

Teaching to Teach History: A Study of a University-Based System of Teacher Preparation

by

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The University of Michigan may print only one name on my degree, but – borrowing one of the themes from Dr. Amrita Myers’s U.S. history course – the narrative of my dissertation must take the form of a choral, rather than a solo, performance.

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ABSTRACT

Both history and education courses comprise a significant portion of certification requirements for prospective history teachers. Teaching ambitiously requires mastery of many practices and bodies of knowledge, including disciplinary, pedagogical, and pedagogical content knowledge, learned in that history and education coursework. However, researchers have often treated history and education coursework separately. Missing from our understanding is how history and education courses impact each other's depictions of teaching history, and what prospective teachers learn about history and teaching history in each setting. This study examines the intersection of history and education coursework by investigating what prospective teachers learn about how to teach history in different contexts. It follows instructors and prospective teachers in three courses offered in one semester at Indiana University: an American history survey, a social studies methods course, and a writing-intensive history seminar.

Indiana University has a long history of historians interested in teaching, a School of Education with strong commitments to disciplinary literacy, and active cooperation across these two departments. As such, it presents a telling case for effective practices of preparing prospective history teachers across history and education courses. While at Indiana University, I observed and filmed courses, collected instructional materials, and regularly interviewed instructors and focal prospective teachers. I asked prospective teachers what they noticed from the courses and what they could imagine using from courses in their teaching. I coded transcripts of interviews and class sessions for the types of knowledge and practices presented by instructors and recognized by prospective teachers. I employed three frameworks of apprenticeship to analyze how instructors presented knowledge and practices: apprenticeship of observation, cognitive apprenticeship, and the framework of representation, decomposition, and approximation for teaching practice.

In analyzing patterns of what prospective teachers noticed, I found that they often fell into a pitfall of experience: over-contextualizing based on the type of course. Even though historians used and discussed many laudable pedagogical practices, prospective teachers tended to focus on disciplinary knowledge in history courses, not viewing historians' pedagogical

practices as something they could or should adopt for their own classroom. Conversely, education instructors frequently presented disciplinary knowledge. However, in the context of an education course, prospective teachers tended to focus on pedagogical moves, while not focusing on the disciplinary knowledge.

Additionally, I found actions that supported broadening prospective teachers' professional vision to notice more in each type of course. Instructors employed metacognition in their teaching, explaining reasons for presenting instructional activities and how they aligned with instructional goals. Instructors reminded students frequently of their future careers as teachers. Education instructors thoughtfully selected historical knowledge to demonstrate pedagogical techniques and reinforced its importance. Finally, regularly asking prospective teachers what they noticed from courses led them to notice more. These findings suggest practices other institutions could use to strengthen teacher training and collaboration between schools of education and history departments, as well as practices that could improve history instruction at elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels.

CHAPTER I

Contra “He Who Cannot, Teaches”: Teaching to Teach History in Ambitious Ways

“He who can does; he who cannot, teaches,” penned George Bernard Shaw at the end of his 1903 play *Man and Superman*.¹ It does not take much to imagine how Shaw could have extended his quip to eviscerate my current work as a teacher educator: “And he who cannot teach, teaches teachers.” While Shaw’s one-liner, characterizing teaching as a simplistic refuge for those who cannot succeed in other areas of life, may hold true for the poorest forms of teaching, in neither my work as a teacher educator nor in this study do I concern myself with questions of poor teaching. Rather, I investigate the question of ambitious teaching – specifically ambitious history teaching – and how best to prepare prospective teachers to teach history in ambitious ways.

Gary Fenstermacher and Virginia Richardson have parsed differences between the terms successful teaching, good teaching, and quality teaching, claiming these terms do not have synonymous meanings. Successful teaching yielded intended learning in students; the teacher accomplished the learning goals though the goals could have involved degenerate material or the teacher could have used abusive teaching methods to achieve the goals. In good teaching, the teacher employed sound instructional practices to teach appropriate material, though the teacher might not have achieved the learning goals. Quality teaching, in the estimate of Fenstermacher and Richardson, occurred when a teacher accomplished both good and successful teaching by reaching worthy learning goals through sound practices.²

In history, worthy learning goals should go beyond merely memorizing content; students must have the ability to think complexly about history. This often requires them to actively inquire into the past, discuss authentic problems in substantive ways, and use the literacy skills and discursive concepts of the discipline of history to generate their interpretations. This requires

¹ George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman: A Comedy and a Philosophy* (New York, NY: Brentano's, 1903), 230.

² Gary D. Fenstermacher and Virginia Richardson, “On Making Determinations of Quality in Teaching,” *Teachers College Record* 107, no. 1 (January 2005): 186-213.

moving beyond the term quality teaching to ambitious teaching. To teach ambitiously, teachers must use rigorous pedagogical and disciplinary practices: structuring lessons around central problems, marshalling historical sources for students to use, and modeling the skills and forming the concepts necessary to tackle those sources and problems in disciplinary ways, all while attending to students' cognition and developing understanding (and misunderstandings). In short, ambitious pedagogy asks much of teachers.³

Pursuing ambitious teaching lies at the heart of my argument about history teaching. To achieve sound learning goals in history requires a complex combination of knowledge and skills, contrary to Shaw's view that those who "can't do" can teach.⁴ Research on ambitious history teaching shows that teachers require specialized understanding of historical content and concepts, learners, instructional materials, and pedagogy.⁵ History teachers must draw on such understanding to exercise professional judgment for specific purposes in particular contexts. Ambitious history teaching demands both deliberate, careful planning and in-the-moment decisions to help students deepen their understanding and improve their thinking. Teachers find ambitious teaching complex to enact, prospective teachers find ambitious teaching complex to learn, and teacher educators find the skills of ambitious teaching complex to teach.

I examine a slice of the complicated process of teaching and learning ambitious history instruction, focusing on how prospective elementary and secondary teachers learn to teach history within a university-based certification program. Although university history courses have many different purposes and teach many different types of students, in this descriptive study I focused specifically on the students who intended to go on to become teachers. I sought to

³ For recent descriptions of ambitious teaching, see Magdalene Lampert, Timothy A. Boerst, and Filippo Graziani, "Organizational Resources in the Service of School-Wide Ambitious Teaching Practice," *Teachers College Record* 113, no. 7 (2011): 1361-1360; Marcy Singer-Gabella et al., "Learning to Leverage Student Thinking: What Novice Approximations Teach Us About Ambitious Practice," *The Elementary School Journal* 116, no. 3 (2016):411-436; and Mark Windschitl, Jessica Thompson, and Melissa Braaten, "Ambitious Pedagogy by Novice Teachers: Who Benefits from Tool-Supported Collaborative Inquiry Into Practice and Why," *Teachers College Record* 113, no. 7 (2011): 1311-1360.

⁴ For examples of research on the complexities of teaching, see David K. Cohen, *Teaching and Its Predicaments* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Magdalene Lampert, *Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); and Gaea Leinhardt and James G. Greeno, "The Cognitive Skill of Teaching," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 78, no. 2 (1986): 75-95.

⁵ For examples of knowledge required for teaching in general, see Lee S. Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (February 1986): 4-14; and Lee S. Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (February 1987): 1-22. For teaching history specifically, see Bradley Fogo, "Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 151-196; Lauren McArthur Harris and Brian Girard, "Instructional Significance for Teaching History: A Preliminary Framework," *The Journal of Social Studies Research* (2014): 1-11; Lauren McArthur Harris and Robert B. Bain, "Pedagogical Content Knowledge for World History Teachers: What is It? How Might Prospective Teachers Develop It?" *The Social Studies* 102, no. 1 (2011): 9-17; and Chauncey Monte-Sano, "Learning to Open Up History for Students: Preservice Teachers' Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge," *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011): 260-272.

describe the role university courses can and do play in how these prospective teachers learn how to teach history. Using required university courses in history and social studies education as my unit of analysis, I sought to describe how college instructors in history and in education represent the discipline of history *and* the practices of history teaching. I also probed what prospective teachers notice about the discipline of history and the practices of history teaching while taking those courses. I sought to answer many questions of this complicated process by following three courses at Indiana University over a single semester. How did history and education instructors represent the discipline of history and the practices of teaching history in their courses? Did they represent the discipline and practices of teaching it in cohesive or incompatible ways? What did prospective teachers notice from these courses in terms of the discipline of history and practices for teaching it? How would they plan to adopt what they noticed for their own classrooms?

I found that in both education and history coursework, instructors provided many examples of ambitious history instruction, representing both disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices to teach the discipline. Instructors' teaching had depth – layering representations of pedagogical practices within historical content and concepts or vice versa – and displaying for the prospective teachers in their courses elements of rigorous history instruction. However, when faced with these multi-layered representations of both history and its pedagogy, prospective teachers often fell into the habit of limiting what they noticed, contextualizing it based on the type of course in which they enrolled. In history courses, prospective teachers tended to notice more about the discipline of history, while in education courses, they noticed more about pedagogy – even though instructors addressed both aspects in each type of course.

In this study I describe what instructors in three different courses represented of the discipline of history and its pedagogy, how they taught prospective teachers, what prospective teachers noticed, and what strategies caused prospective teachers to notice more. In the next chapter, I build a description of ambitious history teaching and justify its importance. Chapter three describes how prospective teachers learn the practices of ambitious history instruction, while chapter four makes an argument for why Indiana University provides a telling case for the preparation of ambitious history teachers. In chapter five, I lay out the methods I used to study Indiana University's system of history teacher preparation. Chapters six, seven, and eight

describe in sequence each of the three courses of my study, and chapter nine looks across the three courses to describe holistic themes and directions for future research.

A Personal Journey to Preparing Ambitious History Teachers

My own experiences with history and teaching led me to this study. My clearest introduction to history's methods of disciplinary inquiry happened in college. Determined to get my undergraduate institution's history requirement out of the way, I took a seminar on the U.S. presidency my freshman year. The course enthralled me: the scouring of sources in pursuit of a question, the creation of a claim with evidence identified from those sources, bolstering that claim with a logical argument built on that evidence, and finally holding and defending my own claim against the interpretations of other young scholars. History had hooked me; I took another history course and another, eventually declaring it my major. For my senior thesis, I spent three semesters crafting an original piece of historical scholarship. I pursued a question through secondary and primary sources and created one lengthy interpretation of what I found in them.⁶

Freshly graduated from university, I started my job as a middle school social studies teacher with bold dreams of bringing my love of history to students, teaching them in the same inquiry-based fashion that had so hooked me in college. I soon discovered this easier said than done. I found that my students had already settled into a social studies regime of approaching history as a fixed, unchanging body of information – trivial facts memorized from a textbook and reproduced on a test. Such a conception of history clashed with my experience of the discipline in college, and I had great difficulties in bringing disciplinary inquiry into the middle school classroom. I started with grand plans of 'bridging the gap' between academic history and middle school history,⁷ but my forays into this gap had mixed results. Contrary to Shaw's quip, while I could do history, I found it incredibly hard to teach history.

This drove me into graduate school, where I resolved to study this mismatch between the doing and teaching of history. There, I had the chance to work with many prospective history teachers by supervising them in the field and teaching their social studies methods courses. This

⁶ For those select few who just cannot read enough of my work, feel free to search out this thesis in its abbreviated published form: Jared McBrady, "The Challenge of Peace: Ronald Reagan, John Paul II, and the American Bishops," *The Journal of Cold War Studies* 17, no. 1 (2015): 129-152.

⁷ An idea I encountered as a teacher while reading the work of Robert Bain. Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 331-352.

work reinforced the conviction that learning to teach ambitiously took hard work and, further, that prospective teachers learned how to teach history in a multiplicity of places – especially places in the School of Education and the History Department. My single course in social studies methods did not provide enough time to adequately prepare history instructors to use ambitious teaching methods. Further, it became readily apparent that many of my *strongest* prospective teachers had witnessed strong disciplinary instruction in their undergraduate history courses. If I wanted to train prospective teachers to do rigorous instruction, my methods course, and the School of Education, could not sit on an academic island. The School of Education needed to forge connections to the History Department and draw on the disciplinary knowledge our prospective teachers learned in history coursework. This study has already improved my own work in teacher education, allowing me to make changes to better connect what I do in a methods course to what happens in my prospective teachers' history courses. I hope my findings can help others who also endeavor in forming history teachers to use ambitious teaching practices.

Studying a Third Space

While most previous studies isolate one component of teacher preparation or the other in order to analyze how it enacts its formal purpose in the system – how history courses teach the discipline and how pedagogical courses teach instructional methods – my study focuses on intersection, treating history courses also as sites of pedagogical instruction and education courses also as sites of history instruction. While scholars have increasingly acknowledged that prospective teachers learn to teach across many sites within a fragmented, decoupled system, they have rarely studied that system or its impact on prospective teachers – something I seek to address. I begin by recognizing that all historians – particularly those who teach in colleges and universities – also have a role as teacher educators, and play a crucial part in the learning of ambitious history instruction. While widely acknowledged that prospective teachers learn about the discipline of history in history classes and from books authored by historians, I argue that historians also convey to prospective teachers various ways to teach history. Implicitly and sometimes explicitly, historians provide their students with representations of both the discipline and of its pedagogical practices. Likewise, I recognize that instructors in social studies methods or pedagogical courses also teach history. In teaching how to teach history, education instructors

implicitly and sometimes explicitly teach future history teachers historical content and representations of the discipline.

This study places me in the position of speaking to different communities of practice: historians, teachers, and an emergent community of teacher educators. To do so, I had to make deliberate choices in terms of style and tone. I chose, for example, to style my references in a way familiar to historians, but contrary to what education research expects. Conversely, historians would find the inclusion of a methods section, standard practice for educational research, completely foreign to history writing. I hope that by mixing registers, I can speak across these communities, occupying what Richard White referred to so famously as the middle ground between cultures, from where I might play some part in the creation of “shared meanings and practices.”⁸ While my work certainly does not involve negotiation between Native American tribes of the Great Lakes region and their European counterparts, in many ways, academic professions have developed their own unique cultures (as documented in Anthony Becher’s anthropological study of higher education), and these cultures have created an opening for the work of cultural exchange.⁹ Such brokering across communities of practice helps transfer important knowledge between the education and historical communities in productive ways.¹⁰ Cultural exchange can run deeper than a mere exchange of ideas across the middle ground. It might also include the generation of new, hybrid forms of knowledge – a transformational change that goes beyond mere synthesis or appropriation and instead extends to jointly translate, rethink, and extend old principles in new ways. Much as the cultural “go-betweens”¹¹ of Native and European interactions went beyond mere assimilation and appropriation to create new systems of meaning, my study occupies a discursive middle ground or “third space” between

⁸ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991), x.

⁹ Tony Becher, *Academic Tribes and Territories: Intellectual Enquiry and the Cultures of the Disciplines* (Milton Keynes, UK: The Society of Research in Higher Education and Open University Press, 1989).

¹⁰ The concept of a “community of practice” and brokerage across communities of practice comes from the work of educational theorist Étienne Wenger, who used the term to refer to a group of people who envision themselves as mutually engaged in a joint enterprise, and have a shared repertoire of knowledge and practices. These communities form pervasive aspects of human life. A person negotiates their belonging into a community of practice through experiences of legitimate participation in the joint endeavor, and through reification of the community’s knowledge and practices. See Étienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹¹ I first encountered the term go-between in James H. Merrell’s account of Native and European relations on the frontier of colonial Pennsylvania. James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999).

history and education professionals in an attempt to generate novel knowledge valuable to those communities.¹²

Both history departments and schools of education could benefit from knowledge emerging out of a third space, as historians have a vested interest in their role as teacher educators and education faculty have a vested interest in their role as disciplinary instructors. A shared enterprise and cyclical relationship connects them: historians who teach in thoughtful ways not only help students learn more about history, they also serve as good models of history instruction for the many prospective teachers in their courses. Education faculty can build on this by helping their prospective teachers learn to teach in disciplinary ways. These teachers, in turn, can go on to teach in high school and elementary schools – further exposing more students to history in ways that could not only increase their interest in continuing to study (and perhaps even major) in history in college, but will also teach them the skills historians would love students to possess when they enroll in their courses. As history departments deal with the reality of declining numbers of students – and corresponding financial strain on departments across the country – investing in improving students’ earliest exposures to history seems a vital move for the community of historians.¹³ Further, it seems a vital move for society, as those skills of history play such a crucial role in maintaining an educated citizenry capable of the critical thought necessary to maintain our pluralistic democracy.

A joint endeavor between historians and education faculty, then, might best promote ambitious history teaching by mutually reinforcing practices of rigorous pedagogy in history coursework and a disciplinary focus in education coursework. My study examines one such example of how the historians and education faculty at Indiana University worked together to do this, creating teachers that can do history *and* teach it in ambitious ways.

¹² Hybridity theory and the “third-space” has its origins in the work of post-colonialist Homi K. Bhabha, but has made its way into educational theory by way of Kris Gutiérrez, Elizabeth Birr Moje, and Ken Zeichner, among others. Homi K. Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory.” *New Formations* 5 (Summer 1988): 5-23; Kris D. Gutiérrez, “Developing a Socio-Critical Literacy in the Third Space.” *Reading Research Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (2008): 148-164; Elizabeth Birr Moje et al., “Working Toward Third Space in Content Area Literacy: An Examination of Everyday Funds of Knowledge and Discourse.” *Reading Research Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (January/February/March 2004): 38-70; Jonathan Rutherford, “The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha.” In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 207-221; Ken Zeichner, “Rethinking the Connections Between Campus Courses and Field Experiences in College- and University-Based Teacher Education,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 61, no. 1 (2010): 89-99.

¹³ Robert B. Townsend, “Data Show a Decline in History Majors: Could Have Adverse Implications for Job Market,” *Perspectives on History* 51, no. 4 (April 2013), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2013/data-show-a-decline-in-history-majors> (accessed May 15, 2017).

CHAPTER II

Contra “Bueller, Bueller”:

What Ambitious History Instruction Looks Like and Why We Should Teach It

This study promotes a vision of ambitious and high-quality history teaching and argues for its importance. To do so, I begin by describing what ambitious history teaching looks like – though a far easier task would come in defining a non-example of ambitious history teaching. Consider, for example, Ben Stein’s lecture on the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in *Ferris Bueller’s Day Off*:

In 1930, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives, in an effort to alleviate the effects of the... Anyone? Anyone? ...the Great Depression, passed the... Anyone? Anyone? The tariff bill? The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act? Which, anyone? Raised or lowered? ...raised tariffs, in an effort to collect more revenue for the federal government. Did it work? Anyone? Anyone know the effects? It did not work, and the United States sank deeper into the Great Depression. Today we have a similar debate over this. Anyone know what this is? Class? Anyone? Anyone? Anyone seen this before? The Laffer Curve. Anyone know what this says? It says that at this point on the revenue curve, you will get exactly the same amount of revenue as at this point. This is very controversial. Does anyone know what Vice President Bush called this in 1980? Anyone? Something-d-o-o economics. 'Voodoo' economics.¹⁴

In this now classic vignette, Mr. Stein presents a history of American economic policy in a didactic and unengaging fashion to students who have either fallen asleep or ignore the teacher as he drones on with one damned fact after another. Though Stein teaches important facts, I suspect most, if not all, history teachers would find the reaction of the students to his instruction antithetical to successful and hence quality and ambitious instruction. Why? History teaching, like all teaching, has as its end goal learning: if the teaching fails to produce learning in the students, why bother teaching, even teaching important facts, at all?

¹⁴ *Ferris Bueller’s Day Off*, directed by John Hughes (1986; Los Angeles, CA: Paramount Pictures), VHS.

In this chapter, I consider why Stein’s instruction missed the “ambitious” mark, and how to address that issue. To do so, I turn to academic disciplines to inform ambitious instruction. I consider the structure of disciplines generally and the discipline of history specifically. While both facts and the disciplines provide structure for ambitious instruction, teachers must go beyond merely representing the disciplines and having students memorize facts, and so I next consider how teachers can actively transform their disciplinary knowledge in ways students find approachable and engaging. I use the C3 Framework for Social Studies as a way to use disciplinary and pedagogical thinking to inform the shape of ambitious instruction.¹⁵ Finally, the chapter closes with an explanation of the importance of the historical thinking encouraged by ambitious instruction.

Why Mr. Stein Missed the Mark

I do not intend with my criticism of Stein’s teaching to disparage either facts or lecture as a pedagogical practice. Ambitious history instruction always makes use of facts and can include lecture. Rather, other issues point to Stein’s missed mark of ambitious instruction. First, and perhaps the most baseline measure: his students did not learn. Asleep or daydreaming, most students completely missed the important content contained in the lecture. More problematic, and perhaps a contributing factor to students’ inattentiveness, Stein did not ask students to think critically about the content. Instead, Stein did all the thinking for them, and asked them to passively receive his thinking. Paulo Freire criticized this as a banking concept of education: students as empty receptacles into which teachers can make deposits of knowledge.¹⁶ Students lacked an authentic problem into which they could inquire. They lacked chances to discuss the material in substantive ways with either the teacher or each other. They had no sources – aside from Stein’s lecture – to which they could apply literacy skills. While Stein may have provided disciplinary concepts in his lecture, he took little time to form those concepts so students could understand and apply them. Stein’s students did not experience ambitious instruction.

Stein did not employ techniques of ambitious pedagogy to plan his lesson. He lacked an intellectual problem to organize his material and provide a purpose to his lecture. He had not

¹⁵ National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2013).

¹⁶ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York, NY: Continuum, 1990), 58.

selected and curated sources that his students could use to investigate that intellectual problem. He also had not planned on modeling disciplinary skills to help students do the work of economic historians with the content of the day's lesson. Perhaps most troublesome, he paid no attention to his students' own cognitive development. He had no assessment of their prior understanding of the topic, no use of feedback from the students to adjust his lesson plan, no way to assess whether they truly understood the concepts or not. While an expert on the *subject* he taught, Stein used little knowledge about the *students* he taught to inform his instruction.

Using Disciplines to Guide Instruction

In 1883, G. Stanley Hall, writing in his introduction to *Methods of Teaching History*, claimed “no subject so widely taught is, on the whole, taught so poorly, almost sure to create a distaste for historical study—perhaps forever.”¹⁷ Academic disciplines have played an indispensable role in the organization and arrangement of existing knowledge and the systematic discovery of new knowledge. Thus many have advocated that the disciplines should also play a role in the teaching of knowledge. Historians have long fought to combat the poor instruction Hall described in their subject by advocating for their disciplinary knowledge to inform teaching in elementary and secondary schools. In the 1894 Committee of Ten report, sponsored by the National Education Association and perhaps the earliest attempt at standardizing the high school curriculum, historians advocated for courses of “intense study,” where high school students had “an opportunity to apply, on a small scale, the kind of training furnished by the best colleges.”¹⁸ The American Historical Association followed up this report with one of their own in 1899, the Committee of Seven report, which reiterated the need to give students deep knowledge of historical content and the ability to engage with historical methods.¹⁹

John Dewey noted that the academic disciplines went beyond discovering the knowledge students ought to study; the logic of the disciplines actually provided an avenue for how students go could about effectively learning that knowledge themselves. In his treatise “The Child and the

¹⁷ G. Stanley Hall, *Methods of Teaching History* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath, 1883), v-xii. Quoted in Robert B. Bain, “‘They Thought the World Was Flat?’ Applying the Principles of How People Learn in Teaching High School History,” in *How Students Learn: History, Mathematics, and Science in the Classroom*, edited by John Bransford and Suzanne Donovan (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2005), 179.

¹⁸ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1894), 177.

¹⁹ The Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1899).

Curriculum,” Dewey used the metaphor of the map and the explorer’s notes as a way to describe the teacher’s role in encouraging a child to develop understanding of a particular discipline. The map represents a curriculum: the completed and organized material of a particular disciplinary subject like history. The explorer’s notes represent the experiences of the historians whose work built the disciplinary subject of history – messy, meandering journeys, filled with false-starts, wrong turns, and accidental discoveries. The history teacher needs both the map and the explorer’s notes to teach history in an ambitious fashion to students.²⁰

A subsequent report by National Education Association however, seemed to distance the public school curriculum from academic disciplines. Where the Committee of Ten had emphasized a disciplinary liberal arts education, the 1918 Cardinal Principles report emphasized proper socialization and vocational training as primary functions of the school curriculum – not disciplinary rigor.²¹ Throughout the Roaring Twenties, the Great Depression, and a second world war, America’s curriculum drifted from its disciplinary moorings.

The 1959 Woods Hole meeting, sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences, sought to address this disciplinary drift in the curriculum. There, chair Jerome Bruner and others argued for a school curriculum that exposed students to disciplinary ways of knowing – all the structures, substances, and syntax that make up an academic discipline – in an “intellectually honest” way. In encouraging intellectually honest instruction, Bruner outlined a twofold problem that teachers must overcome: “first, how to have the basic subjects rewritten and their teaching materials revamped in such a way that the pervading and powerful ideas and attitudes relating to them are given a central role; second, how to match the levels of these materials to the capacities of students of different abilities at different grades in school.”²²

The “New Social Studies” movement of the 1960s rose in response to the Woods Hole meeting. That movement saw the development of numerous courses of study based on the inquiry methods of history.²³ In the late 1980s, The Bradley Commission suggested a curriculum

²⁰ Dewey also discusses the “psychology of the subject matter,” a concept I explore below. John Dewey, “The Child and the Curriculum (1902),” in *The School and Society and The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 180-209.

²¹ National Education Association, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918).

²² Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1960), 18.

²³ The New Social Studies movement included initiatives like the Amherst Project, Man: A Course of Study, the Harvard Social Studies Project, and the Carnegie Mellon University Social Studies Curriculum Project. Richard H. Brown, “Learning How to Learn: The Amherst Project and History Education in the Schools,” *The Social Studies* 87, no. 6 (November/December 1996): 267-273; Jeffery Byford and William Russell, “The New Social Studies: A Historical Examination of Curriculum Reform,” *Social Studies Research and Practice* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 38-48.

rich in historical “habits of mind.”²⁴ Most recently the C3 framework has recommended using the discipline of history to structure students’ inquiry into the past in elementary and secondary schools. The notion of disciplinary instruction in history has a long presence in our nation’s schools, even if the depth of its presence has waxed and waned over the decades.

Knowledge of the discipline impacts students in a host of ways. Learning the rules of the discipline allows students to participate in the work of constructing historical knowledge, actively engaging with historical facts rather than passively consuming knowledge. In history, this involves using sources to construct their own interpretations of the past, rather than only accepting the interpretations of others.²⁵ Knowledge of the discipline invites students to participate, in at least a peripheral way, in a community of practice. Historians do not work in isolation, even if they do conduct much of their work independently. Every manuscript read, contribution to historiography made, or argument held at conferences or in classrooms or even perched atop of barstools draws historians together into a collective endeavor for better understanding of the past. A disciplinary form of instruction invites students to share in this wider endeavor of the history community and encourages them to use their peers as fellow travelers on this pursuit of better understanding, making learning a social affair within and beyond the classroom. Knowledge of the discipline trains students in a language that allows them to converse with a “culture of power.”²⁶ History, as a long established academic discipline, carries with it power, and knowledge of the rules of the discipline and its discourse makes it easier for students to acquire power within that academic culture. Knowledge of the discipline also improves the literacy abilities of students. Timothy and Cynthia Shanahan argued this disciplinary literacy represents the pinnacle of literacy development: a specialization within particular disciplines that enable greater comprehension than just basic fluency.²⁷ Ambitious history instruction goes beyond memorizing the content of history – it empowers students with disciplinary ways of knowing, including important concepts and methods for historians. Although not training to turn students into ‘mini-historians,’ ambitious history instruction does

²⁴ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, “Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools,” *The History Teacher* 23, no. 1 (November 1989): 7-35.

²⁵ Jean Piaget, “Piaget’s Theory,” in *Carmichael’s Manual of Child Psychology*, ed. L. Carmichael (Chicago, IL: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), 103-128.

²⁶ Lisa D. Delpit, “The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People’s Children,” *Harvard Educational Review* 58, no. 3 (August 1988): 280-298.

²⁷ Timothy Shanahan and Cynthia Shanahan, “Teaching Disciplinary Literacy to Adolescents: Rethinking Content-Area Literacy,” *Harvard Educational Review* 78, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 40-59.

equip students to think like a historian. To do so, ambitious instruction must concern itself with the disciplinary features of history.

The Discipline of History

Epistemologists have delineated academic disciplines in similar ways. Paul Heywood Hirst argued that unique aspects of knowing characterized each of the different disciplines; each had its own particular concepts, logical structures, methodology for the production of new knowledge, and justification criteria to validate that new knowledge.²⁸ The discipline of history, therefore, brings its own set of important concepts, logistical structures, methodology, and justification criteria – all of which differ slightly from the characteristics of other disciplines. Like Hirst, Joseph Schwab argued that disciplines provided helpful structures of substance and syntax through which the learner could search for the “truth.”²⁹ Syntactic structures provide logic and guidance into the verification and justification of knowledge. Such syntactic structures for historians include the historical method, by which historians use evidence from the past to craft an account read and critiqued by others.³⁰ Substantive structures help to define, bound, and analyze knowledge. Substantive structures for historians come in what Peter Lee and colleagues termed first-order concepts – those concepts like empire, revolution, or peasant, that deal with the substantive elements of history – and second-order concepts – meta-level and structural terms like continuity and change, narrative, evidence, or empathy, which give epistemological shape to the discipline of history and order to the first-order concepts.³¹

There exists a sense of artificiality to the above discussed divisions in knowledge, however. Knowledge does not exist in neat, separate categories in either our heads or the world. In our experiences, we often find boundaries fungible, categories imprecise, and any methodology as more like a rough guideline at best. This rings particularly true for historians, with their vast diversity of topics and means for studying them. I have spoken with many

²⁸ Paul Heywood Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge," in *Philosophy of Education: Major Themes in the Analytical Tradition*, ed. Paul Heywood Hirst and Patricia White, vol. 1 (London, UK: Routledge, 1998), 246-266.

²⁹ Joseph J. Schwab, "Education and the Structure of the Disciplines," in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Select Essays*, ed. Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 229-272.

³⁰ Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 331-352; R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1943).

³¹ Peter Lee, Alaric Dickinson, and Rosalyn Ashby, "Researching Children's Ideas about History," in *International Review of History Education, Volume 2: Learning and Reasoning in History*, ed. James F. Voss and Mario Carretero (London, UK: Woburn Press, 1998), 227-251.

historians resistant to the notion of a universal historical method. In his anthropological study of academic cultures, Anthony Becher found history lacked a dominating structure or strongly developed techniques of inquiry. In a delicate balance between science rooted in empirical evidence and art based on the literary crafting of prose to interpret that evidence, historians have come to embrace a state which Becher referred to as an “open-endedness, all-embracing catholicity of coverage and relative absence of theoretical divisions (in that it manages to remain largely atheoretical).”³² Indeed, I can recall a quote from one of my history professors, who described historians as using “tactical theorization,” employing theory only in as far as it proved useful to the work at hand, with no extra points awarded for theoretical purity. Historians borrow from many other disciplines, utilizing economic, sociological, biological, and other theories as they find them useful to crafting their interpretations. And historians work with a vast array of different times, places, and topics. In this sense, historians employ a diversity of methodologies almost as numerous as the number of historians themselves.

But this diversity of method only proves true within the weeds of the discipline. When compared across subjects in mathematics, the hard sciences, social sciences, literature, and composition and other topics, as students typically experience subjects, then history does have a consistent and standard methodology. Historians work in a similar way. They study the events of the past. As such, they study something that no longer exists; we live in the present and the time machines that would allow us to travel to the past only exist in the fictions of H.G. Wells and his like. Historians cannot see the past with their own eyes. But they can know about it; historians work with the evidence past events leave behind – documents, artifacts, memories – to recreate the past in their own mind. Working with these primary sources, as well as many secondary sources, historians strive to understand past events by organizing and analyzing evidence, making claims, and writing an account of the past for others to read. This work gives history a uniquely distinct method, different from, say, chemistry where chemists generate claims based on replicable experimentation (historians cannot replicate the past), or poetry, where poets generate claims about the human experience through flights of the imagination (whereas actual evidence bounds the historian’s claims). While historians have many differences in the specifics of their method, the general contours of a universal historical method remain.

³² Tony Becher, *Academic Tribes and Territories: Intellectual Enquiry and the Cultures of the Disciplines* (Milton Keynes, UK: The Society of Research in Higher Education and Open University Press, 1989), 155-159.

A “Psychologized” Discipline

Ambitious instruction involves more than facts and disciplinary knowledge, however. Teachers must also use their knowledge of students to translate those facts and the discipline in ways approachable for students at their level of development. Dewey described it as the ability to “psychologize” disciplines.³³ Psychologizing a discipline does not mean presenting students with the curriculum and having them memorize it. Rather, the teacher presents situations for students that allow them to experience the abstract knowledge of the curriculum in meaningful ways. Psychologizing becomes a crucial and complex action on the part of teachers. Crucial, because without psychologizing, students fail to develop in their understanding of a discipline; complex, because teachers must select experiences meaningful to their own particular students, while also relevant and educative to the curriculum. For history teachers to achieve this goal of psychologizing, they must deliver to students more than just the ability to recall facts and dates. Rather, their teaching must strike to the heart of what it means to work within history, allowing students to experience the key concepts, logical structures, methodology, and justifying criteria that make up that discipline. In short, students must go from recalling facts to *using* facts. Psychologizing history for students exposes them to these unique characteristics of history. Students learn crucial concepts, like evidence, and the logical structure of the narrative. Students experience historical methodologies, including contextualizing evidence in particular times and places, corroborating across texts, and considering the sourcing of texts.³⁴ Finally, students justify the importance of such experiences. Dewey placed students into a relationship with the curriculum they should learn: “just as two points define a straight line, so the present standpoint of the child and the facts and truths of studies define instruction.”³⁵ The teacher, through instruction, helps students move down this line, gaining the appropriate experiences to develop in their command of an academic discipline.

Instruction that psychologizes history both mirrors the way historians work and instructs in the way people learn. Investigations into the learning sciences reveal that lasting learning occurs when students have the goal of understanding, rather than merely rote memorization. Learning for understanding must build off prior knowledge, and works best when students learn

³³ Dewey, “The Child and the Curriculum (1902),” 200.

³⁴ Samuel S. Wineburg, “Historical Problem Solving: A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence,” *Journal of Education Psychology* 83, no. 1 (1991): 73-87.

³⁵ Dewey, “The Child and the Curriculum (1902),” 189.

in active ways.³⁶ Teachers must engage with students' preconceptions and misconceptions to allow them to grapple with cognitive dissonance in a way that allows students to accommodate or assimilate new experiences.³⁷ Teaching for understanding means students should use a conceptual framework to organize factual knowledge.³⁸ This facilitates students' recall and application of that knowledge. Finally, the learning sciences suggest that explicitly teaching students metacognitive techniques helps them monitor their learning progress and achieve learning goals. Disciplinary instruction fulfills these ways to encourage deep learning in students.

One facet of the learning sciences for history comes from Sam Wineburg's expert/novice studies of how historians and students read texts. He demonstrated the wide gulf that often exists between how novices and experts read sources historically. In his studies, Wineburg identified three heuristics that historians used to help them evaluate the texts they read. With sourcing, historians attend to the document's authorship, often before reading the document itself. With contextualization, historians situate a document within its temporal and spatial context. Finally, with corroboration, historians compared documents with one another. But Wineburg found that high school students of history, even academically accomplished ones, did not employ these heuristics, and because of this, often misread historical texts.³⁹

While valuable for defining the disciplinary skills as the end goal of ambitious instruction and student misunderstandings as the beginning point, expert/novice studies miss the change that occurs between these two poles. Students move on a continuum from novice to expert, learning in a way that progresses from less to more sophistication. Teachers' knowledge of those progression patterns can better prepare them to psychologize the discipline and provide experiences to enable development. Work in defining learning progressions – categorical tools to analyze patterns of progress in learning – fleshes out this continuum. Researchers in science education have a robust literature on learning progressions for concepts in science.⁴⁰ In history

³⁶ John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking, eds., *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2000), 3-30.

³⁷ Piaget, "Piaget's Theory," 103-128.

³⁸ For an example of the use of frameworks in history instruction, see Denis Shemilt, "Drinking an Ocean and Pissing a Cupful: How Adolescents Make Sense of History," in *The Problem of the Canon and the Future of History Teaching*, ed. Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), 141-209.

³⁹ Wineburg, "Historical Problem Solving," 73-87; and Sam Wineburg, "Reading Abraham Lincoln: An Expert-Expert Study in the Interpretation of Historical Texts," *Cognitive Science* 22, no. 3 (1998): 319-346.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Alicia C. Alonzo and Amelia Wenk Gotwals, eds., *Learning Progressions in Science: Current Challenges and Future Directions* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2012); Michelene T.H. Chi and James D. Slotta, "The Ontological Coherence of Intuitive Physics," *Cognition and Instruction* 10, no. 2/3 (1993): 249-260; Cesar Delgado, "Development of a Research-Based Learning Progression for Middle School Through Undergraduate Students' Conceptual Understanding of Size and Scale" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009); Richard Duschl, Seungho Maeng, and Asli Sezen,

education, however, learning progressions remain a still-emerging analytical tool. Most work there comes from the collective efforts of Denis Shemilt, Peter Lee, and colleagues.⁴¹

Lee and Shemilt relied on two large data sources to build their models. The first, a Schools History Project evaluation study, allowed Shemilt to collect empirical evidence on British secondary and undergraduate students' varying notions of causal explanations. The project's collected data included interviews with over 170 students. Similarly, through project CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches 7-14), Lee studied hundreds of British elementary and middle school students. The project involved pencil-and-paper responses from over three hundred students in three different historical tasks. Through independent analysis of these large bodies of data, both Shemilt and Lee began to develop a categorization scheme of the different levels at which students explained events in history, ranging from less to more sophisticated. They eventually combined findings into unified learning progressions for many second-order concepts in history, including second-order concepts of historical empathy, historical interpretation, evidence, and causal explanation. These learning progressions describe characteristics of the many levels of change in students' thought as they progress from novice to expert. Where expert/novice studies give the beginning and end points of ambitious instruction, learning progressions describe the vast middle between the two.

This work on learning progressions reveals that learning in history has multiple strands, and these strands do not develop in parallel. A student may grow in his ability to create historical explanations, while simultaneously fail to progress in creating historical lines of inquiry. In addition, learning progressions in history do not correlate directly to the age of the student. Students do not naturally mature in their ability to implement historical skills. Instead, the

"Learning Progressions and Teaching Sequences: A Review and Analysis," *Studies in Science Education* 47, no. 2 (2011): 123-182; Ivan Salinas, "Learning Progressions in Science Education: Two Approaches for Development" (paper presented at the Learning Progressions in Science Conference, Iowa City, IA, June 2009); and Stella Vosniadou and William F. Brewer, "Theories of Knowledge Restructuring in Development," *Review of Educational Research* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 51-67.

⁴¹ Numerous articles emerging from this research include Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Age 7-14," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 199-222; Lee, Dickinson, and Ashby, "Researching Children's Ideas about History," 227-251; Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt, "A Scaffold, not a Cage: Progression and Progression Models in History," *Teaching History* 113, (2003): 13-23; Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt, "Is Any Explanation Better Than None?" *Teaching History* 137 (December 2009): 42-49; Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt, "The Concept that Dares not Speak its Name: Should Empathy Come out of the Closet?" *Teaching History* 143, (2011): 39-49; Denis Shemilt, "The Devil's Locomotive," *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (Dec. 1983): 1-18; Denis Shemilt, "The Caliph's Coin: The Currency of Narrative Frameworks in History Teaching," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 83-101; and Shemilt, "Drinking an Ocean and Pissing a Cupful," 141-209.

external environment, including the scaffolding and curriculum provided by teachers, can have an impact on the progress students make in learning history.

One method of scaffolding I used to help my middle school students progress in their understanding of historical accounts comes from the teaching of Robert Bain. Bain identified two types of history for his secondary students: history-as-past-event, or H(ev), and history-as-account, or H(ac). Historians use the historical method to transform the former into the latter. Bain charted the relationship between H(ev) and H(ac), creating a conceptual framework that became a touchstone for students as they read the accounts of historians and made their own accounts in Bain's classroom.⁴² Image 2-1 reproduces that chart, which I gave to my own students. They found the conceptual tools of the chart useful in their work of critiquing the textbook account, reading primary sources and other evidence, and using that evidence to generate their own interpretations. After reading a segment of our world history textbook, students would interrogate its author. "What evidence does Dr. Spielvogel give for his account?" became a common question they would ask. And having asked that question, my students felt more comfortable creating their own accounts with the other texts I supplied alongside the textbook. Both Bain's and my own use of his H(ev) and H(ac) chart represent a form of ambitious teaching. It forces students to both learn and use historical facts, getting them to critically think about complex relationships between past evidence and historical accounts. It also affords students opportunities to discuss historical accounts using the discourse of the discipline. Teaching with the chart gave opportunities to encounter disciplinary ideas and model disciplinary skills. The chart surfaced and supported disciplinary knowledge in the classroom.

Bain drew on pedagogical knowledge as well as disciplinary knowledge to create his chart. He identified a common misunderstanding students have about history – that historical accounts fall from the sky as monolithic truth – and set about creating an experience (his chart) that psychologized disciplinary knowledge for students, helping them develop into more nuanced disciplinary thinking about history. He paid attention to students' thoughts and how students develop into disciplinary ways of thinking, and used that knowledge of students to create a tool to support ambitious history instruction.

⁴² Bain, "Into the Breach," 338-339.

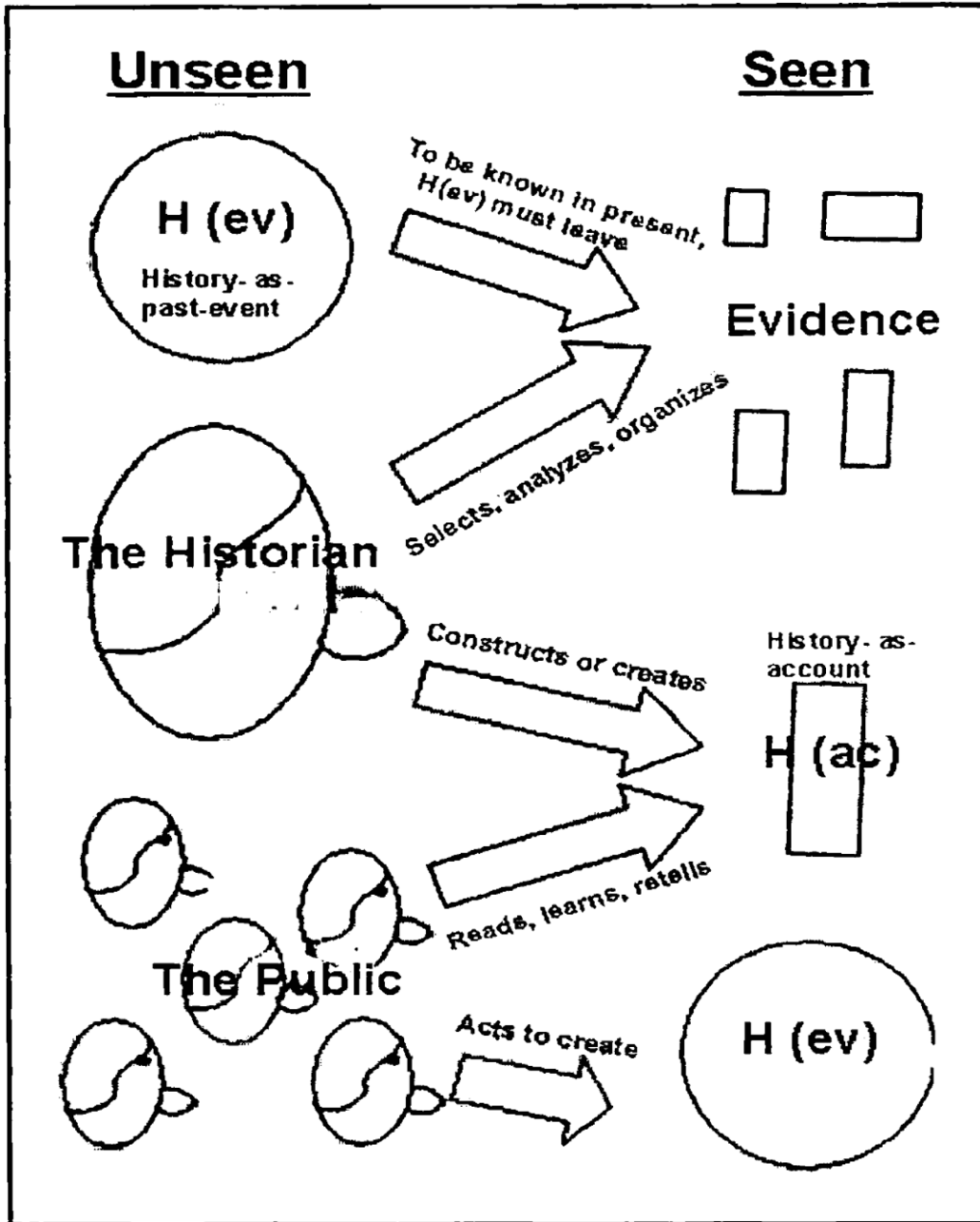


Image 2-1: History-as-past-event and history-as-account conceptual chart

Bain’s use of this chart to teach his secondary students about the nature of historical accounts and historical evidence represents an example of ambitious history teaching.

Source: Robert B. Bain, “Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 338-339

A Framework for Disciplinary Instruction in History

The recently released C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards codifies a style of ambitious history instruction rooted in the disciplines of history and the social sciences and presented in a way that psychologizes knowledge. Designed to prepare students for college, careers, and civic life (the three Cs of the title), the National Council for the Social Studies published the C3 framework in 2013. The framework uses an inquiry arc, ties into Common Core standards, and provides a structure for teaching that instructors could pair with the content of their own state curricula. This framework stresses disciplinary concepts, methods, and ways of knowing as key to deep learning in history and the social sciences.⁴³

In presenting the C3 framework as a description of disciplinary instruction in history, I need to first comment briefly on the relationship between history and the social studies. Social studies emerged in the early twentieth century as an umbrella term for history and other academic disciplines – social sciences like political science, geography, economics, and sociology. These varied disciplines came together under the school subject of the “social studies:” the study of pursuits “whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups.”⁴⁴ Following a rapid uptick in immigration to the country, administrators, teachers, and policy-makers began to use history more explicitly as a way to develop citizenship, and the inclusion of these other disciplines into the curriculum aided in that process, as well as helped make more explicit connections between history and career training.⁴⁵ But the balance between the disciplines comprising social studies has had a murky definition and multiple interpretations over the subject’s history. Some have argued for an interdisciplinary subject, intermingling history and the social sciences together into one new class. Others advocated for the inclusion of different disciplines but not their intermingling, maintaining their disciplinary integrity as they exist side-by-side within the social studies. Some promoted history as just one among many disciplines in the social studies, while others advocated it as the central core of the social studies.⁴⁶ The C3

⁴³ National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*.

⁴⁴ Murray R. Nelson, ed., *The Social Studies in Secondary Education: A Reprint of the Seminal 1916 Report with Annotations and Commentaries* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1994), 17.

⁴⁵ Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 37.

⁴⁶ A summary of these positions comes from Stephen J. Thornton and Keith C. Barton, “Can History Stand Alone? Drawbacks and Blind Spots of a ‘Disciplinary’ Curriculum,” *Teachers College Record* 112, no. 9 (September 2010): 2471-2495.

framework, while acknowledging the similarities of history, geography, civics, and economics, maintains them as separate disciplines, without elevating one discipline above another. Likewise, the instructors of Foundations of Social Studies at Indiana University, who drew largely on the C3 framework, maintained a similar distinction among the four main disciplines of the social studies. The instructors in the course, however, place a special emphasis on history – if for no other reason than the much higher frequency of secondary history courses as compared to other social studies courses and thus the higher likelihood prospective teachers had of teaching a history class over an economics, geography, or civics class.

The C3 framework provides four dimensions for each of the major social studies disciplines: (1) developing questions and planning inquiries, (2) applying disciplinary concepts and tools, (3) evaluating sources and using evidence, and (4) communicating conclusions and taking informed action.⁴⁷ These four dimensions map well onto the work that historians do and provide a guideline for what ambitious history teaching looks like in the classroom. Although the framework numbers these dimensions in sequence, disciplinary inquiry and instruction need not – and often do not – follow the four dimensions in order. Sometimes historians arrive at a research question before they turn to texts. At other times, an encounter with a text inspires a question. Often, a conclusion to one historical question opens up future avenues of study. And historians draw on concepts throughout their work of posing questions, using evidence, and writing down interpretations. In this way, the four dimensions of inquiry can happen simultaneously, iteratively, and interchangeably.

Dimension 1: Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries

The first dimension, developing and planning inquiries, problematizes history. All knowledge, Dewey wrote, started as a problem.⁴⁸ Humans generate knowledge when they encounter a problem and pursue a path of inquiry to answer it. History, when presented in disciplinary ways, involves inquiry, questions, problems, and problematization. Disciplinary instruction in history works the same way. For example, when Bain taught his students about Christopher Columbus, he problematized the account of Columbus's bravery for risking sailing

⁴⁷ National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*.

⁴⁸ John Dewey, *The Quest for Certainty: A Study of the Relation of Knowledge and Action* (London, UK: G. Allen & Unwin Limited, 1930).

off the edge of the flat world by providing documents showing that Europeans had known about the round globe well before 1492.⁴⁹ Likewise, when I taught on the differing policies of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt, I posed the following question to my students: should the government intervene in the economy? Such problematization guides instruction and serves as the basis for students' construction of knowledge. Ambitious history instruction makes use of questions to guide learning about the past. Many educators and researchers have proposed ways to structure history around central questions. Edward Caron, for example, established six criteria for a good question; central questions must: (1) represent an issue important to historical and contemporary times, (2) provide a debatable question, (3) represent a reasonable amount of content, (4) hold the interest of students, (5) appropriately match the lesson materials, and (6) appropriately challenge students.⁵⁰ Diana Hess proposed centering instruction in history and the social sciences on controversial issues.⁵¹ While the type of questions asked differ by the particular content and goals an instructor has for the class, this problematization of history both engages the learner and mirrors how historians work.

Dimension 2: Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tools

The second dimension, applying disciplinary concepts and tools, brings to bear disciplinary concepts for making sense of the past. The C3 framework spells out four groups of history concepts: change, continuity, and context; perspectives; historical sources and evidence; and causation and argumentation.⁵² To this list instructors could add any number of other second-order concepts – such as chronology, scale, primary and secondary sources – and first-order concepts as appropriate for the content under study. Historians employ concepts all the time in their work. Fernand Braudel played with the second-order concept of scale to organize his classic *longue durée* history of the Mediterranean World.⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm peered at the “long nineteenth century” through a series of first-order concepts: revolution, capital, and

⁴⁹ Bain, ““They Thought the World Was Flat?”” 179-214.

⁵⁰ Edward J. Caron, “What Leads to the Fall of a Great Empire? Using Central Questions to Design Issues-based History Units,” *The Social Studies* 96, no. 2 (2005): 51-60.

⁵¹ Diana E. Hess, *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009).

⁵² National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2013).

⁵³ Fernand Braudel. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1975).

empire.⁵⁴ Such concepts make useful tools for sense-making, allowing historians and students to arrange, categorize, and draw connections with content in meaningful ways. Teaching with concepts has its roots in schema theory. Concepts represent categories of things defined by similar characteristics, and learners form those concepts by either assimilating more experiences into the schema for the concept or accommodating the defining characteristics of their schema to fit new experiences.⁵⁵ The pedagogical technique of concept formation, developed by Walter C. Parker, helps form concepts with students inductively (causing students to create or accommodate a concept) and deductively (causing students to assimilate more experiences within a previously defined concept).⁵⁶ In inductive concept formation, the instructor provides students with examples of a concept and students use inductive reasoning to draw out the defining characteristics of that concept. Conversely, in deductive concept formation, the instructor provides a definition of the essential characteristics of a concept and then students test out that definition against examples and non-examples.⁵⁷ With clear definitions of concepts, students can better use them to make sense of past events. Concepts and their formation in the minds of learners form a key part of history and ambitious history instruction.

Dimension 3: Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence

In the third dimension, evaluating sources and using evidence, students encounter the detritus of the past. This evidence takes many forms in the classroom. Traditional primary sources perhaps get most emphasis as a mark of quality history teaching, including written sources like letters and diary entries as well as visual sources like photographs and paintings, audio-visual sources such as songs and interviews, and even material artifacts. While important, primary sources form only a fraction of the type of texts that historians work with and that instructors can and should use. Instructors must prepare students to work with a wide variety of secondary sources, including monographs, scholarly articles, documentaries, textbooks, lectures, and other sources. The rise of digital sources – and the ability to evaluate and use those digitals

⁵⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987); E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975); E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

⁵⁵ Piaget, "Piaget's Theory," 103-128.

⁵⁶ Walter C. Parker, "Thinking to Learn Concepts," *The Social Studies* 79, no. 2 (1988): 70-73.

⁵⁷ Lauren McArthur Harris and Tamara Shreiner have described what concept formations look like in the context of a high school world history unit. Lauren McArthur Harris and Tamara L. Shreiner, "Why Can't We Just Look it Up? Using Concept Formation Lessons to Teach Global Connections and Local Cases in World History," *World History Connected* 11, no. 2 (January 2014), <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/11.2/harris.html> (accessed May 17, 2017).

sources – also rightly deserves attention.⁵⁸ Ambitious instruction must prepare students to appropriately read these varied historical texts. One useful scaffold comes in Wineburg’s heuristics of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration; these heuristics can serve as powerful conceptual tools for supporting students’ work with texts.⁵⁹ Wineburg’s separation into three distinct heuristics does simplify a complex task for the purposes of teaching it, but it also oversimplifies the process. In reality, as experts read texts, these three heuristics intermingle together with a good deal of other cognitive tools. Christine Baron, for example, proposed two additional heuristics beyond Wineburg’s three, citing supposition – generating a hypothesis rooted within the historical context of the source – and empathic insight – putting oneself in the place of a historical actor for an experiential insight.⁶⁰ Bain suggested support, extend, or contest as another set of conceptual tools that help set purpose for reading historically: how does this document support, extend, or contest what the reader already knows?⁶¹ Such heuristics can scaffold students’ abilities to think historically about texts, but they represent stepping stones into a complicated process, not the summit of how to read historically.

Another way teachers can build students’ ability to evaluate texts involves appropriately modifying those texts. Defining *appropriate* modification, of course, carries with it a good deal of controversy. Some purists reject changing even one word, spelling error, or grammatical peculiarity within a source, while others advocate liberal paraphrasing to make text more approachable for students.⁶² Many modifications exist along this spectrum, however. In their own published work, historians will modify sources through acts like translation, standardization of spelling or grammar, excerpting, typing out handwriting, or providing citations. All these techniques could make appropriate modifications for teaching as well. Other ways to prepare sources for classroom use could include setting purpose for the reading, providing a contextualizing header, defining unfamiliar vocabulary, and creating graphic organizers.

