two weeks, and we discussed my interpretation of the data. I also got feedback from my colleagues – those with backgrounds in quantitative and qualitative research – before I went to meet my advisor. It was always helpful to get feedback from two colleagues who have different methodological orientations. Colleagues in quantitative research often asked me questions that I, a researcher who is more focused on qualitative research, have rarely thought about. For instance, describing the dimensions of teachers' historical knowledge, one colleague challenged me to think about whether five dimensions of the teacher's historical knowledge is hierarchical and how I was going to discuss the overall depth of teacher knowledge given the five criteria I chose. Was I going to make a decision about the degree of the depth of teacher knowledge by adding up the five dimensions of teacher knowledge? Or was I going to discuss the depth of teacher knowledge by discussing it addressing each criterion?

Also to get U.S teachers' perspective, I got feedback from a retired teacher who has been teaching social studies the last 30 years in public high schools. Getting colleagues' feedback does not mean that I took their feedback at the face value. The most helpful part of getting feedback from many parties was that it helped me to constantly be sensitive about and to my own interpretation of the three teachers' use of the arts and their knowledge and beliefs.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations of this study. First, my sampling strategy was a convenient sampling, which makes it hard to generalize the study's findings. Second, the student population in this study is mostly European American. Thus, this study might miss

opportunities to describe cases where teachers use the arts for different population of the students. This seems especially true given the work of Epstein (1997).

I also would like to point out that there are merits and demerits of doing research in U.S context as a non-American researcher. I started this study, doubting myself. Because I grew up, and was educated in another culture than U.S.', I worried that there might be subtleties and nuances in the teachers' words and behaviors that I might miss to interpret.

Yet, there were also merits of being a researcher as an outsider of U.S. educational system. First of all, it makes me not take any single incident for granted. For instance, Katie and Ray teach interdisciplinary courses, following block schedules, thus it might be so natural for them to teach art and history together. For me, however, a block schedule is not something that I was familiar with. In Korea, we do not have block schedules. After learning this, I read articles, to learn more about interdisciplinary courses, and eventually it helped me figure out why Katie and Ray looked comfortable using the arts in their classrooms while Mark most worried about time constraints and other colleagues' indifference.

Second, since English is my second language, I designed semi-structured interviews so that I could ask general questions (e.g., can you tell me what you believe is important to teach in your unit?). Most of time, I let the teachers talk about their unit so that they could talk about what they know and believe about the unit that they teach. As a result, I collected data that otherwise I might not be able to get.

Now I turn to Chapter Four, Five, and Six in which I describe and explain how the three teachers use the arts in teaching history and why.

Chapter Four

Three Teachers and Three Uses of Art in Teaching History

This chapter has two goals. First, I introduce the three teachers who participated in this study. Second, I provide two or three teaching vignettes for each teacher, and discuss how these three teachers use the arts in different, as well as in similar ways. Chapter Four sets up Chapters Five and Six. After discussing the three teachers' pedagogical practices as evidence of disciplinary logic in this chapter, I will similarly analyze their beliefs and knowledge about history and history teaching in Chapters Five and Six, respectively.

Introduction to the Three Teachers

Let me begin this brief introduction to the three teachers by first describing their commonalities. Then I will discuss the teachers' differences in detail. All three of the secondary history teachers investigated in this study – Katie Jackson, Ray Fraser, and Mark Cooper – worked in mid-sized, Midwestern cities at the time of data collection. I met them during the 2003-2004 school year. When considered in light of Diane Ravitch's (Wineburg, 2000) claim that 49.4% of grade 9-12 teachers who teach two or more classes of history do not have a history major or minor, Katie, Mark, and Ray are all qualified to teach history, having their undergraduate majors in history. All three teachers were also experienced. Katie has been teaching for 34 years; Mark for 11 years; and Ray for 11 years. They were also enthusiastic art lovers. Katie was a huge fan of Italian art and extensively traveled throughout the U.S. and abroad to study artwork. Mark, with a minor in art, loved drawing. Ray was a well-known guitarist in his school. Below, I provide more detail about these teachers.

Katie Jackson

> I fell in love with particularly art history. I never was a talented person in applied art, but when I started teaching humanities, it seemed that the history of art brought all of the other disciplines together. That the subject matter reflected politics and economics and subjects taken from literature, everything shaped the visual and I also felt that the visualization in the art helped clarify understandings of the historical concepts. That it was easier to see, cause and effect in the visual art in stylistic development, and sometimes to understand it in the abstractions of history. And it seemed to me that art history especially brought all the other disciplines together. (BI111903)

A veteran teacher, Katie Jackson, usually left the door of the classroom open. She wanted her students – both current and previous – to know she was in the room and to come by and ask questions or just say "hi." While she worked, Katie liked to listen to the school orchestra practicing classical music. She quietly hummed the melody. Although their repertoire had changed over the years, the school orchestra always played some songs and concertos, music that reminded Katie of her own days as a student and a student teacher at the high school where she had made her career.

Katie was a European-American woman in her fifties. She was born, and grew up in the university town where the high school was located. Katie had a wide-ranging academic background due to her own curiosity and her need to be qualified to teach an equally wide array of courses. She took her undergraduate degree in both English and history, Master's degree as a second-year teacher, and later 90 credits in art history in order to teach the art history component of the high school's interdisciplinary humanities course. She was particularly interested in late medieval and Italian Renaissance history and art.

Katie's teaching experiences were varied. When I first met her, she had taught English, U.S. history, European history, and art history. The university in her hometown nurtured her intellectually, as well as pedagogically. Having not only studied as an undergraduate and graduate student at the university, Katie also taught sections in the courses affiliated with the graduate program in the history department there in 1987, 1992, and 1993.

Katie's high school is large and comprehensive. The school population included 2670 students (71% European-American, 13% African-American, 6.5% Asian-American, and 3% Hispanic-American). At the time of data collection, Katie taught art history and European history to seniors in an interdisciplinary humanities program with four other teachers: two in the English department, one in the history department where she belonged, and one in the music department. Developed in 1960 in response to students' request for an interdisciplinary program, this course had been taught by teams of teachers ever since, and had developed a reputation for being both a challenging and rewarding class. One of Katie's former student's responses to the course revealed this reputation:

> If you are willing to actually learn something useful your senior year, then there should be no decision that needs to be made. TAKE HUMANITIES! The work is hard and there is a lot of it, but I can think of no better class that prepares you for college." (Humanities graduate, 2000)

Mark Cooper

> I really do hope that the kids learn a little bit about diversity... I guess what I want them to understand is the impact it has had on our culture. A lot of teachers say 'music isn't that important, what's more fun, the Federal Reserve system in the United States or rock and roll? Well, I think you can make an argument for rock and roll. If you look at some of the things that have occurred socially because of it, so what I'm talking about when I cover music is I want them to know the roots of American music and the impact that it had on culture and also the, what's the right word? I want them to understand the contributions that the African-American culture played in the United States. (KBI)

Mark described himself as a "right-brain person." Having minored in art, he felt much more comfortable in "answering students' questions by drawing" than by speaking or writing. When students asked questions or when students said they did not understand, Mark picked up the chalk and started drawing on the blackboard. For example, to explain the opposing viewpoints on slavery on the Northerners and Southerners, he drew diagrams. Discussing the battles of World War I, he drew maps. Having an academic background in drawing and painting and having taught art at the elementary and middle school levels for three years, Mark easily represented his thinking visually.

Besides his Bachelor's degree in history, Mark also had a Master's in teaching and learning. Mark found the Master's level coursework was helpful in that they introduced instructional strategies that he later used in his classroom. Mark had been teaching U.S. history and creative art to various grades for 11 years, including teaching art for three years at the elementary school, U.S. history for four years at the middle school, and U.S. history for six years at the High School where I observed Mark's work with 10^{th} graders. Mark's high school was located in a rural area of the Midwest.

At the time of data collection, it had a student population of 82 % of European-American, 1% Native American, 0.7 % Asian-American, 5% Hispanic-American, and 11% African-American students. According to Mark, the number of minority students had grown over the last a couple of years because "there is a lot of school of choice parents who are taking their kids out of the inner city and bringing them here" (KBII). In the class that I observed, Mark has 26 European-Americans, four African-Americans, and one Asian-American, students in his class, which somewhat reflected the demography of the high school.

> I think they are getting the concept: This idea of history being a story and ideas of a perspective and how we frame it. Even if it is a photograph, it is framed by a certain person. It is the same as when we read a diary or primary source. History is a story that is based on facts, but keeps being revised. Think about how history of the civil war has been changed because of the Vietnam War... Part of history is a conjecture. [My goal] is getting them open to ideas... I want them to see history as dynamic rather than something that is static (PO1204).

Ray was six feet tall and in his early forties. He often wore fun ties to class, displaying a snowman and Santa Claus during the holiday season or cartoon characters, such as Snoopy and Charlie Brown, on Fridays. Ray told me, "I know people at my age don't wear this kind of tie. But it's Christmas. I just want to be fun!" Ray liked to make students laugh and feel comfortable. He intentionally used his sense of humor to make his classroom a casual and comfortable place. While observing Ray, I seldom saw him call on his students; they eagerly volunteered comments and questions both in and out of class about Ray's and their classmates' remarks.

But one should not presume that Ray's laid back and casual personality meant that he was not a serious person. Ray was an active participant in a myriad of activities at his school. He was the chair of the social studies department, and in charge of technology for the school. Ray was also a collaborating teacher in a teacher education program at a local university, and a teacher-participant in a research project concerning performance assessment in English teaching. Ray, by his own admission, was not a "detail" person. He did not "map out specific daily plans," but had a general sense of the topics students needed to think and learn about. Each day, depending on how his students reacted to the ideas and flow of his lesson, Ray planned the next day, using a wide range of materials: newspapers, personal experiences, and book chapters.

Teaching both English and history in a block appeared to offer Ray opportunities to include various primary and secondary sources in his history curriculum. For the U.S. history part of the block, Ray often used historical fiction and movies as primary and secondary documents. He had used *Three Sovereigns for Sarah* (1985) to help students understand Puritan perspectives and the Salem Witch Trials, and historical fictions, such as *The Killer Angels* (Shaara, 1974/1997), *The Red Badge of Courage* (Crane, 1990/1997), and *Bull Run* (Fleischman, 1995) to teach the Civil War. When I explained my research interests to Ray and asked him if he would be interested in participating in the study, he amiably agreed: "Yeah, of course. I do use some novels and movies stuff."

Like Katie, Ray taught an interdisciplinary course, a 9th grade English-History block in the urban fringe of a Midwestern city. His students were mostly European-Americans, although the percentage of Hispanic-American (6%), African-American (4%), Asian-American (4%), and Native American (1%) is growing. Ray started his teaching career at a private secondary school in a large, Midwestern city and moved a year later to the junior high school where I observed his work. At the time of data collection, he had been teaching English for 8 years, and an English-history block for 2 years.

Three Ways of Using the Arts to Teach history

I observed Katie's Italian Renaissance unit, Mark's Harlem Renaissance/Roaring Twenties unit, and Ray's American Revolution unit. Since all three teachers taught different units to different grade levels, it will not be possible to compare and contrast these teachers' use of the arts in every aspect of their practice. Instead, my analysis will focus on the teachers' goals for the specific units they taught, and the patterns across

cases concerning how and why the teachers use the arts in their lessons in order to achieve the specific goals of their units.

Katie: Teaching "the Spirit of the Age"

Responding to the question, "What is the spirit of the times?" German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1774) explained that intellectual, political, and social trends collectively form the dominant culture of an historical period. Following Herder, Hegel (1861) also argued that the spirit of the age comprises the spiritual and intellectual trends of an age, and that philosophy is thus a substantive part of it. The spirit of the age is also a popular concept among historians. Drawing on Hegel's definition, Collingwood (1956), a philosopher of history, argues further that the spirit of the age determines the presuppositions that formulate the metaphysical thought emerging during a given period. Cultural historians, such as Peter Burke (1997), use the related term of *mentalities* which refers the "modes of thought, what was generally believed in all ages" (p. 14). Burke glosses the history of the spirit as the history of culture. Although these historians and philosophers frame the spirit of the age in subtly different ways, they all agree that the spirit of the age is what "contributes to a portrait of the collective experiences of having lived in [a given place at a given time]" (Gay, xvi).

Like cultural historians, Katie used works of art from the Italian Renaissance, and first-hand accounts by the artists in order to teach "the spirit of the Renaissance." She also used these works of art and the artists' accounts for two other pedagogical reasons: she wanted to make students vividly experience the time period they were studying. She also believed that studying history in this way would make history more interesting to students. In the following section, I describe how Katie taught the spirit of the age of the

Italian Renaissance in two of her lessons. Yet, before doing so, I describe the Italian Renaissance unit first.

Overview of the Italian Renaissance unit. Katie's humanities course is a 2-hour block of art history, English, European history, and music, which runs like this:

> During the first hour, students will have a formal lecture, sometimes a team presentation by several different teachers in the different subjects. And all the teachers have different days that they take charge of the first hour. And then two days a week, the students will go second hour to a literature seminar and two days a week they go to a history seminar. (BI1119)

Katie was in charge of teaching both an art history lecture and a history seminar. The art history lecture served to give students a general sense of the historical period. After students listened to Katie's art history lecture, they went to English and history seminars where they read literature and historical primary sources created during the time period that they were studying.

This course focused on the development of European civilization from pre-history to the 20th century. Students read, discussed and wrote about key works of art, history, literature, and music. In so doing, this humanities course purportedly helped students "make connections between the disciplines." As Katie explained:

> Each teacher [in English, music, and history] refers to ideas and concepts that students have learned from other subjects while teaching her subjects, and relates what students learn about from the period to something similar in the present. For example, students learn the sonnet as an art form in the literature seminar. They read Shakespeare's sonnets as well as look at 20th century sonnets in that lecture. Later, in a history seminar, students discuss sonnets as a primary source that represents the ideas and beliefs in that historical period. (BI1119)

For example, Shakespeare's sonnets were assigned reading in art history and history, as well as in English, though different features of the sonnets were emphasized in each class. In English, human emotions and feelings were discussed; in history, the ideas

and beliefs of Elizabethan England were explored; and in art history, continuity and change between Shakespeare's sonnets and contemporary sonnets were the focus. By studying Shakespeare's sonnets from three disciplinary perspectives, the students were thought to appreciate multiple dimensions of the art form and the general outlook of specific historical periods. Katie believed that students also learned to apply insights from one discipline to another.

More specifically, for this Italian Renaissance unit, Katie used the period's visual arts to teach the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, which she characterized as humanism. In other words, Katie used artwork in her lessons deductively, as an illustration of the characteristics of the abstract spirit of the age, humanism:

> My goal for art history lecture was to have them [students] be able to define humanism and some of its key characteristics. And related to that, it is also to see how humanism represents the revival aspect of the Renaissance and rebirth, but also there is confidence that they will have new knowledge to build on in the future. (KB1201)

In the following two lessons, I describe how Katie uses the arts to teach these four characteristics of the Italian Renaissance, and what her role looked like.

Lesson 1: Art history lecture. Katie's art history lecture usually took place at an auditorium to accommodate the 40 students. Usually, Katie lectured, using a Power Point presentation. Images of artwork were shown on a screen, and students were given handouts that included titles of the major works of art and names of the artists. While Katie lectured, students took notes and at times asked questions or made comments on what they saw. During the majority of class time, Katie talked and students listened and took notes. On this day, the title written on the lesson's handout was "Voices of Humanism."

One of the main instructional strategies Katie used was to juxtapose words and images of historical figures, allowing the students time to read what these people had written and to see what he or she had looked like. Katie announced that in this lesson, students would read and discuss some important historical figures' texts and see how these people's views on human beings, and their respect for Greek and Roman culture were represented in artists' works of art. The first text on the handout was excerpted from Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* Before the students read the pieces, Katie briefly mentioned in her characteristically deductive fashion that Shakespeare addresses both sides of human beings in the passage: both their greatness and fragility. One girl in the front row volunteered to read:

> What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world! The paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? (FN1204)

Katie reread the last sentence and explained that this quotation marked the emergence of a new concept of humanity, places "a tremendous emphasis on human dignity," while acknowledging the brevity of a human life as well. Four more quotations by Marcilio Ficino, Vespasiano Da Bisticci, and Machiavelli followed. Each time, a student read aloud; then Katie explained how the quote illustrated characteristics of Renaissance humanism – human self-awareness, a revival of Greek and Roman ideals in politics and culture, and changing attitudes towards women and learning.

Whenever possible, Katie presented the author's portrait. For instance, Katie presented Machiavelli's portrait while a student read his words:

> When evening comes, I return home and go into my study. On the threshold I strip off my muddy, sweaty, workday clothes, and put on the robes of court and palace, and in this graver dress I enter the antique courts of the ancients and am

> welcomed by them, and there again I taste the food that alone is mine, and for which I was born. And there I make bold to speak to them and ask the motives of their actions, and they in their humanity, reply to me. And for the space of four hours I forget the world, remember no vexation, fear poverty no more, tremble no more at death. I pass indeed into their world. (Handout #1)

A couple of students laughed at the portrait, remarking that he appeared to be wearing choir clothes. Katie also laughed, and pointed out, "Yes, in the portrait, he is in that choir dress and he has his hand on a book. But don't you think he looks pretty happy and content?" Katie explained that along with respecting and following the ancient works, humanists enjoyed studying and considered scholarship as important.

Katie then pointed out that admiring Greek and Roman culture was another characteristic of the Renaissance humanists. Katie illustrated this point by considering a quotation by Leonardo Bruni, a humanist scholar and politician in Florence. Bruni respected the writing of Cicero, a Roman writer and politician, as an example of the perfect use of the Latin language. Katie noted, "He [Bruni] traces the history of the Latin language and established parallels between the Latin language and the history of the Roman Republic and Empire." Bruni's quotation read:

> Francesco Petrarca who first had such grace of talent and who recognized and restored to light the ancient elegance of style which was lost and dead, although in his it was not perfect, nevertheless by himself he saw and opened the way to this perfection by recovering the works of Cicero. (FN1204)

As well as reading quotes, Katie explained that students could see the Greek and Roman tradition in the artistic styles of the time. For instance, Katie showed students slides of the Santa Croce Church where Bruni's tomb is located, and Bruni's tomb. In each slide, Katie pointed out Roman stylistic traditions: for example, the archways and sculptures within the church:

> This is in the church, Santa Croce in Florence. It's one of the number one major Renaissance tombs in that church. As you look at that, you see the nice arch coming from Roman...[pointing out the arch] You have the arch, you have a figure shown on top of a funeral bier that has a specific portrait of a specific individual. We saw that in Roman art. His funeral bier is held up by eagles, an important symbol in the Roman republic and the Roman military... An inscription is held by two winged figures which are often in Roman times represented by feigns. (FN1204)

A portrait of Cosimo de Medici, Bruni's patron as well as one of the most active humanists, was shown, too. Katie again asked which period of time students were reminded of by the artistic style of this portrait. One girl in the third row responded that it had a Roman artistic style, imitating the images of emperors in Roman coins, which were typically cut short below the shoulder (Strehlke, 2004). Kati nodded, adding "Particularly, look at the face. The contours. It's like Romans. It is a particular individual.[4]"

Lastly, Katie wrapped up the lesson by introducing Renaissance ideas that students would learn in the next art history lecture and history seminar. The major topic students would learn was the role of Christianity during the Renaissance. Citing Murray and Murray's theory in *The Art of the Renaissance* (1963), Katie explained that some people believe that the Middle Ages were a religious age and that the Renaissance was a secular age, but this was an oversimplified view of the Renaissance:

> But the Renaissance remains dominated by Christianity, and that's true of intellectual thought. The humanists who are studying all these languages and manuscripts consider themselves Christians. They attended mass regularly. They participated in church events. There is a very clear statement in a book called *The Art of the Renaissance* by Peter and Linda Murray. And they discuss the reality is

[4] Few portraits were painted during the Middle Ages; however, those that survive show deemphasize the individual features of their subjects, but, rather, convey their general appearance (Strehlke, 2004).

> that yes... you have more secular subjects in the arts. You have more secular use of it. But the thought of art is still Christian. (FN1204)

Over the next a couple of lessons, students learned how Christianity was represented in various works of art. Botticelli's two paintings, *Primavera* and *the Birth of Venus* were among those Katie presented.

One of the distinct features of Lesson One was Katie's use of the artwork along with resources related to that artwork. Katie's lesson was like a collage. She used a variety of resources, such as slides of the artwork, quotes by the artists, and theories of art historians. Juxtaposing this wide range of artwork and related resources, Katie illustrated the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, humanism, which she found represented in the period's individualism, admiration of Greek and Roman culture, and new participation in Christianity. Consider how Katie had students listen to Bruni's quote, and look at artistic styles in the Santa Croce church, Bruni's tomb, and the portrait of Machiavelli who financially supported Bruni. By encouraging students to find deductively evidence of humanism in these works of art, Katie presented the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance.

In addition, Katie's use of artwork of the period seemed to capture students' attention and to bring historical figure into life for them: Katie's students often laughed at the stark comparison of past and present. For example, when Katie showed the portrait of Machiavelli, she seemed to transform a "dead guy" into a relevant historical figure, a flesh and blood person who expressed joy at studying classical scholarship. Katie explains:

> While they are listening to the words of Machiavelli about getting dressed up to study the ancient philosophers because they can see him in this somewhat special

elegant dress with his hand on the book, and a smile on his face. That portrait I think brought his words to life and you need it. (BI1119)

Lesson 2: history seminar. While the art history lecture was an overview of the Renaissance, the history seminar was a place where students read primary sources by humanists, and discussed how the general characteristics of the Renaissance were represented in each document.

Prior to this lesson, students read excerpts of Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* in their textbook Gloria Fiero's (1998) *The Humanistic Tradition* and of Castilione's *Courtier* as a handout. For this lesson, Katie and students read a section of another textbook, an excerpt from the autobiography of Cellini (1500-1571), a goldsmith, sculptor, and writer in Eugene Weber's (1995) *The Western Tradition: From the Ancient World to Louis XIV.* Explaining why she had chosen Cellini's autobiography, in particular, Katie stated:

> It [Cellini's autobiography] works perfectly for an interdisciplinary course because he is an artist. But he is an artist who represents the ideals of humanism in the way he lives his life and he writes his own story that represents the idea of individualism and the Renaissance. And they're kind of self-confidence. He describes the artistic processes of, and students will learn in that, a great deal about the guilds of the artists. He describes in that the technique of bronze casting. So, by choosing that document, we get both a view of humanism in general, but also specifically of an artist who is trying to live a humanist kind of existence, and then they can relate that to, also to other things we study in the individual arts. (PO1201)

For the major part of the lesson, Katie and her students discussed who Cellini had been, what works of art he had created, and how these pieces represented characteristics of Cellini as a person, artist, and humanist. Before class, Katie told me that she expected some of her students to be offended by Cellini's arrogance. Katie explained that she

would present this arrogance as a sign of the humanist individualism that had emerged during the Italian Renaissance.

As she anticipated, there were a couple of students who said they did not like Cellini. In fact, one boy commented that he did not like Cellini, because he was so arrogant. Instead of responding directly, Katie asked the others to identify features of the text that marked it as an example of Renaissance humanism.

Katie and her students reviewed the autobiography. One student answered, "There is a big concern about family." Another student answered, "Individualism." Katie wrote "Family" and "Individualism" on the transparency that she was projecting. Katie said, "Cellini made a big case about his family." Katie also referred to Lesson One, explaining that Cellini located not only his artistic but al his genetic roots in Roman culture.

Other characteristics of Cellini's humanism were also discussed. One girl raised her hand and said, "Cellini got a desire to excel." Katie wrote "excel" on the transparency, adding that his excellence as an artist did not "just happen." He had "worked for it." Then Katie asked, "What were some of the examples of striving to excel?" Rather than wait for the students' responses, Katie offered her own example: that Cellini had initially started as a goldsmith, but later became a sculptor. He began working on small-scale jewelry, and ended up working on a lager scale sculptures in his artistic work. Another example, this time volunteered by a student, was that Cellini had pursued a reputation. Katie added that humanists emphasized education, and invested a lot in it. Katie then asked, "What is a big umbrella concept of humanism that we can relate to this?" "Striving," Katie answered herself.