⁵⁸ T. Mills Kelly, *Teaching History in the Digital Age* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

⁵⁹ Wineburg, “Historical Problem Solving,” 73-87.

⁶⁰ Christine Baron, “Understanding Historical Thinking at Historic Sites,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 104, no. 3 (2012): 833-847.

⁶¹ Bain, ““They Thought the World Was Flat?”” 194.

⁶² See, for example, Sam Wineburg and Daisy Martin for an overview of some different methods of modification and the affordances and constraints of such techniques. Sam Wineburg and Daisy Martin, “Tampering with History: Adapting Primary Sources for Struggling Readers,” *Social Education* 73, no. 5 (2009): 212-216.

Dimension 4: Communication Conclusions and Taking Informed Action

In the fourth dimension, communicating conclusions and taking informed action, students share and act on their learning. In history, this takes the form of developing an argument based on the evidence in response to a question. This often takes place in published monographs and articles, but can involve presentations and public history work. Students could share arguments through writing, discussion, or other means: a presentation, display, or other creative modes of sharing the conclusions they have reached. Historians use argumentative writing as their main form of disciplinary communication, providing evidence to logically advance a thesis. Students, however, often need support to write in that genre. Several effective practices exist for teaching argumentative skills to students, including techniques such as the IREAD or H2W protocols and providing sample essays.⁶³ Regardless of the specific types of scaffolding in place, ambitious history instruction has as its goal the development of students' abilities to create and share their own interpretations of history, grounded in evidence, and rationally argued.

Historical Thinking and Its Importance for Society

The four dimensions of the C3 framework in history have the overarching goal of developing students' abilities to think historically. More specific than just critical thinking, historical thinking involves a disciplinary reasoning about the facts of the past: events, people, ideas, and places. Philosophers of history have categorized historical thinking in different ways. Stéphane Lévesque proposed five historical thinking categories: significance, continuity and change, progress and decline, evidence, and historical empathy.⁶⁴ Flannery Burke and Thomas Andrews listed the "five Cs" of history: change over time, causality, context, complexity, and contingency.⁶⁵ Peter Seixas and Tom Morton coined the "big six" concepts of historical significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, and the ethical dimension.⁶⁶ Recent work on the importance of temporal-spatial scales for understanding history suggests that concept too deserves an importance place in any framework

⁶³ See for example Chauncey Monte-Sano, Susan De La Paz, and Mark Felton, *Reading, Thinking, and Writing About History: Teaching Argument Writing to Diverse Learners in the Common Core Classroom, Grades 6-12* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2014).

⁶⁴ Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

⁶⁵ Flannery Burke and Thomas Andrews, "The Five Cs of History: Putting the Elements of Historical Thinking into Practice in Teacher Education," in *History Education 101: The Past, Present, and Future of Teacher Preparation*, ed. Wilson J. Warren and D. Antonio Cantu (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2008), 151-166.

⁶⁶ Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts* (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Education, 2013).

of historical thinking.⁶⁷ While these lists of concepts for disciplinary thinking can help instructors deconstruct its complexities, the greater gestalt of historical thinking – a disciplinary stance toward understanding the past – has more importance than any one particular list.

Ambitious history instruction and the development of historical thinking benefits society as a whole. The skills needed to do history overlap nicely with the skills needed to perpetuate a reflective and democratic society. William Perry, in his seminal study of the development of young adult thinkers, described their ability to find meaning in life as a trajectory traveled from less reflective to more reflective patterns of thinking. Development begins in the Perry model with a world view of dualism. Here, students divide the world into binary categories of right and wrong. Under dualism, students believe truth exists in the absolute, and the proper authorities hold this knowledge of the truth. Students must receive knowledge from these authorities. When students begin to encounter multiple interpretations and disagreeing authorities, they develop into a world view of multiplicity. In this view, everyone has the right to their own opinion, and people cannot judge those opinions as “right” and “wrong” or “good” and “bad.” Students reject authority, as no one type of knowledge surpasses another. When students face challenges to support their opinions with facts and evidence, they develop into relativism. While knowledge remains contextualized and the student acknowledges a diversity of opinions here as well, relativistic thinkers can discern among opinions, finding some better supported and more rational than others. Perry refers to the last part of his model as “commitments in relativism,” where students, in full knowledge of the relativistic nature of knowledge and opinions, nevertheless begin to settle down into commitments.⁶⁸ It takes commitments in relativism to help members of a democratic society both appreciate pluralism but still discern best courses of action to take.

The transition from dualism to commitments in relativism maps over the transition students take as they learn history: from accepting a narrative given from an authority to the angst of “it’s all relative,” to the disciplined discerning among claims based on the strength of

⁶⁷ Robert B. Bain, “Challenges of Teaching and Learning World History,” in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrop (Cambridge, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2012) 111-127; David Christian, “Scales,” in *Palgrave Advances in World History*, ed. Marnie Hughes-Warrington (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 64-89; and Lauren McArthur Harris and Robert B. Bain, “Pedagogical Content Knowledge for World History Teachers: What is It? How Might Prospective Teachers Develop It?” *The Social Studies* 102, no. 1 (2011): 9-17

⁶⁸ William G. Perry, Jr., “Cognitive and Ethical Growth: The Making of Meaning,” in *The Modern American College*, ed. Arthur W. Chickering and Associates (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1981), 76-116.

their evidence.⁶⁹ Because of this, teaching the discipline of history plays a powerful role in the development of cognitive meaning-making skills in students and future citizens. Within an inquiry-based history classroom, teachers replicate for their students the sequenced learning outcomes designed to promote development toward reflective judgment. To do the work of history, students must practice differentiating between evidence and opinion, using evidence to evaluate interpretations, examining evidence from multiple perspectives, comparing alternative interpretations, and formulating their own interpretations. These skills also enable students to take on the more advanced cognitive tasks present at the latter stages of Perry's scheme.

While other disciplines do promote critical thinking and the importance of evidence in making claims, historical thinking has a special place in democratic society. History involves sense-making: sense-making of people and events across time and place and within context. History has a unique focus on making connections, establishing context, and creating a sense-making narrative, all skills for citizens. A recent experience I had in a classroom drove this point home: while observing a student teacher's lesson on foreign policy in a secondary civics class, I listened in as small groups of students discussed recent foreign policy events, ranking them in order of significance. Their discussion of the Russian invasion and annexation of the Crimean Peninsula – and the students' dismissal of that as a significant event – struck me. Having studied intensely a good bit of the Cold War, I made connections across time and space, seeing Russian's invasion of the Ukraine not as an isolated event, but part of a much larger pattern that had significant impact on the world as we know it. What I saw as connected to the Cold War and beyond, students saw as an isolated event; without the benefit of content knowledge and skill of thinking historically about the annexation of the Crimea, students failed to see the significance I saw. They thought critically about the event, but they did not think historically about it.

Ambitious history teaching, then, and the subsequent development of historical thinking abilities in students, plays a crucial role in the maintenance of democratic society. In his essay "Why Study History?" Peter Stearns made the case for the import of historical thinking for democratic deliberations. Historical thinking leads citizens to contextualize and historicize political institutions and political problems. Historical thinking leads to comparative analysis of how nations have acted and interacted with one another. Historical thinking allows discernment

⁶⁹ In many ways, the Perry scheme maps over historiography as well – first as a positivist enterprise, then through the upheaval of the post-modern turn, followed by the more stable commitments to certain disciplinary norms and standards of today, where reasonable inquiry generates historical knowledge subject to evaluation by a community of historians.

of similarities and differences between past and current events,⁷⁰ and the development of what Stearns calls “habits of mind vital for responsible public behavior,” including the ability to assess evidence, conflicting interpretations, and past examples of change. In summation, Stearns writes that the study of history “is crucial to the promotion of that elusive creature, the well-informed citizen.”⁷¹ For our nation to continue to educate well-informed citizens, we need to prepare them to think historically about events.

An even greater benefit of the disciplined study of history comes not in the form of understanding events, but in the form of understanding people. A disciplined study of history gives the tools to better see the perspectives and experiences of people from diverse backgrounds, cultures, times, and places. Historical empathy allows us to avoid judgment, overgeneralization, or condemnation through an honest desire to understand others on their own terms and within their particular contexts and constraints. The skills necessary to understand and empathize with historical actors from a time far from our own are the same ones necessary to empathize with contemporaries from a different class, race, gender, religion, or background than our own. The study of history, Wineburg claimed, humanizes us in a way no other school subject quite can.⁷² Ambitious history teaching, by preparing students to better understand their fellow man, helps them also become more human.

Such a large task lies heavy on the shoulders of historians and history teachers alike. To truly use history to humanize students means that instructors cannot teach history as merely a memorization of facts. History must instead press on students to use those facts in ways that get them to question assumptions, to see the world through different lenses, and to empower them to articulate new interpretations and push for change. Such liberating pedagogy helps students to become aware of their capacity to learn knowledge, transform knowledge, and become an agent in the world and with the world.⁷³ Such liberating pedagogy would have to both embrace the

⁷⁰ George Santayana’s oft-repeated axiom, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it,” comes to mind here – but true historical thinking takes a far more nuanced approach when comparing past and current events; historical thinkers consider not only what causes and consequences events share or could share, but also how differing contexts could lead to different outcomes. George Santayana, *Reason in Common Sense*, vol. 1 of *The Life of Reason* (1905; repr., New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980), 269-291.

⁷¹ Peter Stearns, “Why Study History? (1998),” American Historical Association, [https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-\(1998\)](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-(1998)) (accessed May 18, 2017).

⁷² Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 5.

⁷³ Paulo Friere, *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* (New York, NY: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 1998).

emotional connections to the past and the uncritical readings of it,⁷⁴ and couple that with the skills to reflect, examine evidence, and critically read. Ambitious teaching of history inspires, challenges, grows, and transforms students. It creates reflective citizens prepared to succeed in the world, and succeed in changing the world.

The large task of ambitious history instruction requires a different approach than Stein employed to educate Ferris Bueller. Such a large task also probably requires a different type of professional training than Stein received. In the next chapter, I take up the question of what sort of professional training prospective teachers require to prepare them to teach ambitiously.

⁷⁴ Michael Warner, "Uncritical Reading," in *Polemic: Critical or Uncritical*, ed. Jane Gallop (London, UK: Routledge, 2004), 13-38.

CHAPTER III
“It Takes a University”:
How Prospective Teachers Can Learn Ambitious Teaching

“It takes a village to raise a child,” or so the proverb goes, conveying the sentiment that the guidance of a child from birth to adulthood requires the contribution of a whole community of stakeholders.⁷⁵ A shameless riff on this pithy saying guides my own work in teacher education: “It takes a university (and beyond) to raise an ambitious history teacher.” Prospective history teachers learn how to teach across many different sites inside and outside the university, and through these different sites learn practices and concepts essential to ambitious pedagogy. Prospective teachers must navigate across these many different sites in order to learn the practices of ambitious teaching. History departments and schools of education play critical roles in a larger system of teacher education. Through studying these roles I examine how instructors enact and discuss as well as how prospective teachers recognize the discipline of history and its teaching in the contexts through which prospective history teachers move. I benefit from a body of research, conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and teacher educators, that examines how novices learn the practices of their profession.

In this chapter, I build an argument for why teacher training necessarily takes place across many sites. First, I define the term ‘practice’ in the context of teaching. I next consider how to teach practices by examining three different frameworks of apprenticeship. In considering what practices to teach, I highlight two particularly important groups of practices. Finally, I look at where to teach, surveying the various areas across the university and beyond where prospective teachers could learn the practices of ambitious teaching, as well as pitfalls of experience that could trap prospective teachers across these many sites.

⁷⁵ The proverb has murky origins. Although oft attributed to various African cultures, historians have failed to confidently point to any one particular source. See Harold Marcus, email to H-Net List for African History, January 25, 1996, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28765/pages/31934/proverb-it-takes-whole-village-raise-child> (accessed May 18, 2017).

Practice

The word ‘practice’ can invoke several connotations in the English language; indeed, Magdalene Lampert identified four different meanings of the word in relation to teaching. One could use practice as a verb – to rehearse for future performance; a prospective teacher may practice a lesson alone or with peers before performing it for students. In another sense, one could use practice as something contrasted with theory; prospective teachers learn a theory about teaching in their methods courses which may or may not align with the realities of teaching in practice. In a third sense, one could use practice to refer to the profession as a whole: the practice of teaching. And finally, one could use practice to refer to the smaller actions that make up teaching – teaching as a collection of different practices to learn and master.⁷⁶ While Lampert defined these four uses of the word practice in relationship to teaching, it does not take a huge stretch of the imagination to see how they could also apply to the work of historians. Although this study concerns all four definitions of practice, I focus in particular on the last two connotations: teaching as a profession and a collection of different practices to learn and master.

Corresponding to Lampert’s third definition, Étienne Wenger used the term community of practice to refer to a group of people who mutually engage in a joint enterprise and share a repertoire of knowledge and actions.⁷⁷ Communities of practice pervade society, and people usually belong to many different communities. Some center on home life, others come from work, school, hobbies, or interests. Historians, education researchers, teacher educators, and teachers all participate in communities of practice built around their professions. To teach ambitiously, teachers rely on both disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge. Therefore, they must participate, in at least peripheral ways, in those communities of practice. This enables them to broker the disciplinary knowledge of historians to the classroom and transform it for students.

The push for practice-based learning utilizes Lampert’s fourth definition: teaching as a collection of practices. In practice-based learning, teacher educators situate their prospective teachers’ training in the practices they want to encourage. This starts by identifying which practices teachers would need to know and perform in order to teach in ambitious ways. Teacher educators then situate training within those practices to help prospective teachers learn how to

⁷⁶ Magdalene Lampert, “Learning Teaching in, from, and for Practice: What Do We Mean?” *Journal of Teacher Education* 61, no. 1 (2010): 21-34.

⁷⁷ Étienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

perform them.⁷⁸ Since ambitious teaching involves disciplinary instruction, practices teachers must know how to do should not come only from the realm of pedagogy; a history teacher must also know how to perform disciplinary practices.⁷⁹

Teaching Practices: Three Frameworks of Apprenticeship

Researchers have proposed many different frameworks of apprenticeships as ways for experts to train novices. Dan Lortie proposed the term apprenticeship of observation to describe much of how prospective teachers learn to teach. As students, prospective teachers spend a lot of time observing teachers work. From Kindergarten through college, prospective teachers have had the opportunity to see much of the practices of teaching history, and so do not enter the profession completely unaware of those practices. These memories of how their previous teachers taught history can serve as a powerful resource for any teacher. However, the apprenticeship of observation also suffers from a limited vantage point; students can only see so much of the work teachers actually must do in order to successfully teach.⁸⁰ Students do not see how a teacher plans a course over the summer, prepares for a lesson, or grades an essay. Even more challenging, students cannot glimpse into the mind of the teacher. Teachers make many hundreds of decisions over the course of their day, some in the moment, and others after time to reflect.⁸¹ The many decisions a teacher makes each day include everything from deciding when to call on a raised hand or when to ignore one, to adjusting pacing of a lesson, to when to pursue a line of inquiry or to bracket that discussion for a different time. Therefore, the apprenticeship of observation limits prospective teachers by not giving them access to either the practices of teaching that happen outside of the classroom or the cognitive practices that happen within the mind of the teacher. This means it has the possibility of giving prospective teachers an incomplete or even warped vision of the practices of teaching history.

⁷⁸ The work of Jean Lave's social practice theory of situated cognition has laid the groundwork for such practice-based learning programs in teacher education. Deborah Loewenberg Ball and David K. Cohen, "Developing Practice, Developing Practitioners: Toward a Practice-Based Theory of Professional Education," in *Teaching as the Learning Profession: Handbook of Policy and Practice*, ed. Gary Sykes & Linda Darling-Hammond (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 1999), 3-32; Jean Lave, "Teaching, as Learning, in Practice," *Mind, Culture, and Activity* 3, no. 3 (1996): 149-164.

⁷⁹ Deborah Loewenberg Ball, "Bridging Practices: Intertwining Content and Pedagogy in Teaching and Learning to Teach," *Journal of Teacher Education* 51, no. 3 (May/June 2000): 241-247.

⁸⁰ Dan C. Lortie, *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 55-81.

⁸¹ See, for example, James Calderhead, *Teachers' Classroom Decision-Making* (London, UK: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984).

Allan Collins and his colleagues described a cognitive apprenticeship as a way to mitigate the limitations of an apprenticeship of observation. In a cognitive apprenticeship, the expert seeks to make visible otherwise invisible cognitive practices.⁸² To do so, the expert must intentionally model those practices for novices: breaking down complex tasks into smaller steps, demonstrating the enactment of those tasks for novices to see, and speaking aloud the thought process during those tasks to surface those invisible thoughts for novices to hear. Historians and teacher educators can use cognitive apprenticeships to help make visible the cognitive practices of their work. Whether the thought process involved in evaluating a letter from the 1800s or in interpreting a student’s misunderstanding in an essay, instructors would need to verbalize the thinking of that work in order to bring novices into a cognitive apprenticeship. After modeling and narrating their thoughts aloud, instructors would then have their students transfer those skills to new contexts. A cognitive apprenticeship in reading historical sources could involve modeling reading British Lieutenant John Barker’s diary account of the conflict at Lexington (including instructors narrating their thoughts about the piece as they read), followed by coaching students to transfer those modeled skills to reading an American minutemen’s testimony on the conflict.⁸³ Frameworks of cognitive apprenticeship help enable this transfer of learning when the skills involve otherwise invisible cognitive tasks.

A final framework of apprenticeship comes out of the work of Pamela Grossman and her colleagues. In their study on how professionals – particularly professionals in service or ‘helping’ professions dedicated to human improvement⁸⁴ – learn their practice, Grossman’s team observed professional training courses and interviewed instructors and students in three different lines of work: clergy, clinical psychologists, and teachers. From that data, Grossman’s team proposed a three-part framework of how novices learned professional practices. In the first part, *representation*, the instructor gives a vision of what practices look like. Such representations could come from students observing practitioners work in the field or on video, seeing them enact the work for them within their professional education courses, reading written descriptions of professional practice, or seeing artifacts of professional practice brought into their courses. In

⁸² Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Susan E. Newman, “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Teaching the Craft of Reading, Writing, and Mathematics,” in *Knowing, Learning, and Instruction: Essays in Honor of Robert Glaser*, ed. Lauren B. Resnick (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1989), 453-494.

⁸³ This lesson on the Battle of Lexington comes from the Stanford History Education Group’s “Reading Like a Historian” curriculum. Avishag Reisman and Bradley Fogo, “Battle of Lexington Lesson Plan,” Stanford History Education Group, 2009, <https://sheg.stanford.edu/battle-lexington> (accessed May 19, 2017).

⁸⁴ David K. Cohen, *Teaching and Its Predicaments* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 4-23.

the second part, *decomposition*, the instructor breaks down the practice into constituent parts. Within a decomposition of practice, instructors focus on only a small slice of the larger practices of the profession; by focusing only on this small part, instructors can help students better master critical components that build into a larger practice. In the last part, *approximation*, students have opportunities to enact aspects of the practice in a safe environment where they can make mistakes, receive feedback, and not cause harm to others. These approximations enable novices to simulate parts of their practice in proximal ways to the actual work of the profession, enabling them to learn and rehearse practices before using them for real in the field.⁸⁵

While Grossman and colleagues built their framework within the context of learning professional practices, I argue that the same three-part framework could apply to learning disciplinary practices. Historians, in training novices in the practices of the discipline, rely on representations of disciplinary practices. Historians show students what it looks like to do history, for example, by holding up the work of historians (in the form of articles and books) as examples of historical writing and thinking. Good history instruction also then decomposes the practices of history – breaking them down into smaller parts easier for instructors to teach and for students to digest as they build up to the complex work of historical thinking. Finally, students encounter many opportunities to approximate the work of history – for example, when they write their own historical arguments in a course setting.

These frameworks of apprenticeship can provide avenues for prospective teachers to learn pedagogical and disciplinary practices. But such frameworks do not themselves prescribe the knowledge and practices teachers need to teach ambitiously. The complex task of ambitious teaching has a large body of knowledge and skills. The next two sections of this chapter cover only a slice of that body. However the two concepts, professional vision and pedagogical content knowledge, represent some of the most important skills for learning ambitious teaching practices.

What to Teach: Professional Vision

During the course of training, prospective teachers should develop what Charles Goodwin termed professional vision: the ability of professionals to notice and interpret phenomena relevant to their work. Goodwin identified three practices that build professional

⁸⁵ Pam Grossman et al., “Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective,” *Teachers College Record* 111, no. 9 (September 2009): 2055-2100.

vision: (1) coding, where professionals can transform the phenomenon they see into the discourse of their profession; (2) highlighting, where professionals can mark out a specific and relevant phenomenon happening within a complicated morass of other phenomena occurring alongside or over it; and (3) producing and articulating material representations of the phenomenon within the context of their professional practices.⁸⁶ A growing body of literature deals specifically with teachers' professional vision and ways to further develop it. Studies of teachers watching footage of classroom instruction have afforded researchers ways to measure what and how much phenomena they notice. Miriam Gamoran Sherin and Elizabeth van Es have organized video clubs where groups of teachers would meet monthly to review video of instruction and discuss what they noticed in those clips, both in groups and individually with researchers. The researchers then coded for what teachers noticed, and how, over time with the video club, teachers learned to notice more, refining their professional vision.⁸⁷ Sherin defined two main processes associated with teachers' professional vision: selective attention, or the ability to choose where to focus attention on the complex interactions and events happening within a classroom at any given moment, and knowledge-based reasoning, where teachers use their prior knowledge to make sense of what they notice from their observations.⁸⁸ Strengthening their professional vision allows the teachers of the video club to begin to reason more deliberately about the instruction they observe, and reflect on how to strengthen their own practice as teachers.

History and education coursework both provide ample examples of phenomena relevant to the work of history teachers, and prospective teachers have ample opportunities to notice practices of ambitious history instruction in those separate contexts. Historians and teacher educators can both help train new teachers – provided that those new teachers learn how to notice, turning their professional vision to these different areas of the university.

⁸⁶ Charles Goodwin, "Professional Vision," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 606-633.

⁸⁷ Miriam Gamoran Sherin and Elizabeth A. van Es, "Effects of Video Club Participation on Teachers' Professional Vision," *Journal of Teacher Education* 60, no. 1 (January/ February 2009): 20-37.

⁸⁸ Miriam Gamoran Sherin, "The Development of Teachers' Professional Vision in Video Clubs," in *Video Research in the Learning Sciences*, ed. Ricki Goldman, Roy Pea, Brigid Barron, and Sharon J. Derry (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007), 383-395.

What to Teach: Pedagogical Content Knowledge

Pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) makes up a key component of practices associated with ambitious teaching. Lee Shulman defined PCK as “that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding.”⁸⁹ PCK highlights the special aspect of teachers’ knowledge which allows them to psychologize content knowledge for their students. History teachers hold knowledge unique to their profession, not shared by historians who do not teach or by mathematics teachers. Shulman and his colleagues wrote of “representational repertoires” – analogies, metaphors, anecdotes, and the like – that allow teachers to transform and represent content in ways learnable to students. But PCK contains more than just lists of possible representations; it involves developing a way of thinking. Teachers develop “pedagogical reasoning” embedded within a content which allows them to think about and generate transformations for the particular students they teach, adequately psychologizing disciplinary knowledge.⁹⁰ PCK for history teachers draws on both the disciplinary knowledge of history and general pedagogic knowledge – but belongs uniquely to the work of teaching history.

More recent research into teachers’ content knowledge and PCK has led to further epistemological categorization. After a fifteen year investigation into the work of teaching mathematics, Deborah Loewenberg Ball and colleagues proposed a nuanced, six part organization of the domains of mathematical knowledge for teaching.⁹¹ Such an organization further divided mathematical content knowledge and PCK into categories such as specialized content knowledge, knowledge of content and students, and knowledge of content and curriculum, among other categories. Although researchers have not yet conducted such extensive investigations into content knowledge and PCK for history, similar divisions likely exist.

Smaller-scale studies into history instruction reveal that teachers’ knowledge of history and the type of their historical knowledge impacts classroom instruction. Suzanne Wilson and Sam Wineburg, both former students of Shulman, observed four teachers, all of whom had graduated from the same teacher education program, but only one of whom had majored in

⁸⁹ Lee S. Shulman, “Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform,” *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (February 1987): 8.

⁹⁰ Suzanne M. Wilson, Lee S. Shulman, and Anna E. Richert, “‘150 Different Ways of Knowing’: Representations of Knowledge in Teaching,” in *Exploring Teachers’ Thinking*, ed. James Calderhead (London, UK: Cassell, 1987), 113-115.

⁹¹ Deborah Loewenberg Ball, Mark Hoover Thames, and Geoffrey Phelps, “Content Knowledge for Teaching: What Makes It Special?” *Journal of Teacher Education* 59, no. 5 (November/December 2008): 389-407.

history. In comparing across cases, they found that teacher, who had knowledge of the disciplinary structures of history, had an easier time learning new content and more faithfully represented the discipline of history to her students.⁹² In a different set of case studies, Chauncey Monte-Sano, herself a former student of Wineburg, observed the student teaching of three novice teachers, and found that the one who had taken the most history methodology courses in her undergraduate program best engaged students in interpretive and evidence-based thinking. Both of these studies suggest coursework from the history department as a source of disciplinary knowledge most impactful on teachers' ability to enact PCK and translate history for students.⁹³ However, Grossman's study of English teachers contradicts this conclusion. Grossman compared six teachers, of whom three had extensive disciplinary knowledge but had not taken any professional education courses, and three with less extensive disciplinary knowledge but who had gone through a professional education program. Grossman found those without teacher education lacked knowledge about how their students learned specific content, and therefore failed to use PCK strategies to appropriately teach their subject-matter.⁹⁴

Taken together, these three studies suggest that PCK does not come from prospective teachers' work in history courses alone, but neither does it arise solely out of work in schools of education – demonstrating the importance of the multiple sites needed for effective teacher training. In her study, Grossman identified four sites as sources for learning PCK, which reinforces the collaborative effort it takes to train a teacher. First, prospective teachers learned through two different apprenticeships of observation, relying on their memories as a student learning from history teachers and then history professors in their college courses. Second, they learned through gaining disciplinary knowledge in their history coursework. Third, they learned through their professional education, particularly history methods or social studies methods courses. Finally, they learned through their own classroom teaching experiences. Both history departments and schools of education have a crucial role to play as sources of the knowledge bases prospective teachers must access in order to ambitiously teach history.

⁹² Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, "Peering at History Through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History," *Teachers College Record* 89, no. 4 (1988): 525-539.

⁹³ Chauncey Monte-Sano, "Learning to Open Up History for Students: Preservice Teachers' Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge," *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011): 260-272.

⁹⁴ Pamela L. Grossman, *The Making of a Teacher: Teacher Knowledge and Teacher Education* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1990).

Many Sites to Teach Practice

Because ambitious teaching requires both pedagogical and disciplinary practices and the ability to psychologize those disciplinary practices for students through PCK, learning to teach across multiple locations forms an important component of learning ambitious teaching.⁹⁵ These multiple locations employ varied personnel and provide experiences that stretch not only across the university but also outside the confines of its campus. Prospective teachers *formally* learn the discipline of history, first in classrooms as elementary and secondary students and then in auditoriums and seminar classrooms as undergraduates. Prospective teachers also *formally* learn how to teach in teacher training programs. They *informally* learn how to teach through an apprenticeship of observation, seeing the way their pre-collegiate and university teachers taught them history.⁹⁶ In some of their education courses, they also *informally* learn something about the discipline of history. They learn how to teach in the confines of the academy, but also through placements in the field as student teachers. And they continue to learn how to teach once they reach classrooms of their own.⁹⁷

Therefore, prospective teachers experience many diverse sites of professional preparation. They often must take it upon themselves to draw together what they learn from these diverse places, transferring, translating, coordinating, and aligning knowledge in order to develop their own practice of teaching history. While history departments and schools of education play key roles in the preparation of new teachers, all too often, these areas suffer from academic isolation. Interactions between education and history faculty often happen only infrequently, informally, and without much institutional incentive. This unfortunate fracturing of the university village leaves students to their own devices to generate cohesion between what they learn in history departments and schools of education (alongside their field experiences and memories of primary and secondary classroom experiences). Such isolation gets further compounded when one considers the gap between the university and elementary and secondary school settings.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Grossman, *The Making of a Teacher*; Lortie, *Schoolteacher*; Wilson and Wineburg, "Peering at History Through Different Lenses," 525-539.

⁹⁶ Lortie, *Schoolteacher*, 65.

⁹⁷ Grossman, *The Making of a Teacher*, 10-16.

⁹⁸ Ken Zeichner, "Rethinking the Connections Between Campus Courses and Field Experiences in College- and University-Based Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 61, no. 1 (2010): 89-99.

Pitfalls of Experience in Learning Teaching Across Many Sites

Isolation and disjuncture in teacher training, in part contributed to by its taking place across many different sites, can lead to what Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Margret Buchmann called “pitfalls of experience.” Prospective teachers can fall into these traps of missed or inappropriate learning as they encounter the insights, messages, inferences, and beliefs conveyed from the many different sites of their preparation.⁹⁹ Missed or inappropriate learning prospective teachers encounter as they move between their university coursework and their experiences in the field could have ramifications for their future work.

Feinman-Nemser and Buchmann named the first pitfall the “familiarity pitfall.” Prospective teachers enter their training programs with lots of experience in classrooms as students. This familiarity with the school setting can lead to a trap of over-confidence; unquestioned familiarity may also arrest reflection and incorporation of learning from their university-based coursework in lieu of memories from their own elementary and secondary experiences.

The second pitfall of experience Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann named the “two-worlds pitfall.” Such a trap of thinking occurs when a prospective teacher sees university learning and classroom teaching as “worlds apart;” what gets appreciated and rewarded in the academic setting does not, in the estimation of the prospective teacher, translate into what leads to success in teaching. Therefore, the prospective teachers face pressure to conform to practices in schools that ignore or forget relevant learning from the academic setting.

The third pitfall of experience they named the “cross-purposes pitfall.” This trap arises because the classrooms that prospective teachers serve in as student teachers have as their intended purpose the education of pupils, not the education of new teachers. This can put the mentor teacher’s goals in the classroom at cross-purposes with teacher training.

As teacher educators guide prospective teachers across the many sites of learning the knowledge and practices necessary for teaching, helping them avoid these and other pitfalls of experience provides for a more cohesive teacher preparation. Assisting prospective teachers in seeing the knowledge and practices gained from these different sites in the context of their work as teachers can help encourage ambitious instruction.

⁹⁹ Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Margret Buchmann. “Pitfalls of Experience in Teacher Preparation,” *Teachers College Record* 87, (1985): 53-65.

Learning Ambitious Teaching

To learn the disciplinary, pedagogical, and pedagogical content knowledge necessary for ambitious teaching means that prospective teachers must traverse across these many sites: elementary and secondary history classes, college history coursework, professional education coursework, and finally in classrooms of their own as teachers. It also means that formally and informally, historians, education instructors, and teachers all share in the work of raising up new history teachers and helping them avoid pitfalls of experience. In the next chapter, I turn to consider Indiana University and how historians and teacher educators there have, over the decades, developed a system that encourages interaction between the History Department and the School of Education and collaboration over the shared endeavor of raising up teachers to use ambitious instructional methods.

CHAPTER IV

Training for Ambitious Instruction in Practice: A Short History of Indiana University

Both history departments and schools of education alike play roles in the training of teachers. However, to what degree have these different units of the university intentionally attended to this preparation? To what degree have they cooperated and coordinated activities to sustain coherent programs in preparing teachers of history? What supports a coherent, university-wide program in teacher training and what hinders its development? What conditions enable interactions between history departments and schools of education to occur? In short, what might a coordinated and comprehensive university-based teacher education program, one that aims to prepare teachers to understand and use ambitious, high-quality history teaching, look like?

Research suggests the rarity of such programs, particularly at Research I universities.¹⁰⁰ This makes Indiana University, the site of this study, an unusual and telling case. Many university systems have structures that impede cooperation between history departments and schools of education over teacher training. While historians may bring a personal passion for teaching, institutional rewards favor research to the detriment of teaching; requirements for tenure, advancement, and recognition usually rest with the quality of historians' research, not their teaching.¹⁰¹ Schools of education face their own challenges. Education researchers often found themselves marginalized in the academy, their research routinely criticized for poor quality and low applicability. This lack of respect for education research shadowed their entire work; Ellen Condliffe Lagemann argued that a quest to gain status colors the whole history of schools of education, as researchers competed for the respect of their colleagues across the university and teachers sought to position themselves as respected professionals.¹⁰² Education

¹⁰⁰ Larry Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Change Without Reform in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research, 1890-1990* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1999).

¹⁰¹ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*.

¹⁰² Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

professionals sought to gain respect through claiming special knowledge, and therefore having special jurisdiction, over teaching and the preparation of teachers. These institutional structures discourage collaborative efforts between history departments and schools of education.

Still historians, education researchers, teachers, and teacher educators have a long and robust history of seeking to improve history teaching and the preparation of quality history teachers. Groups like the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the National Education Association have maintained an ongoing conversation since at least the onset of their formation as national professional organizations. Indeed, one of the earliest national policy documents on curriculum and teaching, the National Education Association “Committee of Ten” report on curricular standards for secondary schools, relied heavily on the participation of historians to craft those standards.¹⁰³ From this early initiative onward, the theme of collaboration over ambitious history teaching and the preparation of history teachers has persisted in conversations within and across these professional organizations.¹⁰⁴

While these conversations may have taken place on the national stage, the ideas they presented only came into fruition at the local level, as historians and education professors did or did not enact these goals of collaboration within the context of their own universities. At Indiana University individual actors in the History Department and the School of Education explicitly and intentionally focused on and cooperated to prepare quality history teachers. Because of this, Indiana University provides an ideal place to investigate teacher preparation across the topography of a university. Indiana University developed lasting structures in its university system to support the training of history teachers for ambitious instruction at all levels. Those structures establish the university as a potential rich telling case – a vision of the possible for what productive collaboration over ambitious history teaching could look like at other institutions.¹⁰⁵

In this chapter, I trace through the decades how Indiana University became a vision of the possible, following two threads: Indiana University’s program of preparing elementary and secondary history teachers for ambitious instruction and Indiana University’s program of

¹⁰³ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1894).

¹⁰⁴ Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (June 2005): 727-751.

¹⁰⁵ Researching into telling cases builds off of the call of Shulman and others to research into areas of apparent effective teaching, in order to determine characteristics that make such teaching possible. Lee S. Shulman, “Autonomy and Obligation,” in *Handbook of Teaching and Policy*, ed. Lee S. Shulman and Gary Sykes (New York: Longman, 1983) 484-504.

improving history instruction at the college level. These two threads intertwine over the course of Indiana University's history – especially because improved instruction at the college level provided a better representation of ambitious instruction for prospective teachers taking history coursework. Three elements persist throughout the years at Indiana University. First, Indiana University benefitted from a confluence of individuals interested in ambitious teaching and willing to collaborate to improve the training of teachers. Second, those interested individuals worked to create more permanent structures such as official university positions, centers, or research groups, which outlasted any one individual. And finally, both individuals and those structures found the support of administration officials willing and eager to encourage this work on ambitious teaching.

Indiana University's History Department and School of Education suffered a “crisis of professionalism”¹⁰⁶ following the launching of Sputnik, and the various ways faculty responded to that crisis encouraged ambitious teaching and the quality training of teachers. This chapter highlights only a few of those responses, including the creation of a collaborative center to prepare high quality teachers, the work of David Pace to develop a course preparing graduate students of history for ambitious pedagogy, and the leadership of History Department chair James H. Madison, who communicated increased value of the work of teaching in his department and steered it to closer cooperation with the School of Education. The example of Indiana University provides suggestions for how other institutions could bring to fruition on their own campuses the push for the training of teachers for ambitious instruction discussed so often on the national level.¹⁰⁷

Starting with Sputnik

The history of Indiana University and its focus on ambitious history teaching could have any number of starting dates. It could start at the founding of the institution in 1820 as a land

¹⁰⁶ David A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983), 3-20.

¹⁰⁷ In this examination of the history of Indiana University, I place most of my focus on the history profession and history departments, rather than on education professionals and schools of education. I chose to do so for two reasons. The first reason has theoretical underpinnings; while many others have focused on schools of education, I argue that understanding how to improve the quality of history teaching requires looking holistically across elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels of instruction. The role of history departments specifically in teacher education warrants further attention. The second reason for privileging history departments rather than schools of education has practical underpinnings; the History Department preserved far more complete archives of its history than did the School of Education at Indiana University. I suspect this may have something to do with the typical differences in the nature of research (and the importance of archives) in history as compared to research in education.

grant college.¹⁰⁸ It could start with its first president, Andrew Wylie, preempting by decades John Dewey's conception of psychologizing in addressing the board of trustees on the different forms of knowledge successful teachers needed: "For, to teach anything effectually, a man must possess not only a knowledge of what is to be communicated, but of the mind that is to receive it; as the physician must understand not only the nature of medicine but of the human constitution, and the state of his patient."¹⁰⁹ The history of Indiana University's focus on history teaching could start with the establishment of a normal school around 1873,¹¹⁰ a teacher agency to coordinate outreach to public schools at the start of the nineteenth century,¹¹¹ or the organization of a formal School of Education in 1908.¹¹² But instead I chose to start this history of Indiana University in low-earth orbit well over a century after the university's founding.

Sputnik's successful launch in 1957 had an impact on Indiana University and most other universities. As this first man-made satellite orbited around the earth, it sent the American public and political leaders into a state of crisis. Many interpreted this milestone of technological achievement by the Soviets as the definitive sign that the United States had lost its political and technological edge in the Cold War. The Sputnik crisis spurred the race for superiority in space between the United States and the Soviet Union, but it also caused many Americans to question the quality of the nation's system of education and inspired the federal government to make aggressive policy interventions to support education reform.¹¹³ The professionals America had trusted to keep the country strong, well-educated, and technologically advanced had apparently failed. This professional crisis did not spare either historians or education researchers. And, in the face of failing public confidence in the work of these professionals, the question of how best to prepare quality history teachers (and who bore that responsibility in society) emerged renewed with a new sense of urgency that demanded immediate action.

In the wake of Sputnik, curricular reformers placed their hope in disciplinary education as one of the most powerful weapons in the Cold War; classroom exposure to the challenging

¹⁰⁸ Thomas D. Clark, *The Early Years*, vol. 1 of *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970), 3.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Wylie, Address to the Gentlemen of the Board and Respected Audience, in Thomas D. Clark, *History Documents Since 1816*, vol. 4 of *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1977), 34.

¹¹⁰ Clark, *The Early Years*, 57.

¹¹¹ Clark, *The Early Years*, 296.

¹¹² Thomas D. Clark, *In Mid-Passage*, vol. 2 of *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973), 103.

¹¹³ Kathleen Anderson Steeves, Philip Evan Bernhardt, James P. Burns, and Michele K. Lombard, "Transforming American Educational Identity after Sputnik," *American Educational History Journal* 36, no. 1 (2009): 71-87.

authentic work of the academy would better prepare future generations to continue the technological and scientific advancements that would keep America ahead of its international competition.¹¹⁴ By exposing students to this authentic work of the academic disciplines, curriculum designers hoped to create more robust curricula that better prepared students to become leaders in science, engineering, and technology.¹¹⁵

Indiana University and the Crisis of Professionalism

At Indiana University, faculty faced criticism from this crisis of professionalism and sought to address the societal problems identified in it. Sputnik had challenged Indiana University to increase efforts to research and develop new technology.¹¹⁶ Faculty at Indiana University also strengthened their resolve to improve the teaching of students at all levels – from elementary to higher education. But Indiana University’s faculty also faced increased student criticism and distrust; with Cold War anxieties and the tensions of the civil rights movement in the background, Indiana University’s students aggressively sought to make their voices heard, demanding improved teaching, condemning the Vietnam War, and seeking an expanded role for minority students. Such rampant student unrest contributed to the pressures of office experienced by Elvis Stahr, who assumed the presidency of the university in the wake of Sputnik. Stahr resigned only six years into his term, citing “presidential fatigue.”¹¹⁷ As it had with the rest of the nation, the crisis of professionalism impacted Indiana University in lasting ways.

In the midst of this crisis of professionalism, two separate threads at Indiana University addressed the theme of ambitious history teaching. The first thread focused on teaching history at the elementary and secondary levels, and involved both the History Department and the School of Education – at times in cooperation and at times independently – in preparing and developing teachers of history. The second thread focused on teaching history at the collegiate level; this

¹¹⁴ Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1960), 13; Joseph I Schwab, “Education and the Structure of the Disciplines,” in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Select Essays*, ed. Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 229-272.

¹¹⁵ The National Academy of the Sciences sponsored conference at Woods Hole, for example, discussed ways to strengthen connections between the sciences in the academy and the sciences in the classroom. Reformers in the “New Social Studies” movement, such as the Amherst Project, sought to create curricular units that supported disciplinary and inquiry-based approaches to history. Bruner, *The Process of Education*; Richard H. Brown, “Learning How to Learn: The Amherst Project and History Education in the Schools,” *The Social Studies* 87, no. 6 (November/December 1996): 267-273.

¹¹⁶ Thomas D. Clark, *Years of Fulfillment*, vol. 3 of *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer* (Bloomington: IN: Indiana University Press, 1977), 539.

¹¹⁷ Elvis Stahr, Statement of President Elvis Stahr to the Board of Trustees, May 24, 1968, in Clark, *History Documents Since 1816*, 775.

movement incorporated the scholarship of teaching and learning across many departments, including the History Department, and the development of programs for the pedagogical training of history graduate students. This work over the problem of ambitious history instruction at Indiana University often started with the confluence of appropriately interested individuals throughout the university, but the institutional structures that developed out of this confluence sustained the work through the decades.

Preparing History Teachers and a Center in Social Studies

In the years after Sputnik, Indiana University saw a flurry of activity to strengthen history teaching – and social studies teaching more broadly – in public schools. This included the creation of the position of School Social Studies Coordinator at the behest of John P. Lunstrum, a professor in the School of Education. Citing calls from the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Education Association, and the American Historical Association, among other professional organizations, Lunstrum petitioned Indiana University to create a coordinator to oversee initiatives leading to “rapprochement between the academic specialist and social studies teachers” and an increase in the “competence of the high school instructor of social studies in his teaching field.”¹¹⁸ By 1960, Lunstrum had become the first School Social Studies Coordinator. From another corner of the academy, Howard D. Mehlinger, an assistant professor of history, joined with Lunstrum and other professors to propose creation of an ambitious Social Studies Development Center. An umbrella for a series of inter-related projects in social studies research, curriculum development, and teacher education, the College of Arts and Sciences founded the center in 1968, with Mehlinger as director.¹¹⁹ Initiatives run through the center included the development of curriculum in history and social science courses, professional development workshops for area teachers, and organizing “History Day” events.¹²⁰ In the late 1970s, Mehlinger and the chair of the History Department, Leo Solt, devised a plan to bring the School Social Studies Coordinator position under the auspices of the center. This made the

¹¹⁸ John P. Lunstrum, Proposed Program for School Social Studies Co-ordinator, circa September 1959, Box 8, School Social Studies Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, University Archives, Herman B. Wells Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (hereafter cited as Indiana University Archives).

¹¹⁹ A Proposed Center for Research and Development in Social Studies, January 29, 1968, Box 14, Mehlinger/Engle/Smith proposed Social Studies Center Folder, Howard D. Mehlinger Papers 1953-2009, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁰ Annual Report of the Indiana University Social Studies Development Center, September 10, 1977, Box 8, Social Studies Dev. Center 1977-1978 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

center a joint affair between the College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Education, formally strengthening the ties between those two academic divisions.¹²¹

The combination of the School Social Studies Coordinator position and the Social Studies Development Center built, in the words of Solt, a “small bridge” between the History Department and the work of teaching in schools.¹²² Three attributes characterized the center as such an important source of bridge-building. First, the center acted as a meeting ground for professors in history and education, and for those who taught across both. Mehlinger’s appointment, for example, would migrate from history primarily into the School of Education during his time directing the center.¹²³ History faculty taught courses such as Methods in Teaching Social Studies, U.S. History for Teachers, World History for Teachers, and Studies in History for Teachers, and many of these faculty interacted across academic divisions through the center.¹²⁴ Second, the center supported official positions at the university that outlasted any one individual. Many coordinators came and went, but the office of School Social Studies Coordinator remained throughout the years. The center spawned other positions as well. In 1965, the School Social Studies Coordinator requested, and received, an official liaison from the History Department – a duty that continues to this day in the department.¹²⁵ These positions ensured that the work of bridge-building between the History Department, schools, and the School of Education, initiated by interested individuals, continued after those individuals had moved on. Finally, the center benefited from the strong support of the History Department chair. Solt gave high praise to the operation. He wrote all members of his department had “profited from their experiences as listening posts throughout the state for what is happening in Social Studies in the secondary schools,” and that he regarded “this office as indispensable between the History department and the Indiana high-schools, but even more important between the History department and the School of Education.”¹²⁶ When budget cuts made the future of the

¹²¹ Howard H. Mehlinger to Leo Solt, March 9, 1973, Box 8, School Social Studies Development Center 1972-1973 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²² Leo Solt to James Scobie, December 11, 1972, Box 8, School Social Studies Coordinator 1972-1974 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²³ Howard D. Mehlinger to Donald Manlove, August 21, 1973, Box 17, Materials Relating to Promotion, Full Professor, 1973 1973-1974 Folder, Howard D. Mehlinger Papers 1953-2009, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁴ Multiple faculty summary reports, 1970/1971, Box 3, Faculty Reports 1970-1971 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁵ George W. Marker, February 8, 1965 and Robert Byrnes to George W. Marker, February 16, 1965, Box 8, School Social Studies Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁶ Leo Solt to Edward Jenkinson, January 21, 1966, Box 8, School Social Studies Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

coordinator position uncertain, Solt fought to preserve it. “I am tempted to say that I support it 1000%,” he wrote of the position to the vice-chancellor, “let us say 100% instead.”¹²⁷ Solt also taught a course for teachers, titled the Nature of History for Teachers, designed to “introduce prospective teachers to the techniques of historical research and writing, types of historical interpretation and working assumptions of practicing historians.”¹²⁸ The chair’s enthusiasm and participation in the work of preparing elementary and secondary history teachers communicated the value he placed on this work, and bolstered the center in its nascent period. It would grow into a central body and a meeting ground between the School of Education and the History Department on the work of preparing quality history teachers.

One summer institute offered by the center perhaps most significantly illustrates coordination between the School of Education and the History Department and the enactment of national themes on the local level: a summer institute for teachers on “instructional techniques of the teaching of American history,” sponsored by the History Department, the School of Education, the United States Department of Education, and the American Historical Association. This institute would prepare history teachers in the “documents approach” to teaching history, described as “the learning of American history through the reading of documents, an approach which has been championed in recent years by Edwin Fenton of Carnegie Tech and Richard Brown of Amherst.”¹²⁹ This venture brought together the national organizations of the American Historical Association and the Department of Education with the local context of Indiana University, united the faculty of the History Department to those of the School of Education, and set them all to work together to help promote an aspect of ambitious history instruction. A report from the American Historical Association explained why they selected Indiana University as the site for this institute:

Indiana University is appropriately the sponsoring agency for the present proposal, for it not only has a large and distinguished History Department that has excellent relations with its School of Education but the Department, both individually and as a group, has shown a deep interest in the problems of history education and has an exemplary record of trying to do something about it. Their

¹²⁷ Leo Solt to Henry Remak, October 3, 1972, Box 8, Social Studies Advisory Committee Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁸ Special Topics in History – The Nature of History for Teachers, Box 8, Social Studies Development Center 1973-1975 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹²⁹ Memo to the Members of the Department of History, December 1968, Box 1, AHA History Education Project Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

association with the program augurs well for its success, both by virtue of the prestige their department gives the enterprise and because of the support they can give to the various phases of the program.¹³⁰

The strong relationship between the History Department and the School of Education, and the focus of the History Department on teaching, set it up as a unique institution to enact some of the Association's goals for teacher training in elementary and secondary history education.

David Pace and Ambitious History Instruction in Colleges

Such a focus on teaching, however, did not abrogate the research imperative at Indiana University. One young faculty member, hired in the early 1970s, experienced quite distinctly the pull between teaching and research. But David Pace embraced the newly emerging field of the scholarship of teaching and learning (SOTL) in history as a way to mitigate that conflict.¹³¹ Comments provided by the department chair on an early faculty report quite succinctly illustrate the conflict between teaching and research Pace experienced; the chair expressed that Pace "has been badly slowed down in the completion of his dissertation this last year. I am convinced he has done a very excellent job of teaching, and the thorough scrutiny of his completed thesis in February, 1973, will determine the department's retention of him."¹³² Pace's job rested, in the chair's estimation, on his research and not his teaching. Pace indeed managed to finish his dissertation and the department retained him for many decades after. "I started teaching in 1971 with no training," Pace recalled. "I didn't have any concept of what it would mean to learn about teaching and learning. And then slowly I got drawn into conversations and then worked with somebody in the education school who began giving me books and things to read and conversations. We were so green it's embarrassing."¹³³ While Pace came to Indiana University with no training in teaching, his new department did have in place some pedagogical training for the history graduate students there. By at least 1964, the History Department offered an early incarnation of a course providing pedagogical training for graduate students working as teaching assistants. This course served as a "vehicle" for supervising and training teaching assistants; a

¹³⁰ American Historical Association Proposal in History Education, Box 1, AHA History Education Project Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹³¹ David Pace, "The Amateur in the Operating Room: History and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning," *American Historical Review* (October 2004): 1171-1192.

¹³² Faculty Summary Report, David Pace, 1971/1972, Box 3, Faculty Reports 1971-1972 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair's records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹³³ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

faculty instructor would “meet for at least an hour weekly” in a large lecture section, observe graduate students teach on a regular basis, and supply teaching assistants with “meaningful instruction and guidance in college teaching.”¹³⁴

A changing job market for historians encouraged the pedagogical training of graduate students. As numbers of history graduate students earning doctoral degrees increased, they found themselves competing for a smaller pool of research-oriented faculty positions. While the amount of students earning a doctoral degree had roughly doubled in the decade between 1965 and 1975 (from 599 to 1014), the number of academic job openings stagnated in the 1970s, and declined in the first half of the 1980s.¹³⁵ Such disparity in the supply of new historians and the demands of the job market forced many new graduates to find work in teaching-oriented, rather than research-oriented, positions. And so a young Pace, with no formal training in pedagogy, found himself in charge of Indiana University’s pedagogical training for doctoral students in his department at a time when graduate students increasingly demanded more training in how to teach. After several years of listening to the problems graduate students encountered in their teaching, Pace determined they needed some type of framework. In 1983 he launched a course to give them this framework. The Teaching of College History course had two main parts. The first part prepared graduate students in their current work as teaching assistants. This part dealt with, as Pace described, “how you lead discussions and practical stuff. Peter Frederick of course and things like that. But then we dealt with issues of student culture and teaching theory of the time...so I was channeling some of the literature that was popular at the time in education schools, trying to find things specifically relevant to history.”¹³⁶ The second part branched out from the more practical applications with immediate impact to considering graduate students’ preparation as future faculty. They discussed how to construct a history syllabus, the job market, and career development issues like putting together a tenure dossier. The Teaching of College History became an enduring part of Indiana University’s work on history instruction.¹³⁷ Pace

¹³⁴ Department of History Executive Committee Minutes, November 23, 1964, Box 3, Executive Committee 1963-1965 Folder, Indiana University Department of History Chair’s records 1940-1991 bulk 1964-1973, Indiana University Archives.

¹³⁵ Thomas Bender, Philip M. Katz, Colin Palmer, and the AHA Committee on Graduate Education, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 26-27.

¹³⁶ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24. Here, he references historian Peter Frederick, who wrote extensively on college instruction in history. See the following for some examples of Frederick’s work in this field: Peter Frederick, “The Dreaded Discussion: Ten Ways to Start,” *Improving College and University Teaching* 29, no. 3 (Summer, 1981): 109-114; Peter J. Frederick, “Four Reflections on Teaching and Learning History,” *Perspectives* 39, no. 7 (Oct. 2001): 28-30; and Peter J. Frederick, “The Lively Lecture: 8 Variations,” *College Teaching* 34, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 43-50.

¹³⁷ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

taught the course yearly, and upon his retirement, other professors stepped into the instructor's role; The Teaching of College History persists to the present as an annual offering of the History Department.

The SOTL movement enriched David Pace's future iterations of The Teaching of College History. Lee Shulman, in addition to introducing the concept of PCK to education research, also became instrumental in encouraging SOTL within academic disciplines.¹³⁸ When he became president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1997, Shulman used the foundation to champion SOTL.¹³⁹ Given Shulman's work on PCK, naturally he encouraged professors to ground SOTL within their own disciplines.¹⁴⁰ Research into disciplinary aspects of teaching and learning content had even more prominence in elementary and secondary classrooms than college ones, with numerous researchers examining history in particular.¹⁴¹

As a fellow in the Carnegie Academy on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, Pace had the opportunity to work directly with Shulman, and through Shulman's encouragement, Pace became deeply involved with SOTL and used that body of research to further ambitious teaching at the college level.¹⁴² Prior to SOTL, Pace had a problem finding articles written in a language acceptable to history graduate students: "historians write in a certain way and think in a certain way. A lot of literature coming out of the education school was written in a very, very different style and a very different notion of what things were. I had to be very careful in choices because

¹³⁸ The phrase 'scholarship of teaching' came from Ernest Boyer, who, as president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, sought to reconsider the duties of professors in universities. He identified four separate yet overlapping functions of professors: the scholarship of discovery, where professors conducted original research; the scholarship of integration, where professors worked across disciplines to further understanding and place knowledge in a larger context; the scholarship of application, or activities of service which tie directly into the professor's special field of knowledge; and lastly, a scholarship of teaching, where professors not only transmit knowledge, but also transform and extend it for their students. Ernest Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* (Princeton, NJ: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990), 16-24.

¹³⁹ Marvin Lazerson, Ursula Wagener, and Nichole Sumanis, "What Makes a Revolution? Teaching and Learning in Higher Education, 1980-2000," *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning* 32, no. 3 (2000): 18.

¹⁴⁰ In history, for example, Shulman brought together Lendol Calder, William W. Cutler, and T. Mills Kelly to work with the Carnegie Academy of the Scholarship of Teaching to use the methods of history to evaluate their own teaching in their college classrooms. Lendol Calder, William W. Cutler III, and T. Mills Kelly, "History Lessons: Historians and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning," in *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: Exploring Common Ground*, ed. Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn P. Morreale (Washington, DC: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2002), 46.

¹⁴¹ Some examples include Sam Wineburg's use of cognitive psychology to study historians, Peter Seixas, who examined student's historical consciousness and how they thought about the past, and Robert Bain's introspective examinations of his own practice as a history teacher and how those practices aligned with disciplinary ideas. See for example Robert B. Bain, "'They Thought the World Was Flat?' Applying the Principles of How People Learn in Teaching High School History," in *How Students Learn: History Mathematics, and Science in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2005), 179-214; Peter Seixas, "Students' Understanding of Historical Significance," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 22, no. 3 (1994): 281-304; and Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001.

¹⁴² Pace, "The Amateur in the Operating Room," 1192.

if it was too much ‘educationese,’ the disciplinary framework was just too different.”¹⁴³ SOTL, however, provided a disciplinary framework for research, and helped Pace realize that “to make teaching be taken seriously in the institution it helped to make it look like the things people already took seriously.”¹⁴⁴ SOTL allowed Pace to reconceptualize for his graduate students their professional development, revealing how they could use the same concepts, tools, and methods they employed to study history to examine teaching and learning in their own classrooms. And the increase in serious research into teaching and learning by historians provided resources Pace could bring into the course. For example, Pace used Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz’s book *Campus Life*, a history of undergraduate students, to demonstrate a bridge between what graduate students did as historians thinking about the past to what they could do as teachers thinking about students.¹⁴⁵ “So much of history is about trying to understand the perspective of groups that aren’t like you,” Pace said. “I increasingly tried to make that a central part of the course. You’ve got to understand students. And student bashing is in complete contradiction to what you say when you’re operating as a professional researcher.”¹⁴⁶ For Pace, SOTL provided a framework for conceptualizing this to his graduate students, a vocabulary for describing it, and a growing body of research that turned the methods of history towards teaching and learning.

The growth of the preparing future faculty movement also impacted Indiana University’s History Department. A national initiative sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and Universities and the Council of Graduate Schools, the Preparing Future Faculty program started in 1993 to develop new models of preparing doctoral students for faculty work, including teaching alongside research.¹⁴⁷ Pace helped secure an internal grant to develop a Preparing Future Faculty program at Indiana University – leading to the creation of courses on Teaching American History and Teaching World History alongside The Teaching of College History course. These courses for history graduate students formed the backbone of a minor field in historical teaching practice, either focusing on public history or SOTL.¹⁴⁸ Under the direction of Pace, graduate students in the History Department had opportunities to prepare as future faculty

¹⁴³ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

¹⁴⁴ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

¹⁴⁵ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹⁴⁶ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

¹⁴⁷ A. Leigh DeNeef, *The Preparing Future Faculty Program: What Difference Does It Make?* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2002).

¹⁴⁸ David Pace, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 24.

and learn methods of ambitious history instruction. This work oftentimes put Indiana University at the cutting edge of national conversations on pedagogical training for graduate students.¹⁴⁹

A Nation at Risk and Renewed Attention to Ambitious History Teaching

On a national scale, conversations about preparing elementary and secondary history instructors for ambitious teaching waxed and waned and waxed again in the latter half of the twentieth century. The Amherst project, at the heart of the New Social Studies movement encouraging disciplinary instruction in history in the wake of Sputnik (the inspiration for the American Historical Association's 1969 summer institute at Indiana University) saw its initial fervor cool; by the 1970s, the funding dried up, and the Amherst Project and its promotion of New Social Studies faltered.¹⁵⁰ But the report *A Nation at Risk* revived embers that had cooled in the decades after Sputnik. Under the direction of the Reagan Administration, a panel examined and reported on the quality of education within the United States. Released in 1983, the report pulled no punches in indicating the commission's negative conclusions on the state of education in America. Members of the commission compared students' performances on standardized tests in multiple subjects and found that the average achievement of American students on these tests declined over the past decade, falling behind the performance of students from other industrialized nations.¹⁵¹ Politicians responded rapidly to the grim warnings in *A Nation at Risk* as critics pointed out weaknesses in the education of the nation's students.¹⁵² National, state, and

¹⁴⁹ Although Lindsay Rogers in a 1915 article for *The History Teacher's Magazine* called teaching the "neglected aspect of graduate instruction" and Dexter Perkins dedicated his 1956 AHA presidential address to "the problem of college teaching," concrete policies and programs on the national level to address training for college teachers mostly began in the late 1990s through publications like the American Historical Association's *"We Shall Gladly Teach": Preparing History Graduate Students for the Classroom*. That book provided a series of learning modules history departments could use to prepare their graduate students, both to work as teaching assistants during their studies and to prepare them as future faculty. The character of these different learning modules – from planning and opening a first discussion section to testing and grading to preparing and delivering semesters – sought to address the "nuts and bolts" of teaching at the college level, focusing on "strategies and tactics, on methods and techniques." The course offered at Indiana University, however, offered a far deeper training than that proposed by the American Historical Association publication. Dexter Perkins, "We Shall Gladly Teach" (presidential address, Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, DC, December 29, 1956); Lindsay Rogers, "Neglected Aspect of Graduate Instruction," *The History Teacher's Magazine* 6, no. 9 (November 1, 1915): 271-272; and Terry Lee Seip, *"We Shall Gladly Teach": Preparing History Graduate Students for the Classroom* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1999).

¹⁵⁰ Brown, "Learning How to Learn," 267-273.

¹⁵¹ The report mentions by name the nations of the Soviet Union, Germany, Japan, South Korea, and England. U.S. Department of Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, by The National Commission on Excellence in Education (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983).

¹⁵² In particular, critics like E.D. Hirsch and Diane Ravitch pointed out a woeful gap in students' knowledge of cultural literacy, citing their lack of knowledge of important historical content. E.D. Hirsch, "Cultural Literacy," *The American Scholar*, (Spring 1983): 159-169; Diane Ravitch, "Tot Sociology: Or What Happened to History in the Grade Schools," *The American Scholar* (1987): 343-354; Diane Ravitch and Chester E. Finn, Jr., *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know? A Report on the First National Assessment of History and Literature* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1987), 1-47.

local leaders moved to raise standards, increase assessments of learning, and improve teacher quality.¹⁵³

The Bradley Commission on History responded to these concerns by recommending improvements to the history curriculum in elementary and secondary schools. The panel of historians and high school teachers on the commission released their report in 1989. The commission sought to “improve the teaching of history as the core of social studies in the schools,” recommended that “the kindergarten through grade six social studies curriculum be history-centered” and suggested a curriculum rich in historical “habits of mind.”¹⁵⁴ The language of the Bradley Commission also revealed a desire for more active cooperation around ambitious history instruction. Kenneth Jackson, chair of the commission, stressed the inclusion of classroom history teachers on the commission as “full voting and deliberative members of the policy-making group.”¹⁵⁵ The Bradley Commission recognized the equal importance of academic historians and classroom teachers in determining the shape of history teaching. In including academic historians and classroom teachers as full partners, the Bradley Commission sought to bridge the gap between the school and the university, avoiding educational reform “mandated from the top down.”¹⁵⁶ Seeking to formalize this collaboration, members of the commission went on to form a new professional organization, the National Council for History Education. This organization brought together history teachers in elementary and secondary schools, university faculty, and others interested in strengthening the teaching of history. Such encouragement for active collaboration between historians and education professionals reinforced earlier work at Indiana University.

The early 2000s brought another incentive for historians in the academy to focus on pedagogy. In 2001, the Department of Education initiated its first Teaching American History grants. Intended to deepen teachers’ content knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of American history, the Teaching American History grants provided financial support for historians to engage in professional development programs with elementary and secondary history teachers. Teaching American History grants provided a financial incentive for historians to enter into more sustained collaboration with a wider community of practice – working with

¹⁵³ Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*, 228.

¹⁵⁴ Bradley Commission on History in Schools, “Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools,” *The History Teacher* 23, no. 1 (November 1989): 7-35.

¹⁵⁵ Bradley Commission on History in Schools, “Building a History Curriculum,” 9.

¹⁵⁶ Bradley Commission on History in Schools, “Building a History Curriculum,” 9.

history teachers and benefiting from those teachers own knowledge of history pedagogy.¹⁵⁷ The government continued to fund these grants until 2012.

James H. Madison and Ambitious History Instruction

The Teaching American History grant program tapped one historian from Indiana University to serve as a consultant: Dr. James H. Madison, who brought with him a long interest in teaching.¹⁵⁸ In his work as professor, history chair, and liaison between the School of Education and the History Department, Madison built collaborative relationships with history and education faculty to promote ambitious history instruction, creating lasting institutional structures and partnerships for the training of teachers. Early work with the Social Studies Development Center sparked Madison's interest; in a 1979 letter to School Social Studies Coordinator Frederick Risinger, Madison thanked him for "introducing me to history in the public schools. I knew so little and learned so much I feel like an expert already. Later, as I learn more, I'll be much less confident."¹⁵⁹ Madison continued to learn more over his time at Indiana University – and his professional accomplishments reveal his expanding work from concerns of history in the public schools to improving instruction at the university and the training of future history teachers at elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels. His first foray into history education started shortly after Risinger's introduction, as Madison became more involved in activities with the local school district: working in the Parent Teacher Association, serving on the district's textbook selection committee, and judging for History Day contests.¹⁶⁰ In 1987, he collaborated with Howard Mehlinger, who had by then moved on from director of the Social Studies Development Center to become dean of the School of Education, on a cross-national study of school history textbooks in both the Soviet Union and the United States, intended to strengthen the quality of textbooks in both countries.¹⁶¹ In 1990, he worked a National

¹⁵⁷ U.S. Department of Education, "Teaching American History," May 30, 2014, <http://www2.ed.gov/programs/teachinghistory/index.html> (accessed May 12, 2015).

¹⁵⁸ Faculty Summary Report, James Madison, 2004, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁵⁹ James Madison to Frederick Risinger, February 6, 1979, Box 13, Public School History Teaching 1978-1979 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁰ Faculty Summary Report, James Madison, 1978-1979, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶¹ Draft Press Release, November 12, 1987, Box 13, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Textbook Project 1985-1987 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

Endowment for the Humanities summer institute for high school teachers.¹⁶² He continued his service to active teachers in elementary and secondary schools throughout his career.

In addition to his service for teachers in schools, Madison also thought carefully about instruction at the university level. A glowing review recommended his reappointment in 1980, calling the young faculty member “one of the History Department’s most effective undergraduate instructors,” and noting that “indicators suggest that he has taken special care in preparing his courses and lectures and that his efforts have met with success.”¹⁶³ A careful instructor, Madison consulted with the university’s teaching center for advice on designing assessments specifically for the discipline of history.¹⁶⁴ Madison’s work with teaching caught the attention and praise of others on the faculty, and in 1993, the History Department elevated him to the office of chair, largely due to his strengths and interests in teaching. As the executive committee discussed directions for the department in selecting a new chair, teaching became a consistent theme – as did Madison’s unique abilities to address the department’s concerns with teaching. The executive committee had three directions they wanted the department to take regarding teaching: first, a desire to “provide more recognition and reward for teaching;” second, the “development of a general plan for...undergraduate offerings, which would include a discussion of the teaching of basic skills at various levels;” and third, “negotiations with other divisions of the University (e.g. the Schools of Business and Education) to rationalize their requirements of specific history courses.”¹⁶⁵ Given these requirements, James H. Madison became the department favorite for the chair position. “James Madison stands out so much in these respects that he would seem to be the obvious choice for this position,” David Pace wrote.¹⁶⁶ “Jim, you are my first choice for chair,” wrote another faculty member.¹⁶⁷ “I think James Madison is the best qualified candidate from his years of service to the Department, his

¹⁶² The New Nation Summer Institute, July 9-27, 1990, Box 13, Summer Institute 1989-1990 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶³ Committee Review of James Madison for Reappointment, Fall 1978, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁴ James Madison to Joan Middendorf, November 25, 1992, Box 5, History Department to June 1983 1991-1993 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁵ David Pace to the History Department Executive Committee, May 3, 1993, Box 9, History Department Executive Committee 1993 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁶ David Pace to the History Department Executive Committee, May 3, 1993, Box 9, History Department Executive Committee 1993 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁷ Steve Stowe to James Madison, May 4, 1993, Box 9, History Department Executive Committee 1993 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

range of experience on university and state-wide committees, and regarding his concerns about teaching,” a third member of the executive committee explained.¹⁶⁸

When Madison took over the department, he fulfilled those expectations. While serving as chair, Madison collaborated with David Pace and a graduate student to design a skills-based course for undergraduates in history, attaching it to the American History survey course.¹⁶⁹ Madison taught the survey course, while the graduate student taught students in the attached section basic skills for history, like reading, note-taking, writing, and time management.¹⁷⁰ Madison advocated for this type of skills-base instruction in other courses as well. Additionally, he took steps as chair to increase the recognition and reward of teaching for faculty. In 1995, Madison greatly expanded the teaching activities section of the department’s annual faculty reports. Now, faculty could report activities supporting pedagogy, such as teaching an intensive writing course, delivering a workshop, report, lecture, or publication on teaching, serving as a guest lecturer in classes outside the History Department, and contributing to teaching on committees, in advising students, or in promoting “interdepartmental or multidisciplinary cooperation.”¹⁷¹

Madison also took part in an initiative with the School of Education to update teacher preparation for the twenty-first century. This School of Education program sought to encourage prospective teachers’ development of PCK by giving them authentic experiences in seminars from their subject area departments. Madison took on the role of liaison between the History Department and the School of Education in conjunction with this initiative.¹⁷² Through that work, Madison helped to develop and teach a special writing intensive seminar offered through the History Department but reserved for prospective secondary social studies teachers. A cooperative program between the History Department and the School of Education, this special writing seminar linked to the Foundations of Social Studies methods course offered the same semester through the School of Education.¹⁷³ This history writing seminar for prospective

¹⁶⁸ George Brooks to Members of the Executive Committee, April 30, 1993, Box 9, History Department Executive Committee 1993 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁶⁹ Faculty Summary Report, James Madison, 1994, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁷⁰ James Madison to Sharon Pugh, October 13, 1994, Box 7, American History Survey Skills Course 1994 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁷¹ James Madison to History Faculty, December 11, 1995, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

¹⁷² Leah Shopkow, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23.

¹⁷³ Faculty Summary Report, James Madison, 2003, Box 5, Faculty Summary Reports 1975-2004 Folder, James H. Madison papers 1901-2011 bulk 1982-1998, Indiana University Archives.

teachers, taught by a succession of different historians over the years, continued to the present day.

Interweaving the Threads

The two threads of college level instruction in history and elementary and secondary level instruction in history had begun to tightly weave together at Indiana University by the opening of the twenty-first century. Members of SOTL research groups in the History Department orchestrated much of this integration. SOTL research, conducted on Indiana University students and faculty, examined how instructors taught the discipline and how students learned it. While David Pace took the lead on these early research projects, he brought other historians into the fold, both as fellow researchers and as subjects of research projects. SOTL researchers began to work across the levels of teacher education – looking at the improvement of their own instruction and the training of future faculty alongside work with the School of Education to train new elementary and secondary history teachers. These historians also took on roles that opened up as the more senior faculty like Pace or Madison prepared for retirement. Dr. Leah Shopkow, for example, took over and revised Pace’s *The Teaching of College History* course; she transforming it into a four-credit course (rather than the previous two-credit format) and added a requirement for original SOTL research.¹⁷⁴ Shopkow also became more involved with research on college history instruction, working on research projects examining how undergraduates experienced the discipline of history in Indiana University’s history coursework and how instructors could improve that experience. But she blended that work on college history instruction with work preparing elementary and secondary teachers. Shopkow succeeded Madison as the History Department’s liaison to the School of Education and also taught semesters of the History Writing Seminar for prospective teachers.¹⁷⁵ Like Shopkow, Dr. Arlene Díaz became involved in SOTL research projects on college teaching and taught *The Teaching of College History* and History Writing Seminar courses.¹⁷⁶ While over the past fifty years at Indiana University individuals interested in history teaching may have come and gone, the institutions, positions, and structures they build to address history teaching persisted and attracted new interested individuals.

¹⁷⁴ Leah Shopkow, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23.

¹⁷⁵ Leah Shopkow, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23.

¹⁷⁶ Arlene Díaz, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 11.

When Dr. Keith C. Barton joined Indiana University's School of Education faculty and took over the secondary social studies teacher education program, he benefitted from inheriting all these structures. "Most of the hard work took place before I got here," Barton explained.

Barton: That was due in part to the fact that there was somebody in the history department, James Madison, who very well respected, very well-known historian, very interested in teaching, and I think also had a good personal relationship with some of our field faculty. So they developed this plan. I came here and inherited it. I would say it hasn't been hard to maintain. There are always logistical issues when you're crossing colleges like how many sections of this do you need? When do you need them? Things like that to work out. But it hasn't been difficult in part because the people in history who are responsible for this also knew my work when I got here and so we started off with a very good relationship. One of the things that is so often case in any attempted change to teacher education is it depends on personal relationships between people in Arts and Sciences and Education. What often times happens is when those people leave the structure falls apart. Really we've all just been very lucky that there was this good relationship beforehand, and although it's new people involved now we still have a good relationship.¹⁷⁷

That good relationship across the History Department and the School of Education, developed first through the initiative of interested individuals, found itself sustained through permanent positions, structures and supportive chairs over the course of the decades, and enabled the university to pursue a coordinated and collaborative response to encourage ambitious history instruction.

Indiana University, A Telling Case

The example of Indiana University's work on ambitious history instruction can illuminate the possible for other similarly inclined institutions. The history profession has an opportunity in the current moment to renew and reframe interest in strengthening the teaching of history. This present moment affords tremendous assets to encourage cooperation and collaboration over strengthening history instruction.

First, historians have willing allies in schools of education. Scholars of education, in the wake of PCK and the rise of SOTL, have increasingly embraced notions of disciplinary literacy, arguing that there exists a way of knowing, learning, and teaching uniquely tied to specific

¹⁷⁷ Keith Barton, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23.

disciplines like history.¹⁷⁸ This shift in educational focus has made education researchers more eager to work across university divisions to engage their historian colleagues; indeed, many have come to see such collaboration as essential to addressing ambitious history teaching.

Second, historians too seem more receptive to working with education researchers with this growing disciplinary stance. This increased interest on the part of historians in teaching from a disciplinary perspective has manifested itself in different ways on the national level: an increase in the number of panels on teaching at conferences, publications on teaching in history journals, and projects supported by national organizations designed improve teaching. The American Historical Association, for example, has increased formal action to support the quality of teaching under current executive director Jim Grossman. With the Tuning Project the American Historical Association has coordinated an examination of the curriculum offered in undergraduate history programs, articulating the disciplinary core of history and defining what students should understand and the skills they should possess once they have earned a degree in history.¹⁷⁹ The American Historical Association supports the creation and dissemination of resources for teachers of all levels on its website. And it continues to publish numerous articles related to teaching in its *Perspectives* magazine.

Finally, both history and education professionals have impetus to find common cause on history teaching. With an emphasis on high-stakes testing in mathematics and reading from programs like No Child Left Behind or Race to the Top, the inclusion of history in school curricula no longer remains certain. Furthermore, history departments face increased competition from business and engineering schools, with more students opting to study what they see as more practical majors than history. Given these threats, historians, teachers, and education faculty all have good reason to improve history instruction and exclaim the value of an education in history.

Historians and teacher educators also have good reason to corroborate while addressing this common cause: a feedback loop links the communities from elementary teachers to college

¹⁷⁸ For example, literacy experts Timothy and Cynthia Shanahan have written about disciplinary literacy as an important development in students' literacy skills, while history education researcher Chauncey Monte-Sano has studied students' disciplinary literacy in history specifically. The Rounds Projects, a teacher preparation program at the University of Michigan, utilized disciplinary literacy in history as a guideline for the education of prospective history and social studies teachers. See Robert B. Bain, "Using Disciplinary Literacy to Develop Coherence in History Teacher Education: The Clinical Rounds Project," *The History Teacher* 45, no. 4 (August 2012): 513-532; Chauncey Monte-Sano, "Disciplinary Literacy in History: An Exploration of the Historical Nature of Adolescents' Writing," *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 19, no. 4 (2010): 539-568; and Timothy Shanahan and Cynthia Shanahan, "Teaching Disciplinary Literacy to Adolescents: Rethinking Content-Area Literacy," *Harvard Educational Review* 78, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 40-59.

¹⁷⁹ American Historical Association, "Tuning the History Discipline in the United States," 2013, <http://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/current-projects/tuning> (accessed April 29, 2014).

instructors. The quality of instruction at the college level impacts how prospective teachers learn history and learn how to teach it to their students. Ambitious instruction at the elementary and secondary level, in turn, impacts the preparation of those students to engage with history as undergraduates. A positive feedback loop benefits from collaborative relationships between historians and teacher educators to strengthen college instruction and teacher preparation.

If institutions desire to embrace this national trend of collaboration between historians and education faculty to encourage ambitious teaching, creating institutional structures and rewards to encourage deep collaboration with other experts needs to become a priority. Interested individuals play a key role in starting these collaborative partnerships, but institutional structures and supportive administrations sustain them. History departments could find new ways to communicate value and reward work done in SOTL, encourage more careful attention to the pedagogical preparation of future faculty, and address how they factor pedagogy in their hiring and tenure decisions. Schools of education should encourage partnerships with colleagues in the disciplines to support their training of new teachers and look towards cementing such partnerships through official initiatives and positions. Such structural changes may prove difficult, but they necessarily strengthen the ability of history departments and schools of education to exercise more effective collaborative action to encourage ambitious history instruction.

CHAPTER V
A Method to the Madness:
Designing a Study in History and in Educational Research

In this study, I sought to both describe and generate hypotheses about what and how prospective teachers learn to teach history across different courses in the university-based system of teacher preparation. I compare (1) how instructors represent the pedagogical practices of teaching history and its disciplinary knowledge across three different courses of this system and (2) what prospective teachers notice of the discipline and its pedagogical practices through their participation in these courses. I employed ethnographic methods, including observation and filming of course sessions, interviews with instructors and focal prospective teachers, and collection of instructional and learning artifacts from the courses, including assignments, classroom handouts, and student notes. My study treated the college course as the individual unit of analysis, and developed through grounded theory categories to describe disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices of history.¹⁸⁰

Research Participants and Context

I chose three courses from Indiana University as cases from within the system of university-based teacher preparation. Three instructors (one of them a graduate student under supervision of a full professor) taught these courses. Additionally, I followed five focal prospective teachers during the semester. Table 5.1 lists and briefly describes the instructors and focal prospective teachers below; a more detailed description of these participants follows within the chapters for their respective courses.

¹⁸⁰ Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2006).

<i>Name</i> ¹⁸¹	<i>Position</i>	<i>Course(s)</i>
Dr. Amrita Chakrabarti Myers	Associate Professor of History	U.S. History I
Adrianna	Prospective Early Childhood Teacher	U.S. History I
Madison	Prospective Elementary Teacher	U.S. History I
Bruce Taylor	Doctoral Student, Instructor of Record	Foundations of Social Studies
Dr. Keith C. Barton	Professor of Social Studies Education	Foundations of Social Studies
Carrie	Prospective Secondary Teacher	Foundations of Social Studies, History Writing Seminar
Harrison	Prospective Secondary Teacher	Foundations of Social Studies, History Writing Seminar
Mark	Prospective Secondary Teacher	Foundations of Social Studies, History Writing Seminar
Dr. Arlene Díaz	Associate Professor of History	History Writing Seminar

University Context: At the time of the data collection for the study, Indiana University had an enrollment of approximately 50,000 students, roughly 80% undergraduate students and 20% graduate students. Around sixty faculty members comprised the History Department, with approximately 40% full professors, 40% associate professors, 15% assistant professors, and 5% visiting professors. Additionally, the department had around thirty adjunct faculty and around twenty emeriti faculty. The School of Education had a faculty of over 120, approximately 30% full professors, 50% associate professors, 20% assistant professors, and less than 1% visiting professors. Additionally, the department had around five adjunct faculty and over forty emeriti faculty. Of these faculty, around five worked specifically in social studies education.

The History Department contains a robust community of faculty concerned with developing their craft as teachers, and a strong tradition of work in SOTL for history. The School of Education, on the other hand, has numerous faculty with expressed commitments to disciplinary literacy who ground the preparation of new history teachers in historical thinking and inquiry-based models of history education. Select faculty members from the History

¹⁸¹ I use pseudonyms for all students, both undergraduate and graduate students, in this study in order to protect their anonymity. I employed a random name generator to assist in generating pseudonyms for all students. I also have not included the year I collected data to further mask which particular cohort of prospective teachers I studied.

Department and the School of Education frequently interact with each other, read each other's work, and design and coordinate course experiences for the training of prospective secondary history teachers across the School of Education and the History Department. Such an environment affords a rich context for my study on how prospective teachers learn the practices of history teaching and the disciplinary knowledge of history.

But such an environment, with a large community built around SOTL, disciplinary literacy, and collaborative efforts across the History Department and the School of Education, certainly does not represent the norm in many university settings. While prospective history teachers take coursework from both history departments and schools of education in most university systems around the country, often these prospective teachers must build for themselves the bridges linking those isolated institutional islands. Yet at Indiana University, faculty have already laid some institutional bridgework for prospective teachers. I selected this institutional context deliberately because of this atypicality. Rather than document an image of the general or the probable, I mean for this research to depict a vision of the possible.

Courses: This study by no means represents an exhaustive examination of the entire university-based teacher preparation system at Indiana University. Rather, it examines just a slice of that larger system: three courses offered during the same semester and connected to the preparation of history teachers. Table 5.2 presents credit requirements and a course sequence for prospective teachers seeking certification in secondary social studies. Appendix A contains requirements and sequences for each program, including early childhood, elementary, and secondary certification. Table 5.3 provides a summary of the three courses of the study.

Table 5.2: Secondary Social Studies Certification, Primary Subject Area History	
<i>Credits</i>	
Professional Education Courses	~50 Credits
Social Studies Breadth Courses	~60 Credits
Primary Subject Area: History	~30 Credits (some credits may double count with social studies breadth requirements)
Secondary Subject Area (Economics, Geography, or Political Science)	~15 Credits (some credits may double count with social studies breadth requirements)
<i>Recommended Course Sequence</i>	
Prerequisite Professional Education Coursework: Freshman, Sophomore, and Fall of Junior Years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multicultural Education • Learning Theory and Practice • The Adolescent Learner • Educational Technology • Legal Issues in Education • Foundations of Education
Spring of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundations of Social Studies • Field Experiences I • Content Area Literacy (Social Studies) • History Writing Seminar (Section for Prospective Teachers)
Fall of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Studies Methods • Field Experiences II • Classroom Management • History Research Seminar
Spring of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Teaching

Table 5.3: Courses of the Study

U.S. History I	Foundations of Social Studies	History Writing Seminar
History survey course open to history majors, prospective social studies teachers, and non-majors	Methods course for prospective middle school and secondary social studies teachers	A writing intensive course in history – this particular selection reserved for prospective social studies teachers
Taught by Dr. Myers, a professor of history, with assistance from two history graduate students	Taught by Bruce Taylor, an education graduate student instructor under the supervision of Dr. Barton, a professor of education	Taught by Dr. Díaz, a professor of history
A large survey course on American history from the Pre-Columbian era through the Civil War	First in a two-course sequence on the teaching of social studies	Designed to both examine the development of the history curriculum and how and why schools teach it, grounded within the context of the U.S.-Mexican War
141 students	32 students	20 students

Recruitment: I selected these courses based on their connection to the work of preparing history teachers. Indiana University’s teacher education program required each of these courses for certification in secondary social studies; programs only required U.S. History I or U.S. History II for certification in elementary and early childhood teaching. After identifying those courses required for prospective teachers, I used the university’s course catalogue to identify courses offered in the same semester. I emailed instructors from relevant courses, explaining and inviting them to take part in my study. After recruiting instructors, I then recruited from their students willing focal prospective teachers. Before the classes began, I had instructors send each student registered in the course an email from me informing them of the nature of the study and how they could opt out of appearing on film if they so desired. I also had instructors pass along to each student a link to a Qualtrics survey collecting demographic information, such as their gender, year at university, dispositions toward history, and inclination toward teaching – including whether they had enrolled or intended to enroll in a teacher certification program at the university.¹⁸² Within that Qualtrics survey, students could indicate whether they would be willing to further participate as focal prospective teachers. Further participation involved interviews and

¹⁸² Appendix B contains the results of these Qualtrics surveys.

sharing of notes, assessments, and other classwork. From the pool of willing students, which I further narrowed to those students already enrolled or intending to enroll in a teaching certification program, I sent out recruitment emails describing the nature of this further participation in my research. I had a relatively small pool of prospective teachers in a certification program who volunteered for this additional research – likely an artifact of the time commitment required by Indiana University’s program, which has its prospective teachers juggle a heavy course load all while visiting classrooms for fieldwork. I discuss further selection criteria for focal prospective teachers within their respective chapters. To maintain the privacy of these focal prospective teachers, I did not share their identities or information about them with instructors.

Data Sources and Collection

I collected data over the course of a single semester, from the opening class session to the final class session for each of the three courses. During the first class sessions the instructor allowed me to introduce myself and my study. I also filmed this first class session. After that initial introduction, I hired a team of research assistants to film every subsequent class session. I made frequent return visits to observe class sessions in person; in total, I spent one week per month observing classes in person over the semester. While in the courses, I tried to maintain the role of an observer, sitting toward the back of the room and amongst the students.¹⁸³ When observing in person or viewing for the first time film from the classes I could not attend in person, I took ethnographic field-notes.¹⁸⁴ These I followed with reflective memoranda, immediately after in the case of film, or as soon as I could in the case of in-person observations.

From these courses, I made copies of artifacts of instruction and student work. Artifacts of instruction included syllabuses, textbooks and articles used in the course, handouts given by the instructor, assignment prompts, PowerPoint slides, and other materials. From my focal prospective teachers, I collected their classroom notes, assessments, and online discussion posts.

I conducted interviews with instructors, focal prospective teachers, and other faculty at Indiana University. I interviewed instructors and focal prospective teachers at three points: at the

¹⁸³ In one humorous instance, one of the students in the large U.S. history survey course mistook me for a peer, inquiring if I had done the day’s reading and sharing he had not and felt unprepared for the upcoming writing assignment. I found it heartening to realize that perhaps my hairline had not yet receded enough to mark my age!

¹⁸⁴ Robert M. Emerson, Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

beginning of the semester, the midpoint, and the end of the semester. I tried to conduct these interviews in person during my weeks on campus, but if our schedules did not align, we talked through Skype. I always used an audio-recorder during my interviews with instructors and focal prospective teachers, and occasionally used one as well in my conversations with other faculty. I followed a semi-structured format for my interviews with instructors and focal prospective teachers; Appendix C contains the semi-structured questions guiding each of these interviews. The format of the semi-structured interview provided me with guiding questions, but also allowed me to follow up on what my interviewee said and delve further into ideas and themes emerging from their interviews.¹⁸⁵ As I progressed through the interviews over the semester, I employed a retroductive stance towards data collection, allowing my initial observations and preliminary analyses to influence future questions and further analysis.¹⁸⁶ I used early findings from my observations and interviews to shape subsequent interviews. After noticing common terms repeated across the first set of interviews (perspective, interpretation, evidence, primary and secondary sources, and historical thinking), I asked my focal prospective teachers to define those terms in subsequent interviews. For other interviews, I brought in artifacts from the course to serve as a point of discussion, such as in-class and out-of-class writing assignments and selections from course readings. I concluded each interview by writing a reflective memorandum as soon as possible. In all, I conducted over forty interviews during the course of the study.

Finally, in order to properly situate and contextualize this study in a historical way, I spent time researching how Indiana University developed its system of teacher preparation across the History Department and the School of Education. The above interviews with faculty helped describe how these institutions developed their ability to collaborate around training teachers and their commitments to ambitious instruction. Additionally, I read published histories of the university and spent much time in the university archives reviewing preserved documentation to better understand the development of Indiana University, its History Department and School of Education, and its local surroundings. These provided the basis for the previous chapter.

¹⁸⁵ Robert S. Weiss, *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1994).

¹⁸⁶ Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*.

Data Coding and Analysis

At the semester's end, I returned to my audio recordings of interviews and film of classes to create transcriptions of each. During transcription, I attempted to accurately capture the comments of both instructors and students. While maintaining accuracy in recording the speakers' comments, however, I did not transcribe verbal tics such as "you know," or "like." The nature of the particular instructional activities captured on film at times made transcription difficult. When the instructor addressed the whole class in conversation or when students participated in whole class discussion I could easily transcribe their words. However, at other times, when multiple voices spoke over one another or when students broke up into group work, transcription became near-impossible. Transcription proved a very time-consuming process, but completing the work myself rather than hiring someone else made me more familiar with the events that transpired during the classes, and I would argue led to more accurate transcriptions.

While working my way through hours of transcription, I would take breaks by returning to the field notes and reflective memoranda I had written initially following my interviews and first observations of class sessions. To open code the data, I reviewed these notes and memoranda for emergent themes. From these, I identified several topics, which I organized under fourteen broad headings. Appendix D lists those topics and broad headings. I created focused coding categories using these open coding categories. After initial creation of focused coding categories, I applied them to select transcriptions of interviews and class sessions to further refine my focused codes. The final version of my focused codes contained twenty-seven coding categories: thirteen broad categories on practices and knowledge of teaching history, thirteen parallel broad categories on the practices and knowledge of teaching to teach history, and one category on connections between the History Department, the School of Education, and prospective teachers' work in the field. Table 5.4 gives a few examples of these categories, while Appendix E describes all twenty-seven categories in detail.

Table 5.4: Examples of Focused Coding Categories

<i>Teaching the Work of History</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from Data</i>
Historical content	History classes contain massive amounts of historical content; this category encompassed what instructors and students did with that content. Such moves with content included, among many others, organizing the content, determining what to leave in and leave out, making connections across lessons, and including a diversity of voices and perspectives.	Dr. Myers frequently discussed with her students how she selected the content for her course and for individual lectures, as she explained on the first day: “We’re going to be going from pre-contact all the way down to the end of the Civil War in four months. So it’s a race through several hundred years of European, African, Native American, and then colonial U.S. history. It’s a lot of material to cover. We can’t cover it all. I refer to it kind of like a buffet. We’ll be sampling products and dishes along the way...So we give you an introduction. I will do my best to give you an introduction to the big things.” (U.S. History I, transcript, January 12).
Modeling	Modeling describes a particular move in an apprenticeship, in which the expert explicitly demonstrates a practice before novices so they can learn the practice. Since the work of history takes place largely in the mind, such modeling of history practices must involve a cognitive apprenticeship, in which a historian explicitly does a practice of history in front of her students, while narrating her thinking process as she completes the practice, for the purposes of learning. ¹⁸⁷	At the beginning of the semester, Dr. Díaz modeled how she wanted her prospective teachers to read an academic article, explicitly telling them what thinking steps she took when reading it aloud: “But to give you an idea, there are a couple of things I would like to do now with this reading. I want to explain some things about a disciplinary piece. Why? Because you’re going to be writing. Sometimes when someone is not such a good writer, sometimes it is because they are not a very good reader. And I would like you to use this as a model of what we do in the discipline of history and why we do the way we do.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).

¹⁸⁷ Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Ann Holum, “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Making Thinking Visible,” *American Educator* 15, no. 3 (1991): 6-11.

<i>Teaching the Work of Teaching History</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from Data</i>
Historical content	This category encompasses practices of teaching others historical content. It includes discussions of practices to select, organize, and deliver that content to students, as well as discussions of how to determine what content students need to encounter in their history courses – and instructors passing along important historical content to prospective teachers.	After having a group of prospective teachers plan a lesson around the historical content of the Harlan County strike, Taylor discussed how they could replicate the work they did to teach that particular piece of content with other similar historical events: “One nice thing, say you’re teaching U.S. history and you want to focus on the Harlan County strike or the Homestead strike or almost any strike, there are some patterns that you can look at across them, and so you can think a little bit about why these similar patterns might have played out in history. Why did those in power generally support the companies rather than the workers? That’s a question that you could ask students to think about, because it’s not just true in Harlan County, it’s true in most instances of big strikes.” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9).
Modeling	This category encompasses two particular strands of the cognitive apprenticeship technique of modeling: first, it involves instructors modeling various pedagogical practices for the teaching of history; second, it involves instructors preparing prospective teachers to model the practices of history for their students.	After showing an interview in which a historian described how he modeled the skill of questioning the producer of a historical text, Dr. Díaz discussed with her prospective teachers the steps involved in modeling, and had them think about how they could model to their own students: “So that tells us in order to avoid the bottleneck then this kind of thinking needs to be modeled, needs to be made explicit to the students. Because how can I ask you to analyze something when you don’t have any idea how to do it? You’re asking them to do something they’re unfamiliar with. So these are some of the questions that he poses in the interview. And these are the things that students would need to do in order to succeed. When you want your students to succeed, to get there, to be able to analyze them. Okay. So by knowing what it is that they need to do in order to get there, we know then how we need to model it. What are the steps that we need to teach our students.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 20).

<i>Connections between the History Department, the School of Education, and the Field</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from Data</i>
Connections	This category encompasses the ways in which the History Department connected to the School of Education, and the ways both connected to prospective teachers' experiences in the field. It includes both deliberate and explicit alignment by the instructors in the respective departments over course goals, policies, concepts, and readings, and those connections made by the prospective teachers themselves.	On the first day of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz established some course norms, policies, and procedures and explained to her prospective teachers how she deliberately aligned those norms, policies, and procedures with those of Dr. Barton in the School of Education: "Course policies, it's important for me that you do not come tardy to class or leave early. These are just aspects of professionalism that actually Professor Barton has shared with us, just to be in tune with the School of Education. Do not pack until I say class is over. Do not schedule appointments at this time. Do not text or email during class time." (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).

For each instance of these focused coding categories, I determined whether an instructor had *enacted* or *discussed* the instance, or whether prospective teachers had *recognized* it. In many ways, these three descriptors of enacted, discussed, and recognized overlap with what Grossman and colleagues found in their cross-professional study of how professionals learned practices.¹⁸⁸ While their framework described professional practices – such as the practices of teaching history – I expanded mine to also include disciplinary practices – such as the practices of doing history. In my coding, enacting a practice has analogs in representation, as the instructors actually do the practice in ways visible (even if not noticed) by students. Discussion of a practice has analogs to decomposition. Recognition could have analogs to approximation, but I also broaden the term to include prospective teachers recognizing and discussing a practice, even if they do not enact it themselves in an approximate way. Here I take from my data one example of practices of teaching history to illustrate the differences between enactment, discussion, and recognition. In one lesson for Foundations of Social Studies, Barton enacted a pedagogical practice: he gave prospective teachers primary sources where people described why they wore a hijab and had prospective teachers come up different categories of reasons for why people wear hijabs. Then Barton discussed the practice with prospective teachers, pointing out the different steps of this practice and revealing to prospective teachers his reasons for enacting the practice. Finally, prospective teachers recognized this practice by commenting on it and its worth for their classrooms.¹⁸⁹

After developing these categories, I returned to the transcripts of interviews and classes for a complete round of focused coding and another round of writing memoranda for each class session and interview. From this round of coding, I began to develop patterns and claims both for each individual case and across the three different courses.

Validity in Data Collection and Analysis

Just as the process of learning how to teach history takes place across many sites over time in a complex manner, studying that phenomenon also involves lots of complexity. I introduced some constraints in an attempt to navigate that complexity, but such constraints do place limits on the conclusions to which I have arrived and introduce some aspects of artificiality

¹⁸⁸ Pam Grossman et al., “Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective,” *Teachers College Record* 111, no. 9 (September 2009): 2055-2100.

¹⁸⁹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 16.

or inauthenticity. For example, my study does not follow specific prospective teachers on their entire route of preparation. Rather, I instead took a snapshot of a single semester, examining not the total experience of specific prospective teachers over the entire course of their professional preparation, but of the system of courses prospective teachers would take during their training. Even this view of the system of preparation comes with limits; although I have selected courses most directly related to the practice of teaching history, I recognize that many other variables also have an impact on the learning of this practice, including but not limited to elementary and secondary history experiences, other courses during their time at university, student teaching experiences, and demographic variables. Indeed, my study's focus on coursework means that I did not focus on field work – another huge component of learning to teach history. Coursework most relevant to the practice of teaching history forms only a small part of the larger history teacher preparation system.

For as clean as my focused coding categories appear in their table, in reality, the lines between the different categories remain fuzzy; categories overlap, blur, and blend into each other. Certain categories in particular blur, and lend themselves to uncertain categorizations. When an instructor enacts a unique move involving the category of content, but enacts it through discussion, do I code it as an enactment or a discussion? When an instructor teaches a piece of historical content for prospective teachers to learn, but he teaches it in a way that he intends them to replicate with their own pupils, do I code it as an example of a concept for history or a concept for history teaching? When an instructor reads through an article as a way to model historical writing, what category or categories does that fall under? I give these questions as examples of the types I addressed as I used my focused coding categories. I treated the categories, much like other conceptual categorizations of complex phenomena, as tools I used to help describe and understand complexity, not as definitive and rigid divisions within the many practices of teaching history and teaching history teaching. So while those categories served me well as sense-making tools when I waded into these complex practices, I did not treat them as firm definitions that would lend themselves well to a quantitative analysis of teaching.

Additionally, although the study considers many different types of evidence to get at the practices of teaching and learning and the phenomena of noticing and professional vision, these types of evidence only serve as a proxy for prospective teachers' actual learning and understanding of the practices. I relied on prospective teachers' self-reported data on what they

claimed to have learned or noticed from the course, but I did not watch them teach in the field. I can make claims about what the prospective teachers' reported noticing, but I cannot make claims about if or how they took up those practices in their work as teachers. I did ask prospective teachers to imagine how they would plan a lesson around a reading from the course, or how they would teach a student to do an assignment, but such questions only serve as a proxy for how they would actually plan a lesson or teach a student in a real-life context.

Proxies have limitations. But I attempted to mitigate the limitations of any one individual proxy for learning the practices of history and of history teaching by looking at multiple sources of data. I observed prospective teachers in courses, sometimes following the same prospective teachers across two different courses. I followed their work in classes as the semester progressed, and I interviewed them at three points. These multiple points of data allowed me to triangulate my claims, leading to stronger claims of the practices presented by instructors and noticed by prospective teachers.

I do keep the conclusions of this study at the level of an internal generalization. Each prospective teacher and instructor represents a unique set of circumstances, within the unique context of Indiana University. However, I present my readers with a historicizing narrative of the university, present occurrences from the individual courses in narrative form, and share with them large segments of transcription covering some of the important teaching moves I captured in the courses. This level of detail invites my readers in as co-analysts, equipped to see similarities between these cases and other cases at other institutions. Although I posit claims as internal generalizations, I hope that I provide enough description for Indiana University to serve as a telling case. I want to enable my readers to draw inspiration for their own particular situations, using some of the descriptions of this telling case to improve teacher preparation in their own contexts.

Finally, I had to contend with my own positionality as I approached this study. I came to this study particularly partisan in my stance of what ambitious history instruction ought to look like and with some experience in the practices of teacher training. In the preceding chapters, I have laid out and defended this stance toward ambitious history instruction and teacher training; I hope this makes my biases apparent to my readers but also demonstrated how I grounded that stance in relevant research and literature. However, while working with the subjects in my interviews, I took care not to impose my definitions of ambitious history instruction and effective

teacher preparation on my subjects. I asked open ended questions to give my instructors and focal prospective teachers space to answer in their own terms. I also asked them to define those terms that they used, to better understand their local meaning and their own positionalities towards what constituted ambitious history instruction and effective teacher education. I realize, however, that my own presence as a researcher could very well have influenced the approach toward teaching of historians and the approach toward the discipline of history of education instructors in my study. But rather than view such cueing from my research as detrimental, I instead take the stance that if it occurred, it benefited the study by demonstrating how more explicit focus on the discipline of history and its pedagogical practices revealed itself in the courses. Such intentional focus further helped to make these courses telling cases and potential sites of best practices.

During analysis of my data, I had colleagues read select transcripts to help check my positionality, test out the effectiveness and appropriateness of my focused coding categories, refine those categories, and further support, extend, and contest my interpretations. Many productive and helpful changes came out of these interactions – such as adding inquiry as a focused coding category that I had missed on my early read of the data, or pushing interpretations of how instructors used modeling into more nuanced frameworks. I owe a debt of gratitude for their invaluable help. All final decisions on coding and interpretations, however, and the flaws within, remain my own.

CHAPTER VI

The U.S. History I Survey:

A Potential Site of Ambitious Teaching and Learning How to Teach Ambitiously

An American history survey course, both in terms of content and structure, typifies standard offerings of history departments across the nation. Additionally, teacher education programs often require prospective teachers to take an American history survey. Such courses afford opportunities to learn about the discipline of history and how to engage learners in doing the work of history – both key components of ambitious teaching. This chapter examines what instructors can teach and prospective teachers can and do learn within the context of an American history survey course.

Dr. Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, the instructor of U.S. History I, intentionally taught disciplinary aspects of history. In doing so, she gave tacit representations of pedagogical practices. Myers's teaching provided a way to see how a history instructor charged with teaching content might also make visible disciplinary processes and pedagogies of teaching history. The experiences of prospective teachers within U.S. History I also provided a chance to answer what prospective teachers in a course designed to teach history notice and learn about history and how to teach it.

I discovered that Myers used many elements of ambitious teaching. Committed to teaching literacy skills and disciplinary discourse alongside the content of American history, and armed with a theory of student development, Myers provided experiences to grow her students' abilities to think critically about the past. Throughout the semester, students had opportunities to discuss primary sources and write inquiry-based arguments. Even though she did not explicitly work as a teacher educator, Myers also provided for students insights into her pedagogical practices.

Despite Myers's tacit representation of ambitious pedagogy, focal prospective teachers in U.S. History I most often privileged the work of history over the work of history teachers. Although they demonstrated developed ability to think in disciplinary ways about the past and an

increased ability to produce complex writing on primary sources, prospective teachers often did not consider this course a place to notice pedagogy. Prospective teachers over-contextualized, their background knowledge and expectations for the locations of teacher training limiting what they noticed of ambitious teaching practices in U.S. History I.

This chapter starts with a consideration of the role survey courses play in history and teacher education before considering the context of U.S. History I specifically, including its instructor, students, and content. Findings from Myers's teaching and what prospective teachers noticed and learned follow. The chapter closes with a discussion of those findings and their implications for historians, history teachers, and teacher educators.

Survey Courses in History and in Teacher Education

American history holds a fixed position in the course registries of the nation's history departments, and most use the Civil War to bisect that history into two separate surveys. The structure of U.S. History I – in which a professor, with the assistance of graduate students, teaches to an auditorium filled with over a hundred students – also follows a common model for 100-level history surveys.

This survey model of history instruction brings with it a number of challenges. While most students bring in experiences of history from their primary and secondary schooling or popular history, many have their first, and often only, exposure to disciplinary history in an introductory survey. As such, the survey has to accomplish many things. First, it must give students a basic understanding of a vast swath of content and historiographical themes from that content. This particular course, for example, must march students from the pre-Columbian era through the Civil War. Despite having taken courses on American history in elementary and secondary schools, students often bring limited prior knowledge or misconceptions of this content. In addition, many come with misconceptions of the discipline – misconceptions that their instructors seek to address within only one semester. Students may arrive with the notion of history as a series of facts to read, memorize, regurgitate on a test, and forget. To transition students to a notion of history as a discipline of argumentation, evidence, and interpretation, a survey must also teach beyond content, including important historical practices such as the ability to analyze sources and write evidence-based claims. However, the large student enrollment in typical surveys constrains the types of pedagogical techniques available to teach

those complex skills. Because of this, lecture tends to dominate the pedagogical practices of history survey courses – something I observed in U.S. History I.¹⁹⁰

American history also has a prominent place in the primary and secondary school curriculum. All fifty states require students to take American history multiple times over the course of their schooling. For example, public schools in my home state of Minnesota teach American history courses in fifth grade, seventh grade, and eleventh grade; Kindergarten, first grade, and second grade social studies courses also have standards addressing American history.¹⁹¹ Since policy makers have ensured that schools offer multiple presentations of American history at many grade levels, most secondary social studies teachers or elementary teachers have a high probability of teaching some American history during their career. Prospective teachers, then, could find the content of an American history survey valuable.

Recognizing the value of American history survey courses to prospective teachers, the School of Education at Indiana University requires both U.S. History I and U.S. History II for its Secondary Education major for social studies teachers, and requires either U.S. History I or U.S. History II for its Elementary Education major and its Early Childhood Education major. With these course requirements, any given section of an American history survey at Indiana University could contain many prospective teachers. In the semester I studied, a sizeable minority (42% of respondents to my Qualtrics survey) had enrolled or planned on enrolling in a teacher certification program of some level at the university.¹⁹²

The Context of U.S. History I

Instructor: Dr. Amrita Chakrabarti Myers holds the rank of Associate Professor in the History Department and the Department of Gender Studies. She has taught for well over a decade. Myers earned a PhD in American history and specializes in African American and women's history. She ran a tight ship for her course. She enforced a strict no technology policy,

¹⁹⁰ Numerous historians have written on the challenges of the survey course and attempts to work within (or to break) the constraints of that model. See for example Kathi Kern, "To Feel a Part of History: Rethinking the U.S. Survey Course," *Perspectives* 34, no. 5 (May/June 1996): 7-8; Gary Kornblith and Carol Lasser, eds., "Teaching the American History Survey at the Opening of the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of American History* (March 2001): 1409-1441; Jonathan Mercantini, "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Survey," *Teaching History* 33 (2008): 12-19; and Joel Sipress and David Voelker, "The End of the History Survey Course: The Rise and Fall of the Coverage Model," *Journal of American History* (March 2011): 1050-1066.

¹⁹¹ Minnesota Department of Education, *2011 Minnesota K-12 Academic Standards in Social Studies*, State of Minnesota, May 6, 2013, <http://www.mcass.org/Resources/Documents/2011%20Social%20Studies%20Standards.pdf> (accessed May 27, 2017).

¹⁹² For complete results of the Qualtrics survey for this course, see Appendix B.

keeping distracting laptops and phones at bay. Unless a student had an accommodation, she expected them to take notes by hand. Term sheets listing key vocabulary aided students' notetaking; Myers posted those sheets to the course website so students could print them out before her lectures. However, to encourage attendance, she did not post the PowerPoints from her lectures. Weekly in-class essays further encouraged student attendance; students did not know beforehand if the essay would come on the first or second class session of the week.

Myers had no formal pedagogical training; "I literally taught my first class without ever having practiced how to be a teacher," she explained.¹⁹³ She also did not consider herself either a producer or a consumer of SOTL research, citing a lack of time to dive into what she considered an important body of research.¹⁹⁴ However, she benefitted from colleagues like David Pace, Leah Shopkow, and Arlene Díaz, who did conduct SOTL research. Myers participated as a subject in one of their research projects and relied on them for advice, and that, coupled with her years of experience teaching college courses, helped her reflect on her teaching practices and make changes to better encourage student learning.

Students: Roughly one hundred and forty students enrolled in U.S. History I. According to a Qualtrics survey, a typical student – a female (54% of respondents) – would take U.S. History I in her first year of college (56% of respondents). While she would think herself unlikely to declare a history major (74% of respondents), she enjoys taking history courses (69% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with that statement). And while the average student would not have considered, or had considered and rejected, teaching as a career (58% of respondents), a sizeable minority (42% of respondents) had enrolled or planned on enrolling in a teacher certification program at the university.¹⁹⁵

Focal Prospective Teachers: I followed two focal prospective teachers in U.S. History I.¹⁹⁶ Both of these focal prospective teachers aligned with the typical student from U.S. History I described above in terms of gender, their enjoyment of taking history courses, and their unlikelihood of declaring a history major. However, both did not match the typical student in terms of their grades in school, as both my focal prospective teachers had already completed their freshman year. Of the students who volunteered for additional study, those who had already

¹⁹³ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

¹⁹⁴ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 16.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix B reports the complete results of the survey.

¹⁹⁶ A third focal prospective teacher removed herself from the study before the conclusion of my research, citing issues of time.

enrolled or intended to enroll in a teaching certification program trended older than the entire student body, perhaps because they had more time to discern and commit to a career than their first-year classmates.

Madison, a junior, debated whether she wanted to become a fifth grade teacher or a secondary history teacher like her grandfather.¹⁹⁷ Adrianna, a sophomore, felt set on her career plan of teaching young children. She enrolled in U.S. History I as a required course for her Early Childhood Education major.¹⁹⁸ Over the semester I interviewed these two prospective teachers and reviewed copies of their class notes, weekly essays, and exam responses to better understand what they learned about history and its teaching in U.S. History I.

Course Structure: U.S. History I embodied in many ways the structure of a typical survey course in college history: the 100-level course, pitched at first-year students and open to history majors, prospective teachers pursuing certification, and general education students, met twice weekly in an auditorium. There, Myers held the floor for each seventy-five minute period, lecturing, engaging in question-and-answer with her students, and facilitating them through in-class assignments centered on primary source materials.

Course Content: U.S. History I had an expansive breadth. Covering over four hundred years and an entire continent, Myers sought to give her students a “broad, working knowledge of American history from the days prior to the ‘discovery’ of the ‘New World’ to the end of the Civil War.”¹⁹⁹ Myers divided the content of the course into three units. The first unit introduced the cultures of pre-contact America, Western Europe, and Western Africa and how those cultures clashed in the crucible of North America. The second unit followed colonial society on the road to revolution against Great Britain. The final unit examined the expanding new nation and the developing sectional conflicts that led into the Civil War.

Course Texts: The course had three main texts (defined broadly). *The American Promise*, a roughly five-hundred page textbook, covers American history through Reconstruction in sixteen chronological chapters.²⁰⁰ Like many other textbooks, *The American Promise* starts each chapter with content learning objectives. Review questions close out each section of the chapter, with summative review questions following at the chapter’s end. Bold font denotes key

¹⁹⁷ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 18.

¹⁹⁸ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

¹⁹⁹ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, U.S. History I, syllabus.