According to Katie, having a patron was another aspect of being an artist during the Renaissance. She asked her students again, "What would we also learn from this document?" Peter answered, "The patronage." Katie responded that many kinds of people financially supported artists and Cellini also had one lady who supported him. Cellini actually competed with another artist named Luca Riolo, whom the lady also supported. They competed to see which one would create a finer piece of jewelry. Katie explained that competition was one very important aspect of the period, as it evidenced humanist individualism.

Katie also went back and forth between her history seminar and art history lecture, linking Cellini's life to the artwork Katie presented in art history lecture. She asked her students, "Do you remember the slide we saw yesterday?" She also connected Cellini's autobiography to other texts the students will read in class. Katie explained that manipulation was a technique to decide who was in control politically, and that it fit well with the new concept of humanity in the Renaissance – controlling what you become. Katie told students her students that they could find a similar concept of manipulation in Machiavelli's *The Prince,* the assigned reading to follow Cellini's autobiography, as well as in the excerpt of Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man.*

After discussing the documents, Katie asked again, "Now, in general, what do you think of him [Cellini]?" One student said, "I liked him. He worked very hard." Katie said that she thought Cellini was arrogant but charming. He was very proud of himself and upfront about it. Katie also said that it would be very important for the artist to have a patron during the Italian Renaissance and to create artworks that pleased the patron.

Katie asked students to open the textbook to page 351 on which Cellini talked about the French King's visit to his studio. She read aloud one paragraph on page 351:

> Being very well satisfied with what he had seen, the King returned to his palace, after bestowing on me too many marks of favour to be here recorded. On the following day he sent for me at his dinner-hour. The Cardinal of Ferrara was there at meat with him. When I arrived, the King had reached his second course; he began at once to speak to me, saying, with a pleasant cheer, that having now so fine a basin and jug of my workmanship, he wanted an equally handsome salt-cellar to match them; and begged me to make a design, and to lose no time about it. I replied: "Your majesty shall see a model of the sort even sooner than you have commanded; for while I was making the basin, I thought there ought to be a salt-cellar to match it; therefore I have already designed one, and if it is your pleasure...(FN1208)

After identifying characteristics of the Renaissance in Cellini's autobiography, Katie noted that these characteristics were found all across the primary sources the students had read in history seminar. Katie asked, "What other works did we look at as a set of a model?" A couple of students answered, "Courtier." The genre of autobiography could be found in Castilione's *Courtier.* Both Cellini and Castilione thought that writing autobiographies was their duty because they had realized their humanist potential as artists: they felt that their lives were exemplary.

Katie at times identified specific passages and related the passages to those in the previous readings. For instance, Katie read one passage from Cellini's autobiography:

> I set off, and returned in a few minutes; for I had only to cross the river, that is, the Seine. I carried with me the wax model which I had made in Rome at the Cardinal of Ferrar's request. When I appeared again before the King and uncovered my piece, he cried out in astonishment: "This is a hundred times more divine a thing than I had ever dreamed of. *What a miracle of man!*

Katie asked her students, "Why do I choose that quote to talk about? This is exactly like what Pico said. 'What a miracle!'" Katie noted that Pico used the same sentence, "What a miracle" in his writing. Like a cultural historian, Katie drew on artwork as evidence for her claim that the spirit of the age of humanism, what she called "the spirit of the age," pervaded the Italian Renaissance.

Two patterns emerge in this vignette. First, Katie used an individual artist's life as a representative example of general characteristics of the Italian Renaissance. Regarding Cellini's humanism, Katie helped students understand how this spirit of the age is wholly manifest in a single autobiography. This practice was echoed in her helping students see the common elements across Castilione and Pico's texts. Katie wanted her students to recognize that some of Cellini's characteristics (e.g., writing an autobiography, exclaiming "What a miracle!" etc.) were not his own but something shared by other humanists of the period.

Second, this vignette illustrates how Katie's art history lecture and history seminar were intertwined. Katie continuously referred to the artwork of Cellini that she had earlier presented in art history lecture. Katie once remarked that her art history lecture served to offer her students an overview of the period – a general sense of the Italian Renaissance – and that her history seminar gave students the opportunity to read primary source as specific examples of this general impression. She assumed that, having attended art history lecture, students would be more receptive in history seminar.

Commentary on lessons. Defining the arts as "a source material for historical study" (p. 174), Levstik and Barton (2001/2005) argue that art represents and preserves the time and place in which it was produced. According to them art is "integral part of

history – part of what makes civilizations unique" (p.172), and provides students with a big picture of the past, one which is not fully described by words alone. Jeanne Groth, a middle school teacher who integrated the arts in her teaching similarly notes:

> What makes a culture unique, where are the commonalities that we share if it isn't the arts? The arts make us all a part of humankind. When you think of learning as a while instead of little pieces, the arts give you the whole picture. So, in seventh grade when I teach about Greece and not could I teach about Greece and not teach about drama? How could I teach about Greece and not teach about architecture? And in eighth grade, it's really been interesting to watch the student who watch the student who studied Mozart and found out that he was a contemporary of George Washington... (Levstik & Barton, p. 171)

As history educators and teachers have noted, art is evidence capable of illustrating not only a single historical event but an entire culture, a spirit of the age: in Katie's case, the ideas that prevailed during the Italian Renaissance. Katie taught the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, humanism, as three aspects – individualism, admiration for Greek and Roman culture, and new participation in Christianity – implying that a single humanist masterpiece could convey this complex of ideas.

> I think I suggested some of those in talking about the goals also in these lessons, in terms of you want them to understand the philosophy and the outlook of the age. Want them to understand the impact that has on events. But also how we are in a kind of chicken and egg observation that events stimulate the outlook and the outlook stimulates the events. So that you have both of those working together to create what happens. (KBI1119)

However, these ideas were, at times, too abstract for Katie's students to understand, so she taught them through visual representations, such as Botticelli's two paintings, *Primavera* and *the Birth of Venus.*

In sum, Katie, like a cultural historian, taught the big picture of the Italian Renaissance –the spirit of the age – in three ways. First, she identified common characteristics across the artwork, by analyzing artistic styles and symbolic meanings.

Second, Katie used artwork of the period to make abstract historical ideas concrete and visible. Third, Katie drew on a variety of resources in relation to the arts to illustrate humanism, what she believed had been the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance. Artwork, quotes by artists, and theories by art historians were the three kinds of evidence Katie used to make claims about the Italian Renaissance.

In the section that follows, I will show how Mark used artwork in his teaching to exhibit a different disciplinary logic, that of the social historian.

Mark: Teaching Diversity with the Arts

In reviewing the historiography of the 20th century, Lyn Hunt (1989/1994) notes that during the last 30 years, social historians in the U.S. have focused on "the experience of America's outsiders – the poor, the persecuted, and the foreign" (p. 157). To unveil the experiences of those outsiders, they attend to hidden culture, for culture seems to be something that shapes social actions as well as emotions and feelings. Thus, it was not uncommon for these social historians to look for new kinds of evidence (Burke, 2001), and art was one of the resources where historians retrieved experiences of people who had lived on the margins, not in the center stage of history.

The Harlem Renaissance was one historical period social historians found critical for revealing the history of African Americans – what their experiences were like, how African-Americans fought for their own identities, and, at the same time, how their culture was integrated into mainstream U.S culture. Most of all, it was a historical period when African American culture was in vogue not only among African Americans but also across the country (Lewis, 1981), so that by studying it, historians could identify the

contributions that African Americans made to the U.S. culture as well as to the uniqueness of their own culture (Gunt, 2000).

By the same logic, Mark wanted to teach the Harlem Renaissance to his students, who were themselves primarily European Americans. Although his textbook, *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, Perry, & Winkler, 1998), and school district curriculum devoted only a few lines to the Harlem Renaissance, he wanted to emphasize the importance of this historical period because it was the first time the value of African-American culture had been recognized across the country.

Teaching the Harlem Renaissance was also one of the ways Mark sought to address ongoing racism in his school where frequent verbal conflicts arose among White and Black students. It has been last a couple of years that the African American student population in the school grew. Because of school choice, more and more parents in the neighboring inner city school have sent their children to Mark's school. Since then, Mark reported having often observed scenes in which White and Black students had exchanges, like the following:

> "Well, why do you go to this school?" "I'm forced to." "You shouldn't be here then."' "I don't want to be here." "Go back to where you came from." (KBII)

Or, on the bathroom walls, Mark read graffiti, like – "This school used to be good, now it's Lake View's Mountain View Heights [the name of a much less affluent school]." Responding to this current situation in the junior high school, Mark wanted to teach students the beauty of African-American culture and the influence of African-American artists on mainstream U.S. culture.

Overview of the Harlem Renaissance unit. Mark liked teaching the Harlem Renaissance for students to learn more about African American history because it

allowed him to integrate lessons on one historical period within a larger unit spanning World War I to the Great Depression. Mark told me when he talked to his colleagues about the Harlem Renaissance, they typically responded, "Are you teaching it for Black History Month?" But Mark did not want to treat African-American history as separate from the regular curriculum or as simply a one-time lesson.

Mark, therefore, situated the Harlem Renaissance in the context of the history of the 1920s in the U.S. His main focus for the Harlem Renaissance/Roaring Twenties unit was on how U.S. culture changed after World War I and why – how new morals and values as well as youth culture had emerged. According to Mark, therefore, the Harlem Renaissance served as one example of these changes. In his lessons, the Harlem Renaissance was treated as a time period during which both Blacks and Whites began to see the value of African-American art.

Mark was passionate about teaching this unit. Although, by his own admission, Mark "pretty much follows the textbook chapter by chapter," he researched his two Harlem Renaissance lessons by himself, selected artwork to use, and taught the details that he would gloss over in units on other periods.

Lesson 1: The Harlem Renaissance part 1. Mark spent two consecutive lessons on the Harlem Renaissance. In the first lesson, he explained the historical background of the Harlem Renaissance. In the second lesson, he went over each genre, read, regarded, and listened to the artwork from each genre with his students. As noted earlier, Mark used the PBS documentary film, *American Experience: America 1900* (Ives & Loeterman, 2001), to provide background knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance – in particular through first-hand accounts. For instance, Mark began this lesson by showing his

students a 5-minute segment, which illustrated African-American experiences at the turn of the 20th century, mainly using black and white photographs and accounts by Margaret Washington, a renowned African American historian.

The segment featured a couple of agendas in regards to the Harlem Renaissance: first, it showed how African Americans were misrepresented by the popular culture; and second, the terrorism that occurred in the American South. While the film showed photographs in which African Americans were hung on the tress and hit by whites after being beaten by European-Americans, the narrator stated that in the last 16 years of the 19th century, there were 250 cases of lynching in the South. Representative George White of North Carolina, the last African-American congressman in office at the time, was trying to pass a bill that made lynching a crime, but did not succeed. After displaying George White's photo, Washington added, "George Washington's anti-lynching Bill really did not have a chance. A bill by the last remaining African-American congressman is not going to get anywhere.'"

Mark's main instructional strategy for this part of the lesson was a lecture with a Power Point presentation. Starting his PowerPoint presentation, Mark asked students to write down main points from the slide and to think about why the Harlem Renaissance happened:

> I want you guys to pay attention to each slide and I want you to write down the main points. For this slide for example, you could write down... In this era, blacks were writing books, displaying paintings, and composing music to delight white people everywhere. (FN1107)

Defining the Harlem Renaissance was another point:

> Okay, we will stop right there. So the way the White society dealt with Blacks was one that was through paternalism. Do you know what I mean by paternalism? It means, these people really cannot be successful on their own, so

> therefore we will be very helpful. We will take care of them. Of course, they were treated as non-citizens, if they were accused of the crime, they would never see the den of the court. They would be hung by a town where no one would pay for the crime. (FN1107)

Finally, Mark brought in the Harlem Renaissance, which he defined as follows:

> First of all, when you try to describe what the Harlem Renaissance was, you can say that it was the time when Black writers were publishing books, Black artists were seeing their works on display in famous world class museums. Black composers and singers were reaching national audiences not just Black audiences but White audiences. These people were being revered not only by Blacks but also by Whites. (FN1107)

Mark used *American Experience* a couple of times as a reference during his lectures. For instance:

> *Remember what the documentary said...* Nine out of ten African Americans lived in the South and they were eight million. So this was a very large migration – a million and a half. (FN1107)

Mark's slides included explanations of the historical background of the Harlem Renaissance. In each of these slides, he included mostly – but not always – one or two photographs. Mark's slides covered the historical background of the Harlem Renaissance and the group of African Americans who fought for their equal rights. His slides also introduced famous paintings, music and literature during the time period. 21 of 27 slides included old photos of historical events and famous artists during the 1920s, images of their artwork, and excerpts of poems. Mark went over each slide one by one.

Among those slides was a poster advertising the Cotton Club (slide #9). Pointing to details in the poster – such as African-American musicians playing instruments, the Jungle as a background inside of the club, and European-Americans dressed in formal attire – Mark told students that the Cotton Club "catered to White Downtowners' taste for

the exotic" (Haskins, 2002, p.70). Mark explained that the jungle and the scantily dressed African Americans were stereotypical images of the time.

> The core was that of the Jungle because at that time when most of people thought about Africa, they did not think of the Savannah climate. They tried to play into the stereotypes that white culture had of the black culture. So when you went in, there were African-American women dancing with very little clothes on. They had of course African-American food and African-American rhythms. (FN1107)

While discussing the Cotton Club poster, Mark played the Blues, and explained the origin of this musical genre: "Why did African Americans play songs when they worked?"

> When they were working on the farm, they sang songs to pass the time. It is the same as when African-American slaves were working. That's the way the Blues started. (FN11)

Students silently listened to the music. Mark ended the lesson, saying that students would see more artwork created by African Americans during the following class.

Three patterns stood out in this lesson. First, Mark used a documentary film to provide a background about the Harlem Renaissance. Mark said that he preferred documentary films to Hollywood films because "you don't get nearly the amount of content in a movie that you do in a documentary." Second, Mark used documentary films to let the authentic voices of African-Americans of the period speak about their experiences. When I asked Mark why he had chosen to use documentary films, Mark answered that they delivered facts by providing historical footage of actual historical figures and events and eyewitness accounts of "people who were really there":

> But the documentary was good though in that it provided a lot of great information that the kids could actually see, you know, footage of the 1920s. Here people who actually lived and were flappers and rakes, and remembered prohibition and all the changes that took place, so I thought that was educational. (KBII)

Third, Mark treated the Harlem Renaissance artwork as first-hand accounts of the period. He also taught students about the dangers of possible misconceptions that they could have about the period if they accepted stereotypes at face value. This was evident in how Mark used the Cotton Club poster to let students know how African Americans had been represented at the time. By analyzing the Cotton Club poster, Mark showed the misconceptions about African Americans and their culture. Pointing to each detail on the poster, Mark explained what misconceptions each detail evoked given who had created this poster and why.

In the lesson described below, Mark used, like a social historian, various artistic genres, such as music, literature and paintings. To convey African-American experiences during the 1920s, Mark focused on how these different artistic genres expressed different aspects of these experiences. As he did in this lesson, Mark used PowerPoint as his main instructional strategy.

Lesson 2: The Harlem Renaissance, Part 2. As in the previous lesson, Mark mainly lectured, and used Power Point slides, each of which contained a title and one or two images of artists or works of art from the Harlem Renaissance. He used three genres of art in this lesson: first, music; second, literature, including poems; and third, paintings. Mark began the lesson by talking about the three styles of music – Blues, Jazz and Ragtime – that African Americans brought to U.S culture.

Mark's first and second slides were about the origins of Jazz. Mark explained to students that "It (Jazz) was a combination of spirituals, Blues, and ragtime, all put together and then evolved into a musical form," and that this musical form "symbolizes the time." He continued:

> Why? Because in the 1920s, things were changing very rapidly and people liked the change. And it's improvisational as Jazz is. That's the way life was in the twenties, you know? People were experimenting with brand new values, especially young people. And with all the changes that were taking place in American society, Jazz kind of symbolized everything that was going on. (FN1110)

Mark played Duke Ellington's *Honeysuckle Rose* (Waller, 1929). Students silently listened to the song. Mark's explanation went on:

> This is Duke Ellington. He was a leader of a band called Washingtonians who was the houseman at the Cotton Club. At the Cotton Club, they would have live musical broadcast that would be transmitted throughout the country and no person in Jazz is more respected than Duke Ellington for his ability, for his style, for his influence on white culture. (FN1110)

Next, Mark turned to literature. His slides were titled "Literature and Poetry" and included Claude McKay's (1919) poem, *If We Must Die.*[5] Mark asked, "Anyone who volunteers to read this poem?" One boy sitting in the front row raised his hand. "Go ahead," Mark said.

> If We Must Die
> If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
> While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
> Making their mock at our accursed lot.
> If we must die, O let us nobly die,
> So the our precious blood may not be shed
> In vain; then even the monsters we defy
> Shall be constrained to honor us through dead!
> O Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe!
> Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
> And for their thousand blows dead one deathblow!
> What though before us lies the open grave!
> Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

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[5] In 1919 there was a wave of race riots consisting mainly of white assaults on Black neighborhoods in a dozen American cities. Jamaican-born writer Claude McKay responded by writing this sonnet, urging his comrades to fight back. It had a powerful impact, then and later.

After the student had finished reading this poem aloud, Mark introduced a brief biography of Claude McKay, who was born in 1890, and became one of the founders of the Harlem Renaissance. McKay wrote this poem, in response to a lynching that prompted the 1919 Harlem riots. Mark asked students what issues they thought Claude McKay was addressing in the poem. One girl answered, "Racism."

Mark responded approvingly, saying, "Yes!" He then explained that racial conflicts prevailed during the time when Claude McKay wrote the poem:

> Definitely racism. Now I'm trying to remember the statistics. In 1900, I will just say that there were over a hundred cases of lynching. So in other words, a large group of white people in the South would take an African American person and hang him in a tree without a trial. The Klan would do this. There was a lot of violence against African Americans who stood up for equality and challenged white America. The Klan would use terrorists' activities to hurt them. (FN1110)

He then unpacked the metaphors in the poem. Mark asked, "So if you look at this poem, who are the dogs?" Another boy answered, "White people." Mark helped this student narrow down his answer:

> Racist. Maybe Klan. It doesn't have to be white people. Racist people. So what is Claude McKay saying? Saying, hey there is going to be a group of people who are going to hurt you. Fight back. Stick up for yourself. When they look at your corpse they will (inaudible) you did not go without a fight. (FN1110)

Mark explained that the language of the poem is "militant." He asked students how they would respond to this poem if they were European Americans living at the time. Mark also related McKay to other black political leaders, suggesting that Malcolm X or W.E.B. DuBois might have been inspired by McKay's poem. In fact, DuBois (1921) wrote, "All art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists." Mark added:

> This is very militant. These are fighting words. If I were part of a white culture back in the 1920s and looked at this, I would fear. Wouldn't you? This Claude McKay is telling people who are minorities hey look if there is violence you protect yourself with violence. (FN1110)[6]

While Mark was showing the slides and talking, students silently took notes. There were no questions or comments. There were, however, a couple of moments when students' eyes alit with curiosity and interest. When Mark mentioned Al Jolson as a famous black entertainer, it was the girl mentioned above who briefly interrupted, "I have a track of him." When Mark was explaining that Phillis Wheatley and Ellen Watkins Harper were the first African-American women writers to publish books in the U.S., Another girl raised her hand and said, "Hey, I'm reading a book on her, Phillis Wheatley." Mark smiled, and said, "That's great. For English?" The student responded, "No, here. I read it for the novel assignment."

Mark moved on to discuss the next genre – paintings. As he did with the documentary film, *American Experience*, Mark presented paintings as first-hand accounts of the Harlem Renaissance that illustrated how African Americans represented themselves through their own eyes. William Johnson's *Street Life – Harlem* (1939-1940), Augusta Savage's (1882-1962) *Cottage,* and several pieces by Aaron Douglas were presented. For instance, with *Street Life*, Mark wanted to show students the physical look of African Americans at that time when they went out for entertainment, and with *Cottage*, he asked students to imagine what kinds of lives African-Americans were living in that cottage.

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[6] In 1921, DuBois argued: "We want everything that is said about us to tell of the best and highest and noblest in us. We insist that our Art and Propaganda be one" ("Negro Art," *Crisis* 22 [1921] 55); and in 1926 he said, "All Art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists" ("The Criteria of Negro Art," *Crisis* 32 [1926] 296).

Figure 4.1. Street Life – Harlem by William Johnson (1939-1940)

Mark announced, "Let's look at African-American art. The 1920s was the very first time Black artists could actually earn recognition for their paintings." Mark referenced to the documentary film that they saw at the beginning of the lesson, and explained:

> Before the 1920s, anytime African Americans were the subjects in paintings, it was always through the interpretation of a white person. So you'd have all these stereotypical features of the Black person and it was really kind of a racist thing when whites try to portray Blacks in paintings or songs. (FN1110)

Among all of the Harlem Renaissance paintings presented by Mark, three by Aaron Douglas' (1899-1979), known as a father of African American art, were used to illustrate how experiences of Harlem had influenced artists' styles; how different art forms of art, such as music and painting, had influenced each other; and how themes of everyday life emerged in paintings. Mark clicked to the next slide. "Let's look at Aaron Douglas (1899-1979)":

> He is really what they called a father of African-American art. He was trained actually in France at an early age. He had a very realistic style. I believe the title of this painting was called *The Janitor Who Paints* (1937). But what happened was Douglas lived in France and went to Harlem. He was influenced by the music of the age and the life style and as a result his style of paintings changed. (FN1110)

As examples, Mark showed a couple of Aaron Douglas' paintings, each of which was drawn before and after he moved from Paris to Harlem. With Douglas' paintings, Mark pointed out several places where students needed to pay attention to changes in Douglas' artistic style before and after his move. Mark commented:

> Notice, James, the difference in the style between the way he painted as a young man in France and the style when he moved to Harlem. In Harlem, he began to use strictly African American themes including the history of Black experience in America. Black folktales. (FN1110)

Showing another slide of Aaron Douglas' painting, *The Negro in African Setting* (1934), Mark asked students again to attend to both the artistic style and subject matter of the painting. Mark explained Douglas' artistic style:

> He was also famous for creating a real three dimensional style which was very revolutionary at that time. White painters would not be doing this. If you look at it, it's almost geometric the way the shapes are painted onto the canvas. (FN1110)

Mark also asked students, "What's the theme of the painting? What's going on in the painting?" A coupe of students answered, "People are dancing." Mark wanted them to go deeper: "Who's dancing?" He continued:

> So this is something that's probably religious. It's tribal ceremony that takes place in Africa. So what Aaron Douglas is doing is he is representing African history in his paintings and what's interesting about this is he is doing it for Black audience but he is also doing it for White audience. White audience is look at the theme and they are looking at the color and the way in which he created the painting would be interesting and odd. White audiences are gravitating towards this as well as Blacks. (FN1110)

Commentary on lessons. Mark used different artistic forms to teach different dimensions of African-American experiences during the Harlem Renaissance. Duke Ellington's Jazz was used to convey the general atmosphere of the 1920s; Claude McKay's *If We Must Die* was used to express not only the poet's feelings about mainstream American society but also those of his marginalized people. Paintings were used to teach students a more vivid view of African-Americans everyday lives: the clothes they wore, and the houses where they lived.

Mark also brought in the arts to address current racial issues in his school. He wanted to teach "diversity" in his own words. He also assumed that, when directly experiencing artwork of the Harlem Renaissance, students would be able to see and hear African Americans "the way of being in the world" at the time. Most of all, Mark emphasized the importance of empathy for people in both the past and the present. In particular, Mark wanted his European-American students to learn how to appreciate African American history. What was it like to live as African-Americans in the 1920s? This was a question Mark posed repeatedly to his students.

> The Blues is a very kind of disturbing when you read some of the lyrics, because it is about hardship. It is about the pain of African Americans and what they suffered in this country. I mean they suffered a lot...They [students] could learn about the Black experiences by listening to the music and understanding the form of the music. (KBII)

Second, Mark used artwork such as paintings, music and literature to help students appreciate the experience of minority groups during the Roaring Twenties. Because Mark, like a social historian, felt that African Americans, communists, and young people had been silenced during this period, he insisted that students experience their voices first-hand in his lessons. Despite Mark's intention, this seems to be

problematic because there are issues that Mark could have addressed in order to teach African American experiences through the masterpieces of the Harlem Renaissance. Hutchinson (1995), for instance, notes that because of White patrons' financial and intellectual support, Black artists at times created another stereotypes of African Americans by depicting African Americans primitive, innocent, and pure. Mark did not see this as a problem when he used the artwork to teach the Harlem Renaissance. I will discuss this in depth later in conclusion.