²⁰⁰ James L. Roark et al. *The American Promise: A History of the United States - Volume 1 To 1877* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2015).

vocabulary terms defined in the back glossary. Each chapter has its own blend of maps, photographs, and other visual images. This type of historical writing brings with it some virtues. Assembled by a team of historians, the textbook provides a concise narrative of American history and a wealth of contextual information. However, history textbooks also face routine criticism as dull, erroneous, overly broad, and difficult to understand texts.²⁰¹ Avon Crismore coined the term ‘textbookese’ to refer to the rhetorical style of that genre of writing, in which an anonymous authoritative author presents to the reader a body of objective facts. The lack of metadiscourse gives textbooks the appearance of positivist truth, and the lack of voice discourages students from engaging with the text.²⁰² This in turn often leads students to accept textbooks as an unquestioned authority – the gospel truth of history.²⁰³ Despite their foibles, textbooks remain an effective genre to deliver to students large amounts of historical content and context gathered, organized and interpreted by historians.²⁰⁴

Myers also assigned the primary source reader *Reading the American Past*.²⁰⁵ This companion reader provides excerpted and edited historical documents connected to each textbook chapter. All documents include headnotes providing contextual information and footnotes providing source information. Some have complicated vocabulary defined or archaic language and spelling modified. Reading and discussion questions follow each of the sources. The primary source reader helps address some of the deficiencies of the textbook; most materials use first-person language, rather than an omniscient narrator. A source reader also demonstrates the kind of evidence historians use when making the interpretations and historical arguments contained in the textbook – and the use of self-referential language and citations across the textbook and the reader make those links explicit to students. The author chose sources that reflect diverse perspectives, incorporating material that crosses gender, ethnic, cultural, religious,

²⁰¹ Richard J. Paxton, “A Deafening Silence: History Textbooks and the Students Who Read Them,” *Review of Educational Research* 69, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 315-339.

²⁰² Avon Crismore, “The Rhetoric of Textbooks: Metadiscourse,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 16, no. 3 (1984): 279-296.

²⁰³ Robert B. Bain, “Rounding Up Unusual Suspects: Facing the Authority Hidden in the History Classroom,” *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 10 (October 2006): 2080-2114.

²⁰⁴ The 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress history assessment found, for example, that only 39% of twelfth graders had read any material other than a textbook for their history course. A 2002 National Center for Education Statistics survey reported that over 84% of 12-grade U.S. history students claim to read a textbook at least once a week, and 44% claim they read it about every day. While I expect that a far higher number of students in an undergraduate course would report reading other materials, textbooks still make it onto the reading lists in numerous college history courses – particularly courses that survey large amounts of material. 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress assessment cited in Paxton, “A Deafening Silence,” 318. 2002 National Center for Education Statistics survey cited in Bain, “Rounding Up Unusual Suspects,” 2081.

²⁰⁵ Michael P. Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents - Volume 1 To 1877* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012).

and class boundaries in order to add nuance to the main narrative of the textbook. The sources come in many different genres, including letters, diaries, treatises, court causes, sermons, published books, and legislation. The author also chose sources students could find interesting, surprising, or engaging. Oftentimes this proved the case. For example, after reading Virginia court depositions from 1681 investigating whether the affair between a white woman and an enslaved African American man represented a consensual relationship or a case of rape,²⁰⁶ one student remarked “I find it surprising that there’s even a case... Because of the racism involved with the interracial thing between a black man and a white woman. You’d think that they’d just automatically trust the white woman.”²⁰⁷ Primary sources like the Virginia court depositions caused students to question their assumptions about history, illuminating the surprising, exciting, living moments from people in history for students in ways not always captured by the textbook’s narrative.

Myers’s twice weekly lectures comprised the third “text” of the course. Myers coordinated her lectures with the textbook and reader. “It’s puzzle pieces, she explained. “You’re going to need the lectures and the textbook together to see everything. Because I don’t have time to talk about everything. And there are some things that I feel I don’t need to, because the book does a very good job. But between the primary sources, me, and the textbook, we’ve covered all the bases.”²⁰⁸ Rather than merely re-hash the textbook, Myers’s lectures built off of that content in ways that at times extended and supported, at other times challenged, the narrative of the textbook. She explicitly reminded her students to consult their textbooks for another perspective on the material. In particular, Myers made a special effort to balance out the stories of what she termed the “one-percenters,” with the “rest of the folks”: women, lower classes, racial and ethnic minorities, religious minorities and others. “It’s like a solo instead of a choir,” she explained to her students on the first day of class. “We need to understand the multiplicity of voices, the multiplicity of experiences, the backgrounds of those people, where they came from, how their histories shaped who they were, the way they thought, the way they interacted with their world and with one another.”²⁰⁹ By corroborating her lectures with the textbook and the primary source reader, Myers brought an entire choir of historical voices to her students.

²⁰⁶ From Warren Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 161-163, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 45-48.

²⁰⁷ U.S. History I, transcript, January 28.

²⁰⁸ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

²⁰⁹ U.S. History I, transcript, January 12.

Instructional Goals: Myers had two different instructional goal groups. The first, termed “learning objectives,” related to American history content, such as “a basic understanding of the history of what is now the United States, from the fifteenth-century meeting of Native American, African, and European cultures until the end of the Civil War in 1865.”²¹⁰ Reflecting her own research interests, Myers used the lens of social history to guide her learning objectives, considering themes of race, gender, class, and religion in interplay. She described social history as a “vehicle to drive me through four hundred years of history. What’s going to be that common theme?”²¹¹ In weekly short essays and three exams, Myers had students demonstrate knowledge of American history through that theme of social history.

Myers also had “skills and disciplinary outcomes” she wanted students to achieve, such as “the ability to interpret primary sources, taking into account authorship, timing, audience, purpose and perspective, as well as to appreciate silences in the historical record.”²¹² Although taught in the context of American history, Myers wanted students to transfer this learning to other areas. “I really want them to walk away from this class not just having learned the material, but having developed these larger skills that they can take into any class,” she explained. “To critically read. To question. To analyze. To be able to verbally defend their position. And then to be able to, in written form, put together a coherent argument with factual material.”²¹³ Myers took steps to support students’ ability to critically read sources and develop their own interpretations of history backed by evidence. In pushing her students to develop skills of analysis and argumentation, Myers challenged their prior notions of history. “A lot of people think that the study of history is basically memorization – of facts and dates and names and battles. And that’s actually not what historians do,” she explained to students.

Myers: The process of learning is not about memorizing, it’s about understanding how things connect, how they work, why things happened, when and how they happened, how events over here influenced and shaped and led to other events here, which then led to other things down here. The study of history is actually about trying to understand a broader narrative, the connections of different peoples and stories and events within that narrative.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, U.S. History I, syllabus.

²¹¹ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

²¹² Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, U.S. History I, syllabus.

²¹³ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

²¹⁴ U.S. History I, transcript, January 12.

In particular, students' weekly written essays, and the work in class to model how to read primary sources promoted their development of skills and disciplinary outcomes.

Using a Theory of Student Progression

Based on her past experience, Myers formed a theory of how students develop skills of history. Her design of the weekly essays reveals how she used that theory to inform her teaching of disciplinary skills. In these weekly essays, Myers united the skills of analytical reading and of argumentative writing, all within the context of early American history. Each week, Myers assigned relevant texts from the primary source reader. Then, on either the first or second class session of the week, students had fifteen to twenty minutes at class's end to write a short essay in response to a previously unseen prompt about one or more of these primary sources. Students could consult the sources and any notes they wanted during this writing. But Myers did not simply throw her students into the ocean of historical reading and writing with an attitude of 'sink or swim.' Instead, she took steps to scaffold students' development in these skills.

Myers thought deliberately about the progression of her writing prompts, and she explained to students how she sequenced the assignments in three distinct phases. "The questions are very, very simple for the first three weekly essays," she told her students after they completed their first essay using the Florentine Codex to argue whether the Spaniards conquering Mexico were civilized or uncivilized. "You have to pick a side basically and defend it with examples and citations and information. So the first weekly essays are going to have fairly simple questions, they'll only ask you to look at one document... And we will grade them with an eye towards helping you. It will be about giving you lots of feedback to improve." The next phase of the weekly essays increased in complexity: "The questions become more sophisticated, less of A or B, pick a side. Perhaps more documents to examine." The final phase progressed even further: "The last set after the second exam will be very open-ended questions. Definitely more than one document. And the grading will be at full level. And it's fine, because by that point it'll be the last third of the semester and you will be experts in how to deal with primary documents."²¹⁵ Table 6.1 includes a sample prompt from each of the three phases. Through these progressions, Myers developed her students' skills of analytical reading and writing by first limiting the task to one source and a constrained prompt, then having students corroborate multiple sources with a

²¹⁵ U.S. History I, transcript, January 28.

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Primary Source Document(s)</i>	<i>Writing Prompt</i>
Phase 1	<i>Mexican Accounts of Conquest from the Florentine Codex</i> ²¹⁶	Based on the information about the Conquest of Mexico contained within the Florentine Codex, would you conclude that sixteenth-century Spaniards were civilized, uncivilized, or something else altogether? Remember to use specific examples from the source to uphold your thesis and illustrate each of your points.
Phase 2	<i>Memoir by Boston King, 1798</i> ²¹⁷ <i>Address to British Secretary of State Lord Germain, by Joseph Brant, 1776</i> ²¹⁸	Southern slave Boston King and Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant represent two groups that sided with the British during the Revolution. Why? In order to answer this question, you will need to construct an essay that considers what liberty meant for African Americans and what liberty meant for Native Americans during the Revolutionary Era. Remember: use specific examples and evidence from BOTH sources to uphold your thesis and illustrate each of your points.
Phase 3	Abraham Lincoln’s war aims, including his <i>Letter to Horace Greeley</i> , August 22, 1862; <i>The Emancipation Proclamation</i> , January 1, 1863; and <i>The Gettysburg Address</i> , November 19, 1863 ²¹⁹ <i>Statement from an Anonymous Former Slave, New Orleans, 1863</i> ²²⁰	Compare and contrast the arguments and ideas of Abraham Lincoln on the subject of slavery and the Civil War with those of the Anonymous Former Slave. Analyze how and where the two men’s beliefs overlapped, and where they were dissimilar. If these men were placed in a room with one another, what could you logically assume (based on the documentary evidence) would result from their interactions? Whose views would prevail, and why? Remember: use specific examples from both sources to uphold your thesis and illustrate each point you make.

²¹⁶ From James Lockhart, ed. and trans., *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1993), in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 27-32.

²¹⁷ Boston King, “Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, A Black Preacher,” *The Methodist Magazine* 21 (March 1798), 106-110; and 21 (April 1798), 15, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 135-138.

²¹⁸ From E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887), 8:670-671; Public Records Office, C.O. 42/44, 133-135, reprinted in Charles M. Johnson, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations* (Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1964), 38-41, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 138-141.

²¹⁹ Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 5: 388-389; 6:28-30; 7:22-23, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents*, 283-286.

²²⁰ “Statements of a Colored Man [September 1863],” in *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Series 2, *The Black Military Experience*, eds. Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 153-157, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 286-289.

less constrained prompt, and finally having students corroborate multiple sources with complex, open-ended prompts. She made this transition visible to her students by communicating the changes they could expect over the semester.

The sequence of these essays allowed Myers to teach important American history content in an ambitious way, as she had her students use disciplinary skills to critically analyze that content. On these essays, students did their own thinking around a problem of inquiry, and used primary sources to develop their own arguments about the past. Myers's sequence meant that students could develop from less to more sophisticated work over the semester. This interweaving of disciplinary practices with knowledge of student thought provided a representation of ambitious teaching; Myers's explicit sharing of how she designed the sequence of essays provided a decomposition of an ambitious pedagogical practice available for prospective teachers to notice.

A Progression of Modeling and Coaching Disciplinary Skills

Myers demonstrated for students the type of thinking they needed to do to read and write about primary sources. She did not begin assigning essays until the third week of the semester so students had several rounds of "document work" before their first essay.²²¹ This document work, a combination of modeling disciplinary skills and coaching students in substantive discussions, followed a similar progression as the essay prompts. Initially Myers used assigned texts from the reader for document work. As the semester continued, students transferred the skills they practiced on written sources to visual sources. The sophistication of Myers's modeling and the questions she coached students through during this document work increased as the semester progressed. Myers asked simple, mostly objective questions about sources during early sessions of document work. Later, she pushed for more nuanced thought. Myers also progressed from document work with one source in isolation to discussing sources in corroboration with one another. She consistently drew connections between this document work and how she wanted her students to write. Such modeling and coaching supported Myers's ambitious instruction.

Myers began document work with a selection from Aristotle's *The Politics*, a text that influenced sixteenth century European ideas about racial hierarchy.²²² After reviewing the

²²¹ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

²²² Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. Ernest Barker; rev. R.F. Stalley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 8-20, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 11-14.

structure of their weekly essay prompts, Myers launched into a discussion of Aristotle’s writing, applying the questions students would receive in an essay prompt to that text:

Myers: So you’ll create a thesis, you’ll apply evidence, and then you are going to draw conclusions based on material found in the document that makes sense and upholds your thesis... We’re going to ask you to identify the source. Identify the source in what way? You should know who wrote the document in question, the audience for whom they are writing, and why they are writing. What is the purpose of writing the document? Let’s start right there. Who wrote “Masters and Slaves?”

Kathleen: Aristotle.

Myers: Aristotle! Right!²²³

Myers continued to coach students through identifying the source, the audience, and the purpose of the document. Appendix F contains a complete transcript of this document work.

In this document work, Myers enacted aspects of a cognitive apprenticeship framework.²²⁴ She provided knowledge required for expertise, introducing her students to the concept of natural hierarchy necessary to contextualize the mindset of European colonizers and the development of chattel slavery. She also coached a student through a misunderstanding of when Aristotle wrote, directing her to the contextualizing preface provided with the document. Myers imparted important heuristic strategies; her repeated questions of who wrote the document, for whom they wrote, and their purpose helped students identify the author, audience, and purpose for each text they read.²²⁵ Myers made these questions of who wrote, for whom, and why – along with other questions she further developed with later documents – permanent fixtures of the weekly essay prompts. Although Myers did not use a “think aloud” strategy to verbalize her own thinking as she read the document aloud, her targeted questions coached students.²²⁶ These targeted questions became more complex as the semester progressed.

²²³ U.S. History I, transcript, January 19.

²²⁴ Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Susan E. Newman, “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Teaching the Craft of Reading, Writing, and Mathematics,” in *Knowing, Learning, and Instruction: Essays in Honor of Robert Glaser*, ed. Lauren B. Resnick (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1989), 453-494 and Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Ann Holum, “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Making Thinking Visible,” *American Educator* 15, no. 3 (1991): 6-11.

²²⁵ These heuristics overlap with Sam Wineburg’s three heuristics of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroboration. Samuel S. Wineburg, “Historical Problem Solving: A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence,” *Journal of Education Psychology* 83, no. 1 (1991): 73-87.

²²⁶ Beth Davey first named and described the “think aloud” strategy in the context of teaching remedial reading to middle and high school students. Wineburg has since used the strategy in studies to discover how historians and high school students think as

In the following class, Myers continued document work with two letters, both sent in 1526, from King Mzinga Mbemba Afonso of the Congo to King João III of Portugal.²²⁷ Myers added more depth to the initial questions of who wrote, to whom, and for what purposes. In the quote below, Myers demonstrated adding more depth to answering who wrote the selection from Aristotle:

Myers: One of the things I was struck by the other day when we were talking about Aristotle's piece was I said who wrote this and everyone said Aristotle. I kind of let it go, but is just saying Aristotle wrote this piece enough? Would that be enough? Or would you have to add anything to 'Aristotle wrote this piece?' I'm going to say to you that that's an incomplete answer. Why is it incomplete? What would you need to add?

William: Aristotle the philosopher.

Myers: Aristotle the Greek philosopher who lived in the fourth century BC. You see what I am saying about the who? You must be specific. It's often just a few words or a sentence, but you have to always think to yourself would my explanation make sense to someone who doesn't know who Aristotle is, or who hasn't read the piece? You have to be able to explain the material to an intelligent person who maybe hasn't been exposed to the material.²²⁸

Myers also expanded on the concept of a text's purpose. After students gave surface-level explanations for why King Afonso wrote his letters, such as a desire to maintain trade between Portugal and the Congo, Myers pushed them to consider deeper explanations:

Myers: Are there multiple reasons he's writing? And be careful not to confuse the purpose of his letter, why he's writing, with what he wants. What's driven him to write these letters in the first place? What's already happened that he alludes to in these letters that has led him to write? And then what is it that he hopes will happen? So one is the purpose, the other is the argument, that there might be an argument or a thesis. And it's hard for us to understand that letters can have a thesis, but they absolutely can. So let's try to unpack purpose. Why is he writing?

they read historical texts. Through the think aloud strategy, Wineburg identified the three heuristics of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroboration. Beth Davey, "Think Aloud: Modeling the Cognitive Processes of Reading Comprehension," *Journal of Reading* 27, no. 1 (1983): 44-47; Wineburg, "Historical Problem Solving," 319-346.

²²⁷ Louis Jadin and Mireille Decorato, *Correspondance de Dom Afonso, roi du Congo, 1506-1543* (Brussels, Belgium: Académie Royales de Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1974), 154-162, 166-169. English translations by Marianna Dantas, in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 15-19.

²²⁸ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

So Mary has said peaceful trade relationships. Are there other things? There can always be more than one purpose for writing anything.²²⁹

From there, Myers led students to consider other issues: how the Portuguese merchants abused the Congolese, Afonso's desire for Portuguese doctors to minister in the Congo, and his appeal to the monarchs' shared Catholic faith. Myers had them examine both Afonso's deferential language and the apparent lack of a response from King João to guide them into a conclusion that King Afonso did not write his Portuguese counterpart as an equal, but rather as "a colonized king writing a letter to the king of the colonizer country;" a king with "racial differences as well," despite their shared Catholic faith.²³⁰

These moves built upon the cognitive apprenticeship Myers started with Aristotle. She reminded students of the questions of who wrote and to whom, demonstrating the detail needed to successfully answer those questions by moving from just "Aristotle" to "Aristotle, the Greek philosopher who lived in the fourth century BC."²³¹ Then, she coached students as they practiced that same skill with identifying who wrote King Afonso's letters and to whom he wrote. Further, she developed students' ability to answer why historical agents created a primary source, leading them to the multiple purposes of Afonso's writing. Myers also led her students to differentiate between the stated purpose and the subtext of a source, drawing attention to power dynamics between the Congolese king and the Portuguese king, and references to Christianity and deferential language employed by Afonso. Myers marked a student's comment on the lack of response letters from King João, commending him for "reading against the silence."²³² Although Myers started the class with the points she wanted to make about the letters in mind, she asked targeted questions in order to coach students into bringing those points up first. Although not directly modeling the cognitive work of analyzing a historical source, Myers deliberately coached students through that work. She reminded them of heuristic strategies and introduced them to important content and concepts they needed to use, such as concepts of colonizer and colonized, issues of race and religion, reading for tone and subtext, and reading for silences. She sequenced the complexity of this document work, as the analysis of King Afonso became more complex than the previous work with Aristotle's treatise.

²²⁹ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21. Appendix G contains a full transcript of this document work.

²³⁰ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

²³¹ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

²³² U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

To close out this session of document work, Myers asked her students to think like an instructor and brainstorm possible essay prompts she could have crafted using the letters:

Myers: If we had done [an essay] on the letters from King Afonso to King João, what kind of prompt could I have constructed for this particular set of letters? What might I have asked you that would be reasonable for a first short essay? Because it's often good as you read the documents, you should be thinking to yourself, could this be a writing assignment? What would she ask? What might she ask? What could be a prompt that I could answer in fifteen minutes using this document?²³³

Myers then coached students to think about the parameters of the assignment, length of time they had to write, and ability to use the documents to answer the prompt. This exercise helped Myers's students become better analytical readers and gave them practice posing questions to historical sources, just like a historian might. But prospective teachers could also find the ability to generate well-structured prompts based on historical texts an invaluable skill. In teaching the work of history with King Afonso's letters, Myers also touched on skills important to the work of teaching history. Myers continued this exercise of brainstorming potential writing prompts throughout the course, especially as review before unit exams.

Myers continued document work over the semester. As the weeks unfolded, she transitioned from analysis of written text to analysis of visual images, having her students transfer the same skills they used to analyze letters, court records, and other text-based sources to paintings, lithographs, and other images. Myers made this transition with "Philadelphia: Quäkerkirche," an undated wood engraving of a Quaker meeting house.²³⁴ "Tell me a little bit about the picture," she said during lecture. "Images are primary sources. And I haven't yet asked you to discuss an image, but we're going to start to do that from this point forward, to start thinking about images as primary documents and what we learn about a society in question by looking at the image."²³⁵ This new source genre not only facilitated transfer of skills to a new situation, but also engaged students in a way different than the written word. Adrianna, for

²³³ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

²³⁴ Ernest von Hesse Wartegg, *Nord-Amerika, seine Stadt und Naturwunder, das Land und seine Bewohner in Schilderung* (Leipzig, Germany: G. Weigel, 1879), available at Library of Congress, "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic," <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01-2.html#obj028> (accessed June 1, 2017).

²³⁵ U.S. History I, transcript, February 4. Appendix H contains the complete transcript segment and wood engraving.

example, remarked how much she appreciated the use of visuals in history.²³⁶ Using images, Myers continued to develop in complexity the skills of analytical reading and writing. After first drilling on sourcing documents, looking for answers to who wrote (or created) a document, for whom, and to what purpose, Myers now moved into pushing for a more critical reading of documents. In this later document work, she had students cite specific details from the source and provide explanation as to those details' significance. This mirrored the progression in the prompts for students' weekly written work.

As document work with historical images continued, Myers upped what she expected from students. Images allowed her to conduct ambitious discussion and analysis with texts students did not need to spend time reading beforehand. In examining a political cartoon of the Edenton Tea Party²³⁷ Myers built on the skill of providing and explaining evidence by first having students create a thesis statement, and then support that thesis statement with evidence.

Myers: I want you to tell me, first of all, do you think this is a complimentary image of political women or a negative image of political women and then start to analyze the image in order to prove it. So if this were a prompt for a weekly writing assignment I would say is this a positive or a negative caricature of politicized women? And then analyze the image in order to provide evidence for one side or the other. So what would your thesis be, positive or negative image of women in politics, and why? Why being the evidence that you would use to make your case. So take a minute, look at the image, this is not a trick question. But you have to actually really look at the image and begin to analyze instead of just going oh that's a nice picture.

Arthur: Yes, the woman with the gavel, her face is very nasty almost. It looks kind of mocking.

Myers: So what would your thesis be first of all? Tell me.

Arthur: Oh, that this picture is a negative portrayal of women.²³⁸

After pushing Arthur to provide a thesis statement, Myers had other students explain the significance of details from the cartoon that supported and extended his thesis. The resulting

²³⁶ Adrianna, interviews by author, January 15, February 18, and April 28.

²³⁷ Philip Dawe, "A Society of Patriotic Ladies" (London, UK: R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1775), available at Library of Congress, "John Bull and Uncle Sam: Four Centuries and British-American Relations," <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/british/brit-2.html> (accessed June 1, 2017).

²³⁸ U.S. History I, transcript, February 25. Appendix I contains the complete transcript segment and political cartoon.

discussion, quite substantive, represents ambitious learning on the part of Myers's students. By inquiring into the political cartoon, they applied their knowledge of content and disciplinary concepts, and Myers led them to a complex read of the author's purpose for creating this cartoon. Rather than passively tell her interpretation of the author's perspective, Myers engaged in ambitious teaching, having students reason to their own interpretation.

In the last weeks of the semester, Myers increased the complexity of document work by having students corroborate across multiple visual sources. Myers had students compare an 1866 drawing of a free black wedding from *Harper's Weekly*²³⁹ with a drawing of a slave wedding from circa 1840.²⁴⁰ Corresponding with the last phase of their weekly essays, this document work gave students practice comparing and contrasting across sources.²⁴¹

Through coordinating weekly essay prompts and in-class document work, Myers taught ambitiously. She created a sequence that allowed her students to develop in the skills of historical reading and writing while learning the content of American history. This structure allowed students to enact those skills with increasing complexity as the semester progressed, both in their writing and class discussions. By explicitly narrating these moves to her students, Myers invited them into a cognitive apprenticeship that made visible the hidden thinking skills of doing history. And, although not an explicit goal of Myers, her ambitious teaching methods afforded prospective teachers something to learn about the skills of teaching history.

A Reflection on Practice and "Trickle-Down" SOTL

One instance of document work, considering Paul Revere's famous engraving of the Boston Massacre,²⁴² demonstrates both the reflection on practice necessary for ambitious teaching and the 'trickle down' influence SOTL can have on a history department. Colleagues in the department who conducted SOTL research contributed to how Myers improved her practice, even though she did not actively produce or consumer SOTL literature herself. Having those "experts," as she called them, in her department provided Myers with a source of feedback and

²³⁹ Alfred Rudolph Waud, "Marriage of a colored soldier at Vicksburg by Chaplain Warren of the Freedmen's Bureau," *Harper's Weekly* 10, no. 496 (June 30, 1866): 412, available at Library of Congress, "Marriage of a colored soldier at Vicksburg by Chaplain Warren of the Freedmen's Bureau," <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009630217/> (accessed June 1, 2017).

²⁴⁰ Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, "The Broomstick Wedding," in *The Story of My Life* (Hartford, CT: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1897), 257, available at Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, <http://www.slaveryimages.org> (accessed June 1, 2017).

²⁴¹ U.S. History I, transcript, April 19. Appendix J contains the complete transcript segment and images.

²⁴² Paul Revere, *The bloody massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th Regt.* (Boston, MA: 1770), available at Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2008661777> (accessed June 1, 2017).

advice. Further, as a participant in research conducted by her colleagues, Myers had to identify a problem of her practice. This led to her adjusting how she instructed to address that problem. “[My colleagues doing SOTL work] were running these projects where they were interviewing us about things,” Myers explained. “They were holding workshops on things that we could go to. And I started to realize that, attention span issues being what they are, that I’m going to have to switch it up.”²⁴³ This problem of practice Myers discussed about for the SOTL research involved Crispus Attucks and her students rarely noticing the absence of an African American casualty in Revere’s engraving.

After identifying this problem, Myers redesigned her lesson to aid her students in reading against the silence in sources. She brought Attucks to the fore, giving him his own PowerPoint slide directly prior to Revere’s engraving. She lectured on his life, his work in Boston, and his participation in the protests for liberty. “I think it’s very difficult after that set-up to then look at the engraving of Paul Revere and not notice that there’s no African American person present in it,” Myers explained in an interview after the class. “Sometimes I need to be a little bit more heavy-handed in the lead-up...because it’s not enough for them to simply say ‘Crispus Attucks is missing.’”²⁴⁴ By structuring her document work with “heavy-handed” lead-up, Myers allowed her students to move past summary, merely noting the lack of Attucks, to analyzing what that absence could mean, and forming a thesis statement about that absence’s significance. That restructured lesson worked. Students immediately noted the absence of Attucks, and with Myers’s coaching, eventually formed an interpretation for his absence.²⁴⁵ With her goal in mind – getting students to make an interpretation for why Paul Revere would choose not to display a black man in his depiction of the Boston Massacre – Myers structured her document work to help students achieve that goal. Through the tangential influence of her colleagues conducting SOTL research, Myers both identified a problem of practice and sought to improve her pedagogy to address that problem in a reflective manner.

What Prospective Teachers Learned and Noticed

Focal prospective teachers learned about the work of doing history in U.S. History I, and they noticed some of Myers’s pedagogical practices. However, they privileged the work of

²⁴³ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 16.

²⁴⁴ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

²⁴⁵ U.S. History I, transcript, February 25. Appendix K contains the complete transcript segment and Paul Revere’s engraving.

history over the practices of teaching history. Neither Adrianna nor Madison noticed Myers's most prominent and most ambitious teaching practices – the documentary work and the weekly essays – as something relevant to their own future work as teachers.

Pedagogical Practices: Adrianna keyed into Myers's personality and lecture style, including her accessible language, casual demeanor, and sarcasm. She also noted her use of visuals, but not as a part of document work. For Adrianna, visuals served as a fun “picture in my head to remind me of things.” Adrianna used those visuals to help “make a little connection” in her brain, so that when she reviewed her notes, she associated the picture with a PowerPoint slide.²⁴⁶ Finally, Adrianna commented on Myers's no technology policy, and how it impeded her ability to take notes. Madison appreciated Myers's refusal to post her PowerPoint slides online, saying it forced her to pay closer attention to the lectures when she knew she could not just look up the slides after class. Madison also noticed that Myers did not just give out all the information in her lectures, but expected students to actually read the texts from the course and develop their own opinions. Madison highlighted Myers's questioning techniques, including her ability to use wait-time, as a “nice way to initiate communication in the classroom.”²⁴⁷

Adrianna mentioned using pictures as a way for kids to relate to history as the practice she would adopt from Myers's instruction. Madison focused on what she termed “discovery learning,” in which she would not give her students all the information, but rather provide them sources they could use to find answers.²⁴⁸ Surprisingly, however, neither Adrianna nor Madison listed Myers's use of document work and sequenced weekly essay prompts in response to my question of what instructional moves or activities they noticed from the course. Madison mentioned incorporating a weekly writing assignment into her classroom practice, but for her, it served as an accountability instrument: “Because I know if I didn't have a quiz or an assignment regarding the readings, I wouldn't have read them. So I know my students would not read them unless having a weekly writing assignment.”²⁴⁹

Focal prospective teachers failed to see document work or sequenced essays in a pedagogical context without prompting. When asked what Myers did with the images she included with her PowerPoints, Adrianna remarked “I don't know. I think that was her way of

²⁴⁶ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁴⁷ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁴⁸ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁴⁹ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

helping us think about the weekly essays. Like, you do a similar type of analysis, although it's with documents instead of an image. I liked it. I think that it helped me."²⁵⁰ The document work, although she found helpful, did not immediately strike Adrianna as a practice available to her as a new teacher. Like Adrianna, Madison also found document work helpful when asked directly about it. "It kind of helps guide through other readings because you can read through them in the same manner," she said. Then, when asked how she would teach how to read one of the sources from the reader, she immediately brought up the heuristics Myers had drilled in class:

"Determining who wrote it, who they wrote it for, why they wrote it. Answer those questions first. And then go through paragraph by paragraph trying to find out the main points of contention and coming up with an overall point of the article."²⁵¹ In the context of doing the work from U.S. History I Madison could without any difficulty recall Myers's pedagogical practices. But in the context of thinking about her own future classroom, she did not do the same.

Disciplinary Knowledge: Myers's ambitious teaching impacted the disciplinary knowledge and skills held by Adrianna and Madison, demonstrated by their improved ability to describe the discipline and write analytically. Adrianna initially labeled history simply "the study of the past."²⁵² By mid-semester, she verbalized differences she saw between the limited study of history as a school subject and the more "malleable thing" of disciplinary history, where scholarly opinions on "what caused a certain thing or what events in history are correlated changes a lot and the more factual knowledge you gain the more you can change your opinion on things." In disciplinary history, Adrianna saw that historians had the freedom to change their interpretations of the past based on new evidence they discover, unlike the fixed study of history in schools. At semester's end, Adrianna made clear the need for evidence in historical arguments: "I think of history as the study of the past based on what concrete evidence we have to support it."²⁵³ Through weekly writing and document work that pushed her to cite details from sources in support of claims, Adrianna began to understand history as a practice of inquiry that based interpretations on the evidence present in historical sources.

Madison came with prior knowledge of perspective and interpretation of evidence from earlier coursework in anthropology and archaeology. For her, change in how she described the

²⁵⁰ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁵¹ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁵² Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

²⁵³ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

discipline of history came with a more nuanced understanding of narrative. At the beginning and middle of the semester, Madison described history in teleological terms as “the study of what’s led us where we are today”²⁵⁴ or “what has brought us to this point today.”²⁵⁵ History had a singular narrative march toward describing our present. At semester’s end, Madison recognized history as a collection of multiple interpretations and narratives, not one monolithic grand march through time: “I look at history as the parts of the sum as a whole, and the whole still isn’t completed – these little parts that will someday add up to the big history...I think the discipline of history is much more intensive and much more in depth.”²⁵⁶ Madison seemed to have benefited from Myers’s efforts to add complexity and depth to the narratives of American history by making it a choral, rather than solo, discipline.

Adrianna and Madison also developed their ability to read and write analytically. Madison explained her professor’s focus on the skills of reading and writing: “A big thing she really hammered is looking at things as a whole and then being able to break it down and figure out why it is significant, why it matters. Whenever we looked at a picture, [Myers] would say, ‘Okay, so you pointed to that, but why? Why does it matter? What’s important?’”²⁵⁷ Likewise, Adrianna noted analysis of documents as one of the major disciplinary concepts of the course.²⁵⁸ In their weekly essays, the two prospective teachers demonstrated growth in their ability to analyze historical documents. For her first two essays, Adrianna adequately enacted the heuristics of describing who wrote the source in question, who they wrote to, and why they wrote, but the rest of her essay consisted of a list of facts and quotes from the sources with little or no analysis.²⁵⁹ By her third essay, she began to cite and explain the significance a particular quote had to her thesis.²⁶⁰ By her sixth essay, Adrianna considered the perspective of the source’s author and offered lots of interesting analysis, a pattern she would continue with subsequent essays and expand to multiple sources in corroboration.²⁶¹ In the first half of the semester, Adrianna’s essays scored between a C and a B+. In the second half, her essays scored in the B to A- range.

²⁵⁴ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 18.

²⁵⁵ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁵⁶ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁵⁷ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁵⁸ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁵⁹ Adrianna, U.S. History I, weekly essay, January 26 and Adrianna, U.S. History I, weekly essay, February 4.

²⁶⁰ Adrianna, U.S. History I, weekly essay, February 11.

²⁶¹ Adrianna, U.S. History I, weekly essay, March 10

Madison demonstrated perhaps even more development in the skills of writing analytically. In her first essay, she followed the heuristics of who wrote, to whom, and for what purpose to introduce her source, but did not cite details from the piece to support her writing.²⁶² By the third piece, she had incorporated details from the source and began to analyze those details and their significance for her claim.²⁶³ In her fifth piece, she began even to assess the reliability of the author of the source.²⁶⁴ Subsequent essays incorporated strong theses and included lots of evidence cited from the sources under consideration with analysis of the significance of those details. Grades on Madison's essays advanced from a B to solid As during the first half of the semester, and remained in that range during the second half.

Discussion: The Compartmentalization of History and History Teaching

Several factors could explain the failure of Madison and Adrianna to notice and plan to adopt Myers's ambitious pedagogical practices. Prior conceptions of teaching may have prevented them from considering Myers as a source for learning pedagogy. Both prospective teachers brought up the large age difference between students they planned to teach and undergraduates. Madison, who thought she might want to become an elementary school teacher, felt Myers's format appropriate for upper-level courses, but not for elementary students.²⁶⁵ Adrianna, an aspiring early childhood educator, remarked often of the big gap between teaching college students and her "babies," noting she planned to teach a "really different age group."²⁶⁶ Although a nontrivial gulf exists between elementary or pre-Kindergarten learners and undergraduate students, practices from Myers's class could carry over into these younger grades with a significant amount of adaptation and accommodation for those younger students.

Ideas about the differing purposes for history at the college level versus history in earlier grades could explain the compartmentalization of teaching practices. Adrianna and Madison described school subject history as differing substantially from disciplinary history. Both prospective teachers described history as a school subject in terms of Paulo Freire's banking concept of education.²⁶⁷ Teaching history involved "just kind of relaying the facts to students,"

²⁶² Madison, U.S. History I, weekly essay, January 26.

²⁶³ Madison, U.S. History I, weekly essay, February 11.

²⁶⁴ Madison, U.S. History I, weekly essay, March 1.

²⁶⁵ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁶⁶ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁶⁷ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York, NY: Continuum, 1990), 58.

as Madison said.²⁶⁸ Adrianna talked about how “American history is something that has been kind of pounded into my head for a really long time.”²⁶⁹ And this delivery of facts came as a broad overview. Both Madison and Adrianna described doing history, as opposed to teaching it, as going much more in depth. Doing history involved “doing more research,” Madison explained.²⁷⁰ Adrianna said history in the research-sense “gives you the opportunity to go further in depth...you get to do what you want, whereas history as a school subject tends to be much broader strokes, kind of generalized, and it doesn’t always give you the opportunity to go really in-depth in what appeals to you.”²⁷¹ More than just seeing U.S. History I as a course for a far different age group than they planned on teaching in the future, both Madison and Adrianna gave signs of seeing the work of U.S. History I as a different type of work than what would happen in their classrooms.

These, and likely other factors, led Madison and Adrianna at times to encounter something akin to the two-worlds pitfall of experience.²⁷² But it seems that these prospective teachers actually encounter three worlds: the world of history coursework, the world of education coursework, and the world of classroom teaching. In this three-worlds pitfall, prospective teachers see the learning in their college history courses and their education courses as separate things and the learning of both as apart from classroom teaching. While not consistently or completely falling into a three-worlds pitfall (indeed, recognizing some important insights, messages, inferences, and beliefs from their experiences in U.S. History I), at times both Madison and Adrianna seemed to slip into that trap of missed learning.

Of course, Myers did not explicitly seek to help prospective teachers avoid this pitfall of experience. Although required for most certification programs at Indiana University, and although several prospective teachers did take the course, U.S. History I did not have teacher training as an intentional goal. Myers taught to a much wider audience than just prospective teachers. She wanted her students, a mixture of history majors, prospective teachers, and general education students, to leave her course with an understanding of the major content of early American history and an increased ability to think critically, read analytically, and write

²⁶⁸ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁶⁹ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁷⁰ Madison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 18.

²⁷¹ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

²⁷² Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Margret Buchmann. “Pitfalls of Experience in Teacher Preparation,” *Teachers College Record* 87, (1985): 53-65.

argumentatively. Although prospective teachers could pick up some ambitious practices through an apprenticeship of observation, Myers did not explicitly intend this as a course goal.

Implications

This chapter offers implications for historians, history teachers, and teacher educators. For historians, Myers's example provides a method of incorporating ambitious instruction into the constraints of a content-heavy survey course. Both her thoughtfully sequenced essay prompts and her document work during lectures could easily enter into a survey course without drastically altering its shape or content. A source reader greatly facilitated Myers's ability to incorporate primary texts into her survey, as its author had already compiled, curated, and contextualized numerous documents relevant to the course's content. Building on the source reader's base, Myers found engaging visual sources that students could use to discuss and practice the same skills she wanted them to employ in their reading and writing. Further, she made this work, including her sequencing of the weekly essay prompts, explicit to her students, allowing them to see her goals and how she planned on using both the prompts and the document work to support them as they developed their skills.

While Myers enacted many elements of a cognitive apprenticeship framework, incorporating additional elements might strengthened her document work. In terms of methods of developing expertise, for example, although she provided extensive coaching for her students, they might have benefited if her first document work started with just modeling the task. Myers might have, rather than asking her students targeted questions about the selection from Aristotle, announce that she would model how she goes about analytically reading a document, list the heuristic steps she uses, and then actually read the document aloud herself, pausing to narrate her own thoughts by employing a "think aloud" strategy.²⁷³ Students might also benefit from time to articulate their knowledge of how to do analytical reading and writing. Myers could also add some social aspects to her cognitive apprenticeship, such as explicitly situating the skills they use in document work and essay writing into the context of similar tasks they would encounter in the world outside of the course. Students could also benefited from chances to work cooperatively on their reading and writing skills or designated time to set personal goals for how they wanted to improve those skills.

²⁷³ Davey, "Think Aloud," 44-47.

Historians might also keep in mind that often prospective teachers make up a portion of the students in their courses, and that skills of teaching history could accompany skills of disciplinary reading, writing, and discussion. This fact stood out in Myers's mind at the semester's close. "The instruction that our students are receiving, they're going to put into practice when they become K through twelve teachers," she explained, and then observed that if those students left better prepared to teach history, "at the end of the day, it's in my best interest in a whole host of ways. Because then I get students who are ready."²⁷⁴ The two skill sets, teaching history and doing history, do not have to exist independent of one another; a study of students in an undergraduate chemistry class found that having students practice teaching others actually improved their mastery of the concepts of chemistry. The authors of the study found that students who had prepared to teach their peers consistently outperformed the students without this preparation.²⁷⁵ Spending some time thinking about how to have students learn how to teach history, then, could reap benefits for prospective teachers and the rest of the students alike.

SOTL can help historians reflect upon and improve their teaching practices, even if they do not actively research in or consume literature from that field. Myers's participation in a SOTL study, and the presence of SOTL experts in her department, helped her think reflectively on her own practice. Myers commented on how it had been a pleasure to answer my interview questions, noting, how "it's been interesting to have to think more concretely regularly about the practice of pedagogy. Because we do it subconsciously all the time, but we don't necessarily have to articulate it to somebody else. And so I think that that's been really helpful for me, to actually be able to talk through and think about, 'Well, why do I do it this way?'"²⁷⁶ The presence of SOTL research in Indiana University's History Department had trickle down benefits that extended beyond the smaller community of historians actively engaged in that work.

For prospective teachers, history coursework holds two values. First, it exposes them to important disciplinary knowledge that they will have to teach, albeit in a slightly different setting, to students of their own. But second, history coursework also exposes prospective teachers to important pedagogical practices for teaching disciplinary knowledge. Myers's document work and semester-long sequencing of writing tasks could have a place in classrooms

²⁷⁴ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

²⁷⁵ Anne V. Vázquez et al., "Writing-To-Teach: A New Pedagogical Approach to Elicit Explanative Writing from Undergraduate Chemistry Students," *Journal of Chemical Education* 89 (2012): 1025-1031.

²⁷⁶ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

before college as well. Students of all ages can find images particularly accessible, and proper coaching can help them develop skills of tying claims to evidence that they gather from either visual or written sources. In taking or reflecting on coursework in history, prospective teachers would benefit from learning to notice both types of knowledge required to teach ambitiously: knowledge of the discipline and knowledge of how to psychologize it for students.

Teacher educators could learn at least three things from this study. First, teacher educators can take comfort in the knowledge that their colleagues in other departments often put valuable pedagogical knowledge on display for prospective teachers to see while they take their subject matter coursework. Second, prospective teachers, however, do not always notice this pedagogical knowledge on display in those courses. Therefore, third, teacher educators ought to help prepare prospective teachers to think about paying attention not only to the disciplinary knowledge they learn from those courses, but also pedagogical knowledge and how that knowledge could come into play in their classrooms. A comment from Adrianna reveals a way teacher educators could go about this work of preparing prospective teachers to look for both types of knowledge. In reflecting on participating in this research, Adrianna said:

Adrianna: It makes me think about things that I haven't really considered. So I wouldn't have thought of the ways that this class can impact my own teaching, because it's not an education class, it's not one of the classes that I'm taking through the School of Education. And so I think by sitting here and answering your questions, it's given me the opportunity to think about how things that I learned in Dr. Myers's course could be applied to my own teaching or things that I just like get from watching her teach could impact my teaching.²⁷⁷

Just by answering questions on what she noticed from Myers's teaching and what she thought she could incorporate into her own future classroom, Adrianna started to broaden her vision of what she noticed while in U.S. History I.

²⁷⁷ Adrianna, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

CHAPTER VII
Foundations of Social Studies:
A Site to Learn How to Teach and to Learn History

Methods courses play a ubiquitous role in university-based teacher preparation. Typically, methods of teaching history get subsumed into a larger social studies methods course. Here, instructors teach prospective teachers pedagogical practices, but pedagogical practices rooted within specific content – an important distinction captured by PCK. A methods course could provide an avenue for prospective teachers to unite their disciplinary knowledge and their knowledge of how to effectively teach, both necessary for ambitious teaching. This chapter, then, examines what instructors in methods courses can teach and what prospective teachers can and do learn about how to teach and about the discipline of history. It looks at Foundations of Social Studies, the first in a two-part social studies methods course sequence at Indiana University.

The instructors of Foundations of Social Studies – both graduate student instructor Bruce Taylor and his mentor, Dr. Keith C. Barton – intentionally sought to prepare their prospective teachers for disciplinary instruction. In doing so, they at times explicitly taught the disciplinary aspects of history, and at other times provided tacit representation of disciplinary practices. The teaching of Taylor and Dr. Barton demonstrates how instructors in a course covering all the social studies might specifically teach history’s disciplinary knowledge and pedagogies. It also provides a way to see which specific disciplinary knowledge and pedagogies they choose to focus on in their course. The experiences of the prospective teachers in Foundations of Social Studies provides a chance to answer what prospective teachers in a course designed to teach social studies methods notice and take away about the discipline of history and how to teach it.

I discovered that Taylor and Barton, in training prospective teachers for ambitious teaching, had a dual focus on both the epistemology of disciplines and pedagogical practices. Throughout the course, they shifted where they drew their prospective teachers’ attention. At times, they highlighted pedagogical practices, with disciplinary knowledge in the background. At other times disciplinary knowledge rose to the fore, with pedagogical practices incorporated into

the background. I also discovered that despite this dual focus that shifted foci, prospective teachers often constrained their attention to pedagogical practices and not disciplinary knowledge. Prospective teachers' expectations of the role of an education course limited what they noticed of disciplinary knowledge presented in Foundations of Social Studies.

This chapter starts by considering the role methods courses have in teacher education. It then looks at the context of Foundations of Social Studies specifically, detailing its instructors, prospective teachers, and content. Findings from the instructors' teaching and what prospective teachers noticed in the course follow. The chapter comes to a close with a discussion of those findings and their implications for teacher educators, history teachers, and historians.

Methods Courses and Ambitious Teaching

A social studies methods course seemed a logical place to continue my study of how prospective teachers learn history and how to teach it. Such courses, common fare for most formal teacher education programs, focus on what to teach in the social studies, why to teach them, and how. The numerous school subjects referred to collectively as the social studies include history and the social sciences – most frequently geography, civics, and economics.²⁷⁸ Depending on the program, a course on foundations and methods of social studies instruction could come from a history department or a school of education (the latter at Indiana University).

Methods and foundations courses, designed to teach how to teach specific subjects, should cover both a discipline and methods of teaching that discipline if they want to prepare ambitious teachers. However, little research has described what actually occurs within these types of courses.²⁷⁹ Even less research exists on social studies methods courses specifically, which carry the challenge of preparing prospective teachers to teach multiple disciplines. One survey of social studies methods professors found a mismatch between what professors said they taught in methods courses and what they said teachers actually needed to know for successful teaching.²⁸⁰ Another study of one social studies methods course suggested that it encouraged

²⁷⁸ The C3 Framework covers those four areas – history, civics, geography, and economics – in detail, but also includes supplemental appendices for psychology, sociology, and anthropology. National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2013).

²⁷⁹ Sharon Feiman-Nemser, "Learning to Teach," in *Handbook of Teaching and Policy*, ed. Lee S. Shulman and Gary Sykes (New York, NY: Longman, 1983), 150-170.

²⁸⁰ Lilian Katz and James D. Rath, "The Best of Intentions for the Education of Teachers," *Action in Teacher Education* 4, no. 1 (1982): 8-16.

prospective teachers to think about important concepts and methods of the discipline of history, but that same methods course did not necessarily prepare novices for teaching those important disciplinary concepts and methods to students.²⁸¹ Finally, a study by Chauncey Monte-Sano suggests that even when a methods course focuses intently on disciplinary concepts and methods of inquiry, that course alone might not prepare prospective teachers to teach the discipline. After observing prospective teachers from her own methods course teach, Monte-Sano found that prospective teachers with more prior coursework exposing them to the methods of historical inquiry outperformed the other prospective teachers with less prior coursework in disciplinary methods.²⁸² While methods courses can prepare prospective teachers for ambitious teaching, empirical research into them remains thin and mixed.

The Context of Foundations of Social Studies

Instructors: Bruce Taylor taught Foundations of Social Studies. A doctoral student in curriculum and instruction, Taylor came to Indiana University with extensive experience in civic education. The son of a history teacher, Taylor majored in history as an undergraduate, although he readily admitted that “looking back on my undergraduate studies, it was a lot more focused on knowing the specific content and a lot less on knowing historical thinking skills.”²⁸³ Taylor kept this distinction between learning facts versus learning historical thinking skills in mind as he trained future history educators. Although he taught Foundations of Social Studies for the first time the semester I observed, he had already taught another prerequisite course in the education program, and had taught many of the same prospective teachers already in that course. His familiarity with his prospective teachers shone in his teaching. Taylor brought a laid back style and a warm, joking manner that allowed him to connect to his prospective teachers.

Dr. Keith Barton, Taylor’s advisor and a researcher of social studies and history education, mentored Taylor through his first time teaching Foundations of Social Studies. Barton provided Taylor with his syllabus, PowerPoints, and other materials from when he had taught Foundations of Social Studies. Over the summer, Barton met with Taylor to help design and align Foundations of Social Studies to the other coursework in the teacher preparation program

²⁸¹ Elizabeth Anne Yeager and Elizabeth K. Wilson, “Teaching Historical Thinking in the Social Studies Methods Course: A Case Study,” *The Social Studies* 88, no. 3 (1997): 121-126.

²⁸² Chauncey Monte-Sano, “Learning to Open Up History for Students: Preservice Teachers' Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011): 260-272.

²⁸³ Bruce Taylor, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 13.

for secondary social studies. Once the course started, Barton came in off and on to observe Taylor teach, run some segments of the three hour block himself, or even guest lecture an entire class period. Barton explained that in working with Taylor, he sought to strike a balance between giving him “pedagogical recommendations” and materials for the course with giving him “the freedom to adapt it to the things that he considered most important.” When Barton ran guest lectures or activities in the course, he desired to “model some of the kinds of things you can do in a course like that.”²⁸⁴ Through this modeling, observation, discussion, and sharing of materials, Barton helped teach a teacher educator as well as help teach prospective secondary teachers.

Aimee Nguyen, another of Allen’s graduate students and the instructor in the prospective teachers’ field experiences course that semester, also frequently attended Foundations of Social Studies. Aimee would teach the second social studies methods course for these prospective teachers in the following semester.

Prospective Teachers: Roughly thirty prospective teachers enrolled in Foundations of Social Studies. According to a Qualtrics survey, a typical prospective teacher – a male (62% of respondents) – would take Foundations of Social Studies in his junior year (81% of respondents). He would also major in history, in addition to pursuing certification in secondary social studies (71% of respondents), and would enjoy taking history courses (95% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with that statement). He would rate his previous college training in history as either good (57% of respondents) or excellent (24% of respondents), and would have (on average) already taken five college history courses before Foundations of Social Studies.²⁸⁵

Focal Prospective Teachers: In Foundations of Social Studies, I followed three focal prospective teachers, all juniors.²⁸⁶ Since all students in this course had already enrolled in Indiana University’s certification program, I narrowed down my pool of willing participants by giving preference to those who had already taken U.S. History I²⁸⁷ and who strongly enjoyed taking history courses. The three prospective teachers I elected to further study mirrored the general demographics of the class in terms of grade, gender, decision to major in history, and enthusiasm for history.

²⁸⁴ Keith Barton, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23.

²⁸⁵ See Appendix B for complete Qualtrics survey results.

²⁸⁶ I followed these same three focal students in their History Writing Seminar.

²⁸⁷ Even though these focal prospective teachers would not have taken the particular section of U.S. History I that I studied in the previous chapter, I had hoped to find increased connections between that course and the other two courses in this study by selecting focal prospective teachers who had already taken the course, rather than those who had not yet taken it.

Carrie enjoyed history since childhood, confessing she had “a weird obsession with the American Revolution.” An experience with a great AP U.S. History teacher in high school pushed her to consider history teaching as a career. After a year studying elsewhere, she transferred to Indiana University and pursued a secondary education major, with the goal of teaching American history to juniors or seniors in high school. At the time of the study, Carrie also considered possibly completing the requirements for a history major alongside secondary education.²⁸⁸ Mark recognized he had a unique experience with high school history. His school combined literature with history, which he felt gave him more time to “look at topics that others don’t – and then having the English part with it I was able to interpret more about what history was.” Those experiences, plus further history coursework at Indiana University, led Mark to desire bringing this view of interpretive history to his future students. In addition to his secondary education certification, Mark had already declared his major in history at the time of the study.²⁸⁹ Harrison, my last focal prospective teacher, never really liked history in middle school and high school, and actually intended on majoring in a science field when he arrived at Indiana University. However, his general education requirements exposed him to an education course and a history course, and launched him on his path to secondary social studies education. Harrison primarily desired to teach geography in the future, and saw history as “something you’ve got to get through in order to get there.”²⁹⁰ While pursuing a secondary education major, Harrison saw himself as unlikely to major in history at the start of my study.

Course Structure: Foundations of Social Studies came at the beginning of formal teacher preparation in Indiana University’s secondary social studies education program. A second social studies methods course, focused specifically on practical aspects of unit and lesson planning, followed in the next semester. In the third semester, prospective teachers worked full-time in the field student teaching. Foundations of Social Studies met once weekly for three hours, typically with a fifteen minute break in the middle. Instructors facilitated prospective teachers through a variety of instructional activities, including small group work and discussion, whole class discussion, simulations, and short lectures. Discussion for the course also continued through an online platform, as prospective teachers had to regularly post and respond to posts in a course forum. Periodically throughout the semester, the prospective teachers would also visit, observe,

²⁸⁸ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 21.

²⁸⁹ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

²⁹⁰ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

and student teach in limited ways in local classrooms; the work of Foundations of Social Studies drew upon those experiences as well.

The History Department offered a section of its writing-intensive seminar concurrently with Foundations of Social Studies; chapter eight examines this seminar more fully. This unique offering meant that, except for a few students with scheduling conflicts, the same prospective teachers that met on Tuesdays for Foundations of Social Studies also met on Wednesdays for their History Writing Seminar.

Course Content: This course built a foundation for teaching social studies in middle and high schools through examining the purposes for social studies teaching and a broad overview of curriculum planning, unit planning, and inquiry-based teaching. Throughout the semester both Taylor and Barton followed similar patterns of facilitating instructional activities. Small group discussion, jigsawing readings, creating concept maps, and other active-learning pedagogical methods typified these activities. Taylor divided these concepts and practices into three units: the social studies curriculum; teaching with questions, themes, and issues; and the civic mission of schools.

Course Texts: Foundations of Social Studies had one assigned textbook, Beth Rubin's *Making Citizens*. The book combined empirical education research, philosophies of education and citizenship, and practical instructional models illustrated by classroom examples to describe how social studies teachers could encourage students' empowered citizenship.²⁹¹ Citizenship education became a major theme throughout the course – hardly surprising, giving the historic connection between history education and citizenship in America. In addition to the textbook, prospective teachers read numerous articles and book chapters.²⁹² Many articles came from *Social Education*, a publication of National Council for the Social Studies targeted at teachers and containing many practice-oriented articles. Major curricular documents rounded out the

²⁹¹ Beth C. Rubin, *Making Citizens: Transforming Civic Learning for Diverse Social Studies Classrooms* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012).