Whereas Katie used art deductively to teach the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, Mark asked his students to experience inductively artwork of the Harlem Renaissance. However, Mark did not then prompt his students to reflect inductively on these experiences, while Ray, the teacher to which I will now turn, did to the exclusion of both Katie's and Mark's pedagogical approaches.

Ray: Teaching History as Art

Compared to Katie who used a variety of visual arts and art-related resources to teach the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, Ray used relatively few examples of artwork concerning the American Revolution, yet explored, like Mark, several genres: newspaper articles, Hollywood movies, and a portrait painted during the period. Like postmodern historians, Ray taught history as an art in itself. For Ray, history was not a list of names, dates and historical events but a story that was "created by human beings about the past" and "that keeps being revised." Like some philosophers of history (e.g., Barthes, 1970; LaCapra, 1983; White, 1973), Ray believed that *people* tell the story we call "history," and that, given their intentions and positions relative to past events, people tell different stories. In doing so, they tend to arrange events in a narrative that has a

beginning, a middle and an ending which describes historical figures as either heroes or anti-heroes. For Ray, this process of writing history paralleled that of writing novels. The one difference he noted was that historians consider historical events as being central to their work, while novelists create human experience with their imaginations, though novelists at times refer to historical events (Boix-Mansilla & Gardner, 1997). Explaining the similarities between histories and novels, Ray stated:

> We want strong protagonists and we want antagonists that we can really hate [in both novels and history]. We've got to be careful when we are constructing the story of history because if we do that with the story of history, we may corrupt it. Realize that that's part of what's going on. They are trying to color a very good protagonist and very bad antagonist and they're attributing a lot of stuff that really wasn't there. (FN0108)

For instance, regarding the American Revolution that he teaches, which was the focus of his unit, Ray explained that there could be different versions of stories about the Revolution. According to Ray, different groups, such as the colonists, the British, African Americans, and Native Americans, had their own versions of why the American Revolution had happened, how it had progressed, and what had been its consequences. From political leaders such as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson's point of view, the American Revolution was the story of colonists fighting against a corrupt constitution and the growth of prerogative power (Bailyn, 1967). From African American slaves' point of view, the Revolution was the story of the development of slavery and of the Black liberation movement in the South (Berlin, 1998; Frey, 1993). From Native Americans' point of views, the Revolution was the story of eight indigenous communities who eventually went to war and in the struggle for the independence (Calloway, 1995).

Overview of the American Revolution unit. Ray had three goals when he taught the American Revolution. First, he wanted to "give [students] a broader stroke" of U. S.

history[7]. Instead of focusing on "small battles," Ray wanted to focus on topics such as "landownership, freedom, equality, and taxation without representation." Since students would take another U.S. history course in the 10th grade, Ray hoped that this unit would serve as an overview of the Revolution.

Secondly, but no less important, Ray wanted to emphasize the idea of history as a story in his lessons. Ray did not believe that "students would learn this idea from one or two lessons." According to Ray, this theme could only be taught "a little bit and bit steps to a much large concept that history is a story that people construct either collectively or not, based on historical facts." Thus, he returned to this theme repeatedly throughout the school year:

> If you are talking about the essential understanding I want students to know by the end of the year, one is the element of a story, two is how we construct the story, and how we say that story in history, and the importance of the perspective of that story, and revision of it through primary source document and further understanding of what was going on. (KB1125)

Third, Ray wanted students to practice making their own stories about historical events, sharing and revising their stories with classmates. He wanted his classroom to be "a learning community" where students listened to others, exchanged ideas, and crafted their stories, because, Ray, like a postmodern historian, believed that history was a perpetual dialogue. Explaining the goals for the "fishbowl" activity he used to promote class discussions, Ray explained:

> They [inside of the circle] will discuss these issues and the others [outside of the circle] participate by watching it and taking notes and then what we will do is they will talk for five or ten minutes and then we will switch the groups and we

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[7] To analyze the content about the American Revolution that Ray taught, I used *The American Revolution: a history* by Gordon S. Wood (2003), the Pulitzer prize winner and renowned historian of the American Revolution, as my own reference.

> will have this on going discussion about the topic. The idea is we can collectively come up with some kind of an idea of what we think about it and then I will talk to them about how the historical community works. Everybody's bringing their stories and they are talking as a community and then through those discussions, they come to certain agreements and then we start. (KBII)

Given this overview, let us consider Ray's instruction. The following section includes three daily lessons out of six that I observed while Ray taught the American Revolution. I selected these three because they illuminate how Ray designed his lessons to teach the idea of history as story and developed a community among his students.

Lesson 1: Introduction. Ray usually began his lessons by announcing what students would be doing that day. This particular lesson consisted of three parts: first, Ray would read students one section from the book called *The Story in History (*Galt, 1992). Second, students would read a *New York Times* article called "Good as a gun when cameras define a war" (Kifner, November 30, 2003). Third, students discussed the newspaper article in relation to the issue of the media during the French and Indian War, which they had studied earlier in the week. Ray and his students discussed this issue by creating a conceptual map of the factors that shaped the American identity during the 18th century, and in the present.

As well as to emphasize the idea of history as art, Ray had another goal for this lesson. He wanted students to practice being "a member of a learning community." Students read two articles about how stories about historical events could be told differently from different perspectives and, at the same time, participated in the discussion called a "fish bowl." The rule for this activity was that students in the inner circle participated in the discussion while those outside the circle observed. Students

outside the circle were allowed to participate only when no one in the inner circle wanted to talk. Ray believed that he could encourage more students to participate in the discussion because there would be a smaller number of students exchanging ideas as a given time. He thought he might give some typically quiet students more chance to talk.

Ray introduced the lesson by reading a passage from a text on the different perspectives available to an historian:

> Yet I learned some unforgettable lessons about history from our arguments. I learned that, sooner or later, past events will affect us in the present. They will shape both our personal and public lives. Like it or not, they will require attention. That was the first lesson, one that continues to inform my writing and teaching. The same for the second one; history is surprisingly a lot like its cousins fiction and poetry.
>
> Granted, history contains real events and people, dates and places, even physical evidence. History is built out of *what we call facts* [Italics added]. Fiction and poetry are invented out of what we loosely call human nature and the sound and sense of words. Yet, like fiction and poetry, history changes in perspective, content, tone, texture, detail, and language – depending on who is telling it. It changes over time, as events in the present make us review the past for different or previously overlooked facts. Thus, history textbooks in the 1980s contain frequent references to women and minorities, additions prompted by feminism and the civil rights movement. History also changes in subtle or obvious ways as writers interpret it from different perspectives: a modern Native American sees the arrival of Europeans as a disaster for Indian ways, not the "discovery and conquest of a new world," as so many previous historians have phrased it. Such divergent perspectives are similar to what happens in fiction when, say, sisters recall the day the dog had puppies: their versions are all different (pp. 3-4).

After reading the passage, Ray asked his students, "Does this make sense?" He explained that depending on who tells the story and what the authors' positions and intentions in relation to the historical event are, history changes: "It's like history is a story, and it all depends on perspectives." He added that history changes, in particular, when texts were translated. Ray told his students about a cover story from *Newsweek*, explaining that the Bible is also one version of a story, and that it has been changed in the

process of translation. The cover story also discussed the role of women. Apparently, scholars found that the role of women has been reduced or ignored during the translation of the Bible possibly because of the ancient interpreters' perspectives on women.

Next, Ray passed out the *New York Times* article, "*Good as a gun when cameras define a war*" which displayed two strikingly different images of the Iraq war: One photograph showed the body of an American soldier lying in a street in Mosul along with the wire service account, "a mob had slit the throats of two soldiers and mutilated their bodies," the other photograph presented President George W. Bush visiting an army camp in Iraq, holding a Thanksgiving turkey, before cheering soldiers. Comparing these two images, Ray argued that these images play a powerful role in controlling what we think about the war:

> Those in charge, of course, seek to control the image and thus the idea. When a young marine corporal climbed up the statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad in April and put an American flag over his head, someone realized this was sending a wrong message – conquest – to the Iraqis. IT was removed and troops were told not to fly American flags. The desired image was the footage of Iraqis smacking the fallen statue with their shoes – an Arab gesture of contempt – although, in truth, the statue was pulled over by a marine tank.

Reminding his students that these two photographs had been taken before the Presidential election, the reporter ended this article by asking how these two images might affect George W. Bush's re-election campaign.

Ray gave students 10 minutes to read the article. A brief discussion ensued. One student said, "I think that the point that they were trying to make is they kind of show us what they want us to see." Ray asked, "May I ask you a question? Who are they?" The student answered, "The media." Ray asked to the whole group, "Are you familiar with things that they talked about in there?" Ray noted similarities between the Iraq War and

the French and Indian War. Ray said that the class would discuss this more the following Monday when students returned to class.

Throughout the lesson, Ray made two points. First, he offered an overview of the idea of history as a story: history is similar to novels or poetry because it changes all the time depending on who tells the story. Second, in relation to the *New York Times* article, Ray also explained that stories were told in images, as well as in words:

> This idea of history being a story and the ideas of perspective and how we frame it and how every even piece of factual information, like the photograph, it's still, even though it's a photograph, within that photograph, there is a bias. So when you are saying I believe this and you are showing something, then you can ask, okay, who's taking that picture, what was their purpose of that picture? The same thing like when you are reading historical diary or journal or a piece like that, you are applying this. There is a story behind the artifact. You know, that's where I want them to be going (PO1205).

Based on her own research in history classes, Leinhardt (1994) finds that teachers use two forms of explanation in teaching history: blocked and ikat. Blocked explanations are cohesive, and take place in a single unit of time. They stand alone, and although they may be repeated, or elaborated upon, they are, in general, comprehensively presented on the first occasion. Blocked explanations are especially likely to occur in history discussions about specific events and their causes and consequences. In contrast, ikat explanations are extended and, as their names suggest, woven over time and intertwined with other ideas. Ideas that are presented in an ikat form of explanation are incomplete and incoherent at first; they may initially appear as fleeting mentions or asides, and only gradually gain in visibility and importance weeks later. Ray appears to be conceptualizing the development of students' understanding of history as art as an ikat explanation, one that they are working on over time.

In addition to his conception of developing some ideas over time, it behooves us to note that Ray uses multiple resources in this lesson – sections of the books, stories, and newspaper articles that he recently read. Finding ways to present alternative representations is important to Ray, in part, because he wants students to understand that every perspective is colored by its authors' intent and values.

The above statement addresses issues that Ray dealt with in the lesson presented below. He used historical resources from both the past and the present in order to make available alternative perspectives on historical events.

Lesson 2: Four different movies about the Revolution. Prior to this lesson, students had watched three 20-minute movies about the beginning of the American Revolution. Although the three movies described the same early stage of the Revolution, they have different foci (For more information about these movies, please see Appendix B): the first movie, *Cry, Riots* (1973), focuses on the Boston Tea Party, and highlights the role of two leaders, Samuel Adams and Ebonies Macintosh who represented two different socio economic groups. *Countdown to Independence* (Rainbow Educational Video, 1993) and *The Road to the Revolution, 1763-1774* (United Learning, 2001) also describe the beginning of the Revolution, but find the causes of the Revolutionary War in different places. *Countdown to Independence* opens with a description of the Boston Tea Party as the opening scene and mainly focuses on the legal and economic aspects of the American Revolution. *The Road to the Revolution* finds the causes of the Revolution in the closing of the West as a consequence of the French and Indian War. Colonists' patriotism to the British government slowly waned along with the British limitation of the colonists'

landownership. The movie explains that this eventually led the colonists to be against the British authority and hold the continental congress.

Seeds of Liberty (Rainbow Educational Video, 1993) which students would see in this lesson, focuses on diverse groups of people who participated in the Revolutionary War. It begins with the question, "Who were Americans?" This movie then describes diverse groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, and women, asking how these groups participated in the Revolutionary War. The movie also explains that there are other European countries that were interested in the colonies such as France and Spain.

Ray considered these educational movies as "documentary-type movies," given that their storylines are mainly based on historical facts. He used these movies, because they provide background information about the causes of why the American Revolution happened and because they offer different accounts of these causes. Asked what were the differences among these three movies, Ray responded:

> Okay, the first one was just about, *Cry, Riot* was about Mackintosh and Samuel Adams and the ideas of the rich and the poor and how they have different interests in it. The next movie focused more intently on the... I would say probably more on the legal side of the stuff. It also totally ignored things like the battle of Lexington and the battle of the Concord. It talked about the Treaty of 1763. It didn't talk about the Bunker Hill. It didn't talk about... I don't even know if it mentioned the Boston Massacre. But it was much on that side. The third one was more focused on the ideas of the violence and the anger. So it has started off with one-year celebration of the Boston Tea Party. It was much more about the violence. It laid a whole lot of blame on the taxes and the iron handedness of the British. (PO1218)

His goal for this day, therefore, was to have students compare the four accounts about the Revolution and understand that different stories could be told about the same historical events.

Ray began his lesson by writing six questions on the board, including[8]:

What were the major causes of the Revolution?
How did the reasons for the Revolution differ among diverse groups in the colonies?
How did the colonists justify in their revolt?
Could violence have been avoided?
How could the colonists have resolved their differences and avoided the Revolution?
How could the British have resolved their differences and avoided the Revolution?

Make sure that your outline is thorough enough to write a standard five-paragraph

He asked students to choose two out of the six questions and to write an outline of how they would answer these two questions. For example, if a student decided to answer Question One, he or she could argue about what the general atmosphere of the American Revolution had been, then identify three major causes of the Revolution, and describe how the movie and textbook provided evidence for his or her argument. Students would use everything that they learned from the movies and the textbook, and outline their answers during the last ten minutes at the end of the class.

After this overview of the day's and the next day's lessons, Ray and his students watched a 20-minute educational film, *Seed of Liberty.* They started the discussion by talking about how this movie differed from the other three movies.

Ray: This one gives you a different view from the others.

Ben: This one doesn't make the colonists look real good. *It's different from the other one* [Italic added]."

[8] These questions seem to make Ray's case complicated. While Ray's conception of history is similar to the postmodern orientation, the questions Ray asked for lesson #2 sound a scientific notion of history. Discussing the value of thinking skills as a goal for teaching history, Veuren (1994) notes: "According to the post-modernist view, historical causality is so complex that it cannot be unravelled; causal attribution is always in some way arbitrary. Giving explanations of 'why things happened' is not really part of the job of the historian. Nevertheless, many post-modernists seem to be unable to refrain from giving lots of (from their point of view irregular) causal explanations."

Ray: (indicating he wants more details in the movie to make their points) You are saying *it was better*. Why? What makes in this one you think better than the others that you saw? What do you get, John?

John: The first one was just a story.

Ray: It was [describing] one incident. It was basically built around it.

Albert: (raising his hand) This one was easy to follow.

Ray: This one did have a slower pace than the other ones. Think about that, too. Sometimes it's not about the story. Sometimes people will buy a story not based on the evidence but the way it was told.

In this part of the discussion, Ray prefaced his comments by indicating that there were differences among the movies the students had watched. Pointing out that the reason we believe one story is better than another depends on the rhetoric of these stories (LaCapra, 1983), "the way it was told" – in Ray's words – he furthered the discussion by relating this point to how the movies compare the British and the colonists:

> The one thing I've noticed about this one is... none of the rest stated the fact that the colonists were taxed very little. Remember this one at the beginning. They said that the colonists were not taxed hardly at all. They paid very low taxes and they were barely taxed up until this point. The other point I found interesting was that they [colonists] received the most benefit probably from the French-Indian War. So why shouldn't they have to pay for the French and Indian War? At least they were making part of the British case. The other ones were making no case for the British." (FN1218)

The colonists might not have had the economic disadvantages resulting from their ties to Great Britain that we might imagine now (Wood, 2003).

In response to Ray's comments, there was both agreement and disagreement among the students.

One of those who agreed to Ray's point seemed to be John.

John: We can't just blame loyalists.

(Adding to John, Ray points out that there was violence by colonists, in particular Sons of Liberty, against the British tax collectors. Like the movie, *Seed of Liberty* shows, colonists angry about Stamp Act attacked and burnt the British tax collectors' houses and their effigies, and tortured some tax collectors and Loyalists by pouring hot tea down their throats and tarring and feathering them. It was pretty violent on the colonists' side, too).

Matthew: *This one described a variety of people.*

Ray: (Nodding his head with a smile) Yes, this one did deal with much more the diversity than I think the other ones did. [This one] talks more about the Native Americans probably than the other ones did. This one also gave more of historical view, going back to and before the French and Indian War, trying to give you a broader view of what was going on. Keep those things in mind as we move into tomorrow.

Notice how Ray's discussion with his students flowed. In the previous segment of the discussion, Ray argued that a story's believability lay not so much in what it told but in *how* it was told. For Ray, as for postmodern historians, a criterion of a believable story was that it held a number of different accounts in tension, or in what Ray called "a balanced way." According to Ray, *Seed of Liberty* met this criterion. It portrays the colonists' violence, as well as their economic disadvantage. It offers a wide range of historical contexts contributing to the American Revolution, such as the French and Indian War.

However, some of Ray's students continued to disagree with the British perspective on the causes and consequences of the Revolution.

Jimmy: The colonists never asked the British to help them.

Ray: (playing a devil's advocate) That's the point that you might want to make. One thing, though, you want to realize is somewhere we will come back and say maybe we did ask them for help and then show you evidence before we did it.

John: The British did want to move to the west of the Appalachians. The British tried to do that, but it turned out that is not going to happen so they said,

> no you cannot go there. I mean, it wasn't that they were trying to be mean. It was because there were Indians over there trying to kill everyone.

Building on John's point, Ray pointed out another reason why the British prohibited the colonists from traveling west of the West of Appalachian Mountains:

> The other side of it too, I want to lay out a little more of it. *The British, their goal was to make money off of that land.* How were they making money off of that land? What money was coming out of there? They weren't selling the land. Why is it important for the Native Americans beyond that land and how were they making money? How were the French making money off the land west of the Appalachian Mountains? Fur and pelt. *Now the colonists are wanting to go out there for what reason?* (FN1218)

Recalling the lesson about the landownership before the Revolution, students answered in union, "The land."

Ray, again nodding his head, re-voiced, "Farming, land, and money but also for a way of life. I mean for the British it's just about money, but for the colonists, it's about the way of life."

However, Ray seemed to want to emphasize the variation characterizing a diverse group's set of interests. Even among either the British or the colonists, people had contradictory interests. For instance, the British and the colonists had different interests in the land West of the Appalachian Mountains. Ray believed that students needed to understand these conflicts:

> I'm trying to get you an idea, though, that there is a difference in the psychology. It's not just that they wanted money. They [colonists] wanted the land so that they could have a farm and build their lives. The British wanted money from the pelt. They didn't care whether they've got it from the colonists or whether they got it from the Native Americans as long as the pelts are coming in and they make money. That's a difference in the psychology. So, it was okay to cut shut the colonists' side because remember in their brains, and you got to think inside of their brains, and I'm saying it's bad because I don't really think it is. *The empire that they are building is for them and their wealth because they built that empire and it should be used any way they want so that they can increase their wealth. That's what the British mind is thinking. The colonists' brain isn't thinking that*

same way. They were thinking of it is their country and they were thinking that ___ is the right to have (FN1218).

According to Ray, there were contradictory different interests among the colonists as well. Ray explained that some of the plantation owners in the South followed the cultural trends in the Britain (Wood, 2003).

> The idea of only property is quite common. Notice how the southern plantation owners who would be commoner over in Great Britain. Here, he is playing like... He is a noble man, riding around his horse and doing fox hunts. [They had] very different cultural ideas." (FN1218)

Some colonists wanted a new authority to follow. According to Ray, they revolted against the British in order to attain greater autonomy:

> They also were on the idea that they should be able to rule themselves and all the other points that these movies make. Printing money. They mentioned it in this one. They did mention pretty much about the money in the other one. Yeah, the currency Act. (FN1218)

In this lesson, Ray made two points. By comparing *Seed of Liberty* with the other three movies, Ray and students discussed the idea that different stories could be told about the same historical events. They also discussed criteria for evaluating the believability of stories. Ray added that consideration of a story's larger context – in this case, the French and Indian War – aided this evaluation. Consider, for example, how Ray rephrased John's comments. John argued, "It is a different story," and Ray rephrased it as "a better story." According to Ray, stories should represent as many perspectives as possible, especially regarding economic interest. The poor and wealthy represented by Mackintosh and Samuel Adams "might have different interests in [the Revolution] (Nash, 1979)." So did the Native Americans. Similarly, the British viewed the Revolution in different ways from the colonists.

Given the fact that students were exposed to multiple versions of stories and encouraged to write their own versions of the story and discuss those in class, Ray argued that his U.S. history class was a community where students experience creating and sharing their stories in public.

> I like to think these kids being historians rather than me viewing as a historian to them. Giving them several different ones, allowing them to make up their own minds. It works like as actual historians' kind of work. I don't have them do very much primary source stuff as much as I want to but... (PO1218)

Based on what they wrote during the class period, students would have a whole group discussion about the causes of the Revolution and about how the violence during the Revolution may have been avoided on both sides:

> They will discuss these issues and the others participate by watching it and taking notes and then what we will do is they will talk for five or ten minutes and then we will switch the groups and we will have this on going discussion about the topic. The idea is we can collectively come up with some kind of an idea of what we think about it and then I will talk to them about how the historical community works. Everybody's bringing their stories and they are talking as a community and then through those discussions, they come to certain agreements and then we start. That's how we facilitate writing, you know, this is kind of quote "the official" history. (PO1218).

Lesson 3: Watching The Patriot. Students had been watching the movie, *The Patriot*, for the last couple of days. On this day they watched the last 15 minutes of the movie. Like a postmodern historian, Ray asked students to focus on what was in the movie and what was left out of the movie, comparing that information to the section called "The Path to Victory" in Chapter 7 in the textbook. Before showing the movie, he briefly commented that *The Patriot* concentrates on only part of the Revolutionary War – the end of the War – and describes only the War in the South. Ray also told his students that the director had his own perspective on the Revolution, and that students needed to look for evidence of these views, as well as possible explanations for them. Lastly, Ray

asked students to pay attention to how students' biases influenced their own encounters with the film.

In making movies, directors use different devices to deliver messages such as color, sound, and tone (Davis, 2001). Ray and his students discussed these devices while watching *The Patriot.* Colors, sounds, and the release dates were some useful clues, according to Ray, in helping students to read the director's desired outcomes for the film.

For instance, showing the first 10 minutes of *The Patriot,* Ray asked what clues students would use to understand the director's intention of the scenes. In that the first 10-minute scenes, Benjamin Martin, the main character played by Mel Gibson, goes to battle and kills the British general who killed his son, Gabriel. After killing the British general, Benjamin runs through the battlefield waving the American flag. Fanfare is played as background music. At this point, Ray stopped the movie, and asked students, "Notice the purpose of this movie and think of what this whole scene is about." Later, Ray explained, "This movie was released one or two days right before the Independence Day. Why do you think the director released the movie one day before the Independence Day?" Why does the director use red as the main color that describes the scene where Benjamin Martin waves an American flag and runs through the battlefield? What are the effects of fanfare as background music on this scene? Ray also indicated that the colors and music were storytelling vocabularies. Ray wanted students to pay attention to the dialogue but also to the nonverbal devices that the director had used to recreate the American Revolution.

When the movie had finished, Ray moved his lectern back to the classroom. Then Ray would present three different accounts of the end of the Revolutionary War: the

Hollywood movie, *the Patriot*, the portrait of *The Treaty of Paris*, and the textbook account. He asked students to open their textbooks to page 212 and look at the unfinished portrait of the men who had negotiated the Treaty of Paris[9] (See Figure 4.2). From left to right are the American officials John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and two others. The textbook caption explained that Benjamin West, the painter, began the portrait but had never finished it, for the British officials refused to pose, and the portrait was never finished.

Figure 4.2. Treaty of Paris (Benjamin West, 1783): Benjamin West depicted John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and William Temple Franklin.

[9] Benjamin West was known as a historical painter (Getty Museum, 2004). Among West's best-known works are *Death of General Wolfe* (1770) and *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1771-1772). In these paintings he created a new departure in historical painting by portraying recent history clothing his figures in the costume of their period instead of the traditional ancient dress.

Ray said, "I'd like to show you another statement of the British about their surrender." He continued and asked why the portrait was not finished and what this unfinished portrait suggests about the British view of their surrender to the colonists.

Ray explained, "This is another statement. Generally, during the signing of the treaty, when a group surrenders to the other, [the group says] yes, you won. The people come to sign it, the people who sign the treaty sit down and pose for the portrait. The British refused to sit. And this is what was finished as a portrait. A lot of people argue that the British didn't really surrender and said, 'Okay, it's over.'"

Ray continued to explain that the portrait also reflects the painter's attitude toward his subjects:

> That's one of the funny things about the portrait. If you look at the portrait of all these different things and all these people, if they liked the people in the portrait, they make them look good. But if you look at the poles and drapes carefully, you can actually see a word there or something that is nasty. They would hide little things in the portrait as a way of getting back at the person (FN0109).

Ray and his students then skimmed the chapter, discovering that the movie largely ignores the first section titled *Early Years of the War* of Chapter 7, *American Revolution 1776-1783*. Ray explained that early on in the war, there was a huge amount of fighting, and that the British had focused their attacks on New England.

Ray continued noting that *The Patriot* concentrates on section 3 in the textbook, entitled "The Path to Victory." In the South, the British confronted "the swamp fox," Francis Marion, upon which the main character in the movie, Benjamin Martin, was fashioned. Ray proceeded to list the main characters in *The Patriot,* noting which names were real, and which were not. He also listed the events in the movie that really happened, and those that the screenwriters had created. For example, in the movie,

Cornwallis and Tarleton are portrayed as hating each other, even though they did not. In fact, they corresponded to each other after the war.

Ray continued the lesson by asking students to focus on section 3 in the textbook chapter because this section covered a lot of information *(The Patriot* and film reviews would be read for the following week). Ray wanted his students to see what was included in, and excluded from the movies given this section and other readings. According to Ray, the movie has a tendency to portray the South as the main revolutionary force, but he felt, like a postmodern historian, that students needed to explore the war from other perspectives as well.

One way in which Ray differed from Katie and Mark was his use of the arts as springboards to the class discussion. As Gabella (1994) argues, when artwork is used in class, students tend to more easily identify with the voices of the authors than with those of the textbook. In case of the portrait, *The Treaty of Paris*, Ray notes:

> I think that the artist can give us a clue as to where to look for information when we might not have looked before. Like the unfinished painting. That gives us a clue. Did the British really consider this war was over? Or was the war of 1812 really just the final phase of the American Revolution? And it is kind of intriguing. I like it like that. (BI0115)

The unfinished portrait was used as a clue to glimpse what the British really thought about the end of the Revolutionary War and to get students to talk by asking them to look for clues. Werner (2002) notes that to analyze images, we need to focus on what they conceal, as well as what they reveal. Ray, like a postmodern historian, wanted his students to begin to wonder about gaps in stories and to generate new stories from these omissions.

Commentary on lessons. Overall, Ray taught two things: first, the process of how stories about the past are created and why they differ and second, how to read an author's intentions in a work of art. Ray explained, "I think that's a primary source document. It's open to interpretation. It is coming from a perspective, and it is from a person who has a certain reason for doing, from bias. You have to consider what perspective this person is coming from. Putting the puzzles together. Getting all that understanding."

Like a postmodern historian, Ray emphasized the importance of a community of inquiry in which students crafted historical arguments by "everybody bringing their stories and talking as a community," Ray used a whole class discussion in which students presented, challenged, and revised each other's arguments. Ray notes.:

> And it's different being a facilitator than it is being a trainer because in a trainer mode, you are in there and here's your objective and you go about it. When you are facilitating, you are working that the goals and objectives are going to come from the group and your basic job is to help them find that problem solved. (PO1208)

Ray, however, did rarely offer the historical content that students would play with and ground their stories in. Students created their stories but they did not provide any evidence to support their stories.

Another feature of Ray's teaching with the arts involved his use of contemporary movies. Compared to Katie and Mark who uses artwork as a primary source, Ray framed historical fiction as historical artifact – of both the past and the present. Although Katie was interested in teaching the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance, including the beliefs and values of the time period, and Mark was interested in enabling his students to experience African-American artistic culture of the 1920s, Ray was interested in teaching

how stories about a historical event could be told differently depending on different perspectives. Thus, one of the things that Ray emphasized was the role of the authors in creating those stories by asking who tells the story and why and how stories change depending on different authors. This is evident when Ray showed the movie, *The Patriot.* What were the intentions of the director? What were the intentions of the photographers? What were the intentions of the painters? These are the questions that Ray asked while showing students the movie, *The Patriot.* Consider the patterns across questions. Ray wanted students to think about the authors' intentions – in this case, the director's intentions – behind his choice of color and sound as well as a releasing date of the movie.

Looking Forward

In this chapter, I described and explored themes and patterns in each teacher's practice with the arts. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I will examine these teachers' beliefs and knowledge about history and history teaching, and their relationship to the ways of using the arts, which helps us understand the similarities and differences in the teachers and teaching I have introduced here. But let us begin with some obvious points regarding the three teachers' use of the arts. First, different art is used. Katie and Mark used masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance, and the Harlem Renaissance. Ray too used a historical painting and contemporary movies.

Second, the teachers use the arts to different ends both in terms of the content they are teaching and the reasons they are using the art. Katie and Mark used works of art as historical evidence. Through works of art, Katie is teaching the spirit of the age, and Mark is highlighting African American experiences. Instead of simply using the artwork as historical evidence, Ray focused on the artistic aspect of writing history. He views

history is art because writing history always involves human imagination. By using different works of art about one historical event, Ray wanted to teach this artistic aspect of historical knowledge.

Third, the teachers use the arts in different ways. Ray conducts whole class discussions in which students wrestle with and compare different accounts about the beginning and ending of the American Revolution, while Katie and Mark spend most of their time lecturing. Katie used both images and words of historical figures. Borrowing skills from art historians, she interpreted symbolic meanings of the artwork, and taught the spirit of the age, general characteristics of the historical period. While lecturing, Mark used the arts in different ways. Instead of discussing the general characteristics of the historical period, Mark let students experience African American experience. Mark usually limits his lecture to artists' background and the title of the artwork.

All three use art in hopes of motivating their students, but they also use the art to show students different experiences, to paint the past in vivid pictures, and to teach the interpretative nature of historical knowledge. Table 4.1 shows how the teachers use different arts to teach for different ends. Given these findings, in the following chapter, I am going to explain why these teachers use the arts in such ways, specifically teachers' beliefs about history and teaching history might influence their instructional use of the arts.

Table 4.1. Summary of the Three Teachers' Use of the Arts

	Katie	Ray	Mark
Artwork used	Masterpieces of the Renaissance	The artistic aspects of history	Masterpieces of the Harlem Renaissance
What taught	Zeitgeist	History as art	African American experiences
How taught	Lecturing & whole class discussion: Juxtaposing images and words of historical figures; interpreting symbolic meanings of artwork	Whole class discussion: comparing multiple accounts about the historical event	Lecturing & PowerPoint presentation: showing documentary films and presenting artwork and artists' lives
Purposes of using the arts	Works of art can: 1. Motivate students to learn. 2. Help students vividly understand the past 3. Visualize abstract ideas such as a spirit of the age.	Works of art can: 1. Motivate students to learn. 2. Offer different stories about the same historical event.	Works of art can: 1. Motivate students to learn. 2. Offer students first hand accounts about various experiences of people in the past.

Chapter 5

Teachers' Beliefs about History and Teaching History

Clearly, Katie, Ray, and Mark use the arts in different ways. Katie teaches the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance with masterpieces. Ray teaches how history – a story about the past in his view – could be told differently depending on who tells the story, using movies and a painting. Mark teaches African American history with artwork by African American artists. We are left, however, with explaining *why* these differences exist. There are many potential reasons: the teachers' knowledge and beliefs, school conditions, students' interests and background, and educational policy.

Previous research argues that there are relationships between teachers' beliefs about subject matters that they teach and their beliefs about the purposes of teaching those subject matters (Richardson, Anders, Tidwell, & Lloyd, 1991; Stepek, Givvin, Salmon, & MacGyvers, 2001). Similarly, Katie's, Ray's, and Mark's use of the arts may be explained by their beliefs about history and history teaching. My findings suggest that the three teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching are closely related to each other, and that their beliefs about history and history teaching allow the teachers to bring the arts into their teaching of history. In this chapter, I focus on how the teachers' beliefs of history and history teaching influence the ways that they use the arts in teaching history.

Defining Teachers' Beliefs

Definition of Beliefs in General

In reviewing educational research on teachers' beliefs, Pajares (1992) identified several challenges in defining teachers' beliefs. First, because of difficulties in

conducting empirical work, researchers often see beliefs as something that is not measurable. The second challenge involves the difficulty in distinguishing knowledge and beliefs. It is difficult to pinpoint where knowledge ends and belief begins, for as philosophers have taught us, knowledge is a form of belief. Despite these difficulties, given the research, there are two critical points that are worth mentioning. One is that beliefs are grounded in individuals' positions that are shaped collectively as well as individually. Second, some beliefs may filter experience, and, in so doing, become a major factor that explains an individual's decisions. As Nespor (1987) suggested, beliefs have stronger affective and evaluative components than does knowledge, and thus, may have a more powerful effect on human behavior.

In subject matter areas such as mathematics and literacy, researchers also attend to teachers' beliefs. They are interested in teacher beliefs on the subject matter, students and teaching context. In mathematics, Stipek, Givvin, Salmon, and MacGyvers (2001) found that teachers' beliefs about the nature of mathematics (i.e., procedures to solve problems versus a tool for thought), mathematics learning (i.e., focusing on getting correct solutions versus understanding mathematical concepts), who should control students' mathematical activity, the nature of mathematical ability, and value of extrinsic and intrinsic reward are the factors that affect teachers' practice. In literacy, Richardson, Anders, Tidwell, and Lloyd (1991) found that there is a positive relationship between teachers' beliefs about the teaching of reading comprehension and their classroom practices. If teachers' beliefs do not match their practice, Richardson and Anders argue, teachers' beliefs need to change, for changes in beliefs (those researchers believe) come before changes in practices.

Beliefs in History Education

Researchers in history education have also paid attention to history teachers' beliefs, in particular, their beliefs about the purposes of teaching history and the relationship of beliefs to teachers' practice. Seixas (2001) notes that teachers tend to hold three purposes of teaching history – teaching collective memory, teaching traditional knowledge of the discipline, and teaching historiography – and these different purposes are associated with the teachers' pedagogical decisions of what to teach and how to teach history. Given an extensive study of two teachers who have almost the same academic background in history, Grant (2003) notes that the two teachers have different beliefs about the purposes of teaching history, and the purposes of teaching history determine what activities these teachers use and how. Blair – who wanted to teach a master narrative of U.S. history – mainly lectured and emphasized note taking. Strait – who wanted to teach multiple perspectives to view history and not only intellectual but also emotional aspects of history – used simulations and role-plays.

My goal in this chapter, therefore, is to examine the three teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching, including their beliefs about the purposes of teaching history, and explore the relationships between the teachers' beliefs and their use of the arts. More specifically, I would like to explore the three teachers' logics of why they use arts, depending on their beliefs about history and history teaching. In doing so, I argue that these teachers' beliefs might be deeply rooted in different traditions within the discipline of history such as cultural history, social history, and postmodern history. My discussion involves three strings: first, the teachers' beliefs about what history is about; second,

their beliefs about why we should teach history; and third, the relationship between teachers' beliefs and their instructional use of the arts.

The Three Teachers' Beliefs about History and History Teaching

Katie: Educating Students to Become Complete Human Being

Katie's beliefs about history. Katie's beliefs about history are similar to those of cultural historians in two ways. First, like Burckhardt – who considered history as a humanistic discipline (1958/1965) – Katie sees history as a humanistic discipline.[10] Grounded in the intellectual tradition of liberal arts, she believes in the value of studying the classics. She also claims that a central purpose of history is to understand human thoughts and actions, because among the disciplines that make up the humanities – including literature, history, art, and philosophy (The National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, 1965) – history is a discipline that teaches us how the society has changed, and what human experience has been over time. In that sense, Katie believes that history has the potential to transform the brevity of individual lives:

> I think when we look at past history and the kind of rise and fall of civilization and the crisis that human beings have dealt with in the past, [students] can understand that, okay, we have crises that we are dealing with now, but if that part is what is going to stand out for our time in the future, to try to imagine that and how human beings are resilient: they have come through all these things. (KB0203)

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[10] There is no consensus about what humanities mean. Among several scholars (Eisner, 1984; Jarrett, 1973; Perry, 1938) who define the humanities, Nimrod Aloni (1997) argues that we have four different forms of humanistic education: 1) classical humanistic education that originates from ancient Greece and Rome and that aims to engage individuals with "great books" and "the best way to a liberal education in the West is through the greatest works the West has produced" (Hutchins, 1945, p. 3, 7); 2) Romantic humanistic education, with its theoretical roots in Rousseau, and which believes that everyone has "inner nature" and a "fixed self" that is good and unique; 3) existentialist humanistic education that rejects the classical notion of human beings as rational beings and "since the essence is freedom, humans can appeal to no external authority to choose their values; and 4) radical humanistic education that asserts that the society is full of criminal, deception, poverty, crime, homelessness drug addiction, discrimination against women and ethnic minorities, all of which directly affect the development of a majority of children. (p. 94) Among these four categories, Katie seems to roughly match classical humanistic education. I am indebted to Keith Barton's (2005) book, *Teaching History for the Common Good,* for this list of books and articles about humanistic education.

Second, also similar to cultural historians, Katie views history as something that is beyond politics, economics, philosophy and religion. Burckhardt (1958/1965), for instance, abhorred the misconception that history was solely about politics. He believes that history is to be studied and taught as foundational for everyone, and not limited to one kind of history for one kind of end:

> I have never taught history for the sake of what goes under the high-falutin name of 'world history', but essentially as a propaedeutic (i. e. preliminary) study: my task has been to put people in possession of the scaffolding which is indispensable if their further studies of whatever kind were not to be aimless. I have done everything I possibly could to lead them on to acquire personal possession of the past – in whatever shape and form – and at least not to sicken them of it: I wanted them to be capable of picking the fruits for themselves (p. 158).

Similarly, Katie is also interested in "the spirit of the age" in Katie's own terms, or in the "outlook" or "the general characteristics of the age." Katie believes that the spirit of the age is not something that is determined by political and economic events. The spirit of an age influences political and economic events, and political and economic events likewise influence the spirit of the age. Therefore, to Katie, history cannot be divided into separate pieces: here political and economic history, and there cultural and intellectual history. Intellectual and religious themes, political and economic ideas – all together – shape and are shaped by the events of the age:

> You want [students] to understand the philosophy and the outlook of the age. Want them to understand the impact that that has on events. But also how we are in a kind of chicken and egg observation that events stimulate the outlook and the outlook stimulates the events. So that you have both of those working together to create what happens. (BI111903)

Most of all, Katie views art history as a place where politics, economics, philosophy and religion meet, and this – for her – is the spirit of the age of the given historical period. To Katie, "art history brought all the other disciplines together." For

instance, explaining how she would teach the Reformation in the 16th century, Katie notes that the Reformation is a critically important religious movement, having effects on political and economic issues, but it was partly initiated by political and economic reasons as well. Katie sees that political and economic development such as the growth of the cities and nations and technological innovations divided the Church, leading to the growth of the Protestantism:

> We will talk about there will be a lecture on the political background for the city-state in Italy. And the role that plays at the time. And then we kind of shattering the unity of the Christian church with the development of Protestantism and how it has its origins in the outlook that also originates in economic and political issues. They'll be reading, when we read Martin Luther's writing, they are going to read two. And they'll be reading his 95 theses in which he states scholastic propositions about theological matters, but they'll see within that political stimulus some of those issues arising. (KB111903)

Katie's beliefs about teaching history. Along with Katie's beliefs about history, her beliefs about the purposes of teaching history also may explain her use of arts. Katie believes that we teach history because a "clear understanding of the past helps us to appreciate the present day." She notes that we should teach history because history can help us understand the present in three ways. First, it cultivates our identities by understanding who we are and where we come from. Like her beliefs about history, Katie believes that art helps students relate the past to the present. For her, learning art history helps students recognize the artistic tradition around us, and better "appreciate the present day" by making connections between the past and the present.

Second, aligned with the first point, Katie believes that history helps us identify current problems and solutions. By studying history, we learn "how people in the past have defined problems and approached solutions to the problems." Referring to horror of September 11th, Katie notes:

> You look at history and there have been many horrible things that have happened in history and there have been peoples who hated each other and are not friends or allies...And I think it gives them, hopefully more of concern with politics and society. Studying history and how people in the past have defined problems and then approached solutions to the problems. (KB0203)

Third, Katie believes that learning history helps students understand people who have different perspectives and values than their own. Learning about people who lived hundreds of years ago and learning that different generations have different values and attitudes, students may learn that their parents and grandparents could have very different values and attitudes:

> I think it can also give the students more appreciation of other generations that they are sharing this world with. That they appreciate their parents and their grandparents more and the changes they had experienced, and the value in getting their perspectives as a result of studying past history. (KB0203)

Despite these benefits, Katie believes that history is something that we should learn for its own sake as well. Like humanists during the Renaissance, the past is intrinsically valuable, fun, and interesting. It also should be taught to the young because – by providing vicarious experiences – it helps them grow into well-rounded human beings. Katie, thus, believes that history is not a subject that should be taught solely for utilitarian purposes:

> I also think that many people underrate the fact that [history] is just interesting. It can be. And I am a person who feels that, yes, you have your practical applications, understanding the present is a value. But I also think that just knowing things is interesting. And I try to convey a love of learning and knowledge as a value in itself as well as leading to better understanding of the present. (KB0203)

Katie's instructional use of the arts. In practice, Katie's beliefs about history may very well explain why she uses art history lecture and history seminar together to teach the Italian Renaissance. Like cultural historians, Katie wanted to illustrate the spirit of

the age and how the culture interacted with political and economic issues. In doing so, Katie considers art as useful historical evidence. Specifically, for historical periods as rich with art as the Renaissance, using the arts is a useful way of learning about the outlook of the age:

> It seemed that history of art brought all of the other disciplines together. That the subject matter reflected politics and economics and subjects taken from literature, yes, everything shaped the visual. I also felt that the visualization in the art helped clarify understandings of, the historical concepts that it was easier to see, cause and effect in the visual art in stylistic development, and sometimes to understand it in the abstractions of history. And it seemed to me that, that discipline [art] especially brought all the other disciplines together. (BI111903)

For example, Katie used the baptistery of Florence to illustrate the complexities of humanism. She noted that although it is only a building, it clearly illustrates how individualism, one of the distinct of features of humanism, is interwoven with Christianity, supposedly a feature of the medieval ages. Although the building is a church and used for the Christian services, it was financially supported by a secular guild, and the bronze doors on the three sides were carved by sculptors – Ghiberti and Pisano. The sculptors also carved their faces on the doors. Likewise, Katie believes that history, art, and culture are interwoven each other, and she uses the arts to illuminate and complicate the spirit of the age, rather than reducing history to dimensions like politics or the economics.

Since Katie believes that history ought not be taught in ways that separate culture and politics and economics, she sees art as a good pedagogical tool. She notes:

> So, we will be looking at both the rebirth idea in relationship to the classical world, but then how they imitate the classical, but they don't copy it. And they make it something that is unique to their time and place and that is true in Italy, and we'll talk some about the political background in Italy. There are lectures about that. And in northern Europe, and they'll see that in both England and France on how these same or some similar ideas will take slightly different form

> because of different political realities. And they will be able to see it visually and some differences in the art. The Italian artists are very interested in measurement, mathematics, space, theorizing about how to create an illusion of space with mathematics. In northern Europe there will be more emphasis on religion and some of the art is symbolism. (KB120103)

As readers may notice, Katie's beliefs about history intertwined with her beliefs about art. To her, the purposes of teaching history are overarching goals in her art history lecture and history seminar, while her beliefs about art serve as examples to make the case that show how she could achieve those purposes.

> This is always the hardest question to answer. In terms of the goals, I wanted to reveal some of the developments of the later medieval ages as we make the transition to the Renaissance and then look at the development of Italy as part of the medieval period but a part of the medieval period where we see some developments in Italy that will be slower to up her in the north. And... I think that the students got that idea and then I wanted also again, make the point that social practices of a time determine what kinds of works of arts are produced with the examples of the altar piece and the movement of the priest from one side of the altar to the other as creating a change in practice but then resulting in a different art forming development and then connected to other times where we were seeing changes in practices lead to an art form so that they are also tuned into artworks having a function in terms of the political, academic, and religious climate that a church also... (PO120803)

For instance, Katie wants her students to understand that both the United States more generally and her hometown in particular have their cultural roots in Western culture. Claremont was founded in 1823 when Neoclassicism and Romanticism were popular architectural trends (Reade & Wineburg, 1992/1998). In that sense, reading symbols on the architecture and buildings would be important skills that students will need to recognize those Neoclassical and Romantic trends:

> I think reading symbols in particular in the study of art is important because the world around us is shaped by symbols that were introduced in many earlier periods of time and when you read them and recognize those symbols you feel more of a part of what is going on around you. If you've learned what they are, cause there are certain things that the students are bombarded with over and over again and they have no idea what it means and suddenly the attach a meaning to it,

> and it becomes part of their world and it changes the meaning of the present day to look at the symbols of the past. That is one reason I especially love the art element within the history. (KB0203)

Katie notes that after studying Greek and Roman culture, students quickly recognize similar artistic styles in the buildings and sculpture in their town:

> I think understanding the past helps us to appreciate the present day. And that is one thing that is very rewarding because the students in humanities see it right away. As soon as we start the year and they start studying Greek architecture, they come running in with "Oh I saw this on Ames Street," "I saw this here." They see influences, they weren't aware of them before. And they begin to understand how we, why we in town like Claremont would have so many examples of this. (KB0203)

As examined in the above, Katie's teaching with buildings and sculpture illustrates how her beliefs about history and history teaching shape her ways of using those works of art.

Mark: Educating Students to Become Democratic Citizens

Mark's beliefs about history. Similar to social historians, Mark believes that history is a story often written from the winners' perspective. Mark believes that stories about the past could be told differently depending on who tells the story:

> What you believe about history depends on what perspective and what bias you have and you listen to. Most historians are liberal. They're democrats, and they put a spin on history that maybe a conservative historian wouldn't necessarily put on it. (PI0809)

Mark also notes that the official history is often distorted since it is told by the winners, not the losers. For instance, most of the time, we read versions of WWII history told from the perspective of the victors, not the losers – be they the Japanese or Germans. Yet there could be several versions of a story about the end of the war, and Mark's point is that there are other sides of a story. The Japanese who lost World War II would, no

doubt, tell a different story about World War II than the Americans who – along with their allies – won the war:

> The winner writes the history books. If Japan would have won in World War II, the history would have been much different than what it is now. *Peal Harbor*, the movie, might be different. (PO091601)

Given his beliefs that history is a winners' story, Mark believes that we under-represent some groups when we write "official" history. To understand the history of underrepresented groups like social historians, Mark (like many social historians with the same aspirations) believes that we need alternative evidence – often evidence created by those underrepresented groups – to provide a better sense of what their experiences were like. Specifically for the unit on the Roaring 1920s, Mark was hoping that he could teach African American experiences and their culture, since the 1920s are a time period when African American culture was recognized, and many African American artists represented their experience through art. Clearly, Mark believed that there could be distortions of African American experiences during the 1920s if those experiences were depicted by white Americans.

> Before the Harlem Renaissance, you had all these portraits [of African Americans] done by whites because, you know, picture a white person going and painting a portrait of someone in the interior of China. I mean, their interpretation is going to be a lot different than someone who actually lived there and knows the culture and so what I'd like to do...[I would like to] take the portraits [of African Americans] done by whites and then take the portraits done by blacks... it's amazing because not only is...the subject matter different. You know, the white people are painting these people dancing and stereotypical things. But blacks are painting and they're trying to explain what their life is like. (PI 091601)

This is a very similar logic that social historians use when they study under-represented groups, and look for new evidence that sheds light on the experiences of "the other." Social historians like E. P. Thompson emphasize that if historians (and students)

want to understand the experiences of ordinary people, they need art and other evidence created by these groups. Sharpe (1992) explains Thompson's argument:

> Thompson, therefore, identified not only the general problem of reconstructing the experience of a body of "ordinary" people. He also grasped the necessity of trying to understand people in the past, a far as the modern historian is able, in the light of their own experience and their own reactions to that experience (p. 26).