²⁹² Example citations include Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004); Stephen J. Thornton, "Silence on Gays and Lesbians in Social Studies Curriculum," *Social Education* 67, no. 4 (2003): 226-230; Bruce A. VanSledright, "What Does It Mean to Think Historically...and How Do You Teach It?" *Social Education* 68, no. 3 (2004): 230-233; and Christine Woysner, "Picturing Women: Gender, Images, and Representations in Social Studies," *Social Education* 70, no. 6 (2006): 358-362.

reading list, including the C3 Framework, the National Council for the Social Studies themes of social studies, and Indiana state standards for social studies.²⁹³

Instructional Goals: The “big goal” of Foundations of Social Studies, Taylor explained, “would be understanding the purpose of social studies. And students being able to articulate it in their own words and also to understand its connection to producing citizens who are capable of engagement, deliberation, and participation in formal and informal democratic processes.”²⁹⁴ Throughout the course, Taylor engaged prospective teachers in ambitious pedagogical practices that they could use with their students to facilitate those citizenship skills. As a secondary goal Taylor wanted his prospective teachers to understand their role as curricular gatekeepers.²⁹⁵ Taylor sought to develop a set of criteria to guide prospective teachers in this role. These criteria included historical thinking concepts like causation, agency, perspective-taking, or evidence, and National Council for the Social Studies themes of social studies, including culture, power, and global connections. Finally, Taylor included frameworks of structuring units and lessons: inquiry-based education that dealt with big ideas, big questions, or controversial issues.

A Dual Focus and Shifting Foci

Taylor did not assume his prospective teachers came to Foundations of Social Studies well trained in historical thinking concepts and skills – a reasonable conclusion, given his own undergraduate experience. After a lesson on historical thinking concepts, he remarked that “for some of the students it was fairly clear that it was the first time that they had really thought of history as anything other than a set of facts or a story.”²⁹⁶ Therefore, Taylor chose to bolster his prospective teacher’s disciplinary understanding with a dual focus: prospective teachers needed to both learn disciplinary knowledge and its importance as well as pedagogical practices for teaching disciplinary knowledge to students. Taylor hoped prospective teachers would leave his course knowing the historical thinking concepts of perspective, agency, evidence, and causation: “if they leave knowing that these four exist, that those four are a good basis for middle and high

²⁹³ National Council for the Social Studies, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*; and National Council for the Social Studies, *National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment* (Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2010).

²⁹⁴ Bruce Taylor, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 13.

²⁹⁵ Stephen Thornton used the term to describe the role teachers have in “the day-to-day decisions about the subject matter and experiences to which students have access and the nature of that subject matter and those experiences.” Stephen J. Thornton, “From Content to Subject Matter,” *The Social Studies* 92, no. 6 (November/December 2001): 237-242.

²⁹⁶ Bruce Taylor, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 16.

school history classes, and they have some sense of how to use and design lessons that cause students to use those four, I will be, on the history front, fairly happy.”²⁹⁷

Throughout the course, Taylor and Barton designated activities to deliberately teach disciplinary knowledge to prospective teachers, usually using historical content and concepts appropriate for middle or high school classrooms. In these activities, Taylor or Barton would foreground disciplinary knowledge – teaching it explicitly in order to provide that key element of ambitious teaching to their prospective teachers. Yet even when intentionally bringing disciplinary knowledge to the fore, pedagogical practices played an important role in the background. At other times, Taylor or Barton would shift the foci; pedagogical practices rose to the foreground, but even then, the instructors chose to teach those pedagogical practices through disciplinary content and concepts. In either instance, instructors used the pattern of representation, decomposition, and approximation to teach practices.²⁹⁸ The instructors would first represent the practice, enacting it for prospective teachers to see as they took on the role of secondary students. They then decomposed activities, either with a short lecture or whole class discussion of how the activity they just enacted could apply to prospective teachers’ future instruction. Many times this followed with a chance for prospective teachers to approximate the practice themselves – often through drafting a lesson plan in groups. Such work allowed prospective teachers to view concepts and practices first in the role of high school students, second in the role of a high school teacher.

Teaching the Discipline with Pedagogical Practices

Two class sessions on historical thinking concepts from the first unit demonstrated instructors placing disciplinary knowledge as the main focus of instruction. In the first session, Barton guest lectured. Taking the concepts of causation, perspective-taking, agency, and evidence in turn, Barton facilitated an activity that both taught the prospective teacher the concept and represented a pedagogical practice they could use to teach their future students that concept.²⁹⁹ Barton used the 1666 Great Fire of London to demonstrate causation. He divided the prospective teachers into groups, giving each an envelope filled with slips of paper listing

²⁹⁷ Bruce Taylor, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 16.

²⁹⁸ Pam Grossman et al., “Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective,” *Teachers College Record* 111, no. 9 (September 2009): 2055-2100.

²⁹⁹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2. Appendix L contains transcript segments and images from these activities.

possible causes of the conflagration. The groups discussed and arranged the causes into different categories, first from most to least relevant, and second as short-, medium-, and long-term causes. Barton led whole class discussion following each of these card sorts, pushing prospective teachers to explain their causal reasoning.

Barton presented many layers of learning in this activity. First, he gave prospective teachers a lesson on the Great Fire of London; such historical content could seamlessly fit into a world or European history course. Second, he pushed on prospective teachers' understanding of the disciplinary concept of causation; causation in this lesson became a complicated, contextualized, and multifaceted concept. Barton gave prospective teachers a vocabulary that they could use to categorize and sort through some of the complexity. Finally, Barton represented a pedagogical practice that prospective teachers could easily appropriate for secondary students: using slips of papers and the manipulation of those slips into categories to help students develop concepts. Barton explained this to his prospective teachers, noting in a later lesson the value of categorizing for ambitious teaching:

Barton: When you have students compare things or categorize them, it's a higher order of thinking. Almost nothing that you're going to be doing as a teacher, at least not if you want to be successful, is going to involve just asking students to spit something back. It's going to involve higher order thinking. And so some kind of categorization, comparison, and so on, is always going to be harder – it's an easy and automatic way of increasing the level of thought from students.³⁰⁰

His discussion of the pedagogical moves he made in this instructional activity, and explaining his reasoning for making those pedagogical moves, transformed the activity from one purely teaching historical content and concepts to one with a dual focus on both history and its teaching. Barton continued this pattern for the other three historical thinking concepts, using content to teach a concept, and presenting and discussing a different pedagogical method with each.

For perspective-taking, Barton modeled a 'silent dialogue:' a written back-and-forth between two partners.³⁰¹ Then, he contextualized Amelia Bloomer, the nineteenth century women's rights advocate and namesake of the baggy trousers worn under dresses. Prospective teachers viewed a photograph of Bloomer as Barton lectured on first-order concepts of

³⁰⁰ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 16.

³⁰¹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2.

patriarchy, separate spheres for women and men, and modesty. He also read a secondary source – a Newbery Honor book that could easily find its place in a lesson for middle school students – on the bloomer phenomenon.³⁰² Barton had prospective teachers take on the perspectives of women during Amelia Bloomer’s time period through a silent dialogue. Working in pairs, prospective teachers wrote back and forth on whether or not they should wear bloomers. Again, the activity had as its prime focus disciplinary knowledge – in this case, perspective-taking – but it also represented pedagogical methods for teaching perspective-taking.

For agency, Barton first started with disciplinary knowledge: defining agency and breaking it down into four main components (people, their actions, their intentions, and the results).³⁰³ Then, he discussed common misconceptions students have about agency: failing to see factors that constrain agency, seeing people as victims instead of agents, and seeing agency only in terms of individuals and not groups. Having explained disciplinary and pedagogical aspects of agency, Barton gave prospective teachers a chance to practice using the concept while also representing a pedagogical practice they could use with their own students. Barton read a piece of historical fiction on the life of a black sharecropper in the 1920s.³⁰⁴ He had prospective teachers take note of agency’s four components and then share examples from the story. Again Barton provided a teaching activity with a dual focus: on history, with the content of 1920s sharecroppers and the historical concept of agency, and on teaching history, with the demonstration of using historical fiction in teaching history and the discussion of student misconceptions of agency.

For the last historical thinking concept, evidence, Barton used American propaganda posters from World War II encouraging women to join the workforce and help with the war effort. He had prospective teachers determine which claims they could support with evidence from the posters. This move, connecting claims to evidence, represented the heart of disciplinary work – disciplinary work that Barton described as essential to pass on to students:

Barton: Now to put this in the context of what it means to have students working with historical evidence: of course it’s interesting visually, but the whole point of this is so that students better understand the basis for a historical claim. That’s one of the things they typically really just don’t get. They don’t know how historians

³⁰² Rhoda Blumberg, *Bloomers!* (New York, NY: Atheneum Books, 1993).

³⁰³ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2.

³⁰⁴ Margaree King Mitchell, *Uncle Jed’s Barbershop* (New York, NY: Aladdin, 1998).

know what happened in the past. Oftentimes they think this has just been handed down by word of mouth. ‘Well, somebody’s grandparents were in World War II so that’s how they know about women in World War II,’ as though it’s just a family story. I asked one kid one time, if you’re studying Native Americans before the colonists came, and it’s hundreds of years ago, how did historians know how Native Americans lived? And he said, ‘Well, if some Indian today had a great-great-great-great-grandfather who told them and they passed that down.’ They don’t recognize that sources are used to make claims about the past.³⁰⁵

In this final activity, Barton taught the disciplinary content of women in World War II and concepts of claims and evidence, but he did so with a pedagogical practice of classroom image analysis and an explanation of the importance of the concept of evidence to teaching history and how students might misunderstand that concept.

Teaching Pedagogy with Disciplinary Knowledge

For most of the course, instructors gave pedagogical practices their main focus, but disciplinary knowledge still playing an important role in the background. Taylor and Barton took time to teach with historical content that prospective teachers might not already know, but that they could likely use in their teaching. Sometimes, this took the form of brief asides. Taylor launched into a brief contextualization of the Boxer Rebellion after referencing the event as a hypothetical lesson topic.³⁰⁶ Likewise, after he mentioned rotten boroughs in one lesson, Barton paused, asking “Do you know what rotten boroughs are? You’re all likely to wind up teaching about the American Revolution. You can’t teach about the revolution without knowing what rotten boroughs were.”³⁰⁷ He then briefly described the concept for the prospective teachers; although he used the content of rotten boroughs to demonstrate a pedagogical practice, he still drew attention to the value of the content itself and its necessity for prospective teachers’ future work. Taylor also followed this method, deliberately selecting the content he used to demonstrate and approximate pedagogical practices in order to address areas of content important to the curriculum of middle and high school history or content he suspected prospective teachers might lack. His selection of the Harlan County War, discussed later in the chapter, allowed Taylor to introduce a historical event he doubted many had covered in prior learning. When he polled how

³⁰⁵ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2.

³⁰⁶ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 29.

³⁰⁷ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 16.

many prospective teachers had studied it before, only a few hands raised. For economics, an area in which many prospective teachers lacked content knowledge, Taylor devoted a whole class period to teaching key economic content. Although history did not have such explicit dedication just to learning content knowledge, Taylor and Dr. Barton did interweave it constantly, sometimes very contentiously, into the lessons of Foundations of Social Studies.

A lesson immediately following Barton's introduction of historical thinking concepts captures this aspect of Foundations of Social Studies. Taylor had prospective teachers approximate the practice of assessing student thought by selecting several passages from middle and high school students' writing that revealed a misconception of agency. For example, one student, seeing agency only in terms of an individual, wrote of Martin Luther King: "In U.S. history, there's always one person who goes this isn't right, and decides to challenge that. It was just the worldview at the time that blacks were inferior and came to a point when one person was like, well actually no they're not. A lot of people were like yeah, maybe that person's right."³⁰⁸ Prospective teachers read these student work samples and then applied their knowledge of agency to diagnose how those particular students misunderstood the concept. In doing so, they enacted an important practice of ambitious teaching: assessing students' ideas about the discipline.

After having prospective teachers approximate this practice, Taylor switched modes. Placing prospective teachers in the role of a student, he represented a piece of ambitious pedagogy. Given a list of varied actors in the Holocaust, Taylor asked prospective teachers to rank their responsibility for what occurred from not responsible, minimally responsible, responsible, to very responsible.³⁰⁹ Taylor used that list to spring a lively and at times heated discussion on the criteria prospective teachers would use to assign responsibility. Taylor shifted their role again, asking them to think as teachers, rather than students. He had them reason on his instructional goals for giving them the list and having them discuss their criteria for assigning responsibility. Select comments from that discussion revealed how prospective teachers saw historical concepts coming into play in the pedagogical practices of the lesson:

³⁰⁸ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9. Appendix M contains the complete transcript segment.

³⁰⁹ These historical actors included, among others, Adolf Hitler's direct subordinates, an industrialist profiting from the production of Zyklon B gas, a person who took the Civil Servant Loyalty Oath swearing allegiance to Hitler, a person who pulled the lever operating the gas chambers, or a child who joined the Hitler Youth. The activity comes from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's education division. "Resources for Educators," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/educators> (accessed June 2, 2017).

Donna: If you're doing this as a teacher, you ask us for criteria to know where our perspectives are coming from on these issues. And then obviously this is going to be great for us in future classrooms.

Henry: I think so much in history courses we just forget about perspective...and perspective is huge because everyone in this room has a different opinion of who is held responsible.

Harrison: We've always been taught that there's a black and white, a leader and a follower, a right and a wrong. But now that we're here, discussing agency, perspective, and analysis, we step out of that lens and see things a little bit more complex.

Nicholas: It's all about understanding that different people have different perspectives. And understanding how to strengthen your own argument or even change your own argument based on listening to them.

Robert: I think ultimately why you asked us to think about criteria is just to evaluate our own thinking about this – to see where we are coming from and to establish agency to these people.³¹⁰

Taylor also decomposed the practice of having students create and sort items based on criteria as a way to push students to higher levels of thinking, connecting it to Benjamin Bloom's levels of thought framework.³¹¹

While talking about the pedagogy behind the activities, Taylor also used the disciplinary concept of agency – focusing on both teaching and history. Taylor went on to identify, provide examples of, and have prospective teachers discuss other misconceptions students have when they think about agency. This included personifying countries, demonstrated with the student response “World War I wouldn't have happened if Germany had decided not to become the big power in Europe” or homogenizing the population of a country, demonstrated by the student comment “Americans were anti-communist.” Students also could over-contextualize the actions of people in the past, seeing them as so much a product of their time and social setting that they had only one choice of action, demonstrated by the comment “Blacks were just treated so badly and it was the norm for them to be treated badly, and white people didn't see anything wrong with it.” Finally, students could look at people in the past as ignorant, unlike the more

³¹⁰ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

³¹¹ Lorin W. Anderson, David R. Krathwohl, and Benjamin Samuel Bloom, *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2001).

enlightened people of the future, demonstrated by one student’s comment about Germany in World War II: “We know what’s going to happen now if there’s an argument and people just want to bomb the country because of it. We know it’s not going to end in a good way. It’s going to have a bad result. So we try to sort it out in a different way to make it better.” “There’s a lot of assumptions wrapped up in this statement that a student has developed through the course of their history classes,” Taylor concluded. “These are student comments in class and they’re trying to apply history to today in talking about what they can learn from history. So there is a lot of mistaken assumptions, a lot of things overlooked, that are worthy of unpacking when you hear something like that from a student.”³¹² This union of a historical concept to the pedagogical practice of diagnosing student thought prepared prospective teachers for ambitious instruction.

Conducting Historical Research to Approximate Pedagogical Practices

While instructors in Foundations of Social Studies placed careful thought into the disciplinary knowledge they selected to demonstrate pedagogical practices, they also had prospective teachers approximate those pedagogical practices with disciplinary knowledge they researched for themselves. In this way, instructors united a practice of doing history – researching a historical topic – with practices of teaching history. But instructors had prospective teachers research topics in a way that surfaced the content knowledge most germane to teaching.

In one activity, Taylor gave his prospective teachers a list of five principles for incorporating agency into the teaching of historical events: the many people (not just the leaders) involved, the possible choices people could make, societal factors that constrained actions, societal factors that enabled actions, and the diversity of ideas and behaviors within a group.³¹³ Armed with those principles, Taylor broke the class into groups and had them research a particular historical event for the content knowledge necessary to promote the concept of agency. He had the different groups research a different event: the Harlan County War, the bonus march, the passage of the nineteenth amendment, the Chicano civil rights movement, and the Second Red Scare. Groups researched examples to illustrate each principle of teaching agency. Taylor had each group present on their event and the content knowledge they would have to bring to bear to help students avoid misconceptions of agency. As they presented, Taylor made comments

³¹² Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

³¹³ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

to help the prospective teachers generalize the skills they had practiced beyond any one particular historical event. Regarding the Harlan County War, he explained:

Taylor: Say you want to focus in on the Homestead Strike or almost any strike, there are some patterns that you can look at across them and you can think about why these similar patterns might have played out in history. Why did those in power generally support the companies rather than the workers? That's a question that you could ask students to think about. It's not just true in Harlan County, it's true in most instances of big strikes.³¹⁴

In doing so, Taylor sought to have the prospective teachers think of how they could apply the concept of agency to many different historical events and teaching situations.

Prospective teachers would turn again to historical research in Foundations of Social Studies, as Taylor had them work on the skill of researching to prepare a lesson with a particular pedagogical practice. Taylor discussed the practice of teaching with big ideas and big questions, tying that inquiry-based instruction to earlier concepts of historical thinking.³¹⁵ He again gave prospective teachers a list of historical events and had them research to create a big ideas question that incorporated the event and some disciplinary concepts. Taylor also coached prospective teachers into strengthening their big idea question, pushing them to think beyond narrowly focusing on one historical event to thinking about how that historical event connected to these broader concepts. Appendix N contains a segment of transcript in which Taylor led the class in developing one groups' big ideas question around the invention of the printing press. During this activity Taylor allowed prospective teachers to approximate an ambitious pedagogical practice – designing an inquiry question around big ideas in history. As prospective teachers approximated, Taylor provided coaching, giving them feedback to refine their practice. He also reminded them about the second-order historical thinking concepts they wanted to incorporate into their questions, while also bringing up first-order concepts (such as power or authority) to help them flesh out this big question. In this way, prospective teachers had to approximate disciplinary practices – specifically those geared to teaching – within their pedagogical practices.

³¹⁴ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

³¹⁵ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 29.

What Prospective Teachers Noticed

Since prospective teachers took both Foundations of Social Studies and their History Writing Seminar concurrently, claims of what they learned in one course versus the other rapidly become intertwined. A fuller depiction of what these prospective teachers learned comes from both this chapter and the following, including how they changed in their understanding of history and the differences they saw between Foundations of Social Studies and their History Writing Seminar. Here, I seek to describe only what focal prospective teachers explicitly told me they noticed in Foundations of Social Studies in terms of content, pedagogical practices, and what they would adopt for their own future classrooms.

Pedagogical Practices: All three focal prospective teachers readily talked about Taylor’s ability to facilitate discussion and structure group work. “He’s an outstanding proctor,” Harrison noted. “He doesn’t have to talk very loud, but when one minute was up, you just switched it right over, there was no question about it. It just happened [snaps finger]. And the timing of it was very well taken care of.”³¹⁶ Carrie mentioned how Taylor prepared for those discussions, sequencing them to build up in a productive manner: “Bruce has a plan for how to do those discussions, to lead to another discussion – it’s all group talking and I love it!”³¹⁷ And Mark mentioned how Taylor’s use of the jigsaw technique – having each member of a small group read a different article and discuss how they fit together – encouraged a deeper level of thinking. “It was definitely more straining for me to think of how we use all these documents,” he recalled.³¹⁸ Both Carrie and Harrison mentioned Taylor’s use of big ideas questions as an important pedagogical practice, and Harrison noticed how Taylor and Barton would model skills and concepts. Harrison especially noted instructors’ use of posters, charts and other techniques to facilitate categorization.³¹⁹ Harrison saw how these types of activities promoted “higher level thinking” and made prospective teachers “involved in the work instead of just sitting idly by.”³²⁰ Prospective teachers went beyond noticing that Taylor and Barton used group work, discussion, and other techniques, to noticing how they actually implemented those pedagogical activities and a bit about why those techniques worked to encourage student thought.

³¹⁶ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

³¹⁷ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³¹⁸ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

³¹⁹ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 27.

³²⁰ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

Mark saw how many of the pedagogical practices Taylor and Barton used could transfer over into a classroom of his own. “I feel like almost every activity we did in that class was something we could use in an actual classroom,” he noted. Even though the instructors intended the activities for prospective teachers, Mark explained that with some changes they could “easily make a lot of those activities for working with children.”³²¹ Mark listed as things he planned on implementing in his own classroom the C3 framework, the technique of structured academic controversy Taylor used in the first lesson, and the concept of teaching with big ideas questions or through controversial issues. Harrison also mentioned the C3 framework and the structured academic controversy as practices he would use in his own classroom, and added the practice of having students categorize in order to reach higher levels of thinking. Carrie wanted to implement Taylor’s use of discussion and the way he structured and facilitated discussion as well as the practice of teaching with big ideas questions into her own future teaching.

Disciplinary Knowledge: Harrison and Carrie rarely noted disciplinary knowledge from Foundations of Social Studies, while Mark mentioned it frequently. Two weeks after Barton’s lesson on historical thinking concepts, Carrie mentioned two concepts, evidence and agency. With those two concepts, she supplied a beginning understanding of their role in the classroom: to get students to “question everything and understand where information comes from and put themselves in that mindset.”³²² At semester’s end, Harrison mentioned, but did not describe, the “idea of agency and multiple sources,” as historical concepts he noticed.³²³

Contrasting Carrie and Harrison, Mark talked a lot about the historical content and concepts he saw his instructors use in Foundations of Social Studies. After the first lesson, he talked about specific content mentioned in the course (the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and the Vietnam War), and how it could impact his own teaching. In regards to both, he said “we want to talk about those subjects, but the issue that comes with that is the time constraints. And it’s how are we going to be able to overcome those time constraints and spend more time on subjects that are a little bit more – I would say more interesting – but also offer a better view of history, more than a one-sided story.”³²⁴ Mark saw the content choices Taylor and Barton made not as arbitrary, but as key content for complicating the narrative of

³²¹ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

³²² Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³²³ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 27.

³²⁴ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

American history. At mid-semester, Mark described a pedagogical practice that his instructors used to impart content knowledge:

Mark: Dr. Barton and Bruce can both start to lecture about something that I don't have a good understanding of. For example, this week Bruce talked about the 2008 recession, and he gave us a general history on how the banks played a role in that and the housing balloon. And that was something that, going forward, I'm looking forward to... whenever they give a lecture that's where I pick up little nuggets of information that I want to take for later and teach.³²⁵

Mark went on to discuss some of the content from the course to take for later and teach, using perspective to frame the content. He mentioned many different people and events that he encountered in Foundations of Social Studies and how that content could help his students learn about perspective:

Mark: LBGT, women, how they play a role in history, Stonewall. Well actually we did a lot of rebellions that I imagine myself using in the classroom. One was the union workers back in the Gilded Age and the process of how people overcame what we would now think of as injustice. One thing that came up to me was thinking of [American] history as the United States overcoming racism and injustices or creating racism and injustices.³²⁶

These and other examples demonstrate how Mark, in a way different than Harrison or Carrie, noticed the disciplinary knowledge present in Foundations of Social Studies alongside the pedagogical practices the instructors taught. Mark focused on those “little nuggets of information” his instructors delivered alongside (or through) teaching him about pedagogical practices, with an eye towards using them later in his own classroom.

Discussion: A Dual Focused but Constrained Noticing

The reports of what Harrison, Carrie, and Mark noticed and would adopt from Foundations of Social Studies indicate that the three-worlds pitfall of experience that entrapped prospective teachers in U.S. History I existed for the prospective teachers in this course as well. But the depth to which prospective teachers fell into this pitfall varied. Like Adrianna and

³²⁵ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

³²⁶ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

Madison in U.S. History I, Carrie and Harrison seemed prone to slipping into this pitfall of experience, constraining their focus in the education course often to the pedagogical practices they saw, removed from the history content and concepts. Harrison, for example, in commenting on the activity involving categorizing causal factors of the Great Fire of London, described it completely absent of the history concept: “We made little charts and categories of things and we had to cut them up and put them, and tape them on to the poster sheets and to understand better what people were saying about things.”³²⁷ Harrison, keenly noticing how categorization increased the level of thought in students, did not notice the importance of the historical concept of causation in the activity. Mark, on the other hand, noticed and planned to adopt far more history content and concepts from Foundations of Social Studies than his peers.³²⁸

Prospective teachers fell into the three-worlds pitfall despite instructors’ intent to teach both pedagogy and history. Unlike Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, who used cognitive apprenticeship frameworks most often to make visible the invisible thought behind doing history rather than its pedagogy, Taylor and Barton used cognitive apprenticeships for both doing history and teaching history. The way the Foundations of Social Studies instructors planned their activities created a layered cognitive apprenticeship, in which they represented, decomposed, and gave prospective teachers a chance to approximate both pedagogical and disciplinary practices in the same activity. Sometimes the instructors brought disciplinary knowledge to the fore, as Barton did in his activities on the four concepts of historical thinking. He explained the concept, broke down the thinking it entailed, and enacted an activity that allowed prospective teachers to approximate using that concept. Then, after completing the activity, he followed it with a discussion of the pedagogical practices he used, decomposing that complex practice to make visible some of his thinking as he structured the lesson. Other times, the instructors brought pedagogical practices to the fore, as Taylor did when prospective teachers learned about big ideas questions. Taylor first described the practice and coached them through how to design big ideas questions themselves. Then, he discussed the historical content they used to approximate designing big ideas questions, exposing his thinking behind using that content in the classroom. Many times, instructors intertwined pedagogical practices and disciplinary knowledge together, granting primacy to neither one nor the other. Instructors made both disciplinary knowledge and

³²⁷ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³²⁸ The fact that Mark had taken multiple courses from Dr. Arlene Díaz – the instructor in the next chapter – might explain why he avoided falling so far into the three-worlds pitfall.

pedagogical practices explicit in their course, yet regardless of which they had at the fore, prospective teachers Harrison and Carrie more often noticed pedagogical practices in the context of an education course. Despite instructors' dual focus on history and pedagogy, prospective teachers all too often viewed Foundations of Social Studies with a constrained vision, noticing pedagogical practices only.

Taylor and Barton did use methods to shift that constrained vision away from just pedagogical practices towards both pedagogical practices and disciplinary knowledge. Frequently, they called attention to historical content and concepts, pointing out their relevance to the work of teaching. Barton did that in the example where he used the content of rotten boroughs above. Through calling attention to that content's importance, he made it clear that he did not intend for them to just notice the pedagogical activity, but the historical content he used to illustrate that pedagogical activity as well. Taylor also did this, pointing out the importance of the content of, for example, the Harlan County War and how it touched on the broader historical concept of agency. Additionally, Taylor talked more generally with the prospective teachers about the role he saw disciplinary knowledge playing in Foundations of Social Studies following a discussion of what they have learned and need to know to teach:

Edith: It is important for us to be social studies teachers who are super informed on the basics of all these issues, but I feel like in my political science or my history classes that I don't really necessarily get that base education. I get really specific target things.

Taylor: So this is actually something that Aimee and I were talking about last week – what kind of education should you receive here about the content? And I agree with that critique that a lot of the things you'll learn are very specific. People who are majoring in history will take a class on Medieval Italy or the Hapsburg in central Europe or something. And that's not going to help you tremendously with having a general picture of history or with some of the concepts that Dr. Barton talked about when he came into the class – the historical thinking skills and concepts.³²⁹

In explaining some of his thinking behind the disciplinary knowledge he wanted to expose prospective teachers to in Foundations of Social Studies, Taylor also pointed out the value that that knowledge had for prospective teachers.

³²⁹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 8.

Implications

This chapter offers implications for teacher educators, history teachers, and historians. For teacher educators, it provides an example of activities from the often taught but rarely studied methods course, and how instructors could teach in a way that encourages a dual focus on both the disciplinary knowledge of history and its pedagogical practices. To teach the complex work of teaching history requires layered apprenticeships in teaching, doing history, and teaching the doing of history. Further, the study provides a caution: even though teacher educators may design activities intended to promote PCK and connect disciplinary knowledge to pedagogical practices, prospective teachers can often fall into a pitfall of experience. Their constrained focus on pedagogical practices could lead them to notice less of disciplinary knowledge and see pedagogical practices detached from the discipline. Reminders of the importance of disciplinary knowledge, and shifting those concepts and content to the fore at times, can help teacher educators navigate their prospective teachers around that pitfall.

This study implies a challenge for prospective teachers to meet: a challenge to avoid the three-worlds pitfall in their methods courses by noticing more than just pedagogical practices. The disciplinary knowledge instructors use to demonstrate pedagogical practices also represents valuable knowledge that prospective teachers can notice and could incorporate into their own practice. Prospective teachers can resist the temptation to narrow their vision to just pedagogical practices while in education coursework; getting into the habit of noticing the elements of history alongside pedagogical practice might allow prospective teachers to see more of the layered apprenticeships in their methods courses.

Lastly, historians can take away practices of how to teach historical concepts from this study. Although Barton and Taylor demonstrated practices for teaching concepts like causation, agency, perspective-taking, and using evidence for secondary students, those same practices, paired with appropriately challenging content, could also teach undergraduate students those concepts. Furthermore, since many students in college history courses could go on to teach history themselves, knowledge of how those teaching in schools of education reify, explain, and instruct on historical thinking concepts and content might help develop a shared vocabulary for students as they cross between history coursework and education coursework. Such a shared

vocabulary of concepts might help historians avoid Edith's above critique, that she missed out on the "base education" of the discipline in her history coursework.³³⁰

³³⁰ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 8.

CHAPTER VIII
The History Writing Seminar:
A Site of Ambitious Teaching of History and Pedagogy

The last course of my study, a section of a History Writing Seminar reserved for prospective teachers, represents a fairly atypical offering in teaching training, born out of the cooperation between the History Department and the School of Education at Indiana University. The History Department required all history majors to take a writing-intensive seminar to develop skills of writing in history, but, in a collaborative effort with the School of Education, they also offered a section of the writing-intensive seminar as one of the requirements for certification in secondary social studies education. The prospective teachers in the History Writing Seminar enrolled concurrently in Foundations of Social Studies, the subject of the previous chapter. This unique course deliberately and explicitly united training in the discipline with training in its pedagogy – making it an excellent potential site to learn ambitious teaching.

Dr. Arlene Díaz, the historian teaching this section of the History Writing Seminar, embraced her role as both disciplinary instructor and teacher educator. Díaz brought with her a wealth of SOTL experience and knowledge of educational research. She explicitly and intentionally taught pedagogical practices and disciplinary knowledge, interweaving the two. Her teaching provided a way to see how historians might explicitly assume the role of a teacher educator while still teaching the disciplinary knowledge required in their history seminars. The experiences of prospective teachers in the course provided a way to answer what prospective teachers learn and notice in a disciplinary course targeted at teachers.

I found that, like the Foundations of Social Studies course, the History Writing Seminar also had a dual focus. Even when teaching disciplinary knowledge, Díaz sought to intentionally make her pedagogical practices visible to her prospective teachers; when teaching pedagogical practices, she rooted them in the discipline of history. I also discovered that, again, despite this dual focus and explicit attention to disciplinary knowledge and pedagogy, prospective teachers most often constrained their focus in this class. However, unlike in Foundations of Social

Studies, in this course they constrained it to disciplinary knowledge. Their expectations of the role of a history course limited what they noticed of the pedagogical practices presented in the course.

The beginning of this chapter examines the context of this History Writing Seminar, describing its instructor, prospective teachers, and content. Findings from Díaz’s teaching and what focal prospective teachers noticed in the course follow. Then, I consider what prospective teachers learned across both the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies. The chapter closes with a discussion of these findings and their implications for historians, teacher educators, and history teachers.

The Context of the History Writing Seminar

Instructor: A professor at Indiana University for over a decade, Dr. Arlene Díaz had taught the History Writing Seminar for prospective teachers three times before. “This is probably the most important class I teach,” she told her prospective teachers.³³¹ While a scholar of Latin American history, Díaz also researched in what she termed her “second area of work” – history pedagogy and SOTL. In the opening of the class, the Associate Professor in History communicated that she held inquiry into teaching on par with her other research on Latin America, treating each with the same seriousness and meticulousness. Díaz brought a warm, lively persona to the class. “I’m here as a professor but also as a coach,” she told her prospective teachers, encouraging them to come talk to her and promising to “be kindly and professional.”³³² While she communicated approachability and caring in her tone, she also set expectations for a rigorous and challenging course: “We have some brain muscles and we’re going to be activating those, just like when you go to the gym and at night you are very sore. So we’re going to be sore. And you’re going to be anxious and you may say, ‘Oh this darn class!’ But we’re going to be using those muscles and then you’re going to see that it isn’t going to hurt anymore.”³³³

Díaz’s interest in SOTL came from her experiences teaching as a graduate student. “I was always questioning myself about who are the students in front of me?” she explained. “What are they doing? What are they making of what I am telling them? So there was a cultural difference,

³³¹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³³² History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³³³ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

of course. And I wanted to understand that. That was always, always, always in my mind.”³³⁴ That question of better understanding her students and how they made sense of her class led Díaz to SOTL.

Díaz also read education research and applied it to her teaching. In one class, for example, Díaz explained to the prospective teachers how an article by Robert Bain caused her to readjust her teaching, abolishing the use of the textbook in her class in order to disrupt students’ “ritualistic interaction” with those texts.³³⁵ Familiar with the research of Dr. Keith C. Barton, her colleague in the School of Education, Díaz sought to cooperate with him and others in the School of Education to prepare prospective teachers “well in terms of disciplinary literacy.”³³⁶

Course Structure: Prospective social studies teachers usually took the History Writing Seminar in their junior year, ideally concurrently with Foundations of Social Studies.³³⁷ Roughly twenty students enrolled in this section of the seminar. This History Writing Seminar section met once weekly for two and a half hours, typically with a ten minute break in the middle. Díaz incorporated a variety of instructional activities, including group work, reading and thinking aloud from texts, whole class discussions, brief lectures, and movie clips. Prospective teachers routinely turned in what Díaz called argument summaries – short written analyses of an assigned reading that describe the author’s argument and the evidence used to support that argument. In addition to these frequent argument summaries, prospective teachers worked on other homework assignments throughout the semester. Díaz designed these homework assignments to build on to each other and lead into one of the four longer papers in the course.

Díaz called her weekly argument summaries “the most painful thing in my classes.” But she assured prospective teachers that she did not use them as filler or busy work:

Díaz: It has a purpose. It’s very, very intentional...and I have evidence to prove it, students that we have interviewed in other classes, they all say that even though they were painful, they did help to write what you had to write. They all connected to the papers. So therefore the papers were of higher quality and I had to say that in both classes, the final papers I received were really polished papers.³³⁸

³³⁴ Arlene Díaz, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 11.

³³⁵ Robert B. Bain, “Rounding Up Unusual Suspects: Facing the Authority Hidden in the History Classroom,” *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 10 (October 2006): 2080-2114; History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 2.

³³⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 20.

³³⁷ See the previous chapter for a description of prospective teachers and focal prospective teachers in this course.

³³⁸ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

This comment itself revealed something Díaz would do throughout the course: employ backwards design to build each activity together toward a larger learning goal, and then give metacognitive explanations for her teaching decisions.

Díaz incorporated many different pedagogical practices into her History Writing Seminar. She frequently led her prospective teachers through close readings of articles, modeling and coaching how to read for an author's argument, because, as Díaz explained to the prospective teachers, "you're going to be writing. Sometimes when someone is not such a good writer, sometimes it is because they are not a very good reader. And I would like you to use this [disciplinary writing] as a model of what we do in the discipline of history and why we do things the way we do."³³⁹ Through this treatment, Díaz used close reading of articles as a way to learn content as well as a representation of disciplinary writing. Díaz frequently had prospective teachers work in groups, often to read and get feedback from each other on different stages of their work. In addition, Díaz would give short lectures, peppering them with metaphors to help her prospective teachers better understand concepts from history and its teaching.

Course Content: Instructors of the History Writing Seminar had the freedom to choose the topic of the course; for her section, which she named "Latin America and Latinos Beyond the Textbook," Díaz selected the U.S.-Mexican War and its treatment in the curriculum of American schools as the object of inquiry for prospective teachers' research and writing.³⁴⁰ Díaz divided her section of the History Writing Seminar into four units. In the first, prospective teachers investigated the development of the national history curriculum. In the second, they looked at the concepts and skills of historical thinking. In the third, they practiced those concepts and skills through researching and writing on the U.S.-Mexican War. Finally, they moved to instructional design in the last unit, turning what they had researched on the U.S.-Mexican War in the third unit into a lesson they could teach to students of their own.

Course Texts: The two required books for the History Writing Seminar reflected Díaz's dual focus on teaching history and doing history. The first, Sam Wineburg's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, examines the nature of thinking historically, and the challenges students face doing it and teachers face teaching it.³⁴¹ The second book, *The U.S.-Mexican War:*

³³⁹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁴⁰ Chapter four describes the development of this type of course at Indiana University.

³⁴¹ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).

A Binational Reader, contains an edited collection of primary source documents from the U.S.-Mexican War collected from both sides of the conflict.³⁴² In addition to those two books, Díaz assigned numerous articles from diverse disciplines. Some pertained to the history of the U.S.-Mexican War,³⁴³ while others looked at the development of the American history curriculum.³⁴⁴ Some had a practice-oriented focus on teaching history or SOTL in history, while others looked at teaching and learning generally.³⁴⁵ The reading list alone demonstrated that Díaz, keenly aware that her students all intended to go on to teach history, would take her History Writing Seminar in directions that differed from a more traditional history course.

Instructional Goals: Díaz set forth ambitious goals and, employing the principles of backwards design, she worked to create assessments and then align activities that built upon each other to achieve those goals. First, she wanted to challenge prospective teachers' prior conceptions of what history instruction can and should look like. Second, she wanted her prospective teachers to develop a "vocabulary" for historical thinking. This learning goal came out of her own SOTL research. "In our research," she explained, "it was clear to me that my colleagues, when we talked about aspects of historical thinking, like contextualization, switching perspectives, empathy, relevance, all of that stuff, we were all talking about the same thing but the way things were explained was said in different ways." A vocabulary would help prospective teachers explain disciplinary thinking explicitly to others.³⁴⁶ Third, Díaz wanted her prospective teachers to execute historical thinking skills by researching and writing on the U.S.-Mexican War. Finally, she wanted prospective teachers to "construct a class plan taking all of those aspects into consideration."³⁴⁷

Historicizing Two Types of History

Díaz began her course by having prospective teachers create two opposing concepts of history. The first, which she termed K-12 history, represented an unambitious form of history

³⁴² Christopher Conway, ed., and Gustavo Pellón, trans., *The U.S.-Mexican War: A Binational Reader* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2010).

³⁴³ For example, Brian DeLay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (February 2007): 35-68.

³⁴⁴ Such as Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," *Review of Research in Education* 32, (2008): 109-146.

³⁴⁵ Including Bain, "Rounding Up Unusual Suspects," 2080-2114 and Patricia M. King and Bettina C. Shuford, "A Multicultural View is a More Cognitively Complex View: Cognitive Development and Multicultural Education," *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no. 153 (November/December 1996): 153-164.

³⁴⁶ Arlene Díaz, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 11.

³⁴⁷ Arlene Díaz, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 11.

often taught in K-12 schools: students passively accepting narratives and memorizing facts from a textbook to reproduce (and subsequently forget) on an exam. The second, which she termed disciplinary history, represented ambitious teaching: using the discipline to involve students in critical thinking about the past. She spent the rest of her course using the latter concept to challenge the former.

Prospective teachers first developed a concept of K-12 history through identifying characteristics of how they experienced history in elementary and secondary schools and posting them to the classroom wall with sticky notes.³⁴⁸ After putting those sticky notes on the wall, Díaz had prospective teachers arrange them into categories – invoking the pedagogical strategy of using categorization to encourage higher levels of thinking in students. The categories that emerged included: an emphasis on memorization; a narrative of American exceptionalism; coverage of a lot of content, especially names, events, and dates, deemed important to American history; reliance on a textbook; and assessment via multiple choice and short answer essays.

From these categories, Díaz opened a discussion on how the prospective teachers' experiences in their elementary and secondary classes differed from their college history courses.³⁴⁹ This discussion accomplished many things. First, Díaz surfaced prior understandings from the prospective teachers, leveraging their apprenticeships of observation in elementary and secondary classrooms and college history coursework. From this, she worked with the prospective teachers to form criteria for the two concepts. She called attention to her purpose for the discussion, cuing the difference between K-12 and college history as “the point that I would like us to leave today’s class with.”³⁵⁰ From these two concepts, she set up a problem worthy of inquiry – both a historical problem and a pedagogical problem – of why this disconnect between disciplinary history and K-12 history exists.

Díaz next provided prospective teachers with some evidence to answer the above question. First, she delivered a lecture contextualizing the relationship between academic historians and K-12 education, a narrative told by Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro in their study of the American Historical Association and history education.³⁵¹ Then, she gave the prospective teachers evidence from SOTL research, displaying word clouds depicting how students

³⁴⁸ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁴⁹ Appendix O contains a transcript of this discussion.

³⁵⁰ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁵¹ Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (June 2005): 727-751.

explained history before and after taking a college history course. Finally, Díaz used Bruce VanSledright's "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education."³⁵²

Díaz accomplished three things with VanSledright's article, an argument that, due to national immigration patterns, teachers transmit an Americanizing narrative in lieu of teaching disciplinary history. First, Díaz modeled the disciplinary practice of reading a scholarly article. Second, she discussed the pedagogical practice of modeling a disciplinary skill. Third, she delivered content knowledge historicizing the public school history curriculum. As she read the article with prospective teachers, Díaz continuously paused to explain why she took the teaching steps she did, with the goal of them understanding not only the content of the article, but also her reasoning for teaching it as she did.

Díaz: One of the things I need to focus on in my classroom are the things I have seen as bottlenecks, as places where most of the students get stuck and that bother me the most. But the evidence on this becoming a bottleneck has been huge. That's why that's one of my main focuses in every single one of my classes. So the first thing I would like to show you is how I would like you to read. And we're going to be reading in a different way in this class.³⁵³

Díaz employed metacognitive reasoning to teach how to read disciplinarily. She first gave a pre-assessment where prospective teachers described how they normally read for classes. She followed this with a metacognitive explanation for why she gave the assessment and how she intended to use it – another example of a cognitive apprenticeship for a teaching practice. "This exercise helps you start thinking about how you read, and how it is I'm going to show you what things I would like you to think about when you read," Díaz explained. "But it also helps me see where you are as students. So I can then know where to go in my class."³⁵⁴

Díaz next modeled how to read with the VanSledright article.³⁵⁵ She opened with a metaphor (an important part of her teaching practice): "I like to use the metaphor that a book is a

³⁵² VanSledright, "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," 109-146.

³⁵³ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13. For more on the term 'bottlenecks,' see Leah Shopkow et al., "From Bottlenecks to Epistemology in History: Changing the Conversation about the Teaching of History in Colleges and Universities," in *Changing The Conversation about Higher Education*, ed. Robert J. Thompson, Jr. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2013), 15-37.

³⁵⁴ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁵⁵ Appendix P contains a transcript of this modeling.

person. A book is produced by someone...that person is trying to make a claim.”³⁵⁶ Building on that metaphor, Díaz explained the steps she took to read for argument, including first surveying the introduction, conclusion, and headings before reading the whole piece. Together, they read paragraph by paragraph, as Díaz paused to narrate her metacognition and to point out how VanSledright built his argument. Through this modeling, Díaz enacted a multi-layered piece of instruction. She used and discussed an ambitious pedagogical practice – modeling a disciplinary skill – to both teach that disciplinary skill of reading a scholarly article and to teach the pedagogy of modeling a disciplinary skill. This included discussing how to critically engage with the author’s and readers’ perspectives and misconceptions students might have about argumentative writing. Díaz also taught the actual content contained within VanSledright’s writing about the development of the history curriculum. In explaining the divergence between K-12 history and disciplinary history, Díaz helped prospect teachers encounter disciplinary skills and learn ambitious pedagogical practices to challenge that divergence.

Teaching Practices and Practices of Teaching Practices

Díaz continued her multi-layered approach to teaching history and pedagogy in the next unit, where she turned to historical thinking practices. This unit started with research articles on how students learn and how teachers teach history, and cumulated in an opportunity to approximate the work of ambitious teaching through diagnosing students’ misunderstanding of historical thinking on authentic history assessments.

At the unit’s start, prospective teachers read chapters from Wineburg’s book³⁵⁷ and an article by Jeffery Nokes.³⁵⁸ From these, they completed a chart listing different components of historical thinking and the challenges students might face with that component of historical thinking. Table 8.1 contains the chart headers and sample responses from focal prospective teachers. With these charts of potential challenges to thinking historically, prospective teachers next approximated the work of diagnosing student misconceptions of historical thinking. Díaz brought to the seminar sample assessments she had collected in another college course: posters illustrating *El Poema del Mio Cid*, or “The Poem of the Cid,” a twelfth-century poem celebrating

³⁵⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁵⁷ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

³⁵⁸ Jeffery D. Nokes, “Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents’ ‘Reading Like Historians,’” *The History Teacher* 44, no. 3 (May 2011): 379-404.

the Castilian folk hero Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar and his capture of the Muslim kingdom of Valencia during the time of the *Reconquista*.³⁵⁹ Díaz had instructed those students to ground their posters in the evidence they saw in the poem.

Table 8.1: Historical Thinking			
<i>Components of Historical Thinking</i>	<i>Challenges/ Barriers/ Bottlenecks encountered by students</i>	<i>What misconception(s) generate that challenge?</i>	<i>Source? Page number?</i>
Presentism (From Carrie)	Students have difficulty viewing the past by getting into the historical mindset, rather they use the present day ideas.	Students often view and examine the past by using modern day notions and thoughts. They are unable to put their minds in the time period and fully understand decisions that were made.	Wineburg, 19.
Reading History (From Harrison)	Students are unable to detect biases that are embedded into texts	Students are capable of reading and taking in information and being able to tell what happened and what can come next, but they are unable to see that these writings have a side that they take and that they have a social and sometimes political agenda when written, taking a side that is sometimes not clear because the students are only asked to find facts and not to interpret them.	Wineburg, 68.
Reading difficult documents (From Mark)	Students can have difficulties reading historical text if they are very dense and hard to understand	If the text is too difficult students might not understand the meaning of it because they are struggling too hard to understand. Some historians also have the same problem, so they go paragraph by paragraph to help them comprehend better. This helps with understanding and drawing their own conclusions.	Nokes, 384.

To prepare prospective teachers to analyze these posters, Díaz first increased their historical knowledge with a lecture contextualizing life in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of “The Poem of the Cid.” Then prospective teachers read the poem, going line by line to list the different elements students could learn from reading it. In this way, they enacted a common historical practice: reading a primary source for the evidence it provides about a context. In this

³⁵⁹ W.S. Merwin, trans., *The Poem of the Cid* (London, UK: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1959), 40-56.

focus on a history practice, however, Díaz also highlighted her pedagogy, pointing to the alignment between this activity and what she planned next. Her explanations of “so that you know what’s coming up” and “we are going to be using this for the next effort of the exercise,” revealed her deliberate planning behind the sequencing of her instructional activities.³⁶⁰

Next, prospective teachers switched from doing a historical practice to doing an ambitious pedagogical practice. They compared their list of evidence from the poem to the posters students had created. Díaz depicted this pedagogical practice as something akin to the earlier historical practice: reading a source (this time, a sample of student work) in order to gather evidence (of students’ understanding of the poem). “Based on the evidence produced by this assessment,” Díaz asked her prospective teachers, “how accurate are these students reading the historical source? What is this telling us of the way these students read *El Cid*?³⁶¹ In the class discussion that followed, Díaz guided the prospective teachers towards evidence that indicated those students had misread, misunderstood, or misrepresented the poem.³⁶² Díaz guided prospective teachers from just describing what the students drew to considering explicitly issues like the inclusion of cross necklaces and dollar signs, the mentioning of Jesus (a name absent from the language of the poem), the depictions – or lack thereof – of the Moors and King Alfonso, and the lack of violence in most of the posters, despite the poem’s graphic violence.³⁶³

Some prospective teachers followed this transition from merely noting what elements students included in their poster to identifying problems with the elements they included and the ones they left out, to finally, in some instances, suggesting what problem students experienced that led them to include a problematic element or not include an important one. Brett had an astute comment on presentism and the students’ lack of contextualizing information, while Dan keyed in to students’ failure to link elements of the image specifically to lines from the poem.

But for many prospective teachers, the transition from the history practice of reading a primary source document to the pedagogical practice of diagnosing student misunderstanding proved challenging. In most cases, they treated the students who had created the posters as peers in a history class; they compared what they developed in their list of elements from the poem

³⁶⁰ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

³⁶¹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 16.

³⁶² Appendix Q contains a transcript of this discussion.

³⁶³ Examples of such violent language in the poem include lines like “he cut him through at the belt / half the body fell to the field” and “his sword cut deep / his arm was crimson, the blood dripped / down from his elbow.” Merwin, trans., *The Poem of the Cid*, 40-56.

with what the students had drawn in their posters, but did not delve into the student thought that led to those posters. In reflecting on the lesson, Díaz worried that she had not emphasized enough that she wanted prospective teachers to step into the role of the teacher for this activity. “I thought it was part of the question,” she said, “but I did not emphasize that.”³⁶⁴

Díaz returned to this activity over subsequent weeks. She started by re-explaining her purpose for the assessment and providing more detail on how her students worked through the activity. “I understand assessments as x-rays,” she told prospective teachers. “A picture in which I can see what my students are getting or not getting in my class. So that then in future classes, I can try to correct those. In this assessment, I wanted to see how my students were reading, and if they could actually point to aspects of the worldview of El Cid.”³⁶⁵ Díaz next showed the textual analysis she used to quantify students’ work on the posters. Using software to count up the amount of times “The Poem of the Cid” used different categories of words, she compared that to how often elements in those categories appeared in the posters. She displayed the data from textual analysis of the poem alongside the data from the posters – demonstrating how those students had missed, overemphasized, or misrepresented in numerical form. Then, she displayed data from a similar analysis on what prospective teachers turned in for the in-class activity with the El Cid posters from the week before alongside her analysis of the students’ posters. “They’re like identical!” Richard exclaimed after she revealed the two charts.³⁶⁶

Díaz used these analyses of students’ and prospective teachers’ work to discuss what the prospective teachers needed to improve in their disciplinary and pedagogical practices:

Díaz: Right, so the way that you guys read El Cid was quite similar to the students. You are going to be the teachers... The fact goes that students and my preservice teachers had a similar reaction. And so therefore my question is what does it tell us? What should we have done to read in a more historical way? And I’m not, as my teenager would say, I’m not yelling at you.

[Class laughter]

Díaz: What I’m trying is to actually see a little bit of what happened in class... we have been talking about how to read historically. So the question is what do we need to improve here?³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Arlene Díaz, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 19.

³⁶⁵ History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 24.

³⁶⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 24.

³⁶⁷ History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 24.

In returning to the El Cid activity, Díaz pointed out two types of thinking that prospective teachers needed to develop. They needed to learn to think historically: to read closely, to avoid presentism, to contextualize. But they also needed to learn to think pedagogically: to anticipate challenges students might face with reading historically, to read and use assessments, and to reflect on how to improve over iterations of teaching.

By the third time Díaz returned to El Cid, her prospective teachers showed a marked ability to think historically and pedagogically about the poem and the posters students produced after reading the poem. In a class discussion, prospective teachers pointed out their diagnoses of students' challenges, demonstrating an ability to shift between the focus on historical thinking and the focus on pedagogical practice. The following comments, drawn from the groups' presentations in class, illustrate how prospective teachers leveraged an understanding of historical and pedagogical practices in their interpretations of the El Cid posters.

Robert: The students imposed their presentism upon El Cid. You can see a macho, macho man. So they used the tropes of today to represent El Cid...when they came to the text they should have freed themselves from assumptions of what they thought a good leader in the medieval era would have looked like or would have been like and used the text's representation of a good leader to inform how to represent El Cid.

Edith: We put the student at level four of VanSledright, judging agents and features by our own standards.³⁶⁸ They saw when they said he showed no mercy that was what they considered a good leader. So it's viewing it through their own lens and not the people of the time.

Harrison: There was more of a focus on the individual than actually what is presented in the text of the poem. With the text we saw clearly with the word count violence and war was the focal point of the author at the time. But presently we see this individual as being more important than the events that occur around him. So in terms of historical thinking the student needed to analyze what's important given what's brought up and mentioned in the text, rather than a modern understanding of a heroic image...the student most likely focused on their big hero rather than looking at everything else involved in the poem.

³⁶⁸ Here, Edith referred to the five levels of historical empathy, a description of different stages of historical empathy thinking defined originally by Rosalyn Ashby and Peter Lee but cited by VanSledright in one of the readings for the course. Rosalyn Ashby and Peter Lee, "Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History," in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Christopher Portal (London, UK: Falmer Press, 1987), 62-88. Cited in Bruce A. VanSledright, "From Empathic Regard to Self-Understanding: Im/Positionality, Empathy, and Historical Contextualization," in *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*, ed. O.L. Davis Jr., Elizabeth Anne Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001) 51-68.

Mandi: The challenge we brought up was presentism, which we saw on poster three specifically. How they drew a cross, how it's inserted into the picture while it was never directly mentioned in the text. So that was their idea of representing Christianity through a present-day lens. In the text there was no mention of Jesus or the cross at all. It was difficult for them to think in the context of the text. That was the challenge they faced. And we saw that in [VanSledright's] "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," how it's more that they follow the narrative of the text and don't try to look in between the lines to try to decipher what it actually might mean. We said a teacher could have given the misrepresentations that they had seen in the previous years so that students know what to look for, and then for students not to rely on what they already knew but to push past their biases.³⁶⁹

With Díaz's coaching, prospective teachers could diagnose the challenges students faced in reading a historical text. They applied educational research and critiqued presentist views, misuse of narrative, and a lack of understanding the subtext. They left this unit with a better understanding of both disciplinary practices and ambitious pedagogical practices.

Transforming Scholarship into Pedagogy

Díaz continued her dual focus on history and pedagogy in the final two units. Unit three brought the practices of history to the fore, as prospective teachers delved into primary source documents to craft original arguments about the U.S.-Mexican War. Unit four brought pedagogical practices to the fore, as prospective teachers transformed their research on the U.S.-Mexican War into a lesson plan. But in both units, Díaz took time to discuss the background focus as well. For example, Díaz introduced unit three with a pedagogical practice she planned to use. Prospective teachers read an article by Bain discussing the assumed authority of textbooks and how he structured his class to prompt his students to question that authority.³⁷⁰ Díaz then followed Bain's lesson structure in the unit. She had prospective teachers research primary and secondary sources on the U.S.-Mexican War and use those sources to write their own argument about an aspect of the conflict. Some wrote on how anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States influenced the war, others on how the war agitated debates over slavery and national policy

³⁶⁹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 2.

³⁷⁰ In that article, Bain describes how he disturbed the classroom ritual of taking an unquestioning stance toward the narrative presented by history textbooks. Before students even read the account of the outbreak of bubonic plague in the fourteenth century in their textbook, Bain first had them read a packet of sources – both primary and secondary – to develop their own interpretation of that historical event. Then, his students read and eventually critiqued the textbook account of the plague. Bain, "Rounding Up Unusual Suspects," 2080-2114.

towards slavery, while still others on the underappreciated influence Native Americans had on the U.S.-Mexican War. And, like Bain had done after his students developed their own interpretations, Díaz had prospective teachers critique textbook accounts of the U.S.-Mexican War after they had completed their own research and writing.