Social historians such as Ginzburg (1976/1992) have similar beliefs about representing the experiences.

> Even today, the culture of the subordinate class is largely oral, and it was even more so in centuries past. Since historians are unable to converse with the peasants of the 16th century (and, in any case, there is no guarantee that they would understand them), they must depend almost entirely on written sources (and possibly archeological evidence). These are doubly indirect for they are written, and written in general by individuals who were more or less openly attached to the dominant culture. This means that the thoughts, the beliefs, and the aspirations of the peasants and artisans of the past reach us (if and when they do) almost always through distorting viewpoints and intermediaries. At the very outset this is enough to discourage attempts at such research. (p. xv)

In looking for evidence about the past experiences of ordinary people, social historians are pushed to use source materials creatively. For instance, in his famous microhistory, *The Cheese and the Worms*, Carlo Ginzburg (1976/1992) explores the intellectual and spiritual world of Menocchio, a miller, and reconstructs the peasant culture in the 16th Century Italy through the use of "official" records that others kept of the miller. He wrote:

> The scarcity of evidence about the behavior and attitudes of the subordinate classes of the past is certainly the major, though not the only, obstacle faced by research of this type. But there are exceptions. This book relates the story of a miller of the Friuli, Domenico Scandella, called Menocchio, who was burned at the stake by order of the Holy Office after a life passed in almost complete obscurity. The records of his two trials, held fifteen years apart, offer a rich picture of this thoughts and feelings, of his imaginings and aspirations. (p. xiii)

Having found a mother lode of source material, Ginzburg uses Menocchio's words as recorded by the courts to show that ordinary peoples' thoughts in the 16th century were more complex than some historians believed.

In a nutshell, Mark and historians like Ginzburg share two common beliefs. They believe that history should expand its focus beyond kings and queens, and politicians and preachers – the political and economic histories that dominated the past – to include experiences of people who are (sometimes) invisible in the written record, creating room for cultural and social history that expands what we understand about society most fully. They require different kinds of evidence, their second belief. These two beliefs resonate with Mark's beliefs about teaching history and using the arts as an alternative resource in his classroom. Art, especially art created by underrepresented people, is evidence that better connects us to their experience of the past, and provides us more "accurate" views, in Mark's words.

Mark's beliefs about teaching history. As was true in the cause of Katie, Mark's beliefs about history are intimately related to his beliefs about the purposes of teaching history. Mark believes that history teaches students democratic citizenship and participation. For Mark, citizens should be able to make reasonably well-informed decisions about current – and past – events. Learning how to make these informed decisions is critically important since we are expected to "voice our opinion and vote": we all have a right and responsibility to make decisions about our government, and we all need to participate in the political process.

To develop students' capacities to be active citizens in democracy, Mark believes that we teach history for two reasons: learning accurate information about the past, and

using this information to address current issues. By being *accurate*, Mark implies first-hand accounts about what happened and why certain events happened. Because stories about the historical events could be told differently from different perspectives, students need to compare and contrast different eyewitness accounts. In one of the interviews, Mark mentioned he is fascinated by "facts." To him, "facts are reliable, fun, and exciting."

> I feel like when I teach history, I am trying to give the students as many perspectives as possible and allowing, I try to get them to make up their own mind and to me, that's like righting the wrongs of the past. I had teachers in high school where we learned, this was the way it was. Well, whose interpretation? Was it Mao Tse Tung, was it Richard Nixon? I mean it's easy to just look at it one way. Let's look at it other ways... it's not just important to learn that the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, but should we have done it? Why did we do it? Do you think it was right to do it? Should the United States have become an imperialist power in the early 1900s? What effects did it have on the people in Southeast Asia and around the word? (PO0809)

So, Mark is arguing that we should learn multiple perspectives because one lone view is blinding. And then he infers that if multiple perspectives about the past are raised, then the moral issues and questions so important to learning from the past are also raised. Note here that Mark believes that one ought to teach multiple perspectives because the contrast in perspectives will perhaps raise thorny, most often moral, issues. We don't just learn about the Japanese perspective on the atomic bomb so that we know that others felt and thought differently. We learn about that perspective so that we can struggle with issues of right and wrong.

Mark believes that another purpose of teaching history is, like Katie, to understand how the past has shaped the present. To make informed decisions about current issues – such as voting in the presidential election – students need to know how issues discussed during the election have evolved over time:

> How can we expect students, or people in our country to be able to decide who our leaders should be without understanding history? It's a cliché, but *if you don't know where you've been, you don't know where you are going*. So I look at people in general, and say, "You vote for candidates without having even a clue as to what happened in the country over the last 200-300 years." So, to me, that is my number one goal. To build good citizens. (KBII)

According to this argument, Mark shares a lot with Ray whose beliefs we will examine in the next section. He too believes that students need to be critical consumers and active participants in contemporary life. If the teacher teaches well, students must have a chance to learn from the past.

Mark's Instructional Use of the Arts. Like Katie, Mark's beliefs about the nature of history and the purposes of teaching history might help explain why he uses artwork from the Harlem Renaissance to teach the 1920s. To provide *accurate* information that includes underrepresented groups' experiences – in Mark's case, African American perspectives – Mark uses first-hand accounts by African Americans. Mark uses artwork because there are not many written records left by African Americans.

Mark's beliefs about the purposes of teaching history also seem to influence whether he uses artwork as evidence. Arguing that there are three approaches of teaching history – teaching collective memory, teaching the disciplines, and teaching historiography – Seixas (2000) claims that all these three approaches have different assumptions about what democratic citizenship entails. In terms of offering the information and teaching students how to make decisions, Mark seems to fit in Seixas' disciplinary approach. To Mark, history is a subject that offers students background information that they can use to make decisions about current and future issues. This background information also needs to include various experiences that are not in the written record – experiences that art can transmit.

Ray: Educating Students to Become Critical Thinkers

Ray's beliefs about history. While Katie considers history as a humanistic discipline and Mark views history as the winners' story, Ray views history as art. Like some postmodern historians, to him, history is "a story that is created by human beings." Since we do not have a full picture of what happened in the past, he believes that doing history is partly filling the gaps between evidence to create a coherent story with all the given information. Ray notes that this process makes history artistic, because historians have to create histories using, in large part, their imaginations. For instance, while creating a story, historians include or skip some events, put them in order to tell a coherent story, which is never completely verifiable, and that does not exist in reality. Ray notes:

> History is a story – look at the primary source, [create] and revise the story. Writing process is related to being history... This unit [American Revolution unit] is related to a lot of a story. We like good guys and bad guys. Because of it, do we oversimplify the elements of history? We like climax. Do we invent climax? Do we take elements? Do we place these onto story? We have this schema in our brain. Even though we don't have that in reality[11] (KBI).

Consider how Ray describes the specific process of creating a story about the past. He explains that people create a story about the past in two ways. First, he notes that when we create stories, we tend to dichotomize groups, and define one party as heroic and the other as anti-heroic. We also put some order, which includes a narrative structure – in Ray's words, schema – such as a beginning, middle, climax and end. Ray adds that this narrative structure is "familiar," and during this process, "we use patterns

[11] Ray believes that when we read primary and secondary sources, "we" do history by evaluating, and analyzing the sources as evidence. He seems to consider what we do for history is similar to what historians do when they write. Thus, I coded Ray uses "we" as

familiar in our mind, take what happened and fit into the patterns so that we can talk about the story to other people":

> There is all this information out there, and it's all garbled up and mixed up. And so what we do is we sit and say, "Hey look at this, do you notice this pattern? The only reason we are noticing that pattern is because we know how it is going to end. What we are doing to define the pattern is we are using schema in our brain. (PI2)

Second, Ray explains that while creating a coherent story, the author's intentions and positions determine which events are included or not, for historians exercise considerable latitude in explaining what and why things happened:

> You know, my bias in there is that we are constantly creating the story that we call history and constantly has biases and things, and constantly altering and the stuff like that. I am not saying that we don't know what the real story is. But I am saying that it's always a search. (PO0108)

When explaining why the Revolution took place, Ray suggests that we could talk about issues of ownership, freedom, equality, and taxation without representation. Yet people like John Adams and George Washington did not hold exactly the same opinions as Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry. Thus, even the actors did not agree on the causes or justification or underlying issues of the American Revolution, and so it is the historian who determines which story to tell and how, considering all the possible explanations.

Ray's beliefs about the nature of history resemble those of some literary critics and philosophers of history who claim that history is art – specifically the art of fiction. There are several different ways in which writing history resembles writing fiction. Although history is firmly grounded in evidence, historians use their creativity to fill the gap between evidence, and create a coherent story with a beginning, a middle, and an ending, given the evidence that they have. Let us begin with the fact that historians use

devices that are similar to those used by novelists when they write. Reflecting on his undergraduate course about the Civil War and the Reconstruction Era, Tom Holt (1990), a historian of African American history at University of Chicago, wrote:

> History is a narrative also in the sense that it has a plot; it imposes order on past experience. Like fiction writers, therefore, historians work with "plots," in their heads, if not on their pages. There is a beginning, a middle, and an end. In history something is always developing, breaking down, emerging, transforming, growing, or declining. (p. 13)

Holt goes on, and elaborates how historians write history:

> The historian selects, arranges, and subordinates the elements of historical experience in keeping with some temporal order that is inherently causal. Again like fiction...it is the end of the story that justifies all that precedes it. Beginnings are picked with a particular ending in mind; endings have meaning mainly as the outcome of some beginning. Consequently, the structure of the historian's argument is backward in time from the effect we know (a war, an election, or the evolution of family life) to its imputed causes (a breakdown in the political process, the emergence of new voters, a transformation in the economy). (p. 13)

Consider the similarities between Ray's and Holt's ideas about history. Both argues that history is not simply a collection of facts and names but a narrative that has a structure of a beginning, middle, and end, and historians (the authors) select arrange, and tell a story about the past. In terms of "the patterns in our mind," what Ray calls "schema," again, Holt (1990) made a similar point:

> Moreover, there is always a gap between the story accessible through the document and the story to be reconstructed. It is in this space that the historian brings to bear what one might call a disciplined creativity, or what Ricoeur calls "the subjectivity of reflection." As in fiction, both readers and creators of histories bring to bear some a priori notion of plausibility that shape our reactions and beliefs. (p. 14).

Another way in which history and fiction resemble each other is in the centrality of narrative. White (1973), influenced by Barthes, emphasizes that narrative, the act of story telling, gives past events coherence and integrity that never exists in reality. He

explains that the actual past involves more than a linear sequence of events, that is, it is messy, nonlinear, and illogical.

Historians impose coherence through the stories that they tell about the past (Ankersmit, 1988; Barthes, 1970; Kellner, 1989; White, 1973). White (1973), for instance, argues that since the purpose of telling a story is to order and give meanings to events rather than to represent the past as it was, the act of telling a story about the past involves some type of creation – or a fiction – not the representation of something already given. They raise issues regarding peculiar elements of narrative, and claim that history is not a collection of past events but it is an argument; also historians' arguments often rely on logic. They point out that since "narration is used for fictional purposes" (Bann, 1990, p.60), the difference between historians' and novelists' narratives is in the fact that novelists admit and know their novels depend on their construction, but historians are reluctant to do so.

To summarize, Ray (like some scholars) believes that history is something historians construct out of raw material, the past. Historians weave events, and create a story about them by putting events in the order of start to finish. This process involves some type of creation that requires historians to use their imagination and judgment of choosing some events over others. Additionally, behind historians' imagination and judgments, there are some "patterns in our mind" – for instance, a familiar pattern that consists of a beginning, a middle and an ending. In Ray's words, "schema" would be one possible factor that influences how historians fill the gap between accessible evidence and make judgment about what to include or not in the story.

Ray's beliefs about teaching history. Now consider how tightly linked Ray's beliefs about history and the purposes of teaching history are. Ray believes that history is art, because it involves human imagination as historians craft stories about historical events. He also emphasizes the role of the author's intentions and positions in telling different stories about the same event. Thus, when he teaches history, Ray believes that students need to develop the habit of identifying authors' biases and prejudices. He believes that this habit will eventually allow students to become critical thinkers:

> I want them to be critical thinkers. I want them to be good critical thinkers and by critical I don't mean negative thinkers. A lot of times people think that to be critical is to be negative, but it is not that. I want them to think about stuff...I want them to think about the question, and just play an active role I guess. Play an active role in life. (BI0115)

Central to Ray's work as a teacher is engaging students in thinking through the relationship between primary sources, the historian's perspective, and the idea of history as a story that is constructed in the name of history:

> If you ask me what are the essential understanding I want students to know at the end of the year, one is the element of a story, two is how we construct, and how we say that story in history, and the importance of that story's perspective, and we revise it from the primary source and further our understanding from the primary and history is a study about the change. One of the things we go back and forth is I have like four or five things I all want students to know... and those things are essentials. (KBI)

Similarly, Hickey (1990) defined critical thinking[12] as a way of thinking that "involves analytical thinking for the purpose of evaluating what is read" (p. 175).

Again, Holt (1994) has similar ideas.

> The ultimate goal, however, was not to make every member of History 413 a historian, but to inculcate perspectives and develop skills that would make them

[12] The definition of critical thinking has changed over time since 1950s when Bloom and his colleagues (1956) published *The Taxonomy of the Cognitive Domain.* While scholars in education define critical thinking as a thinking skill in general, a few scholars claim that critical thinking can be taught within content areas such as reading and social studies (Hickey, 1990; Mertes, 1991).

> better consumers of the histories written by others. The histories they read, after all, went through a similar process of analysis and interpretation of documents much like those they had examined. From their own experience working with such documents, it is hoped, they will be prepared to be active rather than passive readers of historical narratives, thinking about what is not in the historians' texts and how what is there got there. In the end, perhaps they will be not only better students of history, but better, more critical thinkers and citizens. (p. 38)

Ray's Instructional Use of the Arts. Ray's beliefs about history, in some ways, are similar to those of postmodern historians, and affect Ray's teaching. First, as I briefly mentioned in Chapter Four, his beliefs influenced and provided a coherent theme across his lessons. Ray introduced the idea of history as art by reading excerpts from his book and the newspaper. Then in the next lesson, he showed four different movies about the beginning of the American Revolution, and had students compare how the four different movies describe the Revolution in different ways and why. He used a similar strategy in the last lesson when he showed the movie, *The Patriot.* However, this time, his focus was different. He emphasized the director's devices and strategies to make his points about the end of the American Revolution. This bears some resemblance to the way postmodern historians describe history. Ray's beliefs about history influenced the way he structured his lessons and how he taught the idea of history as art.

Second, like postmodern historians, Ray emphasized the importance of identifying authors' biases and intentions when teaching how to interpret historical evidence[13]. By practicing being a historian – a critical consumer of primary sources – students may be able to learn how to be critical and apply it when they read and hear in their daily lives. Most of all, understanding their own bias is a critically important element of being a critical reader. He wants his students to understand their own

[13] Of course, postmodern historians are not the only ones who emphasize the importance of considering the historian's own bias (see, for example, Schlensinger (1984)).

prejudices and biases, and to be able to monitor how those biases influence what they see, hear, and read.

> What I am hoping for is some kind of conceptual change where when they read newspaper they automatically [say], "Wait a minute. What is this person's bias? Why are they writing this?" Or when they see a picture, [they go] "Okay, this picture shows me this, but what aren't they showing? I want those habits... Those habits won't come without a lesson. They won't come with one week, one little thing I do in class or even three weeks. It will take probably this year and hopefully some people have the same idea. (PO1205)

Ray also emphasized to students the idea of an historian's, "frame of mind" that shapes what is included or not in the story both collectively in society as well as individually. Using fiction and nonfiction and discussing the differences between them is one of the strategies Ray often uses. For instance, Ray explains that some Civil War soldiers romanticized the war when they wrote letters. They did not use language or patterns to talk about the ugly side of the war when they wrote letters. Ray points out that although the war had an ugly side, soldiers at that time did not know how to look at and talk about ugly side. And he puzzles whether these patterns really exist across events, or whether we simply create them:

> The important thing we see in the past is to see the patterns across events. Then one question comes up: Are we creating patterns or are there existing patterns across events? So we are sitting there and looking at that pattern, and the one thing is "does that pattern really exist?" or "are we creating that pattern?" And are we ignoring the whole bunch of other stuffs because we want to see that pattern because we know how it is going to end." (PI3)

As seen so far, while Katie's and Mark's beliefs about history are similar to those held by cultural historians and social historians, Ray's beliefs are similar to both traditional historians and postmodern historians.

Discussion:

The Three Teachers Beliefs and Their Instructional Use of the Arts

Given this analysis, it seems plausible that the three teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching are directly related to their use of the arts (see Table 5.1 for a summary of each teacher' beliefs and their relationship to practice). Here I draw three conclusions.

First, teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching are tangled up together and closely linked. Katie considers history as a humanistic discipline in the long western tradition of valuing liberal arts. This also explains the purposes of her teaching history. Students need to learn who they are and where they come from. Ray believes that history is a story that is created by human beings. By teaching students this nature of historical knowledge, Ray wanted students to become critical thinkers who always ask questions about who create the stories about the past and the present, and why. Mark believes that history is a winner's story. To Mark, thus, teaching the history of the underrepresented will help students learn about the past in more complete ways, and this will help students to become democratic citizens who can make good decisions about the present problems.

Second, for all three teachers, their beliefs about history are directly related to why they use the arts in their teaching. Katie's beliefs about history as a humanistic discipline allow her to use the history of art as evidence that represent politics, economics, and culture in teaching history. Ray believes that history is a story and could be told in different ways depending on the author's intentions. Because of that, Ray uses different versions of movies about the American Revolution. Mark believes that we can understand the past accurately when we listen to as many voices as possible. Because of this belief, Mark includes and teaches African American history while he teaches U.S. history.

Table 5.1. Summary of the Three Teachers' Beliefs and their Practice

	Katie		Mark		Ray	
	What is history?	Why to teach history	What is history?	Why to teach history?	What is history?	Why to teach history?
Beliefs	History as a humanistic discipline	1.Cultivate students' identity. 2. Identify current problems and solve problems.	History as winners' story	Educating students to become democratic citizens	History as art	Educating students to become critical thinkers
Practice	Teaching the spirit of the age Art history where economics, politics, and religion meet	Using arts as a connection between the present and the past	Teaching the history of ordinary people	Using arts to provide first-hand accounts	Using four different movies to tell stories about the same historical event	Teaching students analytic skills

Third, although it would be unwise to pigeonhole each teacher as one kind of historian, the teachers' beliefs of history and history teaching vary in ways that resonate with different schools of thought in history. Using the arts, Ray teaches how historical knowledge is created while Katie like cultural historians, and Mark like social historians use arts as evidence to illustrate what the past was like. Ray's focus is also on the idea of history as art rather than artwork, which is similar to postmodern historians. In her study of fourth graders, Levine (1999) found that with careful guidance, fourth graders were able to think and make arguments like historians do, especially those of social historians and sociologists. Like the students in Levine's study, the three teachers in my study also reveal that their beliefs about history and purposes of teaching history are not separated from traditions of history. Like Seixas's (2000) argument that there could be three pedagogical and epistemological orientations towards teaching history and the teacher in general, the three teachers in my study show that their use of the arts are influenced by their beliefs about history and history teaching, which are in the tradition of the disciplines.

To summarize, this analysis suggests that teachers' beliefs about history – history as a humanistic discipline, a history of winners', and history as art – and their purposes of teaching history – to teach students about the past, to help them learn the history of the underrepresented people, and to help them understand current events and analytic thinking – are related to each other.

There remains the question of how their beliefs are related to their teaching practice. My data, however, reveal that teachers' beliefs about the purposes of teaching history do influence what to teach and how to teach with the arts. Yet, there are areas

where I cannot explain these teachers' use of the arts by their beliefs about history and the purposes of teaching history. In Katie's case, learning how to make an argument is another big theme in her class, but this is not related to Katie's beliefs of history and history teaching. She wanted to teach how to write a good argument because this is a skill that students need when they go to college.

In Mark's case, he has multiple purposes of teaching history, and despite his wishes to teach African American experiences during the 1920s, he failed to address complexities of using artwork as evidence. Using art as first-hand accounts about African American experiences does not guarantee students learn African American experiences. Part of the reason why he uses the arts is because art is a more comfortable form of communication to him. He at times feels comfortable drawing answers rather than writing them down. His personal learning style seemed to influence his decisions of using the arts as much as his beliefs about the nature of historical knowledge.

In Ray's case, although he believes that he should teach how historians do history – in particular, how historians create stories in the community of inquiry – the whole class discussion in his class did not look like a community of historians. It looked like a traditional classroom that Cuban and Tyack described (1997): Ray talks and students listen. There seemed no evidence that shows any discussion where students challenge and revise their own ideas about the American Revolution, either. Although students do discuss, it was Ray who decides which story is legitimate or not. Most of all, all three teachers mention that one of the important reasons why they use the arts is to motivate students. From their experience, the teachers know that if they use the arts in class, not all, but more students will be engaged in what they do in class. All these cannot be

explained by teachers' beliefs about history and history teaching. Now in Chapter Six, I will explain how the teachers' knowledge about history and history teaching influence why and how these teachers decide to use the arts in their teaching.

Chapter 6

Teachers' Historical Knowledge and Their Ways of Using the Arts

One of the key findings of the previous chapter is that although the three secondary history teachers used the arts in their history lessons, they conceptualized this practice differently depending on their beliefs about history and teaching history. Katie believed that the Italian Renaissance was a historical period whose spirit of the age was exemplified by accomplished artists of the period. Mark believed the Harlem Renaissance was the history of an ordinary people, one which could be given voice if the work of Harlem Renaissance artists was allowed to speak for itself. Ray believed that the American Revolution was a story open to revision by students, who themselves could participate in the art of writing history. In this chapter, I switch gears and examine how the teachers' *subject matter knowledge* in each of their units influenced the artwork they chose to incorporate in their history lessons, and why and how they used these artifacts.

Conceptualizing Subject Matter Knowledge

Defining subject matter knowledge is not an easy task. Educational researchers have attempted to define and characterize the nature of subject matter knowledge. One approach often taken to characterize the nature of subject matter knowledge is to divide subject matter into two categories: breadth and depth of knowledge. For instance, the authors of *The National Science Education Standards* (Center for Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education, 1996) identify breadth and depth of knowledge as the two key descriptors of scientific knowledge. In discussing what science teachers should know, these authors note:

> Breadth implies a focus on the basic ideas of science and is central to teaching science at all grade levels. Depth refers to knowing and understanding not only the basic ideas within a scientific discipline, but also some of the supporting experimental and theoretical knowledge. The ways ideas interconnect and build upon each other within and across content areas are other important aspects of the depth of understanding. The depth of understanding of science content required varies according to the grade level of teaching responsibility. (Center for Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education, 1996, Chapter 4, para. 18)

Hasheweh (1987) also explored issues of breadth and depth of teacher subject matter knowledge in science. Given his empirical data from two biology and physics teachers, he claims that when teachers possess broad and deep subject matter knowledge – that is, when they are experts in the field – they have more knowledge of concepts from other disciplines, more knowledge of higher-order principles, and more knowledge of ways in which to connect knowledge within and across fields.

Wilson (1988a) proposes four criteria for defining what we might mean by depth of historical knowledge. The first criterion, *differentiation*, is "understanding of primary aspects of multiple facets of a concept or an event" (p. 153). In other words, differentiation is the ability to account for several contextual influences when considering a historical phenomenon. The second criterion, *elaboration*, is "knowledge of details about [historical] events and concepts" (p. 153). The third criterion, *qualification*, "locates this knowledge within an epistemological framework" (p. 153). Qualification is awareness of the contextualized and constructed nature of history. Finally, the fourth criterion, *integration*, "addresses causal and thematic linkages." (p. 153)

Other researchers use different distinctions; an important alternative has involved distinguishing between the content of the discipline (which would include both depth and breadth) and the ways in which knowledge is generated and tested in that field. Ball (1988), for instance, divides subject matter knowledge in mathematics into two

categories: knowledge *of* mathematics and knowledge *about* mathematics. For Ball, knowledge of mathematics entails "an understanding of substance – the topics, concepts, and procedures – of the subjects" (p.71). Ball's knowledge *about* mathematics involves an understanding of mathematics as a discipline: "the ideas about what mathematics is – where it comes from, what it is for, and how right answers are established" (p. 71). Theoretically grounded in Joseph Schwab's concept of syntactic knowledge, Ball's knowledge *about* mathematics also includes understanding of the significance of philosophical debates within the field.

Finally, Wineburg (1997) argued for a framework that combined attention to depth and breadth, while also considering the generation of new knowledge: Similar to Ball (1988), other researchers at that time were considering the substantive and syntactical aspects of teacher knowledge. Wineburg (1997), for instance, argued: "Relying upon the traditional notions of breadth and depth in measuring historical knowledge misses the essential nature of history. History is about connection, integration, motivation, and significance. History without high points is no longer history – but chronicle" (p. 257). Thus, to Wilson's four criteria, Wineburg (1997) adds a fifth, generativity, which includes subject matter knowledge that reflects crucial scholarship – those ideas, concepts, interpretations, and findings that have created significant shifts in the discipline of history.

I use these five criteria to analyze the qualities of Katie's, Mark's, and Ray's historical knowledge of the Italian Renaissance, Harlem Renaissance, and American Revolution, respectively.

Katie's Historical Knowledge of the Italian Renaissance

Overview

Just as it is not easy to define subject matter knowledge, it is not easy to determine what teachers know about the subject matters they teach. I used two strategies to inquire into the teachers' knowledge. First, I did an inventory of historical topics, events, and figures discussed in each of the teachers' units given the content delineated both in *The National World and U.S. History Standards* (1995) and in the teachers' textbooks. Second, I used Wilson and Wineburg's five criteria to analyze the qualities of Katie's, Mark's, and Ray's historical knowledge.

For example, in Katie's case, I compared the historical topics, events, and figures she presented in her unit on the Italian Renaissance to the historical content delineated in *The National World History Standards* (National Center for History in the Schools, 1995). Although these standards outline only the content for which K-12 history students should be responsible, they indirectly identify information history teachers should be able to discuss in their lessons[14]. I used the standards regarding the Italian Renaissance as a basic checklist for assessing the historical knowledge Katie exhibited in the interviews and classroom observations.

To add another dimension to this comparison, I also made an inventory of the historical information presented in Katie's two textbooks, Gloria Fiero's (1998) *The Humanistic Tradition: The European Renaissance, the Reformation and Global Encounter* for her art history lecture, and Eugene Weber's (1995) *The Western Tradition: From the Ancient World to Louis XIV* for her history seminar. As Linda McNeil (1998)

[14] I do not suggest here that teachers' content knowledge is the same as students' content knowledge. However, at a bare minimum, teachers ought to know the content that they are expected to teach students.

notes, the more a teacher knows about her subject, the less she relies on her textbooks. To further assess Katie's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance, I thus attempted to account for knowledge and practices that not only complied with national standards and reflected her textbooks but that also went beyond the scope of this content.

Overall, my analysis of Katie's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance revealed the three important features of Katie's relevant historical understanding. First, Katie's knowledge about the Italian Renaissance was comprehensive: she covered key historical concepts, events, and figures targeted by *The National World History Standards* (1995), except for the "effects of crises in the Catholic Church on its organization and prestige" and the "causes and consequences of the Hundred Years War and repeated popular uprisings in Europe in the 14th century" (see Table 6.1). Katie's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance was also aligned with the content of her two textbooks (see Table 6.2).

Second, as she expressed in her interview, like most cultural historians, Katie preferred to teach aesthetic and philosophical concepts associated with the Italian Renaissance, rather than politics and economics. In fact, in Katie's coverage of standards-aligned content, she did not discuss particular historical events, but, rather, presented the "spirit of the age," the aesthetic and philosophical ideas that, according to Katie, gave the Italian Renaissance coherence as an historical period.

> It is our approach to history is more a history of ideas rather than events as much. But we will talk about events and we'll talk about the preaching of indulgences and John Textel one of the individual preachers of indulgences and the reaction that people had to him...they will look, they just religious history and figures some contemporary history and some of the political struggles going on in Italy that we will build on later in the year, when we talk about the Italian unification in the 19th century and in the time of the Renaissance. So some of what we do now also is setting up what we are going to do later, and so we simply select major ideas and philosophies, look up the events that relate to those and then, we'll see

relations between humanism and enlightenment philosophy, later, when we get to the 18th century. (KBI)

Table 6.1. Overview of Katie's Knowledge of the Italian Renaissance

Standards	Content	Katie's lessons
Standard 5B Transformations in Europe following the economic and demographic crises of the 14th century.	Major changes in the agrarian and commercial economies of Europe in the context of drastic population decline.	X
	The effects of crises in the Catholic Church on its organization and prestige.	
	Causes and consequences of the Hundred Years War and repeated popular uprisings in Europe in the 14th century.	
	The resurgence of centralized monarchies and economically powerful city-states in western Europe in the 15th century.	X
	Definition of humanism as it emerged in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries, and analyzing how study of Greco-Roman antiquity and critical analysis of texts gave rise to new forms of literature, philosophy, and education.	X
	The aesthetic and cultural significance of major changes in the techniques of painting, sculpture, and architecture.	X

X: The teacher mentioned or discussed the topic during the interviews or lesson.

Third, as Table 6.2 shows, the content that Katie taught went well beyond that in the textbook: one indicant of this was that she selected artwork that she needed for her lessons outside of the available resources provided by her school.

Table 6.2. Topics, Events, Historical Figures, and Interpretations in Katie's Classroom Teaching

	In the textbook	Not in the textbook
The content	Total number	Total number
Topics (e.g., humanism, city state, & etc.)	4	4
Events	0	0
Historical figures (e.g., Giotto, Machiavelli, & Botticcelli)	8	2
Theories (e.g., Murray & Murray)	0	7
Artwork (e.g., Botticcelli's paintings)	33	11

Table 6.3 provides us with a better sense of what theories in history and art history that Katie is familiar with. Her lesson was like a collage, addressing multiple aspects of historical period, and through it, Katie demonstrated that she is broadly familiar with religious, economic, and artistic aspects of the Renaissance. In fact, she used images of the artwork from the work of historians' and art historians' books that she had read. She also used theories in art history class to refute the accounts offered in the students' textbook.

Table 6.3. List of Katie's Influential Historians

Areas	Historians
History of Italian Renaissance	G. Bruker
Intellectual history	Crane Benton Charles Trenkaus Charles Davis
Religious history	William Cook
Economic history	Marvin Becker
Art history	Michael Baxandall Peter and Linda Murray Bruce Cole James Snyder John White Frederick Hartt Marvin Eisenberg, R. Ward Bissell William Stephany Ronald Herzmar

Having reviewed the historical content Katie presented in her unit on the Italian Renaissance, I will now discuss the qualities of her displayed historical knowledge.

A Closer Look at Katie's Knowledge of the Italian Renaissance

Like cultural historians, Katie most frequently referred to humanism in her art history lectures and history seminars; thus, I will focus my analysis here on Katie's displayed knowledge regarding humanism. I will begin by quoting an excerpt from Katie's interview in which she makes a clear statement of the importance of humanism to the Italian Renaissance. Indeed, for Katie, humanism is synonymous with the Italian Renaissance.

> Humanism is, needless to say, one of the big ideas that will carry through the entire unit. An attitude toward learning and study that is part of humanism is important also for setting the stage for the major shift in the Reformation that comes in the later part of the Renaissance. So, we will be looking at both the rebirth idea as a relationship to the classical world, but then how they imitate the classical, but they don't copy it. And they make it something that is unique to their time and place and that is true in Italy, and we'll talk some about the

> political background in Italy. There are lectures about that. And in northern Europe, and they'll see that in both England and some in France on how these same or some similar ideas will take slightly different form because of different political realities. And they will be able to see it visually and some differences in the art. The Italian artists are very interested in measurement, mathematics, space, theorizing about how to create an illusion of space with mathematics. In northern Europe there will be more emphasis on religion and some of the art is symbolism. And then, also, instead of space, they become interested in superficial details, parts, superficial details that contain a lot of meaning, um, they'll see the, oh, a drop of water on the leaf in a still life as a kind of way of looking at the world and reflecting about it. And so they'll talk philosophically about these kinds of details of textures and surfaces and painting where the Italians are interested in space and almost their creation of the space. And I think some types of northern Europe looks closely at the (inaudible); it speaks back to them when we have a little more emphasis in the Italian Renaissance on creating the world. There's that power of the individual to create and so that they can see that all of that is based upon learning and philosophy. It is somewhat the same learning and philosophy, but when we look at the impact it has on the visual arts, there are some very distinct differences between the regions. (KBI)

This quotation reveals the extent to which Katie is herself a humanist for whom the Italian Renaissance can be known through the works of a few genius artists. However, to non-cultural historians, this period eye, with its focus on the visual arts, may seem to make, as Katie states, "a lot of meaning" of "superficial details." As I will elaborate below, Katie presented her cultural historian's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance to her students through her use of artwork of the period and the historical allegories and symbols therein.

Differentiation. Wilson (1988) defines *differentiation* as "an individual's understanding of primary aspects of a concept or an event" (p. 153). Like a cultural historian, Katie characterized the Italian Renaissance as a coherent spirit of the age, as humanism; thus, while she acknowledged in her interviews and teaching multiple facets of humanism, they all cohered around this central idea. In the excerpt quoted above, Katie places religion, politics, science, mathematics, art philosophy, and geography all

under the umbrella of humanism. In regards to humanism, Katie's textbook, *The Humanistic Tradition*, asserts:

1. It originated in 14th Italy and began to affect other countries shortly before;
2. Humanism is thought of as an alternative to religious belief. In the Renaissance, however, humanism was entirely consistent with religious belief, and related not to secularism but rather to the studia humanitatis, the Liberal Arts now known as the humanities;
3. A Renaissance humanist was a scholar engaged in the study of humanistic subjects (e.g., grammar, rhetoric, and history) with particular reference to the languages and literatures of classical antiquity. Humanists reformed the writing of Latin according to classical precedents and revived the study of Greek and Hebrew. The values of humanism were applied to statecraft in the civic humanism of public figures such as Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni and in the works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini;
4. By the end of the fifteenth century humanism had become a movement and a set of values that had been diffused throughout Europe by traveling humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus. Early northern humanists include Konrad Celtis and Johann Reuchlin in Germany, Lefevre d'etaples in France, and John Colet in England; in Spain the principal humanist was Vives.

Katie's discussion of the multiple facets of humanism in the excerpt resonates with the information provided in her textbook as well. However, as illustrated in Table 6.2, Katie briefly addressed political and economic changes during the period, and spent most of her class times to discuss topics and ideas that are related to humanism. Moreover, Katie described the artwork and artists of the period as illustrations of each of the facets of humanism discussed by her textbook. For instance, during the lesson on December 8, Katie and her students read Cellini's autobiography in class. This lesson was particularly illustrative of Katie's approach to history: Katie presented Cellini as a genius who embodied the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance. She then asked students to find evidence that proved her thesis.

Katie's deductive, rather than inductive, approach to teaching history resembles that taken by cultural historians who, in writing histories, deductively frame artwork as

cultural symbols, which they then decipher in order to prove their theses about the character of a given historical period: Cultural historians' inductive study of artwork remains implicit in the histories they ultimately produce. Burckhardt (1871/1995), for instance, used this deductive approach when he illustrated the elements of the Italian Renaissance, analyzing the architecture in Florence, and Aries (1962) and Schama (1987) utilized this approach when they describing children's lives in the 17th century Northern Europe. Similarly, Katie's knowledge of history and art is differentiated that she could identify significant facets of humanism as well as select appropriate artwork that represents these facets.

Elaboration. Wilson (1988) defines elaboration as "knowledge of detail about [historical] events and concepts" (p. 153). As Katie's statement on humanism cited above indicates, the details of Katie's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance emerged in her interpretations of what she considered to be the humanist artwork of the period rather than in her readings of other historical artifacts, which may have challenged this framing of the Italian Renaissance as a coherent spirit of the age. For instance, to expand upon her assertion that humanists admired classical thought, she showed Machiavelli's portrait by an unknown Italian Renaissance painter in which he smiles with his hands on a book, and that of the Platonist Pico who wrote *Oration on the Dignity of Man.* Transitioning from the art aspects of humanism to the science and mathematics aspects, Katie explained in broad strokes to her students how humanist interest in science and mathematics emerged in the visual arts of the Italian Renaissance. Similarly, Katie presented Italian Renaissance politics only insofar as they were manifested in what she considered to be humanist artwork. In one of her interviews, Katie explained:

> We'll look at some of the artists of Sienna and in particular, add a series of frescos and the city hall of Sienna that are in – the title is the *Allegory of the Effects of Good and Bad Government in the City and in the Country.* And so, we are looking at both the message as well as the artistic techniques of the emergence of artist interest at a particular time and place. And also, those works of art come with political propaganda for the government that was in power there – they appear in the city hall. There's very direct criticism of previous governments that were not good governments as they claim. They think government – this is what life is like in good government. (KB1201)

Katie's elaboration of her knowledge of the Italian Renaissance through reference to the visual arts of the period suggests that, like cultural historians, Katie's knowledge of history and art are intertwined. Indeed, Katie's knowledge of the history of the Italian Renaissance emerged from her study of the artwork of the period. This practice of basing knowledge of history on knowledge of art is consistent with the methods of cultural historians. For instance, Schama (1997) investigated 17th century Dutch paintings and engravings to determine how widespread wealth shaped social moralities. Katie displayed her elaborate knowledge in her selection and interpretation of the artwork that she chose to teach certain aspects of humanism.

Qualification. Wilson (1988) defines *qualification* as the "loca[tion of historical] knowledge within an epistemological framework" (p. 153). While Katie's knowledge of the Italian Renaissance is differentiated and elaborated within the framework of humanism, Katie does not qualify her focus on humanism as an epistemological choice. Katie taught individualism as one of the key features of humanism, one that is reflected in all Italian Renaissance artwork. In the following excerpt from the interview, Katie presents her idea that "each" artist of the Italian Renaissance "had a very unique style" as an historical fact, rather than as her interpretation.

> Another goal of using the arts is to see that connection between the dominating ideas of the period and the influence on art. And to go back to the humanist

> emphasis on the creativity of the particular individuals by noting how these artists were all painting at around the same time and yet each one had a very unique style and it's very easy to recognize one approach from the other to tell from a Boticcelli work from a Mantagna work. There were enough stylistic differences between them, even though all the works may share some ideas, they can be manifest in a lot of different ways. (PO1218)

Extending the logic of the spirit of the age, in which history can be reduced to a single spirit of the age, Katie believes that a single artwork can represent the dominant ideas of an historical period. Moreover, Katie argues that each artist's uniqueness, or individualism, was a feature he shared with other artists of the period. Thus, Katie presented humanism as the unifying spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance. However, she did not acknowledge other possible interpretations in either her interviews or lessons.

In fact, other historians offer different interpretations of humanism, and even doubt whether humanism was a dominant idea during the Italian Renaissance. Thorndike (1943) claims that Renaissance science was similar to medieval science. Burke (1999), author of *The Italian Renaissance,* expanded the origins of the Italian Renaissance outside of Italy to include the Byzantine Empire and the Arab World, in direct contrast to Katie's privileging of Christianity as the origin of humanism. Similarly, Burke opposes Burckhardt's (and Katie's) assertion that the Italian Renaissance and the emergence of humanism also marked the birth of individualism, arguing instead that biographies and autobiographies first appeared much earlier than the Italian Renaissance. Perhaps most challenging to Katie's thinking, Burke argues that the Italian Renaissance is a history of the elite, not the humanist spirit of the age that applied equally to every Italian living at the time. In sum, it appears that – at least in terms of her knowledge of the Renaissance – Katie's historical knowledge is not qualified.

Integration. Wilson (1988) defines *integration* as "address[ing] causal and thematic linkages" (p. 153). In terms of causal linkages among topics and events, Katie discussed religious, political, and economic backgrounds – such as the decline of Catholic Church, the consequences of the Black Death, and the resurgence of city-states – briefly, but strongly associated with the emergence of humanism in class. She also made connections between her art history lecture and history seminar by presenting Italian Renaissance history as the "cause" and "theme" of the period's artwork, and vice versa. For this reason, Katie understood history as art history: She taught the general outlook of the Italian Renaissance in order to help her students "apply that to the other disciplines in the humanities":

> My goal for art history lecture was to have them [students] be able to define humanism and some of its key characteristics. Related to that, it is also to see how humanism represents the revival aspect of the Renaissance and rebirth, but also how there is confidence that they will have new knowledge to build on in the future. (KBI)

Thematically, Katie taught the history of the Italian Renaissance through her interpretations of what she considered to be the humanist artwork of the period. Seeking evidence of the spirit of the age and studying art were the same practice of Katie across all her art history lecture and history seminar. In sum, Katie intertwined her lessons – both art history lecture and history seminar – under the theme of the spirit of the age.

Generativity. Wineburg (1997) defines *generativity* as subject matter knowledge that reflects crucial scholarship – those ideas, concepts, interpretations, and findings that have created significant shifts in the field of history, and that feed into an on-going evaluation and re-evaluation of those crucial ideas. For Katie, "crucial scholarship" was primarily the work of art historians (cultural historians). As illustrated in Table 6.2, ten

of 16 scholars referenced by Katie were art historians. Her theories serve to confirm the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance only. She seems not to be familiar with other theories in both history and art history that could disconfirm her ideas about the Renaissance. As discussed in the earlier section on elaboration, Katie used theories from art history as evidence to support her arguments about the spirit of the age of the Italian Renaissance. For instance, emphasizing the central role of Christianity, Katie uses Murray and Murray's theory (1963) in their book, *The Art of the Renaissance*.

> I felt that these were art historians that they made a very good case on the place of Christianity within the renaissance society and they directly addressed the issue of it being a Christian society, and I do think a lot of times when students are taught at younger ages about the Renaissance, they're given this kind of black and white view of the middle ages, age of faith, Renaissance, secular age, and not really understand that there is some validity to that, but it is not entirely true, so I don't want them to think that Christianity is not a major force of the Renaissance because it is. And it happens to be that it's an art history book where I found some really nice quotations, but again, since I had lost that lecture, I didn't have those quotations to read. I was just paraphrasing, but I could remember it from that. (KBI)

This quote reveals the extent to which Katie relies on the scholarship of art historians in her thinking about history and history teaching. This is clear evidence that Katie does not simply rely on textbooks for information about what students should learn. She's an avid consumer of scholarship, and while the scholarship is limited to that of a particular line of thinking, she demonstrates a scholarly stance that is unusual in some teachers. In other words, Katie's knowledge is generative in terms of being knowledgeable about a particular line of scholarship – scholarship of art historians and cultural historians.

In Sum, this analysis of Katie's knowledge reveals that she can differentiate and elaborate upon key concepts and events of the Italian Renaissance, yet all within the

framework of humanism and all while finding evidence for her interpretations in the visual arts of the period. Katie rarely qualifies her focus on humanism as a perspective on the Italian Renaissance. Similarly, Katie rarely considers the history of the Italian Renaissance without also considering its artwork. Ultimately, this intense focus on a single kind of historical artifact (the visual arts) and a single epistemological framework (the spirit of the age) limit her ability to discuss the field of history and to position her interpretations as generative for the discipline.

For Katie, history is art history; thus, she exhibits in her secondary history teaching the logic of the cultural historian[15]. In the following section, I will discuss Mark's knowledge of the Harlem Renaissance, which is similarly consistent with the logic of the social historian.

Mark's Historical Knowledge of the Harlem Renaissance

Overview

There is one noteworthy feature of Mark's knowledge of history and art: Mark's displayed knowledge of the Harlem Renaissance is uneven in terms of coverage of standards- and textbook-aligned content (historical topics, events, and figures). Like a social historian, Mark attempted to make the voices of the Harlem Renaissance available to his students after an introduction to the Roaring Twenties in which he did present standards- and textbook-aligned content knowledge. As Table 6.4 demonstrates, Mark's lessons focused on cultural changes occurring in the U.S. between the end of World War I and the beginning of the Great Depression, changes which he presented as clashes

[15] I do not wish to caricature Katie as single minded. It may very well be that her knowledge of history in other domains in much broader than that which I saw during my observations. The Renaissance is an extraordinary period in terms of art history, and we cannot tell how much of her reliance on art as almost isomorphic with history is unique to this unit. Furthermore, I do not mean to suggest that these teachers are easily pigeonholed into one way of thinking about history. I merely want to suggest that there are interesting resonances between their views of history and their instructional choices.

between social groups: older and younger generation, Whites and Blacks, and communists and anti-communists. However, as Table 6.4 suggests, Mark neglected to emphasize two social groups identified by *The National Standards for U.S. History* (1995), immigrants and women, subsuming these people under his three groups of focus. Unlike Katie who treated the people of the Italian Renaissance as a single cultural group subject to the spirit of the age, Mark divided relevant people in the unit into three social groups; Ray, whose section follows Mark's, made further divisions, discussing multiple groups of people who participated in the American Revolution for multiple reasons.

Table 6.4. Overview of Mark's Knowledge of the Roaring Twenties

Standards	Content	Mark's lessons
Standard 3 How the United States changed from the end of World War I to the eve of the Great Depression	The "red scare" and Palmer raids as a reaction to Bolshevism.	x
	The factors that lead to immigration restriction and the closing of the "Golden Door."	
	Race relations, including increased racial conflict, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, and the emergence of Garveyism.	x
	The clash between traditional moral values and changing ideas as exemplified in the Scopes Trial and Prohibition.	x
The cultural clashes and their consequences in the postwar era.	The emergence of the "New Woman" and challenges to Victorian values.	
How did a modern capitalist economy emerge in the 1920s?	How did inventions, technological innovations, and principles of scientific management transform production and work?	
	The changes in the modern corporation, including labor policies and the advent of mass advertising and sales techniques.	x
	The new downtowns and suburbs and how they changed urban life.	
The development of mass culture and how it changed American society.	How did radio, movies, and popular magazines and newspapers created mass culture?	x
	The emergence of distinctively American art and literature including the contributions of the Harlem Renaissance and the "Lost Generation."	x
	How did increased leisure time promote the growth of professional sports, amusement parks, and national parks?	
Politics and international affairs in the 1920s.	The waning of Progressivism and the "return to normalcy."	x
	The effects of woman suffrage on American society.	x
	The effects of Republican foreign policy in the 1920s.	

X: The teacher mentioned or discussed the topic during the interviews or lessons.

Second, although Mark discussed with his students all of the content on The Roaring Twenties in his textbook during his lessons in class, he added content, in particular detailed content about the Harlem Renaissance. In one of his interviews, Mark said that he "follow[s] the textbook chapter by chapter" when he teaches. Table 6.5 demonstrates that in fact, most of the content he discussed in his interviews and lessons (except all the artwork that he used in his lessons) came from the textbook.

Table 6.5. Historical Topics, Events and Figures in Mark's Classroom Teaching

	In the textbook	Not in the textbook
The content	Total number	Total number
Topics	6	0
Events	8	0
Historical figures	8	0
Theories	0	0
Artwork	0	26

Mark viewed the history of the textbook as "the winners' story." But there was more that he wanted his students to know:

> To me, the most important main idea of the 1920s is how US culture changed in providing reasons. And so today I wanted the kids to understand what culture is because the culture changed and today it means nothing to them. So I wanted to identify their youth culture and get them to understand what it is and then they can contrast their culture with the youth culture of the 1920s. And then, hopefully, if they do, they do their homework tonight and we review tomorrow, they'll learn why the youth culture developed in the 1920s and then from there we'll go on and talk about prohibition and some of the other aspects of the roaring 20s. (KBI)

Like Katie, who taught her students to be humanists, Mark taught his students, the younger generation, to be aware of past and present social conflicts. Also like Katie, Mark added content to that presented in his textbook. Neither Mark's textbook nor *The Standards* deal with the Harlem Renaissance as extensively as Mark did. The textbook devotes five out of 18 pages of the Roaring Twenties chapter to the Harlem Renaissance.

Among those five pages, two were photographs of musical instruments such as Benny Goodman's clarinet and Shertzer's saxophone. The remaining three pages were used to present photos of Louis Armstrong and a story of Bessie Smith's biography. *The Standards,* too, briefly refer to the Harlem Renaissance as a topic to discuss. In contrast to these two documents, Mark spent two class hours discussing poetry, paintings, and music of the Harlem Renaissance.