As she had done with Bain's method of getting students to question a textbook, Díaz paused to preface pedagogical moves she used to scaffold prospective teachers' disciplinary research: "I will be showing you some strategies or some things that I've been finding useful in the application of [historical research], so you can start imagining how you could apply this in a classroom setting," she told them.³⁷¹ With that comment and others like it, Díaz cued prospective teachers to notice the pedagogical practices she used and to think about how they could use them in their own classroom. Some of those practices included using First-, Second-, and Third-Order documents to structure how they encountered sources,³⁷² a brief lecture going over the "rules of the discipline," a video employing the metaphor of baking chocolate chip cookies to explain the balance between explanation and argument in a paper (in which the chocolate chips represented the evidence and the cookie dough the argument), and testing the prospective teachers with various sources to see which ones had bias – with the correct answer, of course, that all sources have some bias.

For their First-Order document, Díaz had prospective teachers read the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war between the United States and Mexico in 1848. She posed a guiding question for the text – and given her dual focus and layered instruction in the course, she also explained why she gave that question and prompted prospective teachers to think about using that technique in their own classrooms.³⁷³ With their guiding question, prospective teachers turned toward a close reading of the treaty. In groups, prospective teachers read assigned sections of the treaty, article by article, and wrote an explanation of each article's meaning and significance for the guiding question. The groups then shared their written explanations through Google Docs and verbally presented what they had found.

³⁷¹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 9.

³⁷² In this technique, instructors select one or two First-Order documents central to a question of inquiry and return to those documents several times throughout a unit. Second-Order documents, selected by the instructor, support, extend, or challenge those First-Order documents. Finally, students research their own Third-Order documents to further their inquiry. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, "A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking," *The History Teacher* 36, no. 4 (Aug. 2003): 465-489.

³⁷³ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 9.

Díaz incorporated Second-Order documents over subsequent lessons. She drew primary source documents from the source reader, such as texts from Frederick Douglass and John C. Calhoun debating the impact annexing Mexican territory would have on slavery in the United States.³⁷⁴ Díaz also assigned secondary sources, including an article by Brian DeLay on the strategies and goals of Native American polities during the U.S.-Mexican War.³⁷⁵ Díaz had prospective teachers create a concept map of their First-Order document, and add to that map as they encountered new material in these and other Second-Order documents.

To prepare her prospective teachers to find their own Third-Order documents, Díaz first had them list the questions they had about the U.S.-Mexican War. Then, she discussed sources they could use, including newspapers, cartoons, presidential papers, legal cases, broadsides, and soldiers' diaries. She finally modeled how to use the library's digital resources to search for potential Third-Order documents.³⁷⁶ After researching their own Third-Order documents, prospective teachers next critiqued how a high school history textbook described the U.S.-Mexican War.³⁷⁷ The discussion of the textbook demonstrated Díaz's effective adoption of Bain's technique to get students to question the authority of the history textbook.³⁷⁸ Prospective teachers concluded their examination of the textbook by writing a brief critique of it and answering reflective prompts from Díaz on what they learned about the U.S.-Mexican War and how they could use their exercise with primary sources to help plan a lesson for a history class. Even in the unit with the heaviest emphasis on the content, concepts, and practices of history, Díaz constantly drew prospective teachers' attention back to pedagogy.

Unit four brought pedagogical practice forward, as prospective teachers applied their research on the U.S.-Mexican War to a lesson for middle school or high school students. Díaz scaled this unit, starting with broad frameworks for structuring learning, zooming in her focus specifically to teaching the discipline of history, and then zooming in even closer to elements of her own instruction.

Broad frameworks for structuring learning included William Perry's scheme of intellectual and ethical development, the related Reflective Judgement Model of Patricia King

³⁷⁴ Frederick Douglass, "Great Meeting at Faneuil Hall," *The Liberator* 29, no. 23 (June 8, 1849): 90, in Conway, ed. and Pellón, trans., *The U.S.-Mexican War*, 124-125; John C. Calhoun, *The Speeches of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Richard K. Crallé (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1861), 410-412, in Conway, ed. and Pellón, trans., *The U.S.-Mexican War*, 120-121.

³⁷⁵ DeLay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," 35-68.

³⁷⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 30.

³⁷⁷ Edward L. Ayers et al., *American Anthem* (Orlando, FL: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 2007), 308-311.

³⁷⁸ Appendix R contains a transcript of that discussion.

and Karen Kitchener, and the Backwards Design instructional framework of Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe.³⁷⁹ To consider specifically teaching the discipline of history, Díaz moved into her own teaching and SOTL research.³⁸⁰ She also introduced the “Decoding the Disciplines” protocol for planning and disciplinary teaching developed at Indiana University.³⁸¹ Table 8.2 describes the seven stages of that protocol below.

Table 8.2: Decoding the Disciplines	
<i>Stage</i>	<i>Description</i>
Stage 1	Instructors identify “bottlenecks” – places where students got stuck in class
Stage 2	Instructors reason through how experts work disciplinary to do the tasks associated with the bottleneck
Stage 3	Instructors identify ways to model the steps experts take to work through those tasks
Stage 4	Instructors plan for ways that students can practice those tasks and receive feedback
Stage 5	Instructors design ways to motivate the students to improve their ability to complete those tasks
Stage 6	Instructors plan how to assess student learning
Stage 7	Instructors think about how to share the results of what they learned through working through the Decoding the Disciplines model to other colleagues

To represent the first stages of Decoding the Disciplines, Díaz played videos from her SOTL research, including interviews of faculty talking through the bottlenecks in their own courses and how they worked through tasks associated with those bottlenecks, and classroom footage of how those professors modeled those tasks to students. In the discussion following those video clips, one prospective teacher, Brett, noted the similarities between the practices needed to do the work of history and the stages of the Decoding the Disciplines model:

Brett: I like the way it talks about how difficult it is to understand how students are thinking. The model talks about how it’s an opportunity to understand – like it

³⁷⁹ Robert J. Kloss, “A Nudge is Best: Helping Students through the Perry Scheme of Intellectual Development,” *College Teaching* 42, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 151-158; King and Shuford, “A Multicultural View is a More Cognitively Complex View,” 153-164; Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe, *Understanding by Design* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1998).

³⁸⁰ Arlene Díaz et al, “The History Learning Project: A Department ‘Decodes’ Its Students,” *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 4 (Mar., 2008): 1211-1224.

³⁸¹ David Pace and Joan Middendorf, eds., *Decoding the Disciplines: Helping Students Learn Disciplinary Ways of Thinking* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2004).

is when you are doing history – to construct how other people understand things, people who were thinking differently from you. I thought it was a good way of viewing it and thinking of teaching history as like doing history.³⁸²

Díaz’s layered instruction of historical and pedagogical practices had, in Brett’s mind, united the two skill sets, mitigating the divide between doing and teaching history.

For their last assignment, prospective teachers approximated using Decoding the Disciplines. Returning to their research on the U.S.-Mexican War, prospective teachers considered it from the role of a history teacher: how would they teach what they found in their research to students, and what sort of bottlenecks would students encounter in understanding it? Prospective teachers crafted an essay describing a lesson they would teach on the U.S.-Mexican War, including the particular content they would cover, the difficulties they expected students to encounter with that content, and how they planned on modeling the historical thinking skills necessary for students to work through those difficulties. Mark wrote about the bottleneck of lacking enough contextualizing information to understand different perspectives on the war.³⁸³ He planned on addressing that bottleneck by discussing cultural ideas and values with his students. He would also use the historical fiction novel *Gone for Soldiers* to model how author Jeff Shaara took on military leaders’ perspectives by considering their prejudices and values.³⁸⁴ Harrison tackled the challenge of presentism by modeling the historical thinking skill of considering events from multiple perspectives.³⁸⁵ He planned to use the analogy of a Quentin Tarantino movie, in which the director structures a collection of nonlinear stories depicted from different characters’ perspectives, which all cumulate into one whole. And Carrie replicated the lesson structure of Díaz and Bain when she considered the challenge students faced of “taking information from the textbooks at face value without questioning it.”³⁸⁶ To address this, she planned to model the skill of sourcing and have students use that skill on primary sources before encountering the textbook. Under the guidance of Díaz, these three focal prospective teachers managed to transform their doing of history into plans for ambitious history teaching.

³⁸² History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 27.

³⁸³ Mark, History Writing Seminar, final essay, May 4.

³⁸⁴ Jeff Shaara, *Gone for Soldiers: A Novel* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2000).

³⁸⁵ Harrison, History Writing Seminar, final essay, May 4.

³⁸⁶ Carrie, History Writing Seminar, final project, May 4.

What Prospective Teachers Noticed in the History Writing Seminar

The dual focus of the History Writing Seminar gave prospective teachers much to notice of disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices. However, as in the other courses, prospective teachers demonstrated a tendency to over-contextualize; in this case, they noticed more of the disciplinary knowledge than Díaz's pedagogical practices. However, focal prospective teachers did not become completely entrapped in the three-worlds pitfall; they gave varied responses, but in general their professional vision for pedagogical practices in the History Writing Seminar became more developed as the semester progressed.

Pedagogical Practices: At the semester's start, focal prospective teachers listed few of Díaz's instructional moves they noticed and only perfunctory pedagogical practices they would adopt for their own classroom. Mark mentioned much historical content while not identifying many of Díaz's instructional moves. He did, however, talk about recreating Díaz's sticky note activity to see what his students already knew about history on the first day of class.³⁸⁷ Harrison noticed Díaz's opening activity with sticky notes, but little else. When asked what of Díaz's teaching he would adopt, he mentioned her use of PowerPoint. While he committed himself to paying more attention in the future to what he could appropriate for his own teaching ("I'm going to try to do that – make a mental bank of all the activities that we do in our history course, in order to take away with me," he explained) his future reports on what he would adopt from Díaz's instruction remained limited.³⁸⁸ Carrie had perhaps the most sophisticated professional vision in the beginning, mentioning how Díaz structured group work and discussion, and describing the steps Díaz took to facilitate discussion within groups and across the whole class: "She found ways, even if we got off-track, to keep it moving where she wanted discussion to go. She had a plan of what she wanted to discuss and she found a way to help us all reach the same point without telling us what to think." Carrie expressed the desire to adopt this style of guided class discussions.³⁸⁹

In the middle of the semester, all three focal prospective teachers noticed challenges for how students think historically and ways to address some of those challenges. Mark noted specifically Díaz's use of reading in class, going "paragraph by paragraph" to read for understanding, as well as her use of the El Cid poster analysis to demonstrate how he, a

³⁸⁷ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

³⁸⁸ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

³⁸⁹ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 21.

prospective teacher, approached the “Poem of the Cid” much in the same way his students might. He decided to pay more attention to “what challenges students are going to run into when they’re reading texts.”³⁹⁰ Harrison talked about Díaz’s discussion techniques, noticing how she selected provoking questions, but then let them “take hold of everything and walk through a discussion based on the readings...she’s not heavy handed in most of it.”³⁹¹ Both Harrison and Carrie talked about Díaz’s modeling of writing skills. Carrie decided she would like to stage a writing workshop with her students similar to the ones Díaz used.³⁹² Harrison, while mentioning historical content and concepts he would adopt in his classroom, did not mention specific instructional techniques he would adopt to teach that disciplinary knowledge in his midterm interview. He did, however, start to notice the broader pattern of Díaz’s instructional design, citing her layering and instructional alignment. “Assignments are layered on top of one another,” he exclaimed. “I think it’s very deliberate of her. She made it very clear that there’s an end goal, an end game in what we’re all doing...I think it was all very systematic, from small to large.”³⁹³

After the final unit on instructional design, Harrison, Mark, and Carrie all noticed more pedagogical practices. Both Mark and Harrison referenced the practice of identifying student bottlenecks in learning. Harrison mentioned again Díaz’s responsiveness in discussion, accommodating student input while still guiding to a final discussion goal. And Carrie mentioned again Díaz’s group work structures and also her use of visual modes of input and output, such as creating concept maps or the examination of visual representations of El Cid, as a way to “appeal to a different type of learner.”³⁹⁴ At semester’s end, Mark had taken on Harrison’s earlier stance towards noticing and remembering things from History Writing Seminar he could use in his own classroom. Below, he described how he noticed and wanted to replicate Díaz’s modeling of reading historical texts:

Mark: I’ve tried to notice how our professors teach. And one thing Professor Díaz did have us do was actually go through a document. Read it line by line. One person reads it and then you take time to talk about it. That’s really time consuming, so I don’t see being able to do that for every reading. But that’s something that, at least for one lesson or unit, I’ll want to carry over and have

³⁹⁰ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

³⁹¹ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³⁹² Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³⁹³ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

³⁹⁴ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

students do. Because that's just another way to build up the process of how to think historically.³⁹⁵

Carrie had begun to think about incorporating Decoding the Disciplines and backwards design (although she did not use those terms) into her own practice, as she mused over planning a course based on instructional goals rather than chronological coverage of one thing after another:

Carrie: I really liked Díaz's overall discussion yesterday about fitting everything to achieve something that you want your students to be able to do. Something they have changed or evolves over the course of the year or the semester. Because I think a lot of times, especially with history teachers, we think we have to cover everything, and we'll just go in chronological order. But it's like, I want my student to be able to do *this*, and then we'll format everything around that.

McBrady: And what sort of *this* do you think you would want your students to be able to do?

Carrie: I would like my students to be able to write – I don't expect them to write college-level papers. But I expect them to eventually be able to have well-written historical papers in the way that's expected when you come to college.³⁹⁶

This move away from coverage of material to “uncoverage” of the discipline, as described in the philosophy of backwards design, represents an important step in Carrie's growth into ambitious history teaching.³⁹⁷ While focal prospective teachers varied with what they noticed, and how nuanced they described what they noticed, all three did pick up some instructional practices – but only a fraction of the instructional practices Díaz executed and explained in her course.

But similar to the prospective teachers in U.S. History I, when prompted with how they would teach activities specifically drawn from the context of the course rather than the context of their future classrooms, prospective teachers drew upon the instructional techniques Díaz used. Mark, when asked how he would teach how to write an argument summary of an article, closely replicated how Díaz taught the task with VanSledright's article.

Mark: I would start off with a lesson on how people write. So obviously you have your introduction – you want them to know what the thesis statement is. And then, throughout, look for headings and make sure you pay attention to all the

³⁹⁵ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

³⁹⁶ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

³⁹⁷ Wiggins and McTighe, *Understanding by Design*, 98-114.

headings, because those will be what prompts you. But also to teach it well, I would say whenever you read, read the introduction and then read the conclusion and ask students if they can find the claim in that. And from there I think that'd be a really good way for them to be able to do it on their own and find their own claims.³⁹⁸

Harrison embraced Díaz's metaphor of "a book is a person" to describe how he would teach writing argument summaries. "Try to communicate with the person who is writing this...Make a connection with the author and the words they use. Try to draw out exactly what they were trying to say."³⁹⁹ When I asked them how they would teach how to read a primary text drawn from their source reader,⁴⁰⁰ all three prospective teachers talked about the importance of modeling how to read. Carrie said she would "do an in-class workshop type thing – I think it's not so much just this piece, it's understanding how to read any primary source."⁴⁰¹ Both Mark and Harrison used the term modeling to describe how they would teach the text, and then described teaching in a way similar to how Díaz modeled reading sources. Given their responses to these questions, prospective teachers demonstrated noticing more of Díaz's instructional techniques than they reported or that they thought they would adopt for their own classrooms.

Disciplinary Knowledge: All three prospective teachers discussed disciplinary knowledge they noticed. Mark and Carrie talked about the difference between disciplinary history and K-12 history in their beginning interviews.⁴⁰² Harrison mentioned the skill of reading historically, evoking the metaphor that a book is a person: "I learned that texts are also humans which, sitting there, I thought was a really corny way of going about things. Clearly a human being wrote that so yes a human's behind it. But then the notion of what the words are saying and what they are doing completely flipped the whole concept of the person behind the text for me."⁴⁰³ Midway through the semester, all three discussed the importance of primary sources and critiqued textbooks.⁴⁰⁴ "We focused on what's wrong with the textbooks," Carrie explained, "and now we're talking more about how do you combat those. How do you fix what these textbooks

³⁹⁸ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

³⁹⁹ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴⁰⁰ Frederick Douglass, "Great Meeting at Faneuil Hall," in Conway, ed., and Pellón, trans., *The U.S.-Mexican War*, 124-125.

⁴⁰¹ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

⁴⁰² Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14; Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 21.

⁴⁰³ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

⁴⁰⁴ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24; Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17; Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

do?”⁴⁰⁵ Mark brought up the concept of empathy as an important take-away. Focal prospective teachers reiterated these points in their final interview, and Harrison and Carrie added the content of the U.S.-Mexican War as important disciplinary knowledge they noticed in the course.

Focal prospective teachers all frequently mentioned they planned to use primary sources in their future classrooms. Mark also mentioned concepts of historical thinking he wanted to teach. He began the semester wanting to reverse “some of those kids’ thinking on how history is interpreted” with his teaching.⁴⁰⁶ Midway through the course, he expressed wanting to watch for how his students might get “caught in presentism with how they interpret the past.”⁴⁰⁷ At semester’s end, Mark talked about teaching critical reading and interpreting texts as a key component “to build up the process of how to think historically.”⁴⁰⁸ Harrison, on the other hand, described how he would adopt Díaz’s stellar analogy for history’s relationship to the past to describe to his students how historians arrange the “stars” of evidence from the past into the “constellations” of historical narratives:

Harrison: We had the analogy last class how the past is the stars but history is the constellations, and how it’s put together in pattern and in a coherent manner for people to understand and create their own meaning from, which I would like to help my students do better instead of just having them put dates and names down.⁴⁰⁹

By the semester’s end, Harrison had built on more components of historical thinking he wanted to teach in his own classroom, mentioning the “concept of the different angles on historical thinking, be it questioning students’ presentism or their positionalities or the way they take on different perspectives,” and expressing his desired to help students “develop this different mode of thought at a very gradual rate.”⁴¹⁰ Unlike the other two focal prospective teachers, however, Carrie did not directly mention historical thinking or its concepts as something she planned on adopting.

⁴⁰⁵ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴⁰⁶ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

⁴⁰⁷ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

⁴⁰⁸ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

⁴⁰⁹ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴¹⁰ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 27.

What Prospective Teachers Learned from Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar

Focal prospective teachers developed their ability to define the discipline of history and the skill of historical thinking while in Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar. Carrie started with a positivist view of the discipline of history: “History is learning about the truth of what happened in the past and teaching people how things worked and how certain events caused other events and the whole cause and effect of the past.”⁴¹¹ Carrie initially saw the work of history as the discovery of an existing truth, rather than an interpretation of past evidence. That stance started to shift in the middle of the semester: “I think [history] is how we create – I don’t want to say the past, but how we create overarching...story is a bad word, but I don’t know which word I want to use...based on the evidence we find from the past, based on primary sources, any artifacts, anything we find. It’s the story, it’s what we make of that.” Although Carrie had not mastered the language she wanted to use, she conveyed the sense that history involved creating an interpretation of past events based on the evidence those events left behind. To do this interpretive work, students needed to put themselves “in a mindset that allows you to fully understand and soak in the source or the evidence that you are using to formulate some type of thesis. So students, for example, have issues contextualizing, which hinders their ability to think like a historian.”⁴¹² At semester’s end, Carrie described history as “an individual’s perspective of the events that happened in the past,” and noted that to think historically, one needed to “take yourself out of the twenty-first century world and bring yourself into whatever time period you’re thinking of, to be able to think of it from individuals’ perspectives without any type of judgement from society today.”⁴¹³ Carrie built onto her prior interpretive stance toward history, extending it with the concept of perspective and alluding to historical empathy.

Harrison started describing history as an argument based on evidence. He spoke about the need to “take historical events, think about them abstractly, understand them, and then from there form some kind of argument that you can back with evidence.” He also saw history as a communal event, in which the work of one historian lays the base for future work: “That opens the door for other people to study different angles on it...someone could prove their own point

⁴¹¹ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 21.

⁴¹² Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴¹³ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

because you wrote your paper two years before, and it all just builds on itself.”⁴¹⁴ In the middle of the semester, Harrison continued to describe the discipline of history as both argumentative and communal. He also described in nascent terms the thinking skills needed to do this type of work, pointing out that it required more than just memorization of facts: “A lot of people think that if you’re good at history, you’re good at memorizing things, but if you’re good at history, you’re good at analyzing things and good at really giving them a good thought and being able to pull something outside of just the information.”⁴¹⁵ At semester’s end, Harrison had progressed from seeing history as multiple arguments, to beginning to critique arguments that do not consider multiple points of view as flawed. In particular, he criticized a dominant narrative, because “most often history is only represented in one way, and that’s not a fair representation of what history is.” However, his description of the historical thinking skills required still lacked nuance, describing doing the work as “dig into it and find a deeper meaning to it, and understand that there is always more to be seen but you can often work with what you have.”⁴¹⁶ While Harrison demonstrated a command on what historians do, and critiqued dominant narratives (such as those commonly present in textbooks) as misrepresentative of that work, his explanation of how to explain the skills needed to do that work did not progress beyond generalities.

Like Harrison, Mark began the semester describing the work of history as that of creating multiple interpretations based on evidence. “There are multiple ways to interpret it,” Mark explained, “and you have to look at primary sources and how people felt during the time.”⁴¹⁷ Midway through the semester, Mark again described history as an interpretation. He also recognized the role a person’s perspective has on that interpretation: “different people look at history in different ways...mostly in U.S. schools it sticks to an Anglo-Saxon, European influence. Other minorities are marginalized.” For the historical thinking skills needed to do this type of interpretive work, Mark alluded to contextualization and perspective-taking, explaining that to think historically, one need “to understand the context of the time, why decisions are made by an agent. And then, from there, once you understand all the context, you can start to make interpretations of why it was, or why things came to pass.”⁴¹⁸ By semester’s end Mark had adopted more disciplinary language, such as positionalities, presentism, and historical empathy,

⁴¹⁴ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

⁴¹⁵ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴¹⁶ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 27.

⁴¹⁷ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

⁴¹⁸ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

into his explanation of history. He talked about how historians approached texts with positionalities but had to work to “read [texts] through the lens of the historical agent.” Of historical thinking skills, Mark said “there’s a lot that goes into historical thinking. Removing yourself from presentism. It’s difficult – I want to include that. It’s a struggle to do, to excel at historical thinking. It comes back to the idea of removing yourself, trying to not have a stake in what you are reading. Staying away from collective guilt. Using historical empathy.”⁴¹⁹

In developing his ability to define history and explain historical thinking – and perhaps in his ability to notice with an expanded professional vision aspects of history teaching – Mark may have held an edge over his peers. He had previously taken a history course with Díaz before the History Writing Seminar. “I’ve had Professor Díaz previously in class,” Mark admitted, “so that’s where I started to know I need to annotate when I write, because she asks a bunch of stuff about the main claim. And that’s good because it points out what you need to understand as a reader.”⁴²⁰ Having that early exposure to Díaz’s teaching of history may have better primed Mark for learning to teach history in later semesters.

Discussion: A Compartmentalization of the Worlds of History and Education

Like her colleagues in Foundations of Social Studies, Díaz had a dual focus: she wanted prospective teachers to leave with a better understanding of both the work of history and how to teach it. And like her colleagues in Foundations of Social Studies, Díaz enacted layered instruction in order to achieve those goals. In many of her activities, Díaz foregrounded pedagogical practices – such as her final unit devoted to Decoding the Disciplines and backward design. In other activities, she foregrounded disciplinary knowledge – such as her third unit, devoted to researching and developing an argument about an aspect of the U.S.-Mexican War. Yet throughout, she constantly attempted to draw prospective teachers’ attention to the elements of pedagogy present as they worked through disciplinary knowledge, or the elements of the discipline present as they worked through pedagogical practices. Díaz’s History Writing Seminar blurred the lines between a course in history and a course in pedagogy.

Yet despite Díaz’s dual focus and layered instruction, prospective teachers still fell trap to the three-worlds pitfall. Many times, the prospective teachers’ expectations imposed a

⁴¹⁹ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

⁴²⁰ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

compartmentalization; they expected Díaz to teach about history, and Keith Barton and Bruce Taylor to teach about pedagogy, even though those instructors all intentionally taught both the discipline and its teaching in their respective courses. Carrie and Mark in particular revealed those stances, although Mark seemed best able to bridge the gap between the world of history and the world of education by semester's close. Carrie observed that "Díaz is very focused on how we explain history and how we show what we read...And Bruce is focused on how we teach it."⁴²¹ Mark reiterated this compartmentalization midway through the semester:

Mark: [In Foundations of Social Studies] we're doing activities that are getting us ready to be teachers. And then in History Writing Seminar, it's more about being a historian – more about how to read a historical text...in Professor Díaz's class I haven't put much thought in to lesson planning, how this is going to be practical in my classroom. More when I'm in Foundations of Social Studies, however, I'm thinking more about different ways to use what I've learned in my class.⁴²²

How both Carrie and Mark compartmentalized the course early on could explain the constraints on their professional vision, as they focused more on disciplinary knowledge in the History Writing Seminar and more on pedagogical practices in Foundations of Social Studies, despite instructors providing examples of both in each course.

Carrie continued to slip into the three-worlds pitfall, compartmentalizing experiences in the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies as separate spheres. While Carrie could describe how Díaz modeled reading historical texts, she did not replicate that modeling when asked how she would teach her students to read. And although Carrie saw the two courses in connection, she did not see the overlapping foci of both courses. "I feel like the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies do kind of go hand-in-hand," she claimed. "Because I feel like Foundations of Social Studies is the teaching aspect and the History Writing Seminar is the historical aspect. And you can combine them and it would just make sense."⁴²³ Mark, on the other hand, had begun to bridge across the two worlds, looking for examples of disciplinary knowledge from Foundations of Social Studies for his own teaching as well as recognizing the value in the pedagogical practices of the History Writing Seminar.

⁴²¹ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 17.

⁴²² Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February 24.

⁴²³ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

Mark: History Writing Seminar was a just another course where I observed the professor and the activities that we did. So I feel like almost every activity we did in that class was something we could use in an actual classroom. It was just tailored more for preservice teachers, but we could easily make a lot of those activities for working with children. And some of them would just carry over as well.⁴²⁴

Díaz actively took steps to help her prospective teachers bridge the gap between the world of history and the world of education. She constantly used metacognitive language to describe her teaching and why she made her instructional moves. Further, she reminded prospective teachers that they would become full teachers soon, prompting them to think about how they could appropriate activities for their classroom. When examining the posters of El Cid, Díaz reminded the prospective teachers that “there is a purpose in this. You are going to be teachers, and you must be able to read these x-rays.”⁴²⁵ Or when preparing them to read primary sources about the U.S.-Mexican War, Díaz prompted them to look at what she did through the eyes of future teachers: “I will be showing you some strategies or some things that I’ve been finding useful in the application of these things [working with primary sources], so you start imagining how you could apply this in a classroom setting.”⁴²⁶ Díaz did more than use ambitious pedagogical practices – she cued her prospective teachers in to pay attention to those pedagogical practices and think about how they could impact their future work. These moves encouraged the prospective teachers to widen their professional vision and combat the tendency to compartmentalize history and pedagogy in their coursework.

Implications

Díaz’s design of her History Writing Seminar, with its tailoring to prospective teachers and its dual focus on the discipline of history and its pedagogy, hardly represents a typical writing-intensive seminar from a history department. However, historians have much they could take away from this course and implement in a more traditional setting. First, Díaz took seriously her prospective teachers’ prior knowledge of history – and actively sought to challenge the misconceptions they may have formed about the discipline from their elementary and secondary experiences. Her uncoverage of how historians write, using scholarly articles and breaking down

⁴²⁴ Mark, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

⁴²⁵ History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 24.

⁴²⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 9.

how to read them with an eye toward how to write in a similar style, demonstrates a way that historians can simultaneously model reading and writing in the discipline. Her use of metaphors and analogies (like calling a book a person to convey the importance of contending with the author of a text or equating evidence from the past to stars and history to the constellations) resonated with the prospective teachers in the course, serving as useful touchpoints they could return to as they better understood the discipline of history.

Second, Díaz's use of frameworks like backwards design and Decoding the Disciplines ensured that she aligned her learning goals to the instructional activities she used to prepare prospective teachers to practice the skills necessary to achieve those goals. Díaz's use of First-, Second-, and Third-Order documents, and structuring those documents to create an interpretation and critique an existing narrative empowered prospective teachers to create their own history and enabled them to question the hidden authority of monolithic narratives typical of the textbook genre – all building to achieving the goal of a better understanding of the discipline.

Third, as with Amrita Chakrabarti Myers's introductory U.S. History I survey, many students in an upper-level history course too could plan on becoming teachers, and could benefit from a historian incorporating more focus on the pedagogy of history alongside disciplinary knowledge. Even for those students who do not plan on becoming teachers, learning how to teach the content and concepts of history might strengthen their understanding of that material.

Finally, Díaz's work in SOTL demonstrates how historians can take the methods they use in their own historical research and apply it to their classroom. The work of history – gathering evidence to understand the thought process of another person – closely mirrors the work of teaching and assessing student thought.

For teacher educators, the History Writing Seminar demonstrates possibilities for alignment between history coursework and education coursework. Although formal coordination of the syllabuses did not occur, a shared body of research read by both communities of instructors enabled mutually reinforcing overlap. Carrie named the importance of perspective-taking as one of the biggest take-aways from both the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies, saying “it's been pounded in, between both” courses.⁴²⁷ The importance of history as an evidence-based interpretation and the danger of providing only one monolithic narrative through history took prominence in both courses. Some of the activities in the courses

⁴²⁷ Carrie, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 28.

mirrored each other. The analysis of posters of El Cid in the History Writing Seminar paralleled the analysis of student writing samples on agency in the Foundations of Social Studies course. Taylor's method of having prospective teachers briefly research a topic in history to approximate a pedagogical practice had a similar structure to Díaz's more extensive research in the U.S.-Mexican War followed by thinking of how to turn that knowledge into a lesson plan. The readings from one course certainly benefitted the work of the other course. Instructors might make this coordination even stronger through exchanging their syllabuses, seeing the type of activities each other assigned, and reading their respective assigned readings. Additionally, developing even more their shared vocabulary could further this alignment.

Even in the midst of highly aligned courses in the History Department and the School of Education, prospective teachers still fell trap to over-contextualizing their professional vision, constraining their focus to disciplinary knowledge in history coursework and pedagogical practices in education coursework. For teacher educators, this finding implies that prospective teachers need frequent reinforcement from instructors, including explicitly drawing prospective teachers' attention to the different aspects of the dual foci and layered instruction of these courses. Such reinforcement could help prospective teachers widen their professional vision to notice both disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices across the world of history and the world of education, bridging the three-worlds problem.

Lastly, like with the U.S. History I survey, this study of the History Writing Seminar implies that prospective teachers could benefit from paying attention both to the disciplinary knowledge and the pedagogical practices used by their history course instructors. Additionally, Díaz's work reveals another important source of literature that prospective teachers and current teachers could draw upon to improve the way they teach history: SOTL research in history. Although that research usually takes place within the context of college instruction, its findings could have relevance for secondary or elementary instruction as well. And because disciplinary experts conduct that research using the methods of history, instructional practices revealed in that body of literature could help teachers teach in disciplinary ways.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusions:

Teaching for Ambitious Teaching

Scaling up to see these three courses as part of a wider university-based system reveals conclusions about how prospective teachers in Indiana University's undergraduate program might experience their teacher preparation through coursework in history from the History Department and social studies methods from the School of Education. This final chapter looks across the three courses to consider congruent aspects, complementary aspects, and aspects that seemed out of sync within the university-based system. Then, I compare the forms of layered instruction and apprenticeships used in the three different courses, in which instructors each dealt with pedagogical practices and disciplinary knowledge in slightly different ways. As prospective teachers navigated these multi-layered apprenticeships, they all encountered in varying degrees the three-worlds pitfall; this chapter catalogues the moves instructors made to help prospective teachers mitigate that pitfall. Finally, I conclude with implications this study has for historians, teacher educators, and universities that prepare teachers and suggest further research.

Comparing Across Three Courses

Congruent Aspects: A remarkable amount of congruency occurred across all three courses, especially considering that the instructors had brief to no formal communication to align those courses. All instructors taught a disciplinary view of history, promoting the development of important historical thinking skills in their students. Amrita Chakrabarti Myers had her students progress throughout the semester in their ability to read, analyze, and write about primary source documents. In Arlene Díaz's class, prospective teachers learned the rules of the discipline, the structures of disciplinary writing, and ways to decode the discipline for students. In Foundations of Social Studies, Bruce Taylor and Keith Barton focused on the substantive concepts that make up history, on the importance of providing students with debatable questions, and on the important skills students needed to develop. In all three courses, the discipline of history took

center stage: history as interpretive, constructed, argumentative, and evidence-based. Accurate and broad content knowledge remained important, but instructors treated this memorization of facts as necessary but not sufficient.

In particular, the historical thinking concept of perspective-taking received strong emphasis across all three courses. Díaz attributed this to a History Department-wide focus on that concept, but the School of Education course also emphasized perspective. Other concepts of historical thinking featured explicitly or implicitly across all three courses. Evidence, for example, played a role in all three places, as did the notion of problematization: central questions formed a key topic named by Taylor in the Social Studies Foundation course, but both Díaz and Myers talked about the important role problems and questions play in the work of history. These concepts of doing (and teaching) history made prominent appearances across all the courses.

The instructors in all three courses also shared another important concept: the need to push back against a view of history as a single monolithic narrative. For Myers, this happened through the content she chose to present to her students, as she thought carefully about how to use her lectures to talk about aspects of the American story not typically covered by the textbook; Myers contentiously made sure to frequently discuss women, African American, Native American, and other groups' perspectives. As Myers explained:

Myers: We can't leave out the one-percenters, the white men who had a huge impact in shaping the nation. But we need to also not leave out the rest of the folks who had an equally important impact...and that means you have to talk about the enslaved blacks, free blacks, Native Americans, white loyalists, and white patriots. I try very hard to not only make sure that my lectures cover this material, but that they're tested on it, because they need to be reinforced in the fact that they have to actually learn this stuff. I have to know what Native Americans thought or how African Americans behaved. I have to understand women's motivations.⁴²⁸

In reinforcing the relevance of this content, Myers presented history not as a solo performance, but as a choir. Like Myers, Díaz also brought in more perspectives to complicate a historical narrative. In her seminar, Díaz examined the creation of textbooks and the use of narrative in schools, pointing to the agendas coloring that process. Then, she used primary sources and other secondary sources beyond the textbook to help prospective teachers complicate the standard

⁴²⁸ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

narrative of the U.S.-Mexican War. Like Myers, Díaz drew on an analogy to explain this – that of a multi-faceted diamond. “Therefore, this idea that there are two sides of a story – no,” Díaz explained. “There are many sides to a story. The past is like a diamond. There are many, many sides to it. Saying that it is two sides is really simplifying it.”⁴²⁹ Her many revisits to the diamond analogy impressed upon prospective teachers the understanding that just one or two narratives could not fully encompass the complexities of the past. That enabled prospective teachers to critique the limitations of a textbook narrative of the U.S.-Mexican War. In *Foundations of Social Studies*, Taylor used the concept of the curricular gatekeeper to stress the power prospective teachers had to control what reached their students, and the corresponding responsibility to bring in different perspectives around issues, rather than providing just one narrative.

In addition to a disciplinary view of history and the critique of a single narrative, all three courses also demonstrated congruence in a third area: the role history plays in the formation of citizens. All instructors expressed the importance of historical thinking for a democratic citizenry. Myers expressed her desire for students to leave with skills applicable to daily life:

Myers: To be able to continue that methodology of questioning, analysis, research, interpretation, conclusion into their jobs, into their life. Because those are skills that are critically important for developing not just good workers, but good citizens. Thoughtful, informed, conscientious citizens, who really are going to become our next generation of leaders.⁴³⁰

Myers intended students to take the abilities of historical analysis into the wider world.

While Myers saw herself educating undergraduates as the next generation of leaders, Díaz, Barton, and Taylor saw themselves educating not only the next generation of leaders, but also the teachers of subsequent generations of leaders. This made developing historical skills in the service of citizenship even more important. In the *History Writing Seminar* and *Foundations of Social Studies*, instructors explicitly linked history instruction to citizenship education. Díaz often repeated the comment that prospective teachers would soon train new citizens, and how important a role disciplinary skills played in that work. She called her *History Writing Seminar* “the most important class I teach...in part because we’re going to be learning about history but

⁴²⁹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 9.

⁴³⁰ Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 14.

history in a different way. And we're going to be learning how to teach it from a different point of view. And you are going to be teaching the next generation of U.S. citizens."⁴³¹ That oft-repeated refrain of training the next generation of U.S. citizens helped Díaz explain the purpose of her coursework. Taylor, with his background in civic education, also made the preparation of future citizens a theme of his course. He devoted a unit to "the civic mission of schools."⁴³² While this civic mission involved the social studies generally, Taylor also specifically tied it to history by talking about "how history helps to teach civics, prepare students for citizenship and civic life."⁴³³ In all three courses, prospective teachers learned about the importance of historical skills not just for doing history, but for forming future citizens who could critically think and thoughtfully analyze arguments and evidence.

In all three courses, instructors brought a theory of how their students would develop over a semester, either in skills and knowledge necessary to do history or skills and knowledge necessary to teach it. Instructors utilized these implicit or explicit theories to structure their courses. Myers built work with primary source interpretation to allow students to progress through increasingly complex tasks – moving from less to more sophisticated questions, from one source in isolation to multiple in corroboration, and from analysis of written documents to analysis of visual sources. Díaz employed the empirical work of William Perry and others to push prospective teachers to higher levels of cognitive development. Díaz thought of development as progress into waystations, secure stopping points from which students can continue to grow. "It's about let me see where this person is at and let me see how I can push that person to get there," she explained to prospective teachers. "Very likely we may not get them to the reflective stage in one semester – forget about it. But I would say that I know where many of you are and I know where I can get you in the term of a semester."⁴³⁴ Taylor too saw a pattern of development in prospective teachers, which he sequenced with their next semester's methods course. In this semester, Taylor saw his prospective teachers develop to where they knew the C3 framework well enough to use it. "They might not do it on their own," he explained, "they might have to be in a school environment that requires it, but I feel pretty confident they're knowledgeable of and probably fairly skillful with the C3 framework."⁴³⁵ He also sequenced

⁴³¹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

⁴³² Bruce Taylor, Foundations of Social Studies, syllabus.

⁴³³ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

⁴³⁴ History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 20.

⁴³⁵ Bruce Taylor, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 26.

prospective teachers through stages of unit planning: first modeling a unit, then critiquing an existing unit, and writing their own units in the next semester. Instructors' implicit or explicit theories of development sequenced the activities they planned to promote growth in all three courses.

Complementary Aspects: Across the three courses, instructors presented elements that, although not necessarily congruent with elements in other courses, did complement each other. Historical thinking played a central part in each course – but the courses focused on different aspects of historical thinking. In particular, the courses had different emphases on the balance between the skills of reading texts and the application of second-order concepts as analytical tools.⁴³⁶ Both strategies for reading texts and second-order concepts that guide analysis of those texts form complementary components of historical thinking. Myers and Díaz focused intently on how historians read documents. Both encouraged considering the point of view of the author, removing oneself from presentist understandings, and examining for argument and evidence. Myers concentrated on primary sources; she frequently modeled reading those primary sources and students contended with primary sources weekly in their essays. In addition to working with primary sources, Díaz also considered reading secondary sources. She discussed how historians wrote such sources, modeled how to read them, and had prospective teachers read, analyze, and cite them in their writing. In Foundations of Social Studies, on the other hand, the instructors focused less on the reading of historical texts and more on the second-order concepts used to analyze them. While instructors did not delve into Sam Wineburg's heuristics for reading historically, they did provide lessons on agency, perspective-taking, causation, and evidence. Prospective teachers then applied those second-order concepts to consider how students think about the past events and actors contained within historical texts. While Díaz also dedicated a lesson to a second-order concept, she looked at one not contained in Barton's list of important historical thinking concepts (although historical empathy, the subject of Díaz's lesson, did have perspective-taking as a subcomponent). While all three courses had a common goal – the development of historical thinking – they each emphasized different aspects of the skills and second-order concepts associated with thinking historically.

⁴³⁶ Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Age 7-14," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 199-222.

The instructors in the three courses approached using metacognition to decompose their pedagogy in different ways. Myers talked the least amount about her own pedagogy in class – hardly surprising, since she did not offer her course exclusively for prospective teachers. But Myers still shared some pedagogical reasoning with students, discussing things like why she sequenced the weekly essay prompts in the order she did, or how she chose what to include or leave from her lectures, or why she did not give cumulative exams. In the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies, both courses for prospective teachers, instructors employed more metacognitive discourse. Díaz would preface her pedagogical practices with such talk, explaining her purposes for doing a particular activity. At times, prospective teachers read and discussed articles about a pedagogical practice (like Robert Bain’s piece on questioning the authority of textbooks) before Díaz enacted it.⁴³⁷ Taylor and Barton, conversely, usually enacted pedagogical practices first and then either had prospective teachers discuss why they would have structured an activity in that particular way, or just explained their pedagogical reasoning directly. Where Díaz followed a pattern of decomposition followed by representation of practices, Barton and Taylor typically starting with representation and followed with decomposition.

Aspects Out of Sync: The three courses also contained elements that happened slightly out of sync. Though the courses had a common language, forged because of the shared discipline of history but also because Díaz traversed in educational research, sometimes the common terms differed in nuances across courses. Different instructors operationalized the term historical thinking in different ways, for example. Perspective too took on many different means in the courses: considering the point of view of the reader, the author, historical agents, and of the historiographical lens for viewing the past all fell under the umbrella term of perspective. Similar disciplinary concepts, then, had slightly different connotations in different settings.

Pedagogical language too did not always align. Díaz’s notion of a lesson plan – a narrative description and justification of what would happen during the lesson – differed greatly from the formulaic plans of Foundations of Social Studies, where prospective teachers listed out learning goals, standards, necessary materials, central questions, and sequences of instructional activities. Díaz acknowledged this gap between her expectations and the expectations of the

⁴³⁷ Robert B. Bain, “Rounding Up Unusual Suspects: Facing the Authority Hidden in the History Classroom,” *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 10 (October 2006): 2080-2114.

School of Education: “So it’s not a lesson plan like the ones that you are familiar with from the School of Education. It’s mostly a paper in which you discuss a lesson plan on the U.S.-Mexican War and in which you explain how and why your lesson teaches beyond the textbook.”⁴³⁸ The concept of a central question for instruction too did not fully align; while all instructors problematized history to an extent, the types of questions they asked or encouraged prospective teachers to use varied greatly. When Myers problematized history, she did so as a strategy to provide structure to her lectures. She posed the question “How did America become such an obsessive nation of coffee drinkers?” to talk about the Tea Act and the Boston Tea Party, for example.⁴³⁹ Díaz too problematized history as a way to bound inquiry into the past. Díaz provided a main research question for prospective teachers’ research on the U.S.-Mexican War, and prompted them to do the same with their students.⁴⁴⁰ Like Díaz, Taylor encouraged prospective teachers to use essential questions into big ideas or controversial issues as ways to structure inquiry into the content. But while both recommended questions, the two diverged in how they advised prospective teachers to formulate those questions. When prospective teachers formed a question on the necessity of violence in the civil rights movement, Taylor recommended “Is violence ever justified to advance a social movement or for civil rights?” because “that’s a debatable question...that’s a question that opens it up for discussion, for students to take different positions, use different resources to make their claims...it opens up a lot more interpretation.”⁴⁴¹ Díaz, however, when discussing a proposed question on whether the United States had justification for going to war with Mexico, cautioned her prospective teachers away from questions of justification. “The problem I had with this question,” Díaz explained, “is that you’re asking students to make a value-judgement. Were they justified? Although I see where this question is going, the problem is that students love to make judgments on the past. And I’d rather have them understand the past.”⁴⁴² Prospective teachers, then, occasionally saw stark differences in the nuanced meanings of pedagogical terminology in different classes.

Indiana University had an impressive and long history of collaboration between historians and education faculty. The creation of a writing seminar within the History Department tailored to prospective teachers speaks to this collaboration. However, particularly in

⁴³⁸ History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 20.

⁴³⁹ U.S. History I, transcript, February 23.

⁴⁴⁰ History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 9.

⁴⁴¹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 29.

⁴⁴² History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 6.

regards to Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar, which shared the same prospective teachers, opportunities exist to possibly further strengthen that coordination. Sharing syllabuses between the two courses might increase instructors' awareness of the concepts their prospective teachers encounter in the other course and enable them to make further connections. Knowledge that prospective teachers had read of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating heuristics in the History Writing Seminar might have allowed Taylor to allude to them when he asked his prospective teachers to design lesson plans. Likewise, if Díaz had known of Barton's lesson on causation, agency, perspective, and evidence, she could have built onto those concepts of historical thinking when she added the concept of historical empathy. Both Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar have many opportunities to connect, as they teach many congruent or complimentary aspects of doing and teaching history. But because the instructors in one course taught with less awareness of what happened in the other, the burden to make those connections sometimes fell to the prospective teachers who traversed between them.

Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar also might have benefitted by aligning their frameworks for planning instruction. Foundations of Social Studies made frequent use of the C3 framework, while Díaz used backwards design and Decoding the Disciplines to both structure her course and have prospective teachers structure their own lesson planning. Each of these courses might have benefitted from incorporating the other's frameworks into their instruction. The C3 framework provided form and terminology for disciplinary and inquiry-based instruction, a central feature of the History Writing Seminar. Decoding the Disciplines, especially its first stages, guided prospective teachers to think deeply about the skills required to do disciplinary work and how to translate them in intelligible ways for students, an important characteristic of Foundations of Social Studies. Lastly, the framework of backwards design, while formally introduced in Díaz's class, had an implicit underpinning in Foundations of Social Studies; instructors had prospective teachers follow backwards design in their lesson plans when they made them first identify learning goals before moving on to thinking about instructional activities and texts to use. These three frameworks together might provide commonality across the History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies, reinforcing their importance to prospective teachers and aiding their realization of connections between history and education coursework.

Layered Instruction in the Courses

Across all three courses, instructors employed multi-layered instruction and complex apprenticeship modes that communicated much about the practices of history and history teaching. Implicitly and explicitly, they enacted many different models of apprenticeship during their instruction. They brought certain practices and content to the foreground, but had much on display in the background. These layers offered opportunities for prospective teachers to learn about the discipline of history and how to teach it, but the complex levels of apprenticeship also meant that prospective teachers oftentimes failed to notice some of the layers. To illustrate how instructors used layered instruction and apprenticeship in their courses, I offer an analysis of a sample teaching activity from each of them.

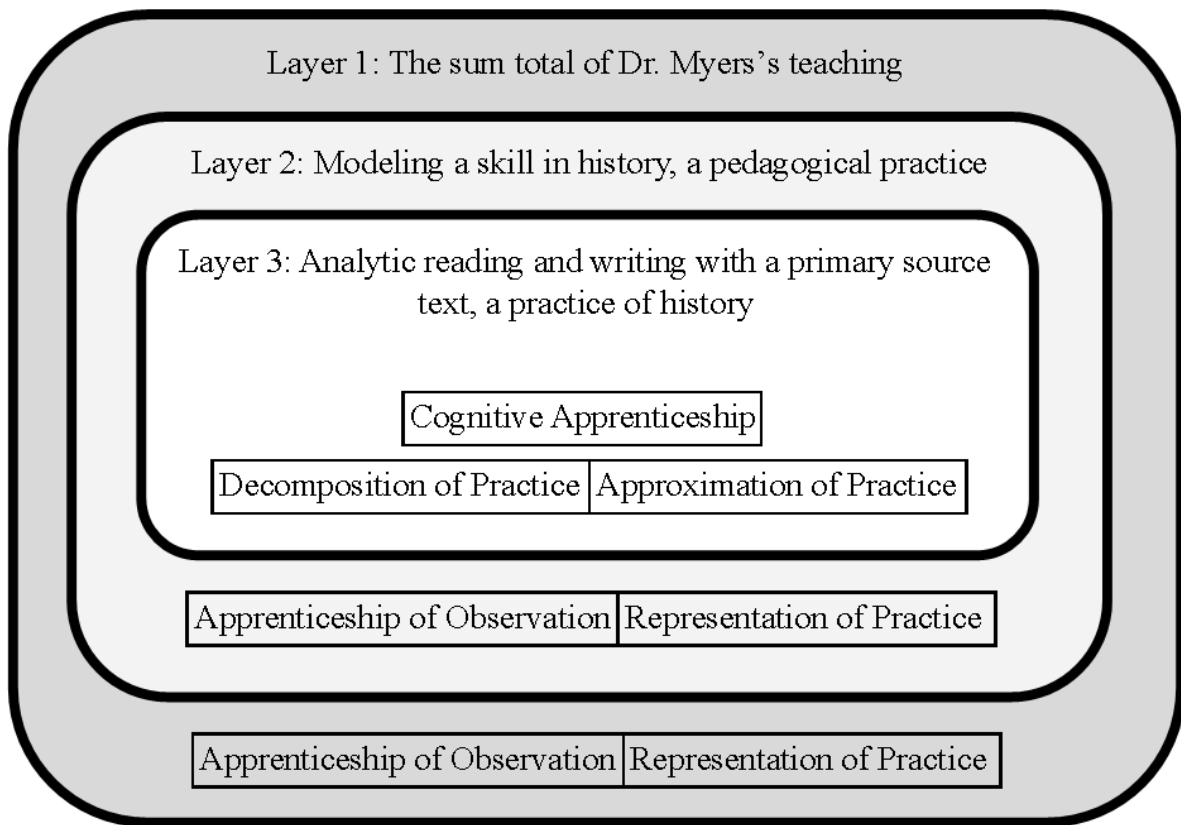


Image 9-1: Layered Apprenticeship in U.S. History I

In the example from U.S. History I, Myers used a selection from Aristotle to model how she wanted students to read and write with primary sources. Analytical reading and writing

constitute important historical practices, and Myers had these practices as one of the primary learning goals for her course. But that did not constitute the only apprenticeship into practices of doing and teaching history available to prospective teachers. The first layer provided a large apprenticeship of observation available to prospective teachers, as Myers displayed in her twice-weekly course sessions an extended representation of the practices of teaching history. The content she chose to include, her style of lecture, her classroom management techniques, her persona and demeanor – all of these constituted a representation of practice that prospective teachers could notice through the apprenticeship of observation. Contained within that broader apprenticeship of observation, the second layer provided a more specific pedagogical practice: modeling a skill. Although Myers did not discuss how she structured a modeling session or decompose the individual steps needed to model a practice of history, she did provide an enactment of this pedagogical practice which served as a representation for prospective teachers. Again, prospective teachers could notice this practice through the apprenticeship of observation. The third layer contained Myers's intended focus: for students to develop in their skills of analytical reading and writing. To do so, she used a cognitive apprenticeship, where she modeled and explained for students the type of thinking needed to do those tasks, and coached them through targeted questions that allowed them to rehearse that type of thinking. Myers broke down the complicated task into a series of questions students could always ask themselves as they approach a source – questions regarding who wrote the text, their audience, and their purpose. By breaking down the complicated task into smaller parts, Myers provided a decomposition of the practice for her students. Then, when students began to write analyses of primary source documents in their weekly essays, they had a chance to approximate that practice. While this final layer held Myers's goal for the instructional activity, it contained only a part of the potential practices prospective teachers could learn from that particular lesson.

Like Myers, the instructors in Foundations of Social Studies enacted complex instruction and layered apprenticeships. Both Taylor and Barton explicitly taught prospective teachers and so taught with a dual focus; they explicitly intended to teach prospective teachers about the discipline of history and practices for teaching it. With that dual focus, teaching activities often contained a cognitive apprenticeship within a cognitive apprenticeship. Instructors explained their thinking both around disciplinary practices and the pedagogical practices they used to teach them (or vice versa, depending on focus they chose to foreground). In this example from

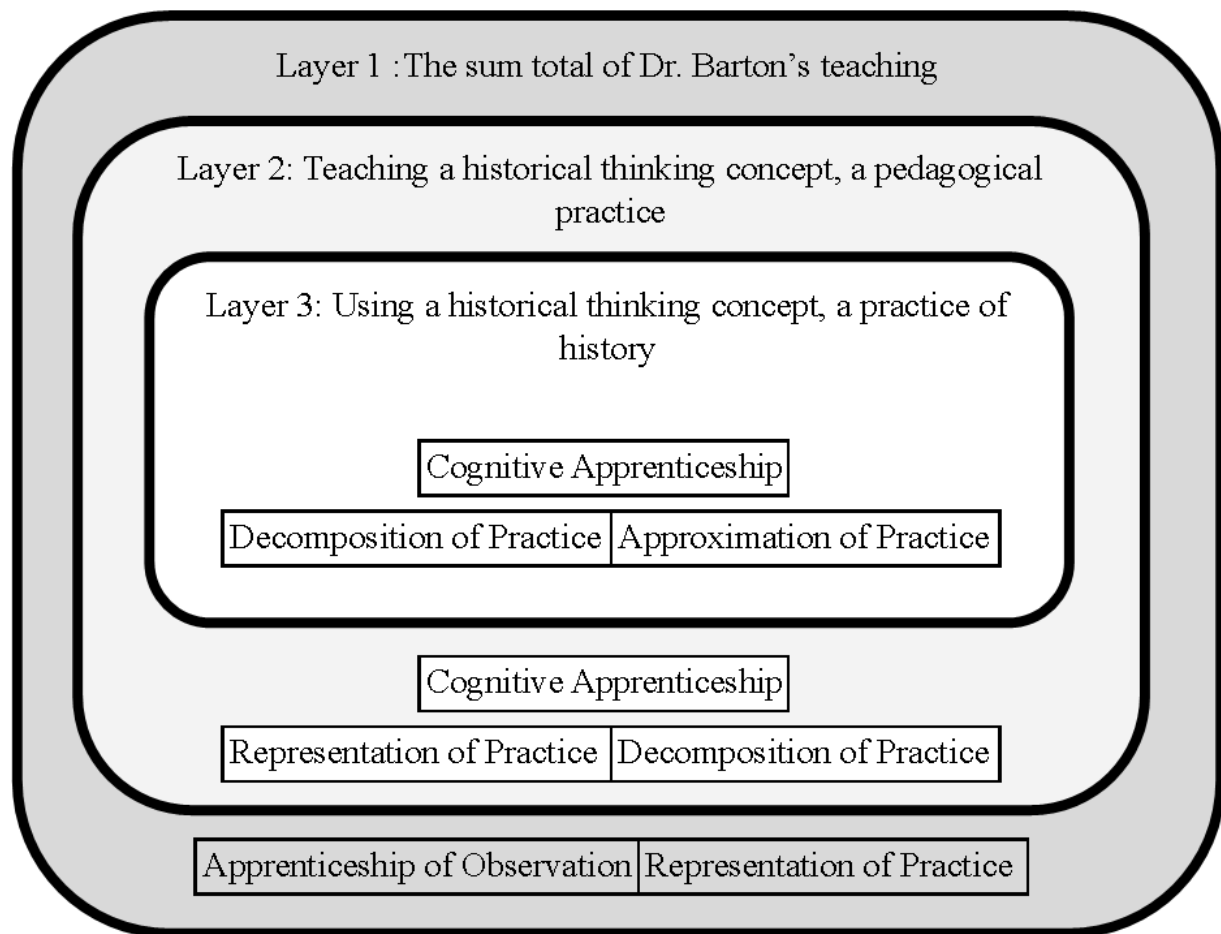


Image 9-2: Layered Apprenticeship in Foundations of Social Studies

Foundations of Social Studies, Barton used the historical content of the Great Fire of London to teach the disciplinary concept of causation. Again at the first layer, Barton's sum total of teaching provided a representation of practice. How he selected content, interacted with prospective teachers, facilitated discussions, circulated about the room – all gave opportunities for prospective teachers to notice practices through the apprenticeship of observation. In the second layer, Barton provided a representation of a specific pedagogical practice: utilizing categorization to promote high-level thinking on a concept. Although not the main focus of this instructional activity, Barton also spoke metacognitively about the pedagogical practice, revealing the cognitive work he put into structuring the task, including why categorization causes students to think at a higher level. In this way, he provided a decomposition of practice as well. Lastly, in the third layer, Barton again employed a cognitive apprenticeship to help prospective teachers learn causation and causal reasoning. He decomposed the practice, walking them

through different categories of causal reasoning, prompting them to explain their thinking, and explaining his own thinking on causation. He also, in having the prospective teachers take on the role of students working through the activity, gave them the chance to approximate practices of causal reasoning. Taken together, Barton offered through this activity many different layers of apprenticeship for prospective teachers to learn practices for doing and teaching history.