To conclude, Mark's historical knowledge of the Roaring Twenties, specifically the Harlem Renaissance appeared relatively broad. He demonstrated quite a lot of knowledge about of the history of African Americans and their art at this time. When he taught the Harlem Renaissance, Mark looked for resources from outside the textbook, read books, and did his own Internet search. He thought the textbook represented only history from winner's perspectives, skipping stories from "losers" – or in this case, more marginalized people's – perspectives. Mark studied, and used much artwork to teach the Harlem Renaissance in an attempt to add dimensionality to the history that was being presented to his students.

A Closer Look at Mark's Historical Knowledge[16]

Now let us consider the depth of Mark's knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance entails.

> I've been following the textbook quite closely and so they didn't start out with this, but to me, the most important main idea of the 1920s is how US culture changed in providing reasons. And so today I wanted the kids to understand what culture is because the culture changed and today it means nothing to them. So I wanted to identify their youth culture and get them to understand what it is and then they can contrast their culture with the youth culture of the 1920s. And then, hopefully, if they do they do their homework tonight and we review tomorrow,

[16] Katie and Mark appear to have more elaborate knowledge about art than history, but I amm not in a position to make generalizations about their knowledge of either given the circumscribed nature of this study.

> they'll learn why the youth culture developed in the 1920s and then from there we'll go on and talk about prohibition and some of the other aspects of the roaring 20s...
>
> If you look at the rise of jazz, the changes [were] in heart... Those things to me are two of the most important things. When you look politically in the United States, there were not a lot of changes, people overwhelmingly voted for republicans who were pro-business and they wanted the government out of people's lives. When prior to the 1920s there was a strong progressive movement where people wanted government to be more of a participant in protecting people from the excesses of big business and so on. It is interesting time when on one hand people are liking business leaders.... politicians to allow business to kind of do its' own thing without much regulation. But on the other hand, the people of the 20s were changing. You know, their morals and their manners were changing to a really strong degree. You think with all the changes that were going on socially, politically there would be some changes too. (KBI)

Differentiation. Mark displayed differentiated knowledge of the Harlem Renaissance. Surprisingly, while his textbook does include the Harlem Renaissance as one of the key terms (Cayton, Perry, & Winkler, 1998, p.586), it does not add any explanation or description of what the Harlem Renaissance is about, including: 1) when, why and how it happened, proceeded, and ended; 2) main key figures; and 3) its impact. During his PowerPoint presentation, Mark, however, talked about these three facets of the Harlem Renaissance with his students.

As we saw in Chapter 4, Mark told students that the Harlem Renaissance began probably around 1916 although "no one is sure exactly when it began" (PowerPoint slide, p.3). He also pointed out that the Great Migration and the emergence of racial pride were two of the key reasons for the Harlem Renaissance. Next he explained that Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Dubois organized African Americans, and promoted African-American identities. Lastly, he listed renowned musicians, poets, and painters and their works. All the artists' names and their works are compared with the prototype that I

created consulting *Wikipedia*, the online encyclopedia for a comprehensive list of relevant artists.

In explaining how he learned about the Harlem Renaissance, Mark notes that he used two books called *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (Lewis, 1981) and *The Harlem Renaissance* (Haskins, 1996). He notes:

> It's really a simple book. They just highlight different African-American musicians and there is a short biography of these people, but what I'm curious in is the African-American music, the blues, jazz and then you could call it, I guess, soul music or ... It is interesting how different fusions of African-American people music brings certain things. You know what I mean? Like blues and jazz kind of created rock and roll. When I do the power point we talk about the different types of black music. The musicians that created that music, a little bit of background of their lives and then how their music impacted America. Especially white America. (KBI)

Compared with social historians, Mark's turn to artwork during the Harlem Renaissance seemed to make sense because African Americans were one of the underrepresented groups. Mark needed evidence that represents African American experiences that other texts did not illustrate, which turned out to be arts. The arts appeared to be the answer. And his displayed knowledge of the art of that time period appeared differentiated when compared to the simplifications offered in his textbook.

Elaboration. Like Katie, Mark also demonstrates elaborate knowledge particularly about artwork and artists during the Harlem Renaissance. His explanation suggests that his knowledge about the artwork consists of two parts. First, Mark was familiar with the basic biographical background of each artist. When he showed students Hayden Palmer, he began by telling them a little about his biography, and then elaborated the themes of the artwork, explaining how those themes illustrate African American experiences (Lewis, 1981). He also introduced Aaron Douglas's, who is thought of by

some scholars as the "founding father" of the Harlem Renaissance painters. Mark first explained Douglas's educational background, then the themes of some of his paintings such as *Study for Aspects of Negro Life: The Negro in an African Setting* (1934), and why Douglas chose to include those themes in his art. Finally, Mark discussed how Douglas's painting represented African American experiences.

> Let's look at Aaron Douglas. He is really what they called a father of African American art. He was trained in France at an early age. He had a very realistic style. I believe the title of this painting is called "The Janitor." But what happens is Douglas lives in France and goes to Harlem. He is influenced by the music of the age and the life style and as a result his style of paintings changes. Notice, Bryan, the difference in the style between the way he painted as a young man in France and the style when he moved to Harlem. In Harlem, he began to use strictly African American themes including the history of black experience in America. Black folktales. You look closely at this painting. You can almost see Jazz, can't you? The way Jazz is improvisational, all flows, and moves. It's a free flowing musical form. Look at that painting. Is that free flowing? Yes, absolutely. You can tell how music influenced him. You could see, I hope, that there are five people here working in a field and it's a portrait of African slaves working in a cotton field. You see a little cotton balls on the plants around the workers. (FN1110)

Mark also asked students to compare paintings that Douglas created before and after he moved to the Harlem:

> After reading the books, I tried to pick what I thought to be most significant writers (inaudible). Claude Mackay, Hayden Palmer, and so on. And so I try to pick the most famous of the Harlem Renaissance writers, painters, and musicians. And it was all based on my reading from those two books that we had in the library. So that's how I decided to pick them. (KBII)

Mark's elaborate explanation of artists and artwork was exhibited across most of slides Mark presented to students. This explanation certainly suggests that Mark has elaborate knowledge about artwork during the Harlem Renaissance.

Qualification. It seems that to Mark, Harlem Renaissance artwork represents the experience of all African Americans during the 1920s. However, there are other groups

of African Americans who were not African Artists. Haskins (2002), author of *The Harlem Renaissanc*, argues that while there was a young group of intellectuals and artists who believe that:

> A distinctive black culture could be found in the lives of ordinary African Americans who were neither educated nor financially comfortable. Many older members of the small but fiercely proud group of educated middle-class African Americans believed that the way to "advance the race" was to adopt the ways of the best classes of whites. They wanted black writers to write only about the better class of blacks, black composers, and painters to follow European musical traditions. (p. 14)

Thus, the Black artists of the Renaissance were educated and privileged in ways that set them apart from other African Americans. Most of them were educated in the arts in France, and some of them later had their own schools of art. Therefore, the images they represented in their art might have been filtered through or shaped by their own experiences. We cannot assume that those experiences or their art are representative of "the" Black experience in the U.S. in the 1920s. Indeed, historians note that during the 1920s, there are various African American groups. For example, in examining the history of African American dancing, parades, and musical comedy in the 1910s, Krasner (2002) refuses to explain all performance for a single reason such as racism, self-assertion, or the Great Migration. Krasner also argued, like all of us, there were disagreements among African American intellectuals and artists about how African Americans pursue their full citizenship. He also raised questions about "authentic" African American art, emphasizing that African American artists have different experiences in both art and their own lives. Although Mark displayed differentiated and elaborated knowledge, like Katie, he failed to demonstrated qualified knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance.

Integration. Mark's lessons about the Harlem Renaissance are related to the rest of his lessons about the 1920s chronologically and thematically. The Great Migration, and the development of public transportation allowed African American art to spread across the U.S. and the whole population could enjoy African American culture. Chronologically, the Harlem Renaissance was taught at this time of the year because this unit "fits in between the lessons taught regarding World War I and the Great Depression."

> I think it is important because we really truly became a modern country after the 1920s. I mean prior to the 1920s, radio was not in existence. Then the Southerners were so much radically different from the northerners. Besides railroads, we didn't have a strong linkage between the different regions of the country. But with the advent of radio, and the automobile, now, the culture spreads so much more freely, then we have all these cultural changes that were occurring, they just flowed instead of staying in one particular region, it spread throughout the entire country, so we truly became different in the 20s, then, from what we were before. (KBI)

Mark's lessons about the 1920s included two lessons on the Harlem Renaissance that provided students with historical background and that conceptualized the period as part of U.S. culture rather than simply African American history.

> Another thing is the Harlem Renaissance. This is in the 1920's. This is the first time that African Americans became cool for America. Before that they were considered (inaudible), second class citizens but obviously now, young white kids were talking like black men, dressing like black men, and listening to the same music, their idols were black musicians. (KBI)

During the knowledge and beliefs interview, Mark said that he does not want to teach the Harlem Renaissance only for February, the Black History Month. Thus, he did research on the Harlem Renaissance, and created a PowerPoint presentation to use in his class. Thus, it seemed that mark saw African American history as an integral part of the curriculum for the entire year, and not simply a special topic for February.

Thematically, he also presented the Harlem Renaissance as one of the significant cultural changes that Americans – both Whites and Blacks – experienced after World War I. The development of technologies such as – innovation of the transportation and wide spread of radio – and the Great Migration were discussed as a historical context in which the Harlem Renaissance as well as other cultural changes happened. This means that Mark demonstrated integrated knowledge that allows him to organize his lessons chronologically and thematically across lessons.

Generality. Compared with Katie, Mark does not seem to be familiar with any theories about the Harlem Renaissance. But he does use scholarly to inform his work as a teacher, including in this unit *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (Lewis, 1981), *The Harlem Renaissance* (Haskins, 1996), and *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, Perry, & Winkler, 1999).

Given these books, Mark was well aware of historical figures, including Langston Hughes, Aaron Douglas, Hayden Palmer, etc., and their biographies and artwork. It seems, however, that these books served as a source to provide Mark with basic factual knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance. Instead of recognizing similarities and differences between the books or considering the accounts provided by these two books as tentative under a big picture of historical scholarship, Mark used these books to compensate for what his textbook is missing about the Harlem Renaissance. Yet he did not present the information as part of an on-going conversation among historians about the Harlem Renaissance or the Roaring 20s. Like Katie, then, his knowledge of the period has some features of generativity – that is, he is not completely tied to his textbook and he uses contemporary scholarship to inform his teaching. However, he does not

make that on-gong work part of the content of the curriculum with his students, nor did he talk about the generative nature of historical knowledge.

In sum, Mark's knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance was differentiated, elaborate but varied in depth, depending on the content, not qualified, and only in a limited way generative. These characteristics of his knowledge revealed across his practice.

Ray's Historical Knowledge of the American Revolution

Overview

While Katie has comprehensive knowledge in terms of the breadth of her knowledge, but does have variances in the depth of her knowledge, Ray has broad but relatively less deep knowledge of the American Revolution. Ray, however, has a big picture of the American Revolution, and he is skillful about reorganizing concepts and ideas to teach the nature of historical knowledge as well as the content. Some of Ray's ideas are similar to those of postmodern historians because Ray does not want to teach just one version of the American Revolution but history from multiple perspectives. Ray is also similar to postmodern historians in terms of postmodern historians being interested in ideas rather than facts.

Like I did in order to analyze Katie's knowledge of and about the Italian Renaissance, in order to learn Ray's breadth of historical knowledge, I first selected historically significant topics and events during the American Revolution from *The National U.S. History Standards* (1995). Ray's units roughly address the standards for the American Revolution unit in terms of the following topics (to review which specific standards Ray addressed, see Table 6.4): The causes of the American Revolution, the

ideas and interest involved in forging the revolutionary movement, and the reasons for the American victory. Specifically, the Seven Years War and English imperial policy after the Treaty of Paris (1763); political, religious, and economic leaders who influence the American Revolution; chronology of critical events; diverse dimensions such as political, ideological, and economic aspects of the cause and effect of the Revolution; and multiple perspectives such as patriots and loyalists, Native Americans, free and enslaved African Americans, British, French, Spanish, and Dutch perspectives on the American Revolution should be considered while teachers teaching the American Revolution.

Ray addresses all these themes and topics either during one of the interviews or lessons except the three themes including arguments of the Patriots and Loyalists, principles of the Declaration of Independence, and specific consequences of Treaty of Paris. In the case of the last topic, Ray values teaching and learning histories from multiple perspectives, but he does not mention specifically what the story would be like if it is told from a certain perspective. This implies that Ray has a big picture of what the American Revolution constitutes and what are historically significant themes that he needed to discuss. However, as Katie's and Mark's cases suggest, simply addressing these themes do not mean that he has deep knowledge of the American Revolution.

Table 6.5 shows a rough sketch of Ray's historical knowledge – what constitutes it. This table suggests that like Ray told me in one of the interviews, he has a big picture of why the American Revolution happened, how it happened, and how it ended, and addressed those in his lessons, too. This table, however, also tells that Ray does not display his knowledge about different social groups' involvement of the American

Revolution. Yet, I am not sure at this point whether this is evidence that tells me he is not aware of these social groups and their roles and participation in the Revolution. Ray might not teach or mention it intentionally because he explicitly told me that his goal for his 9th grade U.S. history and English block was to provide students with a broad stroke portrait of the American Revolution rather than teaching details.

Table 6.6. Overview of Ray's Knowledge of the American Revolution

Standards	Content	Ray's lessons
Standard 1 The causes of the American Revolution, the ideas and interests involved in forging the revolutionary movement, and the reasons for the American victory	Consequences of the Seven Year War & British imperial policy after Treaty of Paris (1763)	x
	Comparison of the arguments advanced by defenders and opponents of the new imperial policy on the traditional rights of English people and the legitimacy of asking the colonies to pay a share of the costs of empire	
	The chronology of the critical events leading to the outbreak of armed conflict between the American colonies and England	x
	The connection between political and religious ideas and economic interests in bringing about revolution.	x
The causes of the American revolution	The arguments among Patriots and Loyalists about independence and drawing conclusions about how the decision to declare independence was reached.	
Factors affecting the process and end of the American Revolution	The character and roles of the military, political, and diplomatic leaders who helped forge the American victory.	x
	The different roles and perspectives in the war of men and women including white settlers, free and enslaved African Americans, and Native Americans.	x
	Problems of financing the war and dealing with wartime inflation, hoarding, and profiteering.	x
	Explaining the American victory	x
How did American relations with European powers affect the character and outcomes of the American Revolution?	United States relationships with France, Holland, and Spain during the Revolution and the contributions of each European power to the American victory.	
	The terms of the Treaty of Paris, and their implications for U.S relationships with Native Americans and with the European powers that continued to hold territories and interests in North America.	x
Standard 2: How the American Revolution involved multiple movements among the new nation's many groups to reform American society – in particular, the revolution's effects on social, political, and economic relations among different social groups.	The reasons influencing many whites, African Americans, and Native Americans to remain loyal to the British during the American Revolution and the consequences for each of the American victory.	
	To what extent the revolutionary goals of different groups were achieved and how the Revolution altered social, political, and economic relations among them.	
	The revolutionary hopes of enslaved and free African Americans, the reformist calls for the abolition of slavery during the revolution, and the gradual post revolutionary abolition of slavery in the northern states.	
	The ideas on which women drew in arguing for new roles and rights; the conventions of the 18th century that limited their aspirations and achievements; and the extent to which women were successful in gaining their rights after 1776.	
	The contributions of African American leaders in the early republic and the importance of the African American institutions developed in the free black communities of the North.	

X: The teacher mentioned or discussed the topic during the interviews or lessons.

Table 6.6 also illustrates one feature of Ray's knowledge about history and art: although Ray does "not follow the textbook chapter by chapter," the content Ray taught was aligned with that of *The Standards* and the textbook, while Ray – like Katie and Mark – also brought in artwork from outside of the textbook. The difference is that while Katie and Mark used artwork that was created in the time period that they are studying, Ray used contemporary educational movies, Hollywood movie, and historical portraits.

Table 6.7. Historical Topics, Events, and Figures in Ray's Classroom Teaching

	In the textbook	Not in the textbook
The content	Total number	Total number
Topics	1	1
Events	7	0
Historical figures	7	1
Theories	0	0
Artwork	1	5

A Closer Look at Ray's Historical Knowledge[17]

Differentiation. Ray seems to have a big picture of what are important historical events and figures to discuss about the American Revolution, which constitutes the American Revolution. The historical events he mentioned so far include: The French and Indian War, the Revolution, Pontiac's rebellion, the battle of Lexington, the battle of Concord, the bunker hill, and the Boston Massacre (The last four were mentioned when he talked about the movies about the Revolution). The historical figures (or important names) are: John Zeagler, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, McIntosh, and the Ohio Land Company. The key themes before the

[17] Ray's case shows how difficult it is to differentiate knowledge and beliefs about history. Many parts of Ray's knowledge about history as a story overlaps his beliefs about history. Should I consider Ray's ideas of history as art as knowledge or should I consider his ideas about history as art as beliefs? Ray has this knowledge about history as art but does not have knowledge about any theories related to it in the discipline of history.

Revolution is the idea of the landownership. And, the French and Indian War was the most important historical event before the American Revolution. Ray's knowledge is differentiated in terms of addressing all key historical events, topics, and figures either in his lessons or interviews.

Elaboration. Ray, however, does not have elaborate knowledge of historical events and figures as well as topics and themes. Instead of discussing details of each event or historical figures one by one, Ray argues that the American Revolution should be understood through big themes such as 1) Why the Revolution happened, 2) how and why colonists won the war, and 3) how different reasons made different groups get involved with the war. Each event and figure was discussed and mentioned in the context of the American Revolution, but no details. Students were asked to summarize who these people are and what these historical events are at the end of the units, using the textbook. He notes:

> We didn't do very much of it in the first part of the unit. They took four different stories about the Revolution. All events that led up to the war such as the battle of Lexington, Concord, Bunker hill, the Boston Tea Party. As far as the war, Ray hasn't really been interested in the little battles. The big stroke: The French involvement with the war. The declaration of the independence is much more interested than the little battles in the war. He hasn't stressed the cause and effect as much.

In his practice, Ray, thus, showed students four different movies about how the American Revolution began, focusing on different aspects of the Revolutionary War — How does each party of the British and colonists decide the War? Not being able to specific about the question "How," Ray instead would love to get the British documentary or African American experience: how do the British portray the War? Apparently, Ray seemed not to be ready to answer these questions. However, he knew

where he needed more knowledge. During the summer, he wanted to look for primary sources written from British perspectives about the end of the Revolution. He was planning using the summer to look for some of the materials about 150 nations, and to plan how he would use them in the future.

In contrast, Ray was able to elaborate his idea about the community of inquiry where historians create their stories. To Ray, the image in *Beautiful Mind* (Nasar, 2001) is something he wanted for students to pursue in his class – people making claims, refuting and challenging each other's arguments, and eventually revising one's own arguments. It seems that Ray's knowledge is elaborate in one area, and not in another.

Qualification. Ray's discussion of the American Revolution addresses multiple aspects of the American Revolution – in particular, his knowledge is more focused on the economic aspects of the American Revolution. He, for instance, emphasizes the idea of landownership, and attributes one of the critical reasons of the Revolutionary War to it. Ohio Valley Company, and the British, Native American, and colonists' different interests in the land on the West of Appalachian Mountains are one of the places where Ray addresses the causes of the Revolutionary War.

Ray also claims that there are different interests on the Revolutionary War depending on which class colonists belonged to. For instance, among the leaders of the Boston Tea Party, Samuel Adams and McIntosh are from different classes – Samuel Adams from the rich family and McIntosh from laborers. Although they commonly fought for the Boston Tea Party, these two might have had different goals. French and Spanish, although they participated in the War, have different goals. African Americans also have different purposes whether their purposes were accomplished or not.

> We used a writing on economics to be dealing with taxes and the Revolution. They did free write to get them started about their ideas of what taxes are and why we pay them and all that kind of stuffs. Other sides of it, they watched the movie called *Cry, riot.* It was about, largely about Samuel Adams and Esther Ruth Mackintosh. Then they watched these three others. They were more like documentaries... [interruption] Each of them had different perspectives. You can hear it when they are talking about it. (PO1218)

Ray's recognition of the importance of these multiple perspectives reveal when he discussed further readings that he would do during summer. He would get and read primary sources that include British, Native American, and African American perspectives.

> Okay, the first one was just about, the *Cry, riot* was about Mackintosh and Samuel Adams and the ideas of the rich and the poor and how they have different interests in it. The next movie focused more intently on the... I would say probably more on the legal side of the stuff. It also totally ignored things like the battle of Lexington and the battle of the Concord. It talked about the Treaty of 1763. It didn't talk about the Bunker Hill. It didn't talk about... I don't even know if it mentioned the Boston Massacre. But it was much on that side. The second one was more focused on the ideas of the violence and the anger. So it has started off with one-year celebration of the... remembrance of... [Interruption] (146-169). The second one was much more about the violence. (PO1218)

Integration. Ray seems to make connections among events. For instance, Ray does not encourage students to learn about the French and Indian War and the American Revolution separately. He kept asking students to relate the consequences of the French and Indian War and how the consequences of the French and Indian War had influenced the beginning of the American Revolution. One of the examples for this is that he kept mentioning the French and Indian War, when he discussed the beginning and ending of the Revolutionary War. In terms of the relationship about the thematic relatedness, one of the critical themes in Ray's teaching is "history is a story that is created by human beings." As Table 6.7 illustrates, Ray's each topic about the American Revolution is arranged given this topic. He explained that the multiple groups participated in the

Revolutionary War for multiple reasons. The end of the American Revolution is also discussed among students about different stories about the end of this war, and based on their own judgments students are expected to craft their own stories. Thus, themes in the content of the American Revolution are discussed and taught with a bigger theme of history as a story. In this aspect, individual themes, topics, and historical figures are integrated in a larger context of history.

Generality. Although some of Ray's idea of history as a story is similar to what historians in the postmodern camp have argued, Ray does not seem to be aware of any specific theories or historians such as Barthes, LaCapra, and White. The idea of history as a story is one of the key themes that he tied his lessons. Ray explains to students that stories about the American Revolution could be told differently depending on who tells the story. He discussed perspectives of underrepresented groups such as the poor, Native Americans, and perspectives of foreign countries such as England, France, and Spain. However, the discussion described in Chapter Four shows that although Ray noted different groups told different stories, he never mentioned what were different groups, what were their different interests, and why they had those different interests (Nash, 1979).

To summarize, Ray's historical knowledge about the American Revolution is differentiated, qualified, and integrated but not elaborate, and generative. In the following I discuss what I have learned about the three teachers' historical knowledge and their practice with the arts.

Discussion:

The Three Teachers' Historical Knowledge and Their Instructional Use of the Arts

Based on this analysis, there seem to be several patterns found. In terms of *differentiation*, all the three teachers were familiar with topics, events and historical figures that were delineated as significant by the relevant standards and the textbook, and in all three cases their knowledge seemed to extend beyond that which was offered in those texts. In terms of *elaboration*, there seems to be some variances. Since their units are those that the teachers intentionally chose to use the arts, it makes sense that the teachers might have more elaborate knowledge on artwork and artists during that historical period. Katie and Mark especially demonstrated elaborate knowledge about the artwork and the artists. For Ray, instead of going deeper into one piece of artwork, he used several pieces of artwork and looked for similarities and differences among them. Regarding *qualification*, it seems that Katie and Mark were not interested or less familiar with the tentative nature of historical knowledge. For Ray, this idea of the tentative nature of historical knowledge was a central theme across his lessons. In terms of *integration*, Katie viewed history as art history and art history as history. All her themes in history were interwoven with those in art history. Mark integrated his Harlem Renaissance unit with a big picture of the Roaring Twenties chronologically and thematically. Ray integrated his main theme of history as art across all of his lessons. According to the last criteria, *generativity*, Katie was familiar with scholarship in history and art history, and used her knowledge to select appropriate artwork that she wanted to use in her teaching.

These patterns in teachers' knowledge seem to explain part of the teachers' practice with the arts. Since Katie has more background in art history, she uses more of artwork as evidence to discuss humanism. Since Katie and Mark have elaborate knowledge about the artwork and artists, they seemed to be able to use more artwork and more detailed information about the artwork and artists to teach their units.