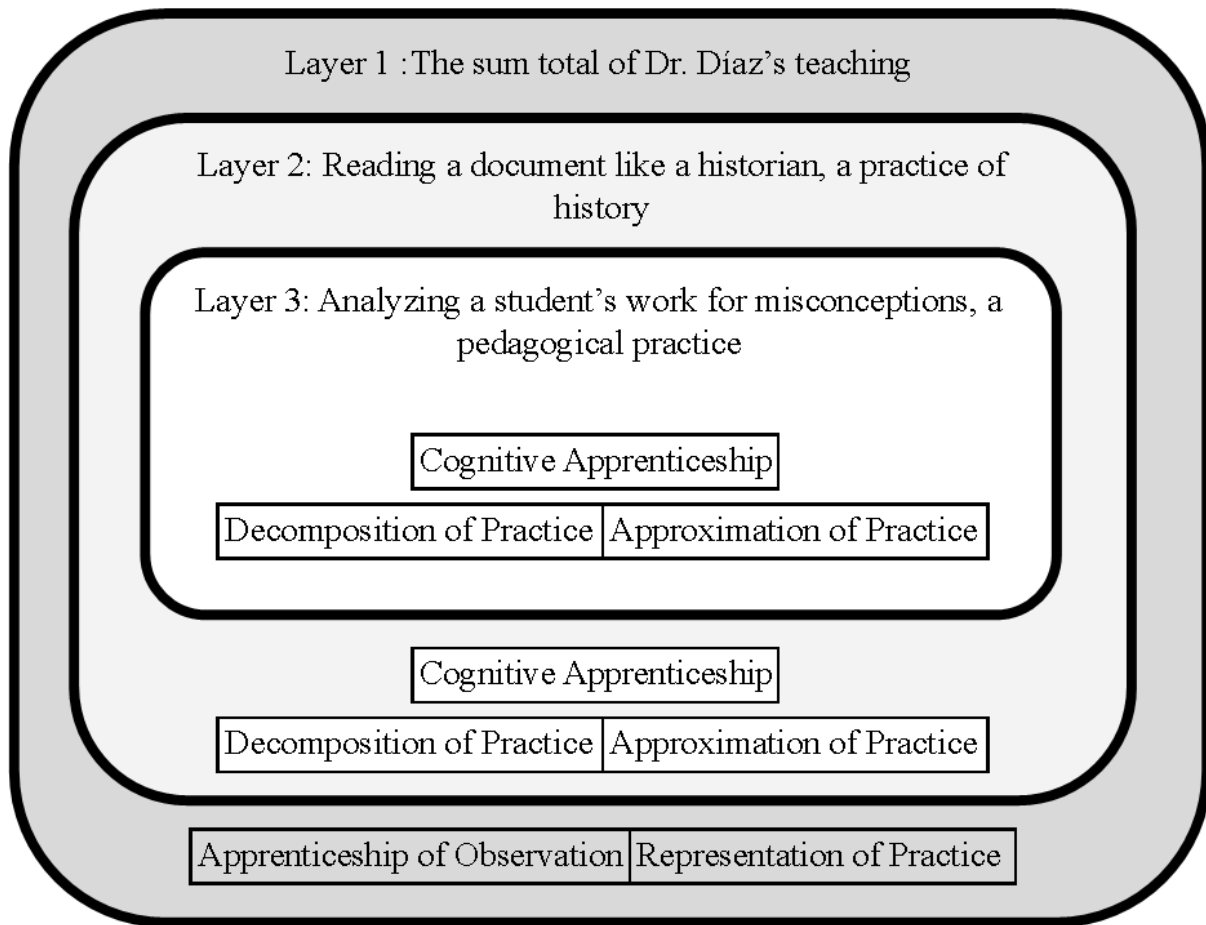


Image 9-3: Layered Apprenticeship in the History Writing Seminar

Díaz enacted perhaps the most complex layered apprenticeship of all the instructors when she had prospective teachers analyze a poster-based assessment of a student's reading of the "Poem of the Cid." As in Foundations of Social Studies, Díaz taught with a dual focus and cognitive apprenticeships within cognitive apprenticeships; she had prospective teachers learn historical and pedagogical practices within the same activity. In the first layer, Díaz presented as a representation of practice the sum total of her teaching activities, including the posters: artifacts

from her practice in a different course. Prospective teachers could notice these representations of practice through the apprenticeship of observation. In the second layer, Díaz gave prospective teachers a cognitive apprenticeship in the disciplinary practice of reading a primary source. Charts outlining findings from research by Sam Wineburg and Jeffrey Nokes decomposed that complex practice, and Díaz coached prospective teachers through a close reading of the poem. Prospective teachers approximated the practice of grounding observations within a text as they worked in groups to read line-by-line. Then, in the third layer, Díaz provided a cognitive apprenticeship in a pedagogical practice: diagnosing students' misunderstandings in an assessment. Prospective teachers approximated the practice under the guidance of questions from Díaz. They received feedback as they discussed their findings in multiple class sessions. Through these layers, Díaz sought to have prospective teachers realize how to better enact historical thinking themselves and how to better identify misconceptions in students. In this activity, Díaz so combined the pedagogical and disciplinary practices she wanted prospective teachers to learn that neither the first nor second layer took the foreground.

Instructors across all three classes employed a variety of pedagogical techniques. Both Myers and Díaz modeled how to read analytically by reading through documents in class. They also included frequent chances to practice analytical writing; Myers gave weekly primary source analysis essays, while Díaz assigned argument summaries of scholarly articles. All three courses mixed lecture and whole-class discussion. The History Writing Seminar and Foundations of Social Studies also made frequent use of group work and small group discussions. Their smaller class sizes better conducted group work than did the large auditorium of U.S. History I. Examples of group work included creating joint products (such as a lesson plan), providing feedback for individual work (group workshops on papers and other writing), discussion and creating a presentation outlining the key points (of a reading or of an example of student work), or having a debate or other form of structured discussion. Instructors in all three courses used metacognitive language to talk about their own teaching decisions. Sometimes, particularly in Foundations of Social Studies, instructors used these pedagogical activities so that prospective teachers could see a representation of the practice of teaching history in an elementary or secondary school. Other times, instructors used these pedagogical practices as a way to teach concepts or content. In Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar, the instructors' dual focus meant that at times they used their selected pedagogical practices to accomplish both tasks.

A Three-Worlds Pitfall in a University-Based System of Teacher Education

What prospective teachers noticed in these complex, layered apprenticeships happening within the milieu of college courses varied by teacher and by context. All focal prospective teachers left with the ability to describe the discipline of history in more nuanced ways, progressing from history as a story of facts into conceiving of history as interpretive, evidence-based, and incorporative of diverse perspectives. They also began to think about incorporating this disciplinary stance into their own teaching; when asked what they would adopt for a classroom of their own, only rarely did they mention the content specifically, and by the end most seemed to convey the desire to go beyond a banking form of teaching that only made deposits of facts into the minds of students.⁴⁴³ But as focal prospective teachers traversed between coursework in history and in education, all fell to varying degrees into a pitfall of experience. Focal prospective teachers experienced a third world beyond the unconnected spheres of education coursework and field experiences identified by Sharon Feinman-Nemser and Margret Buchmann.⁴⁴⁴ Within their university-based world of history and world of education coursework, prospective teachers at times narrowed what they noticed depending on the setting. Even in courses where instructors had a dual focus on the practices of teaching and history, prospective teachers tended to notice disciplinary knowledge in a history course and pedagogical practices in the education course. They often only noticed parts of the complex instruction and layered apprenticeships their instructors provided – and the parts they noticed depended on whether prospective teachers observed in a history course or an education course. When prospective teachers failed to connect the world of history to the world of education coursework, they missed out on a wealth of practices for doing and teaching history that they could incorporate into their own teaching.

Prospective teachers did not consistently fall into this three-worlds pitfall of experience, however. Particularly as the semester progressed, prospective teachers began to notice more – notice more pedagogical practices from their history instructors and notice more disciplinary knowledge from their education instructors. Four different strategies promoted a wider professional vision for prospective teachers, helping them avoid over-contextualization of what they noticed and enabling them to make connections between history and education. First, when

⁴⁴³ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York, NY: Continuum, 1990).

⁴⁴⁴ Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Margret Buchmann, "Pitfalls of Experience in Teacher Preparation," *Teachers College Record* 87, (1985): 53-65.

historians recognize they work with prospective teachers, they can better remind them of their future careers and the applicability of history courses to those careers. Díaz emphasized the reasons for her pedagogical decisions, frequently reminded prospective teachers that they soon would have classrooms of their own, and encouraged them to think about how they could use disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices from her course in their classrooms. Second, education professors in methods courses can reinforce the importance of disciplinary knowledge used during the course. Taylor and Barton enacted instructional activities that prospective teachers could appropriate for their own classrooms. They also thoughtfully selected the content and concepts they would work with in those instructional activities. At times, they selected disciplinary knowledge important to the curricular standards prospective teachers would have to teach to in their own classrooms. At other times, they selected content and concepts that would fill gaps in the prospective teachers' disciplinary knowledge. Then, they communicated the importance of that disciplinary knowledge, reinforcing that prospective teachers would need it to teach in the future, and pressing them to notice not just the pedagogical practices, but also the disciplinary knowledge imparted by those practices. Third, the questions I asked as a researcher during interviews with focal prospective teachers – inquiring what they noticed from their history and education coursework about history and its teaching and what they could adopt from those courses– aided those prospective teachers in noticing more. Prospective teachers reported that participating in research caused them to think more about how they could use what they saw in their coursework in professional practice. Such questions of what prospective teachers notice from their instructors in university coursework need not take place only in the context of a research study. Any instructor working with prospective teachers could ask those same questions about what they notice in their coursework. Lastly, prospective teachers noticed more often, and planned to incorporate into their own practice, concepts and practices that had high congruence across their history and education coursework, such as the concept of perspective-taking.

Implications

For teacher educators in schools of education, these findings indicate the value of seeing historians, even historians not explicitly involved in teacher education, as important partners in the work of training history teachers for ambitious instruction. Oftentimes, the disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices historians employ in their courses could easily find their

way into rigorous history teaching at the secondary or even elementary levels. Teacher educators could promote history courses as a valuable source of both disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge for their prospective teachers. On the flip side, teacher educators also have a role in teaching disciplinary knowledge. Carefully selected content and concepts used to demonstrate pedagogical practices can supplement and reinforce what prospective teachers learn in their history courses. Coordination across history and education courses might strengthen prospective teachers' knowledge of the discipline and practices for teaching it. Teacher educators could improve the congruence between their courses and those offered through a history department by doing things like developing a shared terminology of concepts for historical thinking. Such actions might both strengthen historian-teacher educator partnerships around training teachers and make the elements of that partnership more noticeable for prospective teachers.

However, the findings of this study also show that even with coordination across courses, prospective teachers may still struggle to notice the relevance history courses have for teaching or education courses have for disciplinary knowledge. Teacher educators can take steps to get their prospective teachers to broaden their professional vision in their courses. They can layer apprenticeships, purposefully selecting disciplinary content and concepts to work with as they represent, decompose, and have prospective teachers approximate pedagogical practices; when doing so, prospective teachers might benefit if their teacher educators explain why they chose such content and concepts, and the relevance they have for their future as teachers. Lastly, teacher educators could also ask prospective teachers what they notice in their disciplinary coursework. I could imagine a short assignment in which a methods instructor asks prospective teachers to observe the practices of a historian teaching a history course and identify which of those practices they could adapt for their own teaching.

For historians, this study identifies the ways prospective teachers (who can comprise a sizeable portion of students in a history course) can and do notice not only disciplinary knowledge but also pedagogical practices they could incorporate into their own practice as teachers. Therefore, historians play an important role as informal teacher educators alongside the formal ones in schools of education. Historians help prospective teachers learn the important content and disciplinary concepts of history. But in addition to representing, decomposing, and letting students approximate practices of history, historians always represent, often decompose, and sometimes let students approximate practices of teaching history as well. The more

deliberate, intentional, and explicit for students historians make these disciplinary and pedagogical practices, the more it may cause prospective teachers to notice those practices and think about how to incorporate them into their own classrooms. Giving students the chance to approximate the practices of teaching within a history course might further reinforce these practices for prospective teachers. As an added bonus, such deliberate attention to pedagogical practices within a history course could benefit those students who do not intend to become teachers as well, with learning how to teach and teaching material supporting their mastery of disciplinary knowledge. An investment into the work of teacher education could pay dividends for historians, as that work could raise the quality of history instruction in the elementary and secondary schools and then also raise of the quality of preparation in history for students who go on to college. Investing in teacher education at the elementary and secondary level may translate into more students who have preparation in disciplinary modes of thought – and perhaps more interest in history as interpretation rather than rote memorization – at the university level.

While this study focused specifically on those students who planned on becoming teachers, its findings could have implications for how historians work with students preparing for other careers as well. Particularly as the efficacy of college instruction comes under increased scrutiny,⁴⁴⁵ historians ought to do more to both stress the importance a disciplinary study of the past has for students and their future vocations, and then teach ambitiously so students actually encounter a disciplinary and meaningful study of the past. History majors, and non-majors taking history courses for general credit, go on to numerous other careers beyond teaching, and all could benefit from ambitious teaching of history. A recent American Historical Association survey of history majors found them working in varied fields, including K-12 and higher education, government and policy making, library services, law, the financial sector, public history institutes, and in media (and it did not even consider the many students who, while not majoring in history, took history courses for general education credit). Survey respondents cited research, writing, critical thinking, analysis, communication, considering multiple points of view, and considering context as specific skills developed in their history coursework that impacted their day-to-day work.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ Some of this takes the form of exaggerated political bluster, but other criticism takes a more balanced approach, such as Richard Arum and Josipa Roska, *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁶ Sadie Bergen and Emily Swafford, "Why Study History? Survey of History BAs Provides Some Real Answers," *Perspectives on History* 55, no. 1 (January 2017): 12-13.

Of course, history can, and should, go beyond just a practical, career-oriented study. The best presentations of history involves the heart as well as the head, invoking emotion and empathy as well as analysis and critical reading. Historians should embrace both uncritical and critical readings in their instruction,⁴⁴⁷ introducing students to the humanizing aspect of the humanities, practical skills for careers and citizenship, and the balance needed to reflect between those two poles. Attending to pedagogical practices can help historians strike that balance and encourage their students to grow in their reflective judgement.⁴⁴⁸

Of course, such attention to pedagogy places a lot of work on the historian, and many historians lack formal training in doing this work. Some historians, like Díaz, solved this through delving into SOTL and education research. But for historians who cannot dedicate as much time to that field, other opportunities exist. I observed a “trickle down SOTL” effect at Indiana University; even though historians actively working in SOTL constituted only a small minority of the faculty in the History Department, the research they conducted on and with their peers acted as a catalyst to expand historians’ pedagogical practices. These SOTL experts served as resources for their colleagues. The teaching center served as an additional, albeit not history-specific, resource for historians to strengthen their pedagogy. Improved pedagogy does not mean historians have to completely recreate their courses. Myers’s course illustrates how she incorporated thoughtful pedagogical techniques into the fairly traditional constraints of a large survey course to represent, decompose, and give students opportunities to approximate practices in a large auditorium. While doing so takes effort on the part of historians, resources like those mentioned above can help them broaden their pedagogical practices in a way that benefits prospective teachers, other students, and historians alike.

Beyond the level of individual education professors and historians, this study has implications for university-based systems as a whole. The history of Indiana University points to three elements which led to its collaborations between the History Department and the School of Education over teacher training. First, enough interested individuals worked at the university to start these collaborative partnerships. Indiana University had a succession of faculty members, in history and education, who dedicated their professional time to improving history instruction at

⁴⁴⁷ Michael Warner, “Uncritical Reading,” in *Polemic: Critical or Uncritical*, ed. Jane Gallop (London, UK: Routledge, 2004), 13-38.

⁴⁴⁸ Patricia M. King and Karen S. Kitchener, “Fostering Reflective Judgment in the College Years,” in *Developing Reflective Judgment: Understanding and Promoting Intellectual Growth and Critical Thinking in Adolescents and Adults* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1994), 223-257.

elementary, secondary, and university levels and who built relationships with colleagues outside their home department. The lofty goals of collaboration and improved instruction discussed at the national level came into fruition on the ground through the work of these individuals. A second element made the work of these individuals lasting: the institution of official structures that carried the work on past any one individual. The creation of a School Social Studies Coordinator position, or the Social Studies Development Center, or the institution of a History Writing Seminar section for prospective teachers, or an official liaison position between the School of Education and the History Department – all these structures meant that what started as an individual initiative turned into something lasting, as these positions and institutions held even as individual faculty came and went. Interested individuals started the collaboration over promoting ambitious history teaching, but the structures they built sustained Indiana University’s attention to it. The third element, enthusiastic support from administration, meant that this sustained work became both possible and valued at Indiana University.

Schools of education and history departments have a mutual mission of educating students – but they also would reap mutual benefits from closer collaboration. Historians could learn from the pedagogical expertise of their colleagues in education. Research on teaching and learning, knowledge of the elementary and secondary curriculum, and practices for teaching history in elementary and secondary classrooms all could give historians a better idea of the prior knowledge and experiences their students bring with them to university, as well as suggestions for practices of teaching history at the college-level. Furthermore, strengthening connections between historians and education experts could provide historians avenues for stronger influence over the shape of elementary and secondary history standards, curricula, and assessments –giving historians increased influence on the shape of history in K-12 classrooms.

Conversely, faculty in schools of education could learn from the disciplinary expertise of their colleagues in history. This includes their deep and recent knowledge of content, disciplinary ways of thinking and doing, and classroom experience teaching history to learners. Furthermore, students in history courses – both history majors and those taking history as general education credits – form a strong source of potential candidates for teacher certification. Through cooperation and relationships with historians, schools of education could better identify and attract strong future teachers into their programs. Of course, this in turn benefits historians as

well, as stronger history teachers in the elementary and secondary levels then better prepare students to enter college and enroll in historians' own courses.

The study also has implications for prospective teachers. Even if teachers matriculate at institutions that do not yet have collaborative individuals and institutional structures on par with Indiana University, prospective teachers can of their own initiative train their professional vision to see more layers in the apprenticeships and instruction they encounter. Prospective teachers can ask introspective questions that bridge between worlds, asking themselves what they notice and how what they see in their courses could impact their practice. Prospective teachers can talk to instructors about their teaching: why instructors chose the content they did, why they delivered their instruction as they did, or what learning goals they had for students. Prospective teachers can also ask their instructors about the discipline: what practices they see as essential for students to know, what concepts key to historical thinking, what content crucial to best understand a particular aspect of history. Prospective teachers might do as Harrison did – make a “mental bank” (or better yet, actually write down) all the activities he did in his coursework in order to take them into his classroom.⁴⁴⁹ Teachers already finished with college coursework can think retrospectively on those courses with new perspectives, reflecting not only on the disciplinary knowledge they gained from courses, but also the pedagogical practices they saw. While history departments and schools of education can coordinate programs to better facilitate synthesis across the three worlds of education coursework, history coursework, and the field, the ultimate act of synthesis must fall to teachers themselves.

Future Research

This study prompts at least two new questions for further research. The first concerns the third world of the three-worlds pitfall; my study followed history and education courses, but only examined in the most tangential ways how they connected to the field. While prospective teachers imagined how they could use the practices they saw in classrooms, I did not actually follow them into the field. Follow-up interviews from the subsequent semester (not included in the analysis of this study) reveal more of prospective teachers' experiences in the field, but such self-reporting in isolation does not provide as rich a data set as interviews paired with

⁴⁴⁹ Harrison, interview by author, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, January 15.

observation. Prospective teachers' work as student teachers in the field, and how that world connects to content-area coursework and education coursework, warrants further study.

A play on Juvenal's query in *Satires* introduces the second area of research this study suggests: "*Qui magistrum magistrorum docent?*"⁴⁵⁰ The question of who teaches the teacher educators deserves further research as well. As my study suggests, such a query would need to examine two separate types of teacher educators: formal teacher educators in a school of education and the historians who informally take on the role of teacher educators. Graduate students in education must learn how to teach teachers. In graduate coursework, in mentoring from other professors, and in their on-the-job experiences as instructors, graduate students of education learn how to teach new history teachers disciplinary and pedagogical practices. Often, graduate students of education bring past experiences as elementary or secondary history teachers; although with significant overlap, the knowledge base and practices required for teaching history teachers differs from the knowledge base and practices for teaching history. How graduate students and future faculty in education learn this knowledge base for teaching teachers across multiple sites needs more study.

Like their education peers, history graduate students also learn the knowledge base and practices needed to teach across many sites. They also implicitly, if not explicitly, train teachers in the courses they teach. However, the professional preparation of new historians has long neglected training for how to teach.⁴⁵¹ Fortunately, pedagogical training for graduate students of history has received increased attention in recent years, and Indiana University has worked at the forefront of this endeavor. The course The Teaching of College History offers graduate students advanced training in pedagogical practices to design and teach disciplinary-based courses. It also has graduate students conduct their own SOTL research. Data collected from this course fell outside the scope of this study, but it could provide a telling case of what it looks like to train graduate students for ambitious history instruction, and how those graduate students could then go on to become teacher educators by representing, decomposing, and having prospective

⁴⁵⁰ Juvenal's original query read "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?*" or "Who watches the watchmen?" Juvenal, *Satires*, Satire VI, lines 347-9.

⁴⁵¹ Dexter Perkins, "We Shall Gladly Teach" (presidential address, Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, DC, December 29, 1956); Lindsay Rogers, "Neglected Aspect of Graduate Instruction," *The History Teacher's Magazine* 6, no. 9 (November 1, 1915): 271-272; Terry Lee Seip, "*We Shall Gladly Teach*": *Preparing History Graduate Students for the Classroom* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1999).

teachers approximate disciplinary and pedagogical practices. Such a course, an important extension of the university-based system of teacher education, deserves further investigation.

Conclusion

In the complicated practice of learning to teach ambitiously, prospective teachers must navigate across many different sites. There, they encounter disciplinary and pedagogical practices, many of which could become valuable incorporations into their own practice as teachers. These include practices instructors explicitly intend to teach their students and practices implicitly represented when instructors enact their own teaching. Instructors teach these practices in the form of layered apprenticeships, with different practices taught on top of and within each other, at times with a single explicit focus and at times with multiple explicit foci. Facing all this complex instruction and layering of apprenticeships, prospective teachers can fall into a three-worlds pitfall of experience; they may not see how the world of history connects to the world of education coursework, and how all of that connects to their experiences in the field. As such, prospective teachers often over-contextualize, noticing disciplinary knowledge but not pedagogical practices in their history coursework and the reverse with education coursework.

Instructional moves can mitigate this three-worlds pitfall. On the level of individual instructors and on the institutional level of history departments, schools of education, and the partnerships between the two, strategies identified in this study might help prospective teachers widen their professional vision and notice more practices in the worlds of education and history that will contribute to how they learn to teach. Historians and education professors alike have a stake in preparing prospective teachers to navigate the complexity of learning to teach history in an ambitious manner, acting as partners over the work of teaching teachers.

Appendix A: Certification Requirements and Course Sequences

Table A-1: Secondary Social Studies Certification, Primary Subject Area History	
<i>Credits</i>	
Professional Education Courses	~50 Credits
Social Studies Breadth Courses	~60 Credits
Primary Subject Area: History	~30 Credits (some credits may double count with social studies breadth requirements)
Secondary Subject Area (Economics, Geography, or Political Science)	~15 Credits (some credits may double count with social studies breadth requirements)
<i>Recommended Course Sequence</i>	
Prerequisite Professional Education Coursework: Freshman, Sophomore, and Fall of Junior Years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multicultural Education • Learning Theory and Practice • The Adolescent Learner • Educational Technology • Legal Issues in Education • Foundations of Education
Spring of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundations of Social Studies • Field Experiences I • Content Area Literacy (Social Studies) • History Writing Seminar (Section for Prospective Teachers)
Fall of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Studies Methods • Field Experiences II • Classroom Management • History Research Seminar
Spring of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Teaching

Table A-2: Elementary Certification	
<i>Credits</i>	
Professional Education Courses	~70 Credits
Content Area Courses	~40 Credits 9 credits must come from the social studies (U.S. History I or II, a world history course, and an elective)
Subject Area of Concentration Courses	~15 Credits (some credits may double count with content area requirements)
<i>Recommended Course Sequence</i>	
Prerequisite Professional Education Coursework: Completed prior to student teaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Elementary School Learner • Educational Psychology • Field Experiences • Educational Technology • Legal Issues in Education • Multicultural Education • Foundations of Education • Elementary Art Instruction • Elementary Music Instruction
Fall of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elementary Language Arts Instruction • Elementary Reading Instruction • Field Experiences
Spring of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elementary Science Instruction • Elementary Mathematics Instruction • Field Experiences • Exceptionalities
Fall of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elementary Social Studies Instruction • Field Experiences • Books and Reading Instruction
Spring of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Teaching

Table A-3: Early Childhood Education Certification	
<i>Credits</i>	
Professional Education Courses	~75 Credits
Content Area Courses	~40 Credits 9 credits must come from the social studies (U.S. History I or II, a world history course, and an elective)
<i>Recommended Course Sequence</i>	
Prerequisite Professional Education Coursework: Completed prior to student teaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Elementary School Learner • Educational Technology • Legal Issues in Education • Foundations of Education • Books and Reading Instruction
Fall of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundations of Early Childhood I • Play and Development • Teaching and Learning I • Field Experiences
Spring of Junior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reading Instruction • Foundations of Early Childhood II • Teaching and Learning II • Teaching Children with Special Needs • Field Experiences
Fall of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elementary Social Studies Instruction • Elementary Science Instruction • Elementary Language Arts Instruction • Elementary Mathematics Instruction • Foundations of Early Childhood III • Exceptionalities • Field Experiences
Spring of Senior Year	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Teaching

Appendix B: Results of Beginning Surveys

Table B-1: U.S. History I Beginning Survey			
Question Text	Mode	Frequencies	
<i>(Q1) Gender</i>	Female	<i>Male</i>	17 (44%)
		<i>Female</i>	21 (54%)
		<i>Prefer not to disclose</i>	1 (3%)
<i>(Q2) History major status</i>	Unlikely history major	<i>Current history major</i>	5 (13%)
		<i>Possible history major</i>	5 (13%)
		<i>Unlikely history major</i>	29 (74%)
<i>(Q3) Year</i>	First year	<i>First year</i>	22 (56%)
		<i>Sophomore</i>	13 (33%)
		<i>Junior</i>	1 (3%)
		<i>Senior</i>	2 (5%)
		<i>Other</i>	1 (3%)
<i>(Q4) How would you rate your previous high school training in history?</i>	Good	<i>Excellent</i>	8 (21%)
		<i>Good</i>	17 (44%)
		<i>Average</i>	13 (33%)
		<i>Poor</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Terrible</i>	1 (3%)
<i>(Q5) Did you take high school AP U.S. History?</i>	No	<i>Yes</i>	15 (38%)
		<i>No</i>	24 (62%)
<i>(Q6) Did you take the AP U.S. History exam?</i>	No	<i>Yes</i>	10 (26%)
		<i>No</i>	29 (74%)
<i>(Q7) What was your score on the AP U.S. History Exam?</i>	Didn't take exam	3	7 (18%)
		2	2 (5%)
		<i>Can't remember</i>	1 (3%)
		<i>Didn't take exam</i>	29 (74%)
<i>(Q8) Have you taken U.S. History II?</i>	No	<i>Yes</i>	2 (5%)
		<i>No</i>	29 (76%)
		<i>No, but I plan to take it</i>	7 (18%)
<i>(Q9) What other college history courses have you taken? (free response)</i>	None	<i>None</i>	15 (58%)
		<i>One other course</i>	7 (27%)
		<i>More than one other</i>	4 (15%)

(Q10) I like taking history courses.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	2 (5%)
		Disagree	3 (8%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	7 (18%)
		Agree	14 (37%)
		Strongly Agree	12 (32%)
(Q11) I do well in history courses.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	0 (0%)
		Disagree	3 (8%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	6 (16%)
		Agree	20 (53%)
		Strongly Agree	9 (24%)
(Q12) I am interested in history.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	1 (3%)
		Disagree	5 (13%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	5 (13%)
		Agree	14 (37%)
		Strongly Agree	13 (34%)
(Q13) History challenges me.	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Strongly Disagree	1 (3%)
		Disagree	5 (13%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	15 (39%)
		Agree	12 (32%)
		Strongly Agree	5 (13%)
(Q14) I expect to do well in this course.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	0 (0%)
		Disagree	0 (0%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 (11%)
		Agree	25 (66%)
		Strongly Agree	9 (24%)
(Q15) Have you considered teaching history in college?	Not considered	Yes, but rejected	0 (0%)
		Yes, still considering	0 (0%)
		Not considered	38 (100%)
(Q16) Have you considered teaching history in grades K-12?	Not considered	Yes, but rejected	3 (8%)
		Yes, still considering	15 (39%)
		Not considered	20 (53%)
(Q17) Are you getting a teaching certification here?	No	Yes	16 (42%)
		No, but may do so	3 (8%)
		No	19 (50%)
(Q18) Have you considered going to Teach for America?	Not considered	Yes, but rejected	1 (31%)
		Yes, still considering	8 (21%)
		Not considered	29 (76%)
(Q19) Have you considered going to Law School?	Not considered	Yes, but rejected	1 (3%)
		Yes, still considering	10 (26%)
		Not considered	27 (71%)
(Q20) Have you considered going to Graduate School?	Yes, still considering	Yes, but rejected	1 (3%)
		Yes, still considering	26 (68%)
		Not considered	11 (29%)

Table B-2: Foundations of Social Studies Beginning Survey			
Question Text	Mode	Frequencies	
<i>(Q1) Gender</i>	Male	<i>Male</i>	13 (62%)
		<i>Female</i>	8 (38%)
		<i>Prefer not to disclose</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q2) History major status</i>	Current history major	<i>Current history major</i>	15 (71%)
		<i>Possible history major</i>	3 (14%)
		<i>Unlikely history major</i>	3 (14%)
<i>(Q3) Year</i>	Junior	<i>First year</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Sophomore</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Junior</i>	17 (81%)
		<i>Senior</i>	4 (19%)
		<i>Other</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q4) How would you rate your previous high school training in history?</i>	Good	<i>Excellent</i>	4 (19%)
		<i>Good</i>	9 (43%)
		<i>Average</i>	8 (38%)
		<i>Poor</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Terrible</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q5) How would you rate your college training in history?</i>	Good	<i>Excellent</i>	5 (24%)
		<i>Good</i>	12 (57%)
		<i>Average</i>	4 (19%)
		<i>Poor</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Terrible</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q6) Are you currently taking U.S. History I?</i>	No	<i>Yes</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>No</i>	20 (95%)
<i>(Q7) What college history courses have you taken? (free response)</i>	Five courses	<i>Two courses</i>	3 (15%)
		<i>Three courses</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Four courses</i>	4 (20%)
		<i>Five courses</i>	5 (25%)
		<i>Six courses</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Seven courses</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Eight or more courses</i>	3 (15%)
<i>(Q8) I like taking history courses.</i>	Strongly Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Agree</i>	9 (43%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	11 (52%)
<i>(Q9) I do well in history courses.</i>	Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Agree</i>	13 (62%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	6 (29%)

(Q10) I am interested in history.	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	0 (0%)
		Disagree	0 (0%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	0 (0%)
		Agree	6 (29%)
		Strongly Agree	15 (71%)
(Q11) History challenges me.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	0 (0%)
		Disagree	0 (0%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	1 (5%)
		Agree	16 (76%)
		Strongly Agree	4 (19%)
(Q12) I expect to do well in this course.	Agree	Strongly Disagree	0 (0%)
		Disagree	0 (0%)
		Neither Agree nor Disagree	1 (5%)
		Agree	13 (62%)
		Strongly Agree	7 (33%)
(Q13) Did you consider teaching history in college?	Yes, still considering	Yes, but rejected	1 (5%)
		Yes, still considering	14 (67%)
		Not considered	6 (29%)
(Q14) Did you consider going for Teach for America?	Yes, still considering	Yes, but rejected	0 (0%)
		Yes, still considering	11 (52%)
		Not considered	10 (48%)
(Q15) Did you consider going to Law School?	Not considered	Yes, but rejected	0 (0%)
		Yes, still considering	8 (38%)
		Not considered	13 (62%)
(Q16) Did you consider going to Graduate School?	Yes, still considering	Yes, but rejected	0 (0%)
		Yes, still considering	15 (71%)
		Not considered	6 (29%)

Table B-3: History Writing Seminar Beginning Survey			
Question Text	Mode	Frequencies	
<i>(Q1) Gender</i>	Male	<i>Male</i>	13 (65%)
		<i>Female</i>	7 (35%)
		<i>Prefer not to disclose</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q2) History major status</i>	Current history major	<i>Current history major</i>	12 (60%)
		<i>Possible history major</i>	5 (5%)
		<i>Unlikely history major</i>	3 (3%)
<i>(Q3) Year</i>	Junior	<i>First year</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Sophomore</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Junior</i>	18 (90%)
		<i>Senior</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Other</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q4) How would you rate your previous high school training in history?</i>	Good	<i>Excellent</i>	5 (25%)
		<i>Good</i>	12 (60%)
		<i>Average</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Poor</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Terrible</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q5) How would you rate your college training in history?</i>	Excellent	<i>Excellent</i>	10 (50%)
		<i>Good</i>	9 (45%)
		<i>Average</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Poor</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Terrible</i>	0 (0%)
<i>(Q6) Are you currently taking U.S. History I?</i>	No	<i>Yes</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>No</i>	19 (95%)
<i>(Q7) Are you currently taking Foundations of Teaching Social Studies?</i>	Yes	<i>Yes</i>	15 (75%)
		<i>No</i>	5 (25%)
<i>(Q8) What college history courses have you taken? (free response)</i>	None	<i>Two courses</i>	4 (22%)
		<i>Three courses</i>	3 (17%)
		<i>Four courses</i>	3 (17%)
		<i>Five courses</i>	5 (28%)
		<i>Six courses</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Seven courses</i>	2 (11%)
		<i>Eight courses</i>	1 (6%)
<i>(Q9) I like taking history courses.</i>	Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Agree</i>	10 (50%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	8 (40%)

<i>(Q10) I do well in history courses.</i>	Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Agree</i>	13 (65%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	6 (30%)
<i>(Q11) I am interested in history.</i>	Strongly Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Agree</i>	7 (35%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	12 (60%)
<i>(Q12) History challenges me.</i>	Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	4 (20%)
		<i>Agree</i>	8 (40%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	7 (35%)
<i>(Q13) I expect to do well in this course.</i>	Agree	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Disagree</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	2 (10%)
		<i>Agree</i>	10 (50%)
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	7 (35%)
<i>(Q14) Did you consider teaching history in college?</i>	Yes, still considering	<i>Yes, but rejected</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Yes, still considering</i>	10 (53%)
		<i>Not considered</i>	9 (47%)
<i>(Q15) Did you consider going for Teach for America?</i>	Not considered	<i>Yes, but rejected</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Yes, still considering</i>	6 (32%)
		<i>Not considered</i>	13 (68%)
<i>(Q16) Did you consider going to Law School?</i>	Not considered	<i>Yes, but rejected</i>	1 (5%)
		<i>Yes, still considering</i>	6 (32%)
		<i>Not considered</i>	12 (63%)
<i>(Q17) Did you consider going to Graduate School?</i>	Yes, still considering	<i>Yes, but rejected</i>	0 (0%)
		<i>Yes, still considering</i>	15 (79%)
		<i>Not considered</i>	4 (21%)

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocols

Baseline Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in U.S. History I

1. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of the course syllabus.
2. What are you anticipating learning from this course?
3. What motivated you to take it?
4. How is the course going so far?
5. What have you noticed and learned in the first couple days?
6. What other experiences in history have you had?
7. How did you learn history there?
8. What is your view of history?
9. What have you noticed about how the instructor presents the discipline of history?
10. What actions or activities has your instructor done to help you learn about the discipline?
11. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
12. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
13. What from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
14. What do you want to teach?
15. What motivated you to become a teacher?
16. How do you see your role as a teacher?

Baseline Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in Foundations of Social Studies and History Writing Seminar

1. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of the Foundations of Social Studies course syllabus.
2. What are you anticipating learning from this course?
3. What motivated you to take it?
4. How is the course going so far?
5. What have you noticed and learned in the first couple days?
6. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
7. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
8. What have you noticed about how the instructors present the discipline of history?
9. What actions or activities have your instructors done to help you learn about the discipline?
10. What knowledge of history from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
11. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructors have stuck out in your memory?
12. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
13. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of the History Writing Seminar course syllabus. Repeat the above questions 2 through 12 for this second course.
14. What other experiences in history have you had?
15. How did you learn history there?
16. What do you think about the discipline of history?
17. What do you want to teach?
18. What motivated you to become a teacher?
19. How do you see your role as a teacher?

Baseline Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructors in U.S. History I and History Writing Seminar

1. Provide the instructor with a copy of the course syllabus.
2. How do you plan for a course like this?
3. What are some challenges you've had already in the planning?
4. Challenges that you anticipate?
5. What are your goals for this course?
6. What do you want your students to be able to know and do at the end of the semester?
7. How would this differ if you were to pitch this course at a different level of students?
Freshman? Seniors? Masters level?
8. What type of historical knowledge and thinking abilities do you anticipate your students arrive with?
9. Now tell me a bit about how you see history as a discipline.
10. How does this relate to the teaching of history?
11. The doing of history?
12. What about your own background as a teacher of history?
13. What sort of training or experiences did you receive that helped you to teach undergraduate and graduate history courses?
14. How do you see yourself as a teacher?
15. How did the first week go?

Baseline Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructor in Foundations of Social Studies

1. Provide the instructor with a copy of the course syllabus.
2. How do you plan for a course like this?
3. What are some challenges you've had already in the planning?
4. Challenges that you anticipate?
5. What are your goals for this course?
6. What do you want your students to be able to know and do at the end of the semester?
7. How would this differ if you were to pitch this course at a different level of students?
Freshman? Seniors? Masters level?
8. Tell me a bit about your own background as a teacher.
9. What sort of training or experiences did you receive that helped you to teach undergraduate education courses?
10. What sort of support or assistance are you getting now in the program?
11. How do you see yourself as a teacher?
12. Do you follow any teaching philosophies? What are they?
13. How about your own experiences with history?
14. How do you see history as a discipline?
15. How does that compare with how you see history as a school subject?
16. How does this relate to the teaching of history?
17. The doing of history?
18. How did the first week go?

Midterm Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in U.S. History I

1. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of weekly essay prompt [below].
2. Tell me about how you've been working through these types of assignments.
3. What was your thinking as you worked through this?
4. How did your instructor prepare you for this assignment?
5. How would you teach someone else how do this assignment?
6. How do these assignments fit in with the textbook?
7. With the lectures?
8. How is the course going so far – what have you noticed and learned?
9. What content knowledge have stuck in your memory?
10. How does the instructor present the content?
11. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
12. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
13. What from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
14. What is your view of history?
15. What have you noticed about how the instructor presents the discipline of history?
16. What actions or activities has your instructor done to help you learn about the discipline?
17. What differences do you see between history as a discipline (doing history) and history as a school subject (teaching history)?
18. Lastly, tell me more about some words I heard used to describe history from you and your peers in the last interview: Perspective. Interpretation. Evidence. Primary sources. Secondary sources. Historical thinking.

Weekly Essay Prompt #2: February 4

The purpose of these in-class writing assignments is to help you develop your ability to **critically read** and **interpret** a variety of historical source materials in order to **draw larger conclusions** about an important historical era and/or event in early American history.

To answer the question, **please use doc. 4-4** from the Johnson Reader, which you were to have already read.⁴⁵² **Note:** this is an **open-book** assignment! You have **15 mins.** to complete the essay.

In order to fully address the prompt, you must **analyze the source in essay form** and use it to a) **construct a thesis**, b) **provide specific, cited evidence from the source** to substantiate your argument, and c) **draw conclusions** based on the material found in the document.

A Successful Essay Will:

- Identify** the source: **who** is writing, **for whom** are they writing, and **why** are they writing?
- Answer the **larger question** laid out in the prompt
- Have a well-articulated and easily identifiable **thesis** statement
- Use specific, illustrative **evidence** from the source to support the thesis
- Properly **cite** the source to substantiate the evidence
- Draw **conclusions** that flow naturally from the evidence provided in the body of the essay
- Address **the reliability** of the source and its author: should they be believed, and why?

Prompt: Please write your response on the back of this sheet

Having read this document, do you think Pennsylvania's leaders were concerned with spiritual violations, civic disorder, or a combination of the two? Remember to use **specific examples** from the source to uphold your thesis and illustrate each of your points.

⁴⁵² "The Great Law Or the Body of Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania and territorys thereunto Belonging past at an Assemble at Chester alias Upland the 7th day of the 10th Month December 1682," Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Pennsylvania State Archives, in *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents – Volume I To 1877*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 69-73.

Midterm Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in Foundations of Social Studies and History Writing Seminar

1. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of a weekly discussion board prompt from Foundations of Social Studies [below].
2. Tell me about how you've been working through these types of assignments.
3. What was your thinking as you worked through this?
4. How did your instructor prepare you for this assignment?
5. How would you teach someone else how do this assignment?
6. How is the course going so far – what have you noticed and learned?
7. What content knowledge have stuck in your memory?
8. How does the instructor present the content?
9. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
10. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
11. What from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
12. Provide the prospective teacher with a copy of the argument summary prompt from the History Writing Seminar [below]. Repeat the above questions 2 through 11 for this second course.
13. What is your view of history?
14. What have you noticed about how the instructors present the discipline of history?
15. Any similarities or differences?
16. What actions or activities have your instructors done to help you learn about the discipline?
17. What differences do you see between history as a discipline (doing history) and history as a school subject (teaching history)?
18. Lastly, tell me more about some words I heard used to describe history from you and your peers in the last interview: Perspective. Interpretation. Evidence. Primary sources. Secondary sources. Historical thinking.

Foundations of Social Studies Discussion Board Prompt

Week 5 Post

By Friday at midnight, answer:

How will understanding agency in history help students think about the actions of citizens today?

Support your answer citing evidence from the text.

By Tuesday at 9:00 AM:

Write a post comparing and contrasting the views of two of your colleagues. In what ways were their answers similar? How did they differ? Do their answers contradict or complement each other?

History Writing Seminar Argument Summary Prompt

Argument Summary #3

List and explain 3 main claims that Salinas made in the article “Arizona’s Desire to Eliminate Ethnic Studies Programs: A Time to Take the ‘Pill’ and to Engage Latino Students in Critical Education about their History.”⁴⁵³ Make sure you provide details; be specific.

What ideas or connections does the reading by Salinas suggest to you? What are your thoughts about the reading? Do you have any questions for the author?

What ideas or connections does the reading by Noboa suggest to you?⁴⁵⁴ What are your thoughts about the reading? Do you have any questions for the author?

⁴⁵³ Lupe S. Salinas, “Arizona’s Desire to Eliminate Ethnic Studies Programs: A Time to Take the ‘Pill’ and Engage Latino Students in Critical Education about their History,” *Harvard Latino Law Review* 12, (2011): 301-323.

⁴⁵⁴ Julio Noboa, “Names, Numbers, and Narratives: A Multicultural Critique of the US History Standards,” in *Politics and the History Curriculum: The Struggle over Standards in Texas and the Nation*, ed. Keith A. Erekson (New York, NY: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2012), 107-125.

Midterm Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructors in U.S. History I and History Writing Seminar

1. Start with their most recent lesson. Take me through how you prepared for this lesson.
2. Did it go as planned?
3. What surprised you?
4. What were you thinking during the lesson?
5. How does this lesson connect to those that came before?
6. How will you connect it to future lessons?
7. To the course as a whole?
8. Tell me about the assessments [for U.S. History I, the midterm exam and the weekly writing assignments; for History Writing Seminar, the argument summaries and homework assignments] in this course.
9. How did you design assessments?
10. What are you looking for in these assessments?
11. What have you seen?
12. Overall, how has the course been going?
13. Have you made any adjustments throughout the semester? How? Why?
14. What type of historical knowledge and thinking abilities have your students been developing?
15. What have they been struggling with?
16. How do you use the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in your own teaching?
17. How about the work of the School of Education?
18. [For U.S. History I instructor only] Tell me about your course assistants.
19. How are you incorporating them into the course?
20. What have they been doing?
21. How do you support their work in the course?

Midterm Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructor in Foundations of Social Studies

1. Start with their most recent lesson. Take me through how you prepared for this lesson.
2. Did it go as planned?
3. What surprised you?
4. What were you thinking during the lesson?
5. How does this lesson connect to those that came before?
6. How will you connect it to future lessons?
7. To the course as a whole?
8. Tell me about the assessments [weekly discussion board postings] in this course.
9. How did you design assessments?
10. What are you looking for in these assessments?
11. What have you seen?
12. Overall, how has the course been going?
13. What type of knowledge, practices, and thinking abilities for teaching history have your students been developing?
14. What have they been struggling with?
15. How have you been incorporating the discipline of history into your course?
16. How do you relate it to the other disciplines and to social studies as a whole?
17. Have you made any adjustments throughout the semester? How? Why?
18. Tell me about your work with others in the university in regards to this course.
19. How are you coordinating?
20. What support have you gotten?

Final Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in U.S. History I

1. Start by giving prospective teachers a primary source reading [Document 15-2 of the Johnson reader].⁴⁵⁵
2. Tell me about how you've been reading these types of documents.
3. What are your strategies for reading?
4. Anything your instructor did to prepare you to read?
5. How would you teach a student to read a document like this?
6. Now that we're at the end of the course how has it gone?
7. What have you noticed and learned?
8. What content knowledge do you think will stick with you?
9. How does the instructor present content?
10. Tell me about the assignments in this class.
11. Do you see any connections between assignments and other activities you've been doing in class?
12. How about connections to the exams?
13. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
14. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
15. How do you think the instructor prepared to teach this course?
16. What from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
17. What is your view of history?
18. What have you noticed about how the instructor presents the discipline of history?
19. What actions or activities has your instructor done to help you learn about the discipline?
20. What differences do you see between history as a discipline (doing history) and history as a school subject (teaching history)?

⁴⁵⁵ "Statements of a Colored Man [September 1863]," in *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Series 2, *The Black Military Experience*, eds. Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidly, and Leslie S. Rowland (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), in *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents – Volume I To 1877*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 286-289.

21. Again, I'm going to give you a few words and have you describe them briefly to me:
Perspective. Interpretation. Evidence. Primary sources and secondary sources. Historical thinking.
22. Lastly, tell me a little bit about your thoughts on participating in this research.

Final Interview, Guiding Questions for Prospective Teachers in Foundations of Social Studies and History Writing Seminar

1. Start by giving prospective teachers a primary source reading [Frederick Douglass document from the Conway reader].⁴⁵⁶
2. Tell me about how you've been reading these types of documents.
3. What are your strategies for reading?
4. Anything your instructors did to prepare you to read?
5. How would you teach a student to read a document like this?
6. How would you plan to incorporate a document like this into a lesson for students?
7. Ask questions 8 through 18 for Foundations of Social Studies:
8. Now that we're at the end of the course how has it gone?
9. What have you noticed and learned?
10. What content knowledge do you think will stick with you?
11. How does the instructor present content?
12. Tell me about the assignments in this class.
13. Do you see any connections between assignments and other activities you've been doing for the class?
14. How about connections to field work?
15. What teaching actions or activities done by your instructor have stuck out in your memory?
16. How did these help, or not help, you learn?
17. How do you think the instructor prepared to teach this course?
18. What from this course could you imagine using in a classroom of your own? Why?
19. Repeat questions 8 through 18 for the History Writing Seminar.
20. Do you see connections between Foundations of Social Studies and the History Writing Seminar?
21. What is your view of history?
22. What have you noticed about how the instructors present the discipline of history?

⁴⁵⁶ Frederick Douglass, "Great Meeting at Faneuil Hall," *The Liberator* 29, no. 23 (June 8, 1849): 90, in *The U.S.-Mexican War: A Binational Reader*, ed. Christopher Conway and trans. Gustavo Pellón (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2010), 124-125.

23. Any similarities or differences?
24. What actions or activities has your instructor done to help you learn about the discipline?
25. What differences do you see between history as a discipline (doing history) and history as a school subject (teaching history)?
26. Again, I'm going to give you a few words and have you describe them briefly to me:
Perspective. Interpretation. Evidence. Primary sources and secondary sources. Historical thinking.
27. Lastly, tell me a little bit about your thoughts on participating in this research.

Final Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructors in U.S. History I and History Writing Seminar

1. Start with their most recent lesson. Take me through how you prepared for this lesson.
2. Did it go as planned?
3. What surprised you?
4. What were you thinking during the lesson?
5. How does this lesson connect to those that came before?
6. To the course as a whole?
7. [For U.S. History I only, with a provided transcript, below, from a segment of her instruction]: tell me a little bit about how you've addressed the issue of Crispus Attucks over time, and how you thought this presentation went.
8. What have you been seeing in assessments?
9. How do you go about grading them?
10. What type of historical knowledge and thinking abilities have your students been developing?
11. What have they been struggling with?
12. Have you made any adjustments throughout the semester? How? Why?
13. Lastly, please share any thoughts you'd like about being a participant in this research.

U.S. History I, Excerpt from February 25

Myers: This is an incredibly famous engraving, made by our friend Paul Revere. Very, very famous silver engraving of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere who we, you know, mostly know about 'one if by land, two if by sea,' but he did a whole lot more than just that. I want you to analyze the image. If you know, I mean, I just finished telling you how the Boston Massacre happened, why it happened, who was there. What do you see and why does it matter?

Dale: Yeah, Crispus Attucks is not in the picture or, well, there's no, like, black man in the picture.

Myers: I don't see an African American person in this image. Good pick-up, Dale. Why is this something that is noteworthy?

Dale: Well, I mean, from what I've studied before, I've never heard of this guy, you know, I mean. I've, I've [inaudible] relevant per se.

Myers: You don't know how it's relevant? You just picked up on what I think is the most important thing of the painting, but now you're not telling me why it matters? Oh, come on. Yes you know why it matters. Why did Paul Revere leave him out?

Dale: Well, they weren't, like, seen, as, well I guess, I don't know. He didn't see him as a person, I mean.

Myers: Okay, but I think you're on the right track. But what would have happened if Paul Revere had put Crispus Attucks in? It would have been making a statement. What would that statement have been? See, here's where analysis is having to be entered into in a little more depth. Because you picked up the most important thing, but you're not quite sure why. We need to know why.

Mary: It might indicate that the Boston protests were led by an African American man.

Myers: And that would be problematic because?

Mary: Because that's not okay in that society.

Myers: We can't give a black man a leadership position! That would be highly problematic in terms of ending the racial hierarchy we established for ourselves, right? Yes! Let's add to this a little bit. People who haven't spoken today.

Rita: If the patriots want freedom and if there's a black man in there, then that also might suggest that they're fighting for slaves' freedom. Once this is all over, slaves would be free too.

Myers: Oh, see if you give a black man positionality in this painting, you could be setting up a situation where you're going to have to give slaves their freedom down the line at some point. This could get ugly, messy, weird, crazy, nasty. Yes.

Dennis: One of the biggest things I think in this is that it looks so organized. It's meant to draw emotion out of people. And I think that if he had portrayed a black person in it, then it might not have drawn the same reaction he was looking for, in the fact that people wouldn't see his life to mean as much. So a black person, it's not going to pull on people's heartstrings the same way as a bunch of dead white people would have at the time.

Myers: So here's the really important thing. Why do you think Paul Revere even bothers to create this silver engraving? And you just hit on it, you said, well because he wants to draw emotions out of people. But what does he want? What is he hoping that this image will do when people see this all over the colonies in different newspapers and pamphlets? It's going to make white people –

Dennis: Angry.

Myers: It's going to make them angry against the British. It's going to hopefully make them do what?

Class: Revolt.

Myers: Revolt, rise up, rebel. And then if you put a black man into that picture, maybe they won't be as willing or as likely or feel as emotionally connected. I'm on board with that argument... I mean, Paul Revere's famous engraving is a piece of propaganda. That doesn't make it a bad thing. What I'm saying is that it's meant to do a particular job. Therefore, it's constructed in a certain way, and not only are the British lined up in a certain way, but it also means that other people are left out of the picture... If I hadn't just spent five minutes telling you about Crispus Attucks you would have looked at this image and you probably still would have picked up on all the other stuff, but it wouldn't have occurred to you that they were sort of erasing black people from Boston's history and from revolutionary history. And that's exactly what Paul Revere and others in that generation were doing, because it's tricky. The potential is too scary if you put a fugitive slave at the front lines, dying in the cause of liberty and freedom and democracy and citizenship when he himself doesn't have any.