There, however, seemed to be things that cannot be explained by knowledge only. For instance, Ray was not aware of any theories in history or art history. However, while Katie and Mark failed to demonstrate a qualified feature of knowledge, he did demonstrate his awareness of how historical knowledge is created, and emphasized that that's one of the most important themes that he wants to teach. To explain this, it might be helpful going back to some claims I made in Chapter 5. Given his review of other studies on teacher knowledge and beliefs, Barton (2005) argues that it is beliefs that filter knowledge and make the teachers decide what to teach and how to teach. Thus, regarding some of the teachers' practices that cannot be explained by their knowledge, we can use beliefs as a factor to explain the teachers' practice. Ray might teach the idea of history as art, because he believes that history is something constructed differently by different people because of their different interests.

Other factors also are considered to explain the teachers' practices. For instance, Mark's use of the arts in other units than the Harlem Renaissance might be because his textbook does not treat arts seriously. Katie's use of the arts might be influenced by the block schedules that the school imposed. All these factors will be considered as possible factors in Chapter Seven.

Finally, this analysis of teachers' knowledge reminded me that it is very difficult to measure and discuss human knowledge. This task made me revisit basic questions – what is knowledge? What is the difference between knowledge and beliefs? When do teachers' knowledge end and beliefs start? – and I was constantly reminded of how little I knew about these teachers, as well as how hard it would be to answer any of these questions about any teacher, even under the best of circumstances. In the following chapter, I will discuss the lessons I have learned by conducting this study.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

I started this dissertation interested in and believing that teachers could use the arts in meaningful ways to teach history. I still believe that. But I have learned a lot frm this study about how these three teachers use the arts in their practice, and more importantly, the complexities involved in the use of the arts in teaching history. This chapter largely consists of two parts. First, I nominated lessons I have learned from the study. Second, I will discuss how I use these lessons to inform my future research and my practice as a teacher educator.

Research Questions Revisited

This study grew out of my master's theses in South Korea, which was titled *Student Historical Understanding through Non-Verbal Materials* (Suh, 1998). It was a theoretical piece, and, as a novice research, I tried to explore the connections between theories in the discipline of history and history education. In this study, I changed and extended my focus. Given the empirical data I collected from the three teachers, I aimed to answer two research questions: From the teachers' point of view, how do they use the arts in teaching history and why? What factors explain their ways of using the arts? Specifically, how do teachers' knowledge and beliefs about history and history teaching influence the ways they use the arts? I hope my study will make a contribution to the field through the portraits I provide of how Katie, Mark, and Ray use the arts. Now, I will delineate the lessons I learned from the study given the two key research questions.

Lesson Learned

Lesson One: Teachers Use the Arts for Multiple Purposes

The first lesson involves the rationales of using the arts in teaching history. Findings from previous studies suggest that the arts are useful pedagogical tools in teaching history because: 1) they motivate students to learn history; 2) help students learn the history of ordinary people by helping students experience ordinary people's experiences, including their emotions and feelings; and 3) help students learn the culture of the past. Findings of my study resonate with these previous studies'.

Findings from my study also suggest that teachers choose to use the arts to teach specific content of history, and this reasoning is deeply rooted in the discipline. Describing the relationship between teachers' epistemology and pedagogy, Seixas (2000) argues that there are three orientations in history education: first, teaching history as a collective memory; second, teaching history as discipline; and third, teaching postmodern history. The teachers who want to teach history as a collective memory aim to teach one best story about what the past was like. The teachers who teach history as a discipline teach multiple versions of the past and help students learn how historians come to their conclusions, and eventually make their decisions about which story is better than the others. The teachers who want to teach postmodern history teach students why different people tell different stories about the past, and teach social and political reasons behind those different stories. According to Seixas' criteria, Katie, Mark, and Ray seem to teach disciplinary and postmodern history. Like cultural historians, Katie sees art history as a place where the history of economics, politics, religion, and history converge. Thus, she believes that, when students learn history through the arts, students are able to

understand that human history is not as something that can be divided into separate sections such as politics, economics, and religion, but as something much more holistic and integrated. Similar to social historians, Mark used the artwork to teach experiences of people whose history we cannot learn from official history. Ray rarely used the artwork itself but taught the idea that history is art which is similar to that of postmodern historians', by comparing pieces of artwork that were created by different artists.

However, my findings also suggest that teachers do not simply have one reason to use arts to teach certain aspects of history. My findings suggest that teachers have flexibility depending on their contexts in using these three approaches. As Schama uses all the three approaches in his work as I examined in Chapter Two, the teachers, too, share this flexibility when they use the arts. Katie used theories in art history to refute some of the claims in the textbook although most of the time Katie taught the spirit of the age through the arts like cultural historians do. Ray taught how different stories about the same historical event could be told from different perspectives. Yet he also emphasized the importance of learning the emotions and feelings of people who lived in the given historical period by looking at colors and tones on the artwork. Two of the teachers, Mark and Ray, also briefly taught how to interpret the artwork as historical evidence: how the artists can also create the artwork from their own biases, and how students as readers of the artwork could learn what the past was like by critically looking at the artwork as evidence.

Another key rationale for teachers' use of the arts involves their visions of educating students in general. These three teachers use the arts because doing so allows them to fulfill their purposes of educating students as human beings, rather than the more

narrow purposes of teaching history only. Katie and Mark, for instance, use the arts because they want students to become well-rounded human beings. Katie – as a humanist herself – wanted her students to enjoy the arts, assuming that would help them developed more fully. Mark wanted to provide an opportunity to learn how to enjoy the artwork that students may not encounter outside of school.

Lastly, there seems to be moments that the teachers feel much satisfaction because they use the arts in their teaching. Katie notes that students run to her after they take her art history lecture, telling her that they can now recognize the artistic styles in the architecture in the building. Mark told, students specifically who usually even not to try to answer questions on the test answer questions on the test when they were taught with the artwork. One time Ray told me that the most precious moment in his career is that students come and talk to him that because of Ray's class, they do not trust any newspaper articles and any broadcasting on TV. It becomes students' habit of mind always asking, "who tells the story and why?"

To summarize, teachers use the arts in different ways than I expected. They wanted to use the arts because the arts have a quality that enabled them to teach something that they cannot teach with other resources. They valued the aesthetic qualities of art, and they valued the qualities that they could educate students to have as human beings. They had other reasons as well, for instance, Ray's ambition to use the arts as a means for teaching analytic skills that students could then apply in their everyday lives.

Lesson Two: Teachers Need the Content Knowledge to Teach History and Art

While studies in the 1980s emphasize the importance of teachers' content knowledge in history teaching, recent studies in 1990s and 2000s recognize the role of teachers' philosophy including their beliefs of the purposes of teaching history (Evans, 1994; Grant, 2000; VanSledright, 1998). As discussed in the previous section, my study complicates findings from these studies. Teachers' use of the arts also matches why they believe they want to teach history, but their use of the arts also depends on who the teachers teach and why. Katie teaches how to make good arguments by using the arts. Mark teaches both White and Black students that they come from the same cultural roots. Ray teaches the idea of history as art. And these pedagogical uses of the arts match their goals of teaching history.

Like all the teachers who need strong content knowledge to teach their subjects well, teachers, if they want to use the arts in meaningful ways, need the content knowledge of the arts as well as of history. In discussing interdisciplinary curriculum in the U.S., Wineburg and Grossman (2000) argue that in order to create a meaningful interdisciplinary curriculum, there should be a careful conversation between the subjects, and teachers in both disciplines need to know well other disciplines – in particular ways of knowing in each discipline.

However, this study added a more complicated picture on this. Teachers' different degree of content knowledge do matter how and what they teach using the arts. In Katie's case, her familiarity with art history allowed her to select and use more examples of artwork in her class. In Mark's case, it would be very helpful if Mark knew that there are other interpretations about the Harlem Renaissance and the value of artwork

during the Harlem Renaissance. Since Mark was not aware of other interpretations about the Harlem Renaissance, the Harlem renaissance that Mark presented to students is a little simplistic. In Ray's case, his lessons could have been richer if he had more content knowledge. He believes in the importance of teaching history as art, but he does not necessarily know enough about the content to do so. In other words, Ray was good at systematically teaching the idea of history as art, but he failed to teach what each story from each perspective entails. If he presented Native Americans' stories about the American Revolution, and how those stories were different from the stories from the British perspectives (that is, if he taught the substance of those perspectives and not simply mentioned that there exist different perspectives), his lessons might have been richer and more historically solid. In particular, it struck me that his view of history was similar to postmodern history, and so his understanding and behavior remained at an intuitive level.

Lesson Three: Other Factors Influence Teachers' Use of the Arts

I began this study believing that teachers' knowledge and beliefs of history would explain why the teachers used the arts in various ways. But my data suggest that is not the case. As discussed earlier, teachers have different reasons of why they use the arts. In addition, there seem to be constant factors that teachers need to consider when they decide to use the arts.

Katie uses the arts as evidence to teach students how to make good arguments. In class, she used artwork as evidence to supports her claims. She used this practice on a regular basis in both her art history lecture and history seminar, as she did when she used multiple pieces of artwork to teach the spirit of the age. For the test of the unit, Katie

asked students to do a similar task: to write an essay about characteristics of a certain historical period using the arts as historical evidence. She did this intentionally, for she believes that making good arguments will help students be prepared for college classes. This will be particularly important for her students, because according to her, more than 90% of her students are college bound and because graduates have reported that they were well prepared for college. Thus, Katie uses the arts both because she loves them, but also because she believes that the kind of students she is teaching need the intellectual training that interpreting art entails.

Since Mark has limited time and his 10th grade U.S. history class has to cover American history from the World War I to the present, even though he wants to use the arts, Mark feels like he needs to find extra time to "sneak" them in. In comparison to Mark, Katie and Ray seemed to have more freedom to use the arts in their lessons, for they teach interdisciplinary blocks – in Katie's case, a humanities course, and in Ray's case, an English-U.S. history block. Mark has no such luxury, and the press of the curriculum coverage clock acts as a strong inhibitor to his use of the arts.

In sum, teachers' decisions to use the arts appear shaped by contextual factors as well, including the kinds of students and courses they are teaching, and the expectations associated with those.

Implications

Given the lessons I have learned from the study, I hope my research contributes to the field of the three groups in history education: researchers on history teaching, teacher educators, and teachers who want to use the arts in their teaching of history.

Implications for Researchers in History Education

This study has implications for researchers in history education in three ways. First, while researchers note it is the teachers who determines the effective use of the arts (Levstik, 1990; VanSledright, 1998), there has been little research that examines teachers' reasoning of why and how they decide to use the arts in their practice. This study fills this gap in research and documents the teachers' pedagogical decisions of why and how they use the arts from their own perspectives. As research suggests, the three cases in this study show that the teachers have goals for using the arts such as: teaching students an empathic understanding of the past (Epstein, 1994a, b; Gabella, 1996), and how to recognize the author's biases by challenging the author's voice (Gabella, 1994). This study also adds other reasons why the teachers choose to use the arts, including to teach the history of ordinary people and to paint a holistic portrait of a given historical period. Most importantly, the teachers chose to use the arts because they all believed that the arts are resources that can motivate students to learn.

Also my study taught that doing research on teacher knowledge and beliefs is very challenging. Researchers note that it is very challenging to learn what someone knows something and how (Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989; Wilson & Berne, 1999; Munby & Russell, 2001). How can I measure someone's knowledge? What are the differences between knowledge and beliefs? If there are differences between knowledge and beliefs, where does knowledge end, and beliefs start? Teachers' knowledge seems to be filtered through their beliefs about the purposes of teaching history. In Katie's cases, she is familiar with scholarship in history and art history, but it was not revealed in her practice. Instead of teaching theories in history and art history, she chose to use the arts to help students make arguments. For instance, as a teacher,

Katie frequently made a claim about the Renaissance, and proved it with several pieces of the artwork. Katie emphasized the importance of this practice, because she was hoping that in her art history lecture and history seminar, students would learn how to make good arguments, which she believes will prepare students for the college classes. In other words, her purposes as a teacher filtered what knowledge of history and the arts she used and displayed in her classroom. She intentionally chose certain artwork to make certain arguments. But she might have known a lot more than what she revealed to her students, and it does not seem that Katie taught all she knows to her students. Since I, as the researcher, was relying heavily on my observations of her teaching to make inferences about her knowledge, I was constantly reminded of the limitations of my access to what Katie – and the other teachers – actually know and believe about history and the arts.

Second, by documenting teachers' reasoning, I am hoping that this study provides content specific understanding of the relationship between teacher knowledge and instruction. While research on the relationship between teacher knowledge and instruction has grown considerably in science, mathematics, and English, there exists less research in history and social studies. By exploring the relationship between teacher knowledge and instruction in history, I hope that this study can contribute to the field's understanding of the relationship between teacher knowledge in history and social studies and their instruction: teachers' content knowledge does matter to help the teachers teach the way they believe they want to teach history. Among the three teachers, Katie was the one who seems to have more background in history and art history, and she was the one who uses the arts and teaches history the way she believes she has to. Compared to Katie, despite all their good intentions, Mark and Ray's instruction was less coherent with their

beliefs. Most of all, if Mark were aware of the limitations of using the artwork that was created for elites, and if Ray had more content knowledge to teach different stories from different perspectives about the American Revolution, both teachers' history lessons would be richer and historically solid.

Third, this is a modest effort to make a connection among the three fields – history, art, and history education. There has been a call for making connections between the community of history educators and historians (Seixas, 1993). If history educators learn about the scholarship in history, historians attend to how the discipline of history is transformed to the subject of history in schools, history can be taught in an "intellectually honest" way (Bruner, 1960; Dewey, 1964; Seixas, 1993). In identifying both how historians use the arts as evidence in their inquiry and how history teachers use the arts as pedagogical tools, I believe that this study makes a case for how the use of art is different when it is used to persuade readers versus to teach students.

Implications for Teacher Educators

Given my small sample size, I cannot generalize my findings to the entire population of secondary school teachers, but, for some teacher educators and professionals who are interested in helping teachers create and teach the interdisciplinary curriculum, this study might shed light on the nature of the subject matter knowledge and skills that history teachers need to build to teach such curricula. For instance, this study suggests that the teachers need strong content knowledge in order to teach both subject matters well. In their book, *Interdisciplinary Curriculum: Challenges to Implication*, Wineburg and Grossman (2000) claim that teachers need content knowledge in their own subject matter to create and teach the interdisciplinary curriculum well. As noted earlier,

teachers need strong content knowledge n both areas that they want to integrate and teach. My results reinforce that claim, and suggest that teacher education program will need to ensure that their graduates know history and art if they are to use the latter to teach the former.

This might mean that teacher education program should encourage prospective teachers to take art history classes, or history classes that emphasize art as evidence. It might also mean that changes need to occur inside of teacher preparation courses. For instance, as a teacher educator, I might consider integrating the use of the arts into the social studies methods classes that I am teaching. Based on my previous experience, this would be difficult, for prospective teachers have limited knowledge of history and the social studies, not to mention a thin knowledge of art. Thus, to help prospective teachers learn about artwork and to think through the pedagogical and curricula potential of that art for teaching a particular topic or lesson, I could envision one assignment: student can select pieces of artwork from the social studies textbook, and do some research on who created this artwork and why, and what this artwork was about. Then they examine how this artwork is used in the textbook, and plan how they will use this artwork to teach the topic that they teach in classrooms.

Moreover, given what I have learned from this study, I can also identify which disciplinary beliefs students come from when they decide to use the arts, and help them use the arts the way they want to as well as help them use the arts in two different ways from two different disciplinary beliefs. My findings suggest that one teacher's practice does not have to come from one single disciplinary belief. And it is also important teachers need to address all the three disciplinary approaches when they use the arts. As

Schama's use of the arts illustrates in Chapter Two, all the three schools of history – cultural history, social history, and postmodern history – are something that historians are involved with. Given my understanding of their beliefs, I can help students find appropriate artwork to use, and create appropriate questions to ask; and try out different ways of using the arts than their own ways.

Implications for Teachers

Finally, for history teachers who want to use art in their own teaching, thick descriptions of three teachers' use of art might prove some ideas about how they can use art in their own classrooms and what the pitfalls they might encounter when doing so. Having observed Katie use Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* as a teacher, I was inspired to using the same piece of art in ways that are similar. Like Katie did, I can use *The Birth of Venus* as an overview of the intellectual world during the Renaissance. If I follow Ray's approach, I could use *The Birth of Venus* to discuss who this painting was created for, and why. Like Mark, I could also ask whose philosophy was represented, and whose philosophy might not be represented in this painting. The teachers can also adopt some of the instructional strategies that the three teachers used in their classrooms if those strategies fit in their curriculum. By describing and explaining ways in which history teachers use art to teach certain topics, this study offers portraits of the possible (Shulman, 1983), as well as insights into the associated challenges of using art when teaching history.

Future Work

I conclude with several modest ideas about my research. First, I am intrigued with the idea of going back to Katie (or finding another teacher in a similar situation) and

expand my study. Katie's school has an interdisciplinary course where five teachers in English, history, art history, and music teach together. In using this course as a case, I could explore strengths and weaknesses of interdisciplinary courses, and think about how teacher education program could support the teachers teach interdisciplinary courses. Moreover, since students were not part of this study, I might extend the work by designing research that includes collecting data about student learning, and to inquire into the connections between how and when teachers use art and what students learn about history. Finally, I might expand my research to elementary and middle school social studies classrooms. Because teachers in elementary schools often have to use interdisciplinary approaches to their teaching, it may be that those schools are receptive nests for these ideas.

I end by returning to my beginning. I believe in the use of the arts in teaching history: to motivate, to excite, to illuminate, to reinforce students' learning and understanding of history and of human life more generally. The use of the arts is by no means a silver bullet, it is not the solution to the problems of reforming history education. But we know that U.S. students do not uniformly understand history or care about understanding history (Bell & McCollum, 1917; Nevins, 1942; Ravitch & Finn, 1987). It is my hope that, by documenting when and under what conditions teachers using the arts can help students care about and understand history, I can offer educators and teacher educators some useful ideas about their work.

Appendix A
Interview Protocols

Part I: Biography Interview

Note: This is the first of three interviews. Conducting this interview, I have three purposes. First I will use this interview to begin developing rapport and trust between the teacher and me, researcher. Secondly, I will explain and help the teacher understand the purpose of this study. Third, I will get information about his biographical background and personal experiences of learning history as a student in K-12 schools and college, and as a teacher after graduating from college.

Introduction of the interview

I will first have the teachers read the consent form:

"Thanks for participating in my study. Please read carefully the consent form, and if you have any questions or concerns about the study, let me know. I also would like to remind you that you can withdraw from the study at any time, and if you have any questions, you are free to contact to my advisor, Dr. Wilson."

After I get their signature on the form, I will read the following:
"I'm interested in learning about your experience of learning history and art as a student through K-12 schools and college, and as a teacher after graduating from college. This interview will take no more than forty-five minutes. Do you have any questions or concerns?"

General Background

1. How long have you been teaching?
2. Where have you taught? What grade levels? What subject areas?
3. Why did you become a teacher?
4. How did you get interested in history?
5. How did you get interested in arts?

K-12 experiences

1. Did you like history when you were in the elementary and secondary school? Can you tell me why or why not?
2. Can you remember a particular teacher or class that you really liked? Can you describe how that teacher taught or what that class looked like? Or can you remember any particular teacher or class that you didn't?

College experiences

1. What was your major in college?

2. What kind of history courses did you take in college? Can you remember approximately how many history classes you took in college?
3. Can you remember a particularly interesting class? Can you describe me what the class looks like and why you liked that class?

Post college experiences

1. If you took any additional courses in history or art after you graduated from the college, can you tell me what they are?
2. Can you remember any particularly interesting course? Can you describe what this course is about and why it was interesting to you?
3. Can you remember any particularly helpful or interesting professional development workshop? Can you describe me what it was about and why it was helpful or interesting to you?
4. Do you have any particularly interesting course you have ever taught? Can you describe me what it was like and why it was interesting to you?

Part 2: Knowledge and Beliefs Interviews

Note: My second set of interviews is to learn what teachers know and believe about history and art. I will conduct two interviews: first to learn what they know and believe about history and the second to learn what they know and believe about art. To get concrete responses, I create these interview questions, focusing on the content of the unit that I will be observing in the fall. For the selection of the unit, I will ask teachers which unit they most frequently use art and feel comfortable in having me in their classrooms. After the teacher selects the unit, I will ask questions about facts and historical concepts related to the topics in the unit, and explore what s/he believes about the nature of history.

Introduction of the interviews

I start this interview by saying:
"Thank you for participating in this interview. The purpose of this interview is to learn about your knowledge and beliefs about the unit you chose to talk about. I will ask questions about topics and ideas in the unit and artworks that you will be using to teach them. This interview will take no more than forty-five minutes. If you have any questions or concerns about the interview, please let me know."

The first round of the interview

I begin the interview by saying:
"Let's say you are preparing an introductory lesson of the ____ unit"

Knowledge and beliefs about history

1. Can you tell me what this unit is about?

2. What are the major historical events or historical figures that you know that you will want students to learn? What would you like them to learn about those things?
3. Can you tell me any topics or big ideas that you know or you are interested regarding the given period covered in ___ unit? What kinds of things should students learn about those?
4. As an international student who wants to learn about teaching American and European history, can you recommend any authors or books to read in order to learn about this topic before I watch you teach it?
5. Teachers often have multiple goals when they are teaching. Do you have any other goals for your teaching of this unit?

The second round of the interview:

Knowledge and beliefs about art

6. What artworks are you going to use to teach the unit?
7. Can you tell me where, when, and how you learned about this artwork?
8. Can you tell me what this artwork is about? Who created it when and why?
9. Can you tell me what you want students to learn about history from these artworks?

Part III: The Observation Related Interviews

Note: This is the last of three sets of interviews. In this interview, I will explore how teachers use art to teach history and why they want to use certain art in certain ways over others. By asking why they want to teach particular topics or ideas, using particular art in particular ways, this interview will allow me to see the relationship between what teachers know and believe about history and art and how they use art in their classrooms. Equally importantly, by probing rationales behind teachers' choice of using particular art, this interview will also allow me to learn additional factors to shape teachers' ways of using art.

Introduction of the interviews

At the first observation related interview, I will explain to the teachers:
"The purpose of this interview is to learn how you use certain artworks to teach certain historical topics. The pre observation related interview will take three to five minutes before the lesson, and the post observation related interview will take no more than twenty minutes. If you have any concerns or questions, please let me know."

Before the lesson

Overview of the lesson

1. What is the main topic for the lesson?
2. What is your main goal for the lesson?
3. What activities and art are you going to use?

After the lesson

Reflecting the use of art during the lesson

1. What is your main goal to use art such as ___ for today's lesson? What did you want students to learn by using art today?
2. Do you think you accomplished that goal? What makes you think you accomplished it or not?

(I will also ask probing questions, responding to how the teacher responds to my questions. For example, if the teacher tells me she/he wants to get students' emotional response to the topic or given period, I will ask, "Do you think students emotionally responded to a and b? What do you think they did or not?")

3. What do you think about students' responses, particularly to the use of ____ that you used today?
4. What are the main goals of the lesson in general? How do you think the use of art contribute to accomplishing them?

Appendix B
A Protocol for Writing up Field Notes

Teacher's Name: _____
Date & Time: _____
Site: _____

1. Topic for the lesson:

2. Artwork he/she uses:

3. Diagram of the classroom

4. Major chunks of the lesson (What were the major chunks of the lesson observed? How long did each take? What were the respective roles of the teacher and students during those chunks?)

5. Field notes

6. What are things that struck me as salient, interesting, illumination or important in this lesson? For example, questions that the teacher asks, historical content that he/she teaches, instructional strategies that he/she uses, and student responses to the lesson. Are there any questions that this lesson raised? If any, what are they?

7. Are there any things I will have to focus on in my next observation? If any, what are they?

Appendix C
Matrices for Data Analysis

Part I: The Check List: Single Case Analysis Chart

Research questions	Thematic summaries (Findings)
What do teachers know and believe about history (and art)? Knowledge of history Knowledge of art	
How do teachers use art in their classrooms? Definition of art Purpose of using art Kinds of art they use Historical content to teach using art Instructional strategies	
How do teachers' knowledge and beliefs affect their ways of using art?	Note: Sub-categories will emerge while data is being analyzed.
What are additional factors that influence their ways of using art? (i.e. resources, cost, time…)	Note: Sub-categories will emerge while data is being analyzed.

II. Cross-case Analysis Chart

Research questions	Mark	Ray	Kate
What do teachers know and believe about history (and art)?			
How do teachers use art in their classrooms?			
How do teachers' knowledge and beliefs affect their ways of using art?			
What additional factors influence their ways of using art? (i.e. resources, cost, time…)			

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