Final Interview, Guiding Questions for Instructor in Foundations of Social Studies

1. Start with their most recent lesson. Take me through how you prepared for this lesson.
2. Did it go as planned?
3. What surprised you?
4. What were you thinking during the lesson?
5. How does this lesson connect to those that came before?
6. To the course as a whole?
7. To the next course?
8. What assessments have you given in the second half of the semester?
9. What have you been seeing in assessments?
10. How have you gone about grading them?
11. What type of knowledge, practices, and thinking abilities for teaching history have your students been developing?
12. What have they been struggling with?
13. Have you made any adjustments throughout the semester? How? Why?
14. How have you been incorporating the discipline of history into your course?
15. How do you relate it to the other disciplines and to social studies as a whole?
16. Tell me about your work with others in the university in regards to this course.
17. How are you coordinating?
18. What support have you gotten?
19. In particular, how have you incorporated field experiences?
20. Lastly, please share any thoughts you'd like about being a participant in this research.

Appendix D: Open Coding Topics

Table D-1: Open Coding Topics	
Assessing	Assessing students
	Differentiation
	Grading
	Modes of output
	Progression over semester
	Providing feedback
	Rubrics
Cognitive Apprenticeship	Deconstruction of skills
	Explicit explanations
	Historical thinking
	Making thinking visible
	Metacognitive of teachers' teaching
	Modeling
Concept Formation	Think alouds
	Categorizing concepts
	Concept formation
	Concept maps
	Conceptual change
Concepts of History	Internalized vocabulary
	Agency
	Bias
	Causality
	Chronology
	Comparison
	Content terminology
	Continuity
	Counterfactuals
	Disciplinary vocabulary
	Empathy
	Inquiry
	Patterns
	Perspective
	Positionality
History Content	Avoiding determinism
	Avoiding presentism

	Avoiding stereotypes
	Connecting to local
	Content: Selecting what to teach/curricular gatekeeper
	Contextualizing for students
	Coverage
	Diversity of voices/perspectives
	Drawing connections across lessons
	Drawing connections to the present
	Job of the teacher to organize history
	Narratives
	Providing content knowledge
	Pop culture connections
	Scaling
	Skills versus content
	Thematic versus chronological teaching
History Department- School of Education- Field Connections	Atomizing versus assimilating
	“Case studies” – problems of practice discussed
	Consulting others
	Cooperation between History Department and School of Education
	Coordination between classes
	Discussing “field”/teaching experiences
	Instructor bringing in examples from own practice
	Theory versus practical
Training graduate students	
History: What is It? Why Teach It?	Book heavy
	Citizenship
	Enthusiasm for the work of history
	K-12 history
	Memorization
	Value/purpose of history
What do historians do? What is disciplinary history?	
Knowledge of Students	Anticipating students’ misunderstandings
	Attention to student thought
	Bottlenecks
	Emotional responses in students
	Engagement
	Participation
	Perry scheme
	Prior knowledge
	Relationships with knowledge of students
	Safe space
	Setting classroom norms
Supporting struggling students	
Pedagogical Techniques	Discovery learning
	Jigsaw

	Lecture
	Pedagogical metaphors
	Pedagogical techniques
	Scaffolding
	Simulations
	Using images
Persona of a Teacher	Education as political
	Modifying teaching based on student input
	Objectivity/impartiality as a teacher
	Personal teaching style
	Playing to strengths
	Reflection on teaching
	Research versus teaching
	Scholarship of Teaching and Learning
	Teacher as coach
	Teaching like historical research
	Thinking about if you were teaching
	Using others' teaching experiences
Planning and Delivering Lessons	Asking questions/posing problems/essential questions
	Backwards design
	Breadth and depth
	C3 Framework
	Cliffhangers
	Closure
	Competencies
	Controversial issues
	Decoding the Disciplines
	Learning objectives/Bloom
	Less is more
	Lesson planning
	Measurable
	Opening/hook
	PCK: anecdotes, metaphors, representations, analogies
	Planning instructional activities
	Themes
Supporting Discussion	Leading/facilitating class discussions
	Questioning techniques
	Small group discussions
	Structured discussions
	Think pair share
Supporting Reading	Analysis of sources
	Close reading
	Comprehension versus information reading
	Contextualization
	Finding historical sources

	Reading strategies
	Setting purpose for reading
	Sourcing
	Supporting students' reading
	Using textbooks
Supporting Writing	Claims and evidence
	Free-writing
	Historical writing

Appendix E: Focused Coding Categories

Table E-1: Focused Coding Categories		
<i>Teaching the Work of History</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from data</i>
Generic pedagogical techniques	This category encompasses those practices of teaching which apply generically across subjects; they do not apply specifically to history, but instructors did use them in the service of teaching history. Such generic pedagogical techniques include the use of images, lectures, jigsaw group work, and scaffolding, among many other pedagogical techniques.	Dr. Myers enacted and discussed her policy on technology for U.S. History I: “I have a technology policy...I do not permit laptop use in my classroom. So, yes, you will be taking notes using pen and paper. It’s okay. You’ll be fine.” (U.S. History I, transcript, January 12).
Historical writing	This category encompasses practices of writing history. This could include outlining, thesis development, free writing, or writing workshops.	Dr. Díaz discussed a practice of writing history: “[Don’t] manipulate the evidence to fit what you want to say, your claim. That is problematic. In history, we go from the evidence to the claim. So every time a professor asks you to write an essay exam, go back to the readings with the question in mind, try to see what are the things in all of those readings that will help you answer that question and use that as a base to write your claim. Not the other way around. Because otherwise what you are writing is a fiction.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 3).

Historical reading	This category encompasses practices of reading historical documents – both primary and secondary sources. This can include practices like sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating, but also practices like setting purpose for reading, close reading, and identifying historical sources.	Dr. Myers enacted practices of reading when she read aloud from a selection of Aristotle, but also discussed how she approached the reading: “Does Aristotle in the preface to the document or anywhere in the document, does it indicate to who he’s writing this for? This is about training you to read differently. It’s not about memorizing, but it’s about being able to pull out evidence and argument, right. And understanding to contextualize the source.” (U.S. History I, transcript, January 19).
Historical discussion	This category encompasses practices that allow the instructor and students to talk about historical content in class. This includes practices such as facilitating discussion, employing questioning techniques, or structuring small and large group discussions around historical topics.	<p>Dr. Díaz enacted a questioning technique by turning a question posed by a student back onto that student:</p> <p>Edith: Is that what VanSledright is saying? In high school they tell you this narrative, this story and you just accept it and that’s it? Is that what he’s saying?</p> <p>Díaz: What do you think? (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 20).</p>
Historical concepts	This category encompasses using historical concepts. It included first-order concepts but emphasized second-order concepts such as perspective, causality, agency, or empathy. ⁴⁵⁷ Practices using those concepts included concept formations, definitions, and concept maps.	Dr. Barton enacted a concept formation for the second-order concept of causality through having prospective teachers categorize in different ways causal factors of the Great Fire of London: “This time what I’d like for you to do is to divide the factors up in a different way. The immediate short term reasons. More medium term. And the longer term reasons why the fire destroyed so much of London. Short, medium, and long term.” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2).

⁴⁵⁷ Peter Lee, Alaric Dickinson, and Rosalyn Ashby, "Researching Children's Ideas about History," in *International Review of History Education, Volume 2: Learning and Reasoning in History*, ed. James F. Voss and Mario Carretero (London, UK: Woburn Press, 1998), 227-251.

Historical content	History classes contain massive amounts of historical content; this category encompassed what instructors and students did with that content. Such moves with content included, among many others, organizing the content, determining what to leave in and leave out, making connections across lessons, and including a diversity of voices and perspectives.	Dr. Myers frequently discussed with her students how she selected the content for her course and for individual lectures, as she explained on the first day: “We’re going to be going from pre-contact all the way down to the end of the Civil War in four months. So it’s a race through several hundred years of European, African, Native American, and then colonial U.S. history. It’s a lot of material to cover. We can’t cover it all. I refer to it kind of like a buffet. We’ll be sampling products and dishes along the way...So we give you an introduction. I will do my best to give you an introduction to the big things.” (U.S. History I, transcript, January 12).
Knowledge of students	This category encompasses practices of learning, using, and sharing student knowledge within a lesson or a course. Examples of those practices include assessing prior knowledge at the beginning of a course, setting classroom norms, or anticipating student misunderstandings.	At the beginning of the semester, Dr. Díaz started to establish some classroom norms with her prospective teachers: “You can tell me, ‘Professor Diaz, you are going too fast.’ Or ‘Can you repeat?’ As long as we are treating each other with respect, I don’t have a problem with that – your question and other person’s questions. So this is a safe place. We can talk. So feel free to do that.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).
Modeling	Modeling describes a particular move in an apprenticeship, in which the expert explicitly demonstrates a practice before novices so they can learn the practice. Since the work of history takes place largely in the mind, such modeling of history practices must involve a cognitive apprenticeship, in which a historian explicitly does a practice of history in front of her students, while narrating her thinking process as she completes the practice, for the purposes of learning. ⁴⁵⁸	At the beginning of the semester, Dr. Díaz modeled how she wanted her prospective teachers to read an academic article, explicitly telling them what thinking steps she took when reading it aloud: “But to give you an idea, there are a couple of things I would like to do now with this reading. I want to explain some things about a disciplinary piece. Why? Because you’re going to be writing. Sometimes when someone is not such a good writer, sometimes it is because they are not a very good reader. And I would like you to use this as a model of what we do in the discipline of history and why we do the way we do.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).

⁴⁵⁸ Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Ann Holum, “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Making Thinking Visible,” *American Educator* 15, no. 3 (1991): 6-11.

Purposes of history	This category encompasses both instructors' and students' answers to the purpose of history: why do historians research history and what role history plays in society.	In one aside during a lecture on the lead up to the Civil War, Dr. Myers discusses one purpose of studying history – to understand better subsequent events: “South Carolina is already starting to talk about seceding from the union in 1819. It’s not a surprise that it will be the first state to declare secession in 1860, after Abraham Lincoln was elected to the White House. You always have to go back and understand what happened before for the next stuff to make sense. That’s why I like studying history. The present doesn’t make sense unless you understand the past.” (U.S. History I, transcript, March 24).
Teaching persona	This category includes descriptions of how instructors see themselves as teachers, and the role they play in the classroom. Examples of this include things like balancing (or connecting) research and teaching, maintaining objectivity and impartiality as a teacher, or developing a personal teaching style.	In her very first introduction to her prospective teachers, Dr. Díaz described the role she intended to take: “So I’m here as a professor but also as a coach, as I like to call myself, to help you get there.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).

Assessment	This category encompasses instructors' implementation of assessment to understand students' learning in history. It includes enacting assessment and interpreting assessment, and covers topics like grading, rubrics, providing feedback, differentiation and different modes of output, and progression of assessments over the semester.	Dr. Myers explained to her students how she designed the weekly short essays to assess their growth in skills of historical writing: "Remember there will be plenty of comments on your essays on Tuesday to give you feedback on what to work on. We grade the first three essays with great generosity. The questions are very simple for the first three... So the first weekly essays are going to have fairly simple questions, they'll only ask you to look at one document... And we will grade them with an eye towards helping you. It will be about giving you lots of feedback to improve... That next set of three or four the questions become more sophisticated. You may be expected to look at more than one document within an essay. There might be two that you have to examine... That last set of three or four will be very open-ended questions. Definitely more than one document. And the grading will be at full level. And it's fine, because by that point it'll be the last third of the semester and you guys will be experts in how to deal with primary documents." (U.S. History I, transcript, January 28).
Planning and delivering lessons	This category covers how instructors planned for and delivered their history lessons, including how they set learning goals, opened and closed lessons, paced out their lessons, determine what content to go more in depth on and what content to cover sparingly, and the frameworks they employed to develop their courses.	Dr. Myers discussed how she structured her lesson by determining which colonies to cover in depth and which she only wanted to briefly cover with her students: "On the lower south I had to make a decision whether to talk about South Carolina or Georgia. And I'm going to talk about South Carolina. Again, it's your responsibility to expand upon your understanding of the regions by reading the textbook. I can't talk about every mid-Atlantic colony. So I talked about Pennsylvania. You have to fill in with the textbook on the other colonies. Same with the lower south region. Same with the Chesapeake. I couldn't talk about Maryland. You should fill in with Maryland because I talked about Virginia." (U.S. History I, transcript, February 9).

<p>Historical inquiry</p>	<p>This category includes practices of researching history, such as posing a problem or a question about history, collecting evidence from historical sources, and developing an interpretation.</p>	<p>Dr. Díaz discussed the process of finding historical sources in response to a question and demonstrated this with a search of a historical newspaper database: “Now let me show you some sources that I would like you to start thinking about and playing with, because I would like you to actually be able to bring one of these sources for the next class...ProQuest historical newspapers: honestly, I’ve been using that a lot in my own work recently, and it is extremely, extremely useful. So this is how you get at that. So you access the homepage of the library. And here in the search window you write ProQuest historical newspapers. This is going to get you directly to ProQuest historical newspapers.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 30).</p>
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<i>Teaching the Work of Teaching History</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from Data</i>
Generic pedagogical techniques	This category encompasses those practices of teaching which apply generically across subjects; they do not apply specifically to history, and instructors used them in the service of teaching how to teach. Such generic pedagogical techniques include the use of images, lectures, jigsaw group work, and scaffolding, among many other pedagogical techniques.	Taylor enacted a common pedagogical technique to gain the attention of the class following a group activity: “Clap once if you can hear me. [Students clap]. Clap twice if you can hear me. [Students clap twice].” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, January 12).
Historical writing	This category encompasses practices of teaching others to write history. This includes knowledge of common misunderstandings students encounter in history writing, supports and scaffolds an instructor could offer students to help them write, metaphors for writing, or other practices to help students learn to write disciplinarily.	<p>Dr. Díaz discussed with her prospective teachers a common mistake students make when attempting to write historical arguments:</p> <p>Díaz: In K12, usually students never get any instruction in how to write in history. It’s mainly done in literature classes... Many students actually go from what they think is the thesis statement, from what answers the question, and then they go through their readings, ‘Oh, this is a good quote. Let me take a quote.’ And they stick it in there and that becomes evidence. So the process is that they have their ideas of how to answer the question first, then they search for the evidence and then they put it in the piece of writing. Why is that problematic for historians?</p> <p>Jesse: Quotes taken out of context can easily be manipulated into what you want them to say. (History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 3).</p>

Historical reading	This category encompasses practices of teaching others to read historically. This includes practices like setting purpose for reading, using textbooks as sources, and teaching the heuristics of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration, among other reading strategies.	Taylor enacted a practice of supporting students' reading by providing his prospective teachers with a set of guiding questions to set purpose before he had them read, in groups, Mark Sweeting's "A Lesson on the Japanese-American Internment." ⁴⁵⁹ (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, January 12).
Historical discussion	This category encompasses practices of teaching others to talk about history. It includes teaching practices for structuring and encouraging discussion about history with students.	<p>After enacting a structured academic controversy with his prospective teachers, Taylor then decomposed the activity, discussing with his prospective teachers how students would experience a discussion structured in that way:</p> <p>Taylor: What did the structured academic controversy that we did together call on you as students to do?</p> <p>Robert: Analyze something from multiple viewpoints. And that's something that's extremely important to history. So throughout history, there's going to be multiple ways of viewing things our students will need to do. They're going to have to see things from multiple perspectives and analyze those events and how it relates to today. (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, January 12).</p>

⁴⁵⁹ Mark Sweeting, "A Lesson on the Japanese-American Internment," in *Rethinking Our Classrooms, Volume 2: Teaching for Equity and Justice*, ed. Bill Bigelow, Brenda Harvey, Stan Karp, and Larry Miller (Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 2001), 73-74.

<p>Historical and pedagogical concepts</p>	<p>This category has a dual focus – on practices of teaching historical concepts to students, and on concepts of pedagogy for teaching history. As such, it includes things like the techniques of concept formation alongside the development of specific representations, analogies, and metaphors that embody pedagogical content knowledge.</p>	<p>While working with an article on historical empathy by VanSledright,⁴⁶⁰ Dr. Díaz discussed with her prospective teachers some of the challenges of teaching the concept of historical empathy to students: “In this paragraph that Alice was reading, it talks about something that we hear a lot in schools, that you need to put yourself in someone else’s shoes. And what he’s telling us is that historical empathy is not that. It actually requires a high level of thinking. And this is exactly where we want our students to get. Not to the easy-breezy thing, which is just act like Bartolome de las Casas or Christopher Columbus. What did that actually mean? You need to give them some tools, what it is that you really mean by that. So instead, what he’s telling us is that it requires a lot of intellectual thought. A lot of thought at that level for us to understand. And something else that is key is what he’s quoting here from Ashby and Lee: it means holding in mind whole structures of ideas that are not one’s own. So you keep at it. For example if I find a word I do not really know, what do they really mean by this? And I keep asking that and trying to find answers in other readings. And I may actually decide, wait, I need to understand how at that time they thought about this term.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 24).</p>
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⁴⁶⁰ Bruce A. VanSledright, “From Empathic Regard to Self-Understanding: Im/Positionality, Empathy, and Historical Contextualization,” in *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*, Ed. O.L. Davis Jr., Elizabeth Anne Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), 51-68.

<p>Historical content</p>	<p>This category encompasses practices of teaching others historical content. It includes discussions of practices to select, organize, and deliver that content to students, as well as discussions of how to determine what content students need to encounter in their history courses – and instructors passing along important historical content to prospective teachers.</p>	<p>After having a group of prospective teachers plan a lesson around the historical content of the Harlan County strike, Taylor discussed how they could replicate the work they did to teach that particular piece of content with other similar historical events: “One nice thing, say you’re teaching U.S. history and you want to focus on the Harlan County strike or the Homestead strike or almost any strike, there are some patterns that you can look at across them, and so you can think a little bit about why these similar patterns might have played out in history. Why did those in power generally support the companies rather than the workers? That’s a question that you could ask students to think about, because it’s not just true in Harlan County, it’s true in most instances of big strikes.” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9).</p>
<p>Knowledge of students</p>	<p>This category encompasses practices that enable prospective teachers to learn, use, and share student knowledge within their lessons or courses. Examples of those practices include practices for assessing prior knowledge at the beginning of a course, models of classroom norms and how to set them, or knowledge of common student misunderstandings and ways to anticipate and avoid those misunderstandings.</p>	<p>Dr. Díaz discussed with her prospective teachers her own struggles with coming to understand the culture of her students as she taught them: “When I started here, I did not know the culture of my students so I needed to understand that. Where are you coming from? So we could meet, so I could know how to do the best I could in my classroom. It took me some years, I have to iterate some things, learn more about the students, so on and so forth, but that was my experience.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 2).</p>

Modeling	This category encompasses two particular strands of the cognitive apprenticeship technique of modeling: first, it involves instructors modeling various pedagogical practices for the teaching of history; second, it involves instructors preparing prospective teachers to model the practices of history for their students.	After showing an interview in which a historian described how he modeled the skill of questioning the producer of a historical text, Dr. Díaz discussed with her prospective teachers the steps involved in modeling, and had them think about how they could model to their own students: “So that tells us in order to avoid the bottleneck then this kind of thinking needs to be modeled, needs to be made explicit to the students. Because how can I ask you to analyze something when you don’t have any idea how to do it? You’re asking them to do something they’re unfamiliar with. So these are some of the questions that he poses in the interview. And these are the things that students would need to do in order to succeed. When you want your students to succeed, to get there, to be able to analyze them. Okay. So by knowing what it is that they need to do in order to get there, we know then how we need to model it. What are the steps that we need to teach our students.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 20).
Purposes of teaching history	This category encompasses both instructors’ and students’ answers to the purpose of teaching history: why does history have a place in the curriculum and why students need the skills of history even if they do not go on to become historians.	Taylor gave a lesson to his prospective teachers on how they could use the teaching of history to support the development of civic identity in their future students: “So we were focusing on agency and history today. We will talk more about agency as a concept as it relates to civic education in a couple of weeks. So today all we were really thinking about is how history teaching can support the identity, the development of a civic identity.” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9).

Teaching persona	This category includes discussions of how prospective teachers ought to develop as teachers, the attitudes they should adopt as important, and the role they play in the classroom. Examples of this include taking a reflective stance toward teaching, learning from the examples of other teachers, seeing education as a political act, maintaining objectivity and impartiality as a teacher, or developing a personal teaching style.	In one class session, Dr. Díaz enacted the persona of a reflective practitioner, sharing a decision she had made earlier in the course and how she had reflected and would have answered differently: “I remember one day Richard asked me when I was asking you about positionality, and you asked me, ‘okay, what is your positionality?’ That’s a fair question. I should have answered it a different way, but that was fair.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, March 2).
Assessment	This category encompasses two different types of practices around assessment. First, it includes assessments instructors conduct to understand their prospective teachers’ learning in the teaching of history. Second, it includes ways instructors taught prospective teachers practices of assessment to understand students’ learning in history. This includes practices of enacting and interpreting assessments, grading and feedback, rubric design, differentiation, and progression of assessments.	Dr. Díaz had prospective teachers interpret assessments she brought in from a different history class. They created a table of historical thinking and potential bottlenecks of misunderstanding that students might have with historical thinking, and using that table, they interpreted a student’s depiction of the “Poem of the Cid:” “I would like to use the table you produced in an authentic assessment...So we are going to be learning from an assessment in which you are going to be applying that table. So for some people, the word assessment is a bad word. But it is an evaluation. And to me it is like a snapshot. It’s a picture. It’s an x-ray of what my students are getting or not getting. And it’s invaluable. Because then you can focus on your classes and those things that you know that the majority of the students are not getting. So that is where my lessons would go.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, February 17).

<p>Planning and delivering lessons</p>	<p>This category covers both how instructors planned for and delivered their lessons on the teaching of history and how they taught prospective teachers practices of preparing and delivering lessons on history. Such practices include backwards design, the C3 Framework, and Decoding the Disciplines framework, the creation of learning goals, selection of content for lessons, and the alignment of lessons.</p>	<p>In the last session of Foundations of Social Studies, Taylor had his prospective teachers examine samples of units and critique them using several criteria and frameworks for lesson planning: “None of these units is the kind of unit that you would probably just immediately implement as is. Although you might pull a lot of the resources from it. And some of them you might follow more closely than others. But there are a lot of big questions that we have been looking at over the course of the semester: of teaching with big ideas, teaching for historical understanding, teaching with controversial issues, obviously the C3 framework. So all of these big ideas have been out there in the class and you used them to look at different pieces of curriculum and talked about them in the abstract, but here you’re starting to apply them a little bit. Next semester obviously you’ll be doing a lot of unit planning and so it helps to get a sense of what that looks like.” (Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, April 26).</p>
<p>Inquiry into teaching</p>	<p>This category has two levels. The first level includes teaching prospective teachers practices for inquiry-based instruction in history. The second level includes practices of research into teaching, such as methods of research into pedagogy, assessing and reflection on one’s own practice or the use of educational research to inform one’s own practice.</p>	<p>Dr. Díaz shared with her prospective teachers her research into the teaching of history – her own practice and the teaching of others in her department: “My second area of work has been on research on history pedagogy. So I’m part of a research project, and we’ve been doing research on how our students learn history so that we can improve the way history’s taught at the college level.” (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).</p>

<i>Connections between the History Department, the School of Education, and the Field</i>		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example from data</i>
Connections	This category encompasses the ways in which the History Department connected to the School of Education, and the ways both connected to prospective teachers' experiences in the field. It includes both deliberate and explicit alignment by the instructors in the respective departments over course goals, policies, concepts, and readings, and those connections made by the prospective teachers themselves.	On the first day of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz established some course norms, policies, and procedures and explained to her prospective teachers how she deliberately aligned those norms, policies, and procedures with those of Dr. Barton in the School of Education: "Course policies, it's important for me that you do not come tardy to class or leave early. These are just aspects of professionalism that actually Professor Barton has shared with us, just to be in tune with the School of Education. Do not pack until I say class is over. Do not schedule appointments at this time. Do not text or email during class time." (History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13).

Appendix F: Reading Aristotle

In this segment from U.S. History I, students came to class having read a selection from Aristotle's The Politics.⁴⁶¹ They worked together to do what Dr. Myers called "document work," an analysis of written and visual sources – the first such document work of the semester.

Myers: So you'll create a thesis, you'll apply evidence, and then you are going to draw conclusions based on material found in the document that makes sense and upholds your thesis... We're going to ask you to identify the source. Identify the source in what way? You should know who wrote the document in question, the audience for whom they are writing, and why they are writing. What is the purpose of writing the document? Let's start right there. Who wrote "Masters and Slaves?"

Kathleen: Aristotle.

Myers: Aristotle! Right! Who are they writing for? Who is Aristotle's audience? Who do you think he is hoping will read this or who is he writing for?

Eric: They were lectures for people.

Myers: Eric says they were lectures for his people. Anybody have a different answer for who they think "Masters and Slaves" was written for?

James: People who aren't slaves.

Myers: People who aren't slaves [laughs]. I like that. Not necessarily wrong. Does Aristotle in the preface to the document or anywhere in the document, does it indicate to who he's writing this for? We haven't gotten to the why yet, but the who? This is about training you to read differently. It's not about memorizing, but it's about being able to pull out evidence and argument. And understanding to contextualize the source.

Lisa: He's writing to the common European people. It's supposed to be common knowledge. So anybody in the sixteenth century should read this and understand this.

Myers: When was Aristotle writing?

⁴⁶¹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. Ernest Barker; rev. R.F. Stalley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 8-20, in *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents – Volume I To 1877*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 11-14.

Lisa: Sixteenth and seventeenth century. It was considered common knowledge.

Myers: Evidence for this? Did you find it written somewhere?

Lisa: Yes, it was in the preface.

Myers: But Aristotle's actual document was written in 300 BC. So that's really important. What they're saying in the preface is that by the time the sixteenth and seventeenth century rolled around, most Europeans would have understood this document because it would have become a part of the culture. But Aristotle wrote this in 300 BC. He's a Greek philosopher, so he's alive like three hundred years before Jesus walked the earth. So it's really important to understand who he is, when he's writing and who he's writing for at the time. So Greek philosopher, he heads a famous school in Athens. But after his death his students take his work and redistribute it. They don't have a printing press back then, so they were writing this stuff and passing it on. They were also transmitting it orally to people, and they're passing the knowledge on that way. And it becomes very, like it said, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europeans are going to be very familiar with this particular idea. What's the main argument that he's making? So we know who's writing, we know for whom he's writing. Aristotle was probably writing for his students, but hopefully, I think he also thought that this would get out to a wider group of people. Why are they writing? What's the point of him writing this document?

Kim: He's talking about it's a natural pattern or a natural order to things, and the order of master to slave is kind of like the order of male to female or human to animal.

Myers: Essentially, Aristotle looked at the world and said there's a natural order to things. Men over women, humans over animals, masters over slaves. And this is just the way of the world, it's the order of things. And so he's writing to make this understood, make this known. He's a philosopher, right? He's philosophizing. And he's trying to explain to people that there's hierarchies in life. All different kinds of hierarchies. And that it's normal to live with hierarchies. His view, it's the view of most Greeks of his time, but it's also – it's very important to understand this – by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it's going to become common knowledge and the practice of American cultures and societies. Because western Europeans liked to trace their ideals from the Greeks. The whole idea of democracy and political government and leadership comes from ancient Greek culture. So they would have been very familiar with this concept of natural order and hierarchy, which is not necessarily the way we in the twenty-first century understand hierarchy and order at all. I want to do this again in detail on Thursday. I want us to look at another document and move beyond just who's writing, to whom are they writing, and why are they writing. And to be able to actually go a little bit deeper and start to pull out. So what we have, Kim actually gave us the thesis of Aristotle. There is a natural hierarchy in all things. And then he's going to go through and provide evidence to try and prove that. So we're going to dig a little deeper and start talking more concretely about thesis statements and evidence. But always keep in mind as you're reading, pull out who is writing, who are they writing for, and why are they writing. And then the thesis. What is their main argument or thesis that they're trying to make? We'll do this again on Thursday with another document.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² U.S. History I, transcript, January 19.

Appendix G: Reading King Afonso

In this segment from U.S. History I, students came to class having read two letters from King Mzinga Mbemba Afonso of the Congo to King João III of Portugal.⁴⁶³ Dr. Myers then led the class in document work, developing this work into a manner more sophisticated than the prior document work.

Myers: I would like for us to turn to the documents which you read for today, which are two letters written by the King of Congo to the King of Portugal. Remember, our weekly essay assignments start next week. They will always be on one or more of the documents that you would have read that day or the day prior. They will always ask you to think very clearly about who is writing, who are they writing to or for whom are they writing, the purpose or why they are writing, and also the argument or what larger point they are trying to make with this piece of writing. And then of course there will be a prompt that asks you to construct a thesis, and create an argument and defend it with material. One of the things I was struck by the other day when we were talking about Aristotle's piece was I said who wrote this and everyone said Aristotle. I kind of let it go, but is just saying Aristotle wrote this piece enough? Would that be enough? Or would you have to add anything to 'Aristotle wrote this piece?' I'm going to say to you that that's an incomplete answer. Why is it incomplete? What would you need to add?

William: Aristotle the philosopher.

Myers: Aristotle the Greek philosopher who lived in the fourth century BC. You see what I am saying about the who? You must be specific. It's often just a few words or a sentence, but you have to always think to yourself would my explanation make sense to someone who doesn't know who Aristotle is, or who hasn't read the piece? You have to be able to explain the material to an intelligent person who maybe hasn't been exposed to the material. So to answer the who for today? Who is writing these letters?

Kellie: King Afonso of the Congo.

Myers: Okay, give me a little more about him. What do we know about him from the prefatory remarks that are made before the letters begin?

⁴⁶³ Louis Jadin and Mireille Decorato, *Correspondance de Dom Afonso, roi du Congo, 1506-1543* (Brussels, Belgium: Académie Royales de Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1974), 154-162, 166-169. English translations by Marianna Dantas, in *Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents – Volume I To 1877*, ed. Michael P. Johnson (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 15-19.

Kellie: He was alive during the sixteenth century.

Myers: Okay, lived during the sixteenth century. He's African, he's actually a black king. But he's also a Christian. So these are very important small things that you should think about. He's an African king who's been converted to Christianity who's writing to another king. It's not necessary that you have to write a whole lot, but it's about being very specific about what you do write. So who is he writing to? Be equally specific. He's writing to another king, the king of...

Class: Portugal.

Myers: Okay, we know who is writing, we know they're writing to the King of Portugal. This is really significant because the relationship between the Congo and Portugal is of colonizer and colonized. So it appears like two equal persons writing to one another – but maybe not when you consider the larger relationship. So two Christian kings, one black, one white, one in the Congo, one in Portugal. One writing to the other, and we're eventually going to get to why he is writing, what does he want, what is his purpose, et cetera. But he's writing in some ways not as an equal, because he's writing to the King of Portugal and Portugal is the colonizing country that took over this particular area. Many of you have been taught to simply read and memorize and regurgitate. I'm asking you to start reading for argument, for evidence, for structure, for context. To be able to analyze and eventually make larger arguments based on the material that you find. Okay, why is King Afonso writing? What is the purpose that drives him to write these letters?

Mary: He wants to keep trade and relations.

Myers: He wants to keep good trade and relationships with Portugal, says Mary. Are there multiple reasons he's writing? And be careful not to confuse the purpose of his letter, why he's writing, with what he wants. What's driven him to write these letters in the first place? What's already happened that he alludes to in these letters that has led him to write? And then what is it that he hopes will happen? So one is the purpose, the other is the argument, that there might be an argument or a thesis. And it's hard for us to understand that letters can have a thesis, but they absolutely can. So let's try to unpack purpose. Why is he writing? So Mary has said peaceful trade relationships. Are there other things? There can always be more than one purpose for writing anything.

Marcella: I don't think it's the trade so much as how merchants are coming from Portugal who are disrespecting people. And then furthermore, he wanted to bring in doctors, stuff like that. People are starting to heal themselves, losing faith, so if he brings in doctors there might be more people in the Christian faith.

Myers: Some of you have really done your reading. That's really cool. Would it be fair to say that perhaps King Afonso is a bit unhappy with the situation as things stand? And that he's writing these letters hoping to get the king of Portugal to make some important changes that would protect the people in the Congo? And underneath that we could start to see there are problems that we are experiencing: that there's illness and health issues, there's loss of faith, there's problems with trade, we've got merchants who are kidnapping and enslaving people.

What other things are we starting to see in these letters that is driving the King of Congo to write to the King of Portugal?

Kim: He also talks about how the kingdom is coming to an end and he doesn't want the kingdom to come to an end. He wants kind of a relationship. And they were also selling forbidden goods to people, things that were illegal.

Myers: So these merchants were not only kidnapping and enslaving people, they were also selling illegal weapons and other items to the Congolese people, which is highly problematic. And the King of Congo is also rightly concerned about his ability to keep control and still remain on the throne. So that certainly would be a really good reason for him to be writing this letter. That's great Kim. Yes?

Josefina: The comment I want to make on why he's also writing, so he wanted to kind of pull in the religion side to help with all that stuff, but also to make it seem like they had a commonality with one another. They're both Christian, Catholic, and that means they both believe in the same thing, and so they believe in fairness and justice and the common origin.

Myers: So let me push you on that, because I'm really glad that somebody brought up the religious stuff. We've been talking about all the different things that might be driving him to write this letter. Look at the tone of the letters. One of the big things is this continual language of religion and Catholicism and Christianity. Why do you think he spends so much time utilizing the language of religion? What do you think the purpose is of that? This is where we begin to move into analysis and interpretation, as opposed to simply reading a document and memorizing it, starting to tease out the ideas and say 'huh?' Why does he or she continually use these frames of reference? These particular methodologies? These words? Yes?

Madison: I think that by referring to Christianity, it can also create common ground, but he also puts himself in a very humble –

Myers: That was going to be my next point and you stole my thunder and that's good! It's good! Yes, keep going.

Madison: So he tries to, even though he believes he's an underling to King João, he tries to get the common ground so it's more likely that he tries to help him.

Myers: Are these letters between two equals?

Scott: No, they're not. He clearly shows deference to King João, and also I don't know if King João is sending letters back to him. I'm not sure but the fact that we don't see any letters written back to King Afonso could mean that João might not have written back to him.

Myers: This is absolutely good analysis. This is how you have to read. That you read not just for the evidence but you read for, well, the silences. Huh, well we don't see responses from King João? This is clearly not letters between equals, because you've got a colonized king writing a letter to the king of the colonizer country. You have racial differences as well, even though you

have similarities of faith. But you have this constant language of deference: “My lord,” “I am your humble servant,” these kinds of phrases that continue to say look, I’m not asking you to do all this stuff, but I’m still coming as a supplicant. I’m still coming as your lesser. I’m not trying to say that I’m your equal. But hey, we’re brothers in Christ. We’re both Christians. We want our people to practice Catholicism. So if I’m a king, but I’m a lesser king, and I want the greater king to listen to me and give me what I want, I don’t walk up to him and get in his face and demand. I have to be diplomatic. So I use the terminology of deference. “My lord.” “I am your humble servant.” And I also use the thing that will hopefully resonate the most with him, about Christianity, about God, about faith, about paganism and heathenism, and I couch my arguments in this framework in order to convince him. In order to make him want to help me. Because I’m not coming as an equal and getting in his face. I’m coming as a lesser. And I’m willing to play that role in order to get the larger thing that I want. So really, really good. Important to read against this silence. Like you said, well are there responses from the king? Does the king in Portugal even care what this man in the Congo wanted from him? Maybe not. These are really good things to consider. This is why I like to do document work in class, to help you start to understand the way you need to read these documents. That it’s not simply about memorizing every line, highlighting every word, but it’s about stepping back and thinking what’s the larger argument he’s trying to make, what are the pieces of evidence he’s using to try to convince the King of Portugal? What are the sort of languages, the terminology of deference that he’s using to make himself, his position more desirable? But to start to think about how would the King of Portugal have reacted? Would he have cared? What would he have said in response? Why don’t we have a response? Things of this nature. You know, your writing assignments don’t start until next week, but if we had done one on this particular set of documents, the letters from King Afonso to King João, what kind of prompt could I have constructed for this particular set of letters? What might I have asked you that would be reasonable for a first short essay? Because it’s often good as you read the documents, you should be thinking to yourself, could this be a writing assignment? What would she ask? What might she ask? What could be a prompt that I could answer in fifteen minutes using this document? What kind of a question could I have created if I had used these letters as a basis for the first weekly essay? Everyone is terrifyingly silent now, going ‘I don’t know!’ I’m just asking people to brainstorm because that’s one of the things that you should be thinking about every time you read a document, is not only how to perform analysis, but what could she ask?

Alma: If just for fifteen minutes, it could be something like is King Afonso writing this from the position of an equal or from the position of an inferior? Why or why not?

Myers: That’s actually pretty good. Brainstorming is good, because once you finish doing analysis interpretation, if you start to think about the kinds of questions I could ask, that’s another way of going back and re-reading and pulling out the things that really matter. Go ahead.

Andre: The question is what do these letters show about the relationship between the colonized in the Congo and the colonizers in Portugal?

Myers: Or what do these reveal about the relationship between Portugal and the Congo or the colonizer and the colonized. That’s a great question. See, you guys know how to do this. Madison?

Madison: Another thing that it could be is why didn't King Afonso recommend changes like ending the slave trade or resisting Portugal?

Myers: But can you answer that by reading the letters? Because you have to be able to cite evidence from the materials at hand to prove your argument. You are not going to be able to write a fifteen minute essay on that. That's a very interesting question, but you would never have the time to be able to construct that sophisticated of an argument using just this material. So it's not a bad idea, but not for the framework of this kind of assignment. Juana?

Juana: I was thinking along the issue of resistance as well, but more on how the attitude of King Afonso changes over the course of these letters.

Myers: You mean between the first letter and the second letter?

Juana: Yes, how does his attitude progress and what does this reflect about progression of slavery and stuff?

Myers: Yes, maybe he hasn't heard back in those three months from good old King João and he's like, 'Hey! Getting a little bit irritated.' That's interesting comparing the letters in terms of change over time and what's changed in terms of tone and content. Yes. Okay, I'll take one more. But I'm hoping this has been helpful to you all as you start to think about the ways in which you read documents. And we will do this again a couple times. We'll do some document work as a class so that we all know. But I said I'll take one more hand, and I would like to take somebody who hasn't had a chance to ask a question or make a comment yet. Yes?

Steve: What role does religion play in the relationship between these two kings?

Myers: What role does religion play in the relationship between these two kings? That's a good one too. Absolutely.

Marcella: I just had to ask a question about what could be formed as evidence. Could you use the fact that the king of Portugal didn't write back as your evidence?

Myers: We don't know that for sure, we're assuming that, so no.

Marcella: So it has to be written down.

Myers: Your evidence has to come from what is actually written here, but you could analyze and suppose you could say it's possible that he didn't write. We don't know that for sure but that might explain why the tone of the second letter changes. So you have to use that kind of language to make it clear that we don't know for sure, but you are extrapolating, which is okay. Does that make sense? Good, great. You guys have great questions. Great thoughts. I'm really super pleased with how you're reading and thinking about the documents. Primary source work is critical. That's what we do, read firsthand accounts and try to make sense of what they mean and what they tell us about societies and people in question.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ U.S. History I, transcript, January 21.

Appendix H: Reading “Philadelphia: Quäkerkirche”

In this segment from U.S. History I, Dr. Myers had students transfer the skills they had practiced with written texts to “Philadelphia: Quäkerkirche,” an undated wood engraving of a meeting of the Society of Friends.

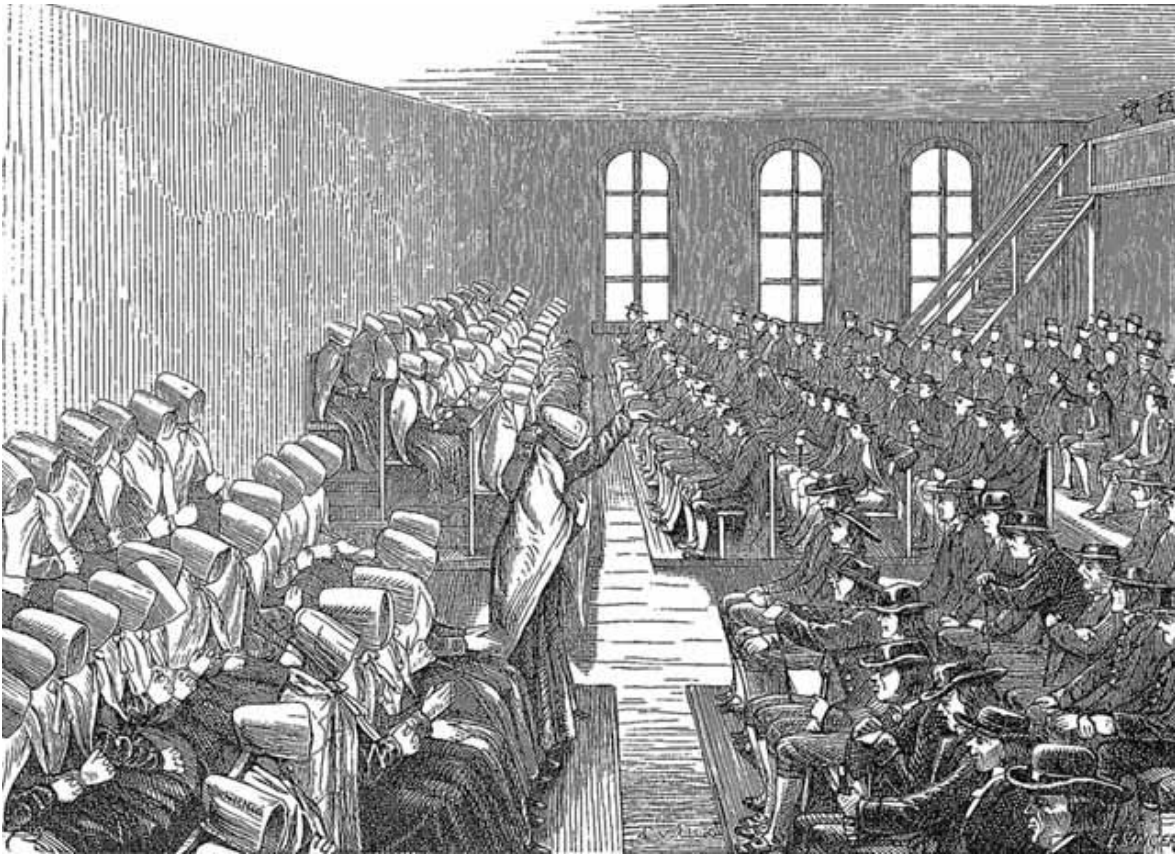


Image H-1: “Philadelphia: Quäkerkirche”

An undated wood engraving from Ernst von Hesse Wartegg’s book *Nord-Amerika*, depicting a woman preaching at a meeting of the Society of Friends.

Source: Ernest von Hesse Wartegg, *Nord-Amerika, seine Stadt und Naturwunder, das Land und seine Bewohner in Schilderung* (Leipzig, Germany: G. Weigel, 1879), available at Library of Congress, “Religion and the Founding of the American Republic,” <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01-2.html#obj028> (accessed June 1, 2017).

Myers: Tell me a little bit about the picture. Images are primary sources. And I haven't yet asked you to discuss an image yet, but we're going to start to do that from this point forward, to start thinking about images as primary documents and what we learn about a society in question by looking at the image.

Marcella: The women are all sitting on one side, and all the men are on the other.

Myers: So you've got the women on one side, the men on the other. Why is this significant? What does this suggest to you? Because you've told me what you're seeing but now you have to tell me why it matters. You have to go from recognizing to analysis, which is what I'm asking you to do. What does this teach us or why does it matter? Why is it important? Why are the Quakers sitting on opposite sides of the room from each other? What does this picture tell us about social order, gender? What do we learn from it?

Betty: I don't really know why they're on opposite sides, but they are equal in height. And they face each other.

Myers: And they face each other, which suggested what then?

Betty: That they're seated where they can talk to each other.

Myers: And that there seems to be some sort of equity involved because the men aren't higher than the women, the women aren't sitting in the back, they're looking at each other, they can talk to each other and converse with each other. This all gives a sense of equity. But they're still separated. Why do you think that is? So that's great, you've engaged in quite a bit of analysis right there which is wonderful. You've gone from telling us what you see to what it means and why it matters.

Brandon: They are still part of a culture where in church you're separated. You want to talk about God, not trying to impress the women or –

Myers: That's it right there. That's really good, that's an excellent insight in terms of analysis. You're at church to talk to each other about God. You're not there to sit next to your – even if it is your husband and your wife, the focus is on God. Gender separation is something that's actually talked about in the Bible in terms of when you go to church, it's not about what you look like or what clothing you wear. And in fact women are supposed to cover their hair because, supposedly, women's hair is the most attractive thing about them and is very enticing. Therefore, you go to church to focus on God. You cover your hair. Notice that every single Quaker woman is wearing a bonnet. And you sit in gender-segregated areas, because the focus is on God. But you're still looking at each other, you're still on an equal footing. And it's a woman who is standing in the middle preaching and speaking. So this is what I'm going to start to push you to do not only on images but with your weekly essays. It is not simply about citing one example or even citing five. It is about engaging in analysis and explaining what these things mean and what they tell us about a person, an event, a society or a culture in question. What we can learn from just one image can be rather amazing, when you start to really dissect it and think about it.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ U.S. History I, transcript, February 4.

Appendix I: Reading “A Society of Patriotic Ladies”

In this segment from U.S. History I, Dr. Myers pushed students to use a political cartoon to create a thesis statement, and then cite evidence from the cartoon to defend that thesis statement. They examined a satirical depiction of a patriotic society of women in Edenton, North Carolina.

Myers: I want you to tell me, first of all, do you think this is a complimentary image of political women or a negative image of political women and then start to analyze the image in order to prove it. So I'm asking you to basically, if this were a prompt for a weekly writing assignment I would say is this a positive or a negative caricature of politicized women. And then analyze the image in order to provide evidence for one side or the other. So what would your thesis be, positive or negative image of women in politics, and why? Why being the evidence that you would use to make your case. So take a minute, look at the image, this is not a trick question. But you have to actually really look at the image and begin to analyze instead of just going oh that's a nice picture.

Arthur: Yes, the woman with the gavel, her face is very nasty almost. It looks kind of mocking.

Myers: So what would your thesis be first of all? Tell me.

Arthur: Oh, that this picture is a negative portrayal of women.

Myers: Negative portrayal of politicized women, and one of the pieces of evidence that you give is that the woman holding the gavel appears to be...

Arthur: The woman that holds the power in the room appears to be drawn more masculine.

Myers: So you said that's not really a complementary portrayal of a woman. We'll go next to you, Bonnie, and then we'll go to Teri.

Bonnie: I agree with Arthur that it's a negative portrayal of women because they look like they're all doing different stuff. There's a few of them working on a paper, there's a lot of chaos where I feel in a lot of pictures that you see of men from this era they're set up having a conference or something and I feel everyone is just all over the place here.

Myers: So you feel like it looks chaotic? So not very businesslike or professional. And the reason you would say that is because there are so many different things going on at once. So

some people are working on a document. What else is going on that leads you to say it looks a little chaotic?

Bonnie: Well, there's a child on the ground with a dog and no one is really paying attention to it.

Myers: Okay, that's a great example. You've got a kid neglected on the ground with the dog next to it. So if there's a kid kind of on the floor, what does that suggest about these women? That they're not –

Bonnie: They're not completely focused. So they still have other obligations like taking care of a child.

Myers: What's one of the most important attributes for a woman of this era? They're supposed to be...

Bonnie: They're supposed to be like a motherhood figure.

Myers: Good mothers.

Bonnie: And having a child alone looks negligent.

Myers: Neglectful moms. Not just distracted but neglectful because you've got a kid on the ground being not paid attention to and the dog appears to be licking the kid's face. Right. So we've got women who look masculine, we've got kids being neglected. This might be slightly a chaotic scene. Teri?

Teri: I agree with the chaotic, negative portrayal. Another thing that I noticed is the man giving the woman a kiss. It doesn't show like a lot of respect towards what they're trying to do and I feel that it seems like the males are still on top.

Myers: Have you ever see a political meeting of men like Jefferson and Washington and Franklin and others where you've got kissing and other kinds of personal behavior going on in a professional public setting? You've got this couple that appears to be on the verge of having a kiss or an intimate moment in the middle of what is supposed to be a political scene, right? So I'll ask you to put yourself in the head of the illustrator, and from the illustrator's perspective, what was his viewpoint of politicized women? And so far we're picking out things that seem to be not terribly complimentary. We know women are getting involved in politics, but that doesn't mean that all the men are going to approve of that. From this image does it seem like maybe some men might have been irritated by women's politicized behavior? It seems perhaps yes. What other things can we pick out?

Bonnie: It seems like the overall photo is emphasizing that women in politics are counterproductive in terms of accomplishing anything in the revolution or leading up to the revolution. There is so much chaos and the neglect of a child and how much is going on. It seems the artist is clearly saying they're not really accomplishing much.

Myers: They're not responsible, they're not accomplishing much, they're neglecting their main roles and doing other things they shouldn't be. Others on the image?

Kellie: I noticed that no one seems to be paying attention at all aside from the three people at the table. Everyone is doing their own thing, like the far left, one of them is almost straddling some guy. There are people talking, some of them seem to be comparing something and no one's really giving their focus on the issue. Aside from those three.

Myers: Do you know what the folks in the back left corner are doing? I don't know if you can see what she's holding right here – she's holding a bottle of alcohol. First of all you have got a coed meeting going on, that's shameful. Shameful, shameful, shameful. You might have a little bit of imbibing happening. Neglected babies, alcohol consumption, peeing dogs. This is just getting worse. This scene is getting worse. People are not paying attention. This is not serious. Yes?

Tiffany: You also have one person of color in the background.

Myers: Oh I was waiting for that!

Tiffany: And that could suggest that people of color in the colonies are on board, patriots. It could be exuding racism, so 'these people are in on it, so we should be against it.'

Myers: Yes. So here we have a black woman, in a head wrap. She's bringing ink and a quill to the table. And she seems pretty interested, if you look at the expression on her face, as to what's happening at the table. Given everything else that we see in the picture then, is the inclusion of this black woman complimentary or not complimentary? Because you were kind of heading in that direction, I want to push you on that. Does this suggest that the illustrator thinks this a good thing or is this a bad thing?

Kellie: It seems like a bad thing, but it's kind of hard to-

Myers: But I would say that at this point in the semester you probably know enough about racial politics in the colonies to be able to suggest what her inclusion would imply on the part of the illustrator.

Kellie: She's working with them.

Myers: Right, she's working with them but this is already a scene of great chaos. If a black woman is involved, what does that imply? Let's go to somebody else and see if we can add to this. This is where you need to push your analysis. The majority of African Americans in the colonies at this point are of what legal status? Are they slaves, are they free, are they what? This is not a trick question.

Class: Slaves.

Myers: Thank you. Yes?

John: It looks like she's trying to peek in on what they're doing. There's another piece of evidence that shows that this picture is portraying it as negative because she's a slave and looking at what they're doing.

Myers: And why is this a bad thing? Why is this a problem?

John: Because African Americans could really get involved, especially if they're slaves, in what's going on there.

Myers: You all are dancing right on the precipice of the cliff but nobody wants to jump off.

Adrianna: So the implication that the slave woman is involved generally implies – so slaves at this time were uneducated, slaves were of little value –

Myers: Right, they're property, they're not seen as people.

Adrianna: Right. So the general implication is that anyone can do this, which diminishes the value of the work. If a slave can do it.

Myers: I would agree with you. I think you're all on the right track. Nobody has said anything wrong.

Sandra: I think that the slave woman could be gathering information that they're talking about and then she could be taking it back to the other slaves, and then they could be talking about different ideas from what they were talking about. So it could probably cause an uprising, they could try to run away or –

Myers: This is all really good.

Alisa: By allowing her to be there they're allowing too much freedom for her. So for her being there it's showing that the women aren't listening to the men. For her being there.

Myers: Go ahead Josefina, and then, because this is all good, I'm going to put it all together because there's a really succinct way of phrasing everything you guys have said.

Josefina: It looks like she's offering something. She's offering her help and so it is suggesting women need help from slaves. That they're that incompetent.

Myers: Oh there's that implication too. The illustration, I think we all can agree, suggests that if you allow women to become political actors then chaos ensues. And the chaos is shown by dogs who are peeing, children who are being neglected, public carousing and kissing, public consumption of alcohol, and even worse, enslaved people being given access to information. That's a huge level of chaos because not only are women now acting inappropriately, out of place, but now you have enslaved people who are also acting out of place. And an enslaved woman on top of that. She could be learning how to read and write. She could be taking information back to other people. The point is this image shows people out of place. If you allow

women to become political actors, chaos will ensue. The home will be destroyed. Morality will be destroyed. Slavery might be destroyed. All of these things are implied by what you see in the illustration in terms of the illustrator's fears. This is his fear. And this is not just his individual fear, it's a reflection of what many men in the colonies are worried about, that if women forget their place, then everything will fall apart. And the inclusion of an enslaved woman is really, really critical for that understanding of things falling apart. Because if women forget their place, then enslaved people will also forget their place. And then all kinds of things could potentially fall apart. Does that make sense? You have to be willing to go deeper with your analyses. With your writing. That's why I'm taking the time to do this work even with an image. It's the same idea. I could have used the image and told you to analyze it for your weekly essay. Many of you are skating on the surface of the image or of the document. You've got to go deeper. And I know you can do it. We're seeing it in a lot of your work, it's starting to improve. I'm just pushing you to go that one step further. Because analysis is not just saying what you see, it's explaining what it means and why it matters. Even though women are getting involved politically that doesn't mean that everybody's happy with it. There's fear, there's concern, there's worry. It's important for us to look at these images and to understand what they're conveying to us about a society at a particular given moment. You can do the same thing with current movies and recent music videos. Cultural creations are a really good lens or a window into a society at any given moment. And they have to be treated as primary sources.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁶ U.S. History I, transcript, February 25.



Image I-1: “A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton in North Carolina”

This print, published in London in 1775, depicts a satirical take on reports that a society of ladies in Edenton, North Carolina had agreed to cease drinking their tea in protest of the taxes levied by the British government.

Source: Philip Dawe, “A Society of Patriotic Ladies” (London, UK: R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1775), available at Library of Congress, “John Bull and Uncle Sam: Four Centuries and British-American Relations,” <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/british/brit-2.html> (accessed June 1, 2017).

Appendix J: Comparing Images of African American Weddings

In this segment from U.S. History I, Dr. Myers set up her document work so that students could gain experience corroborating sources. She had them compare two different images of African American weddings.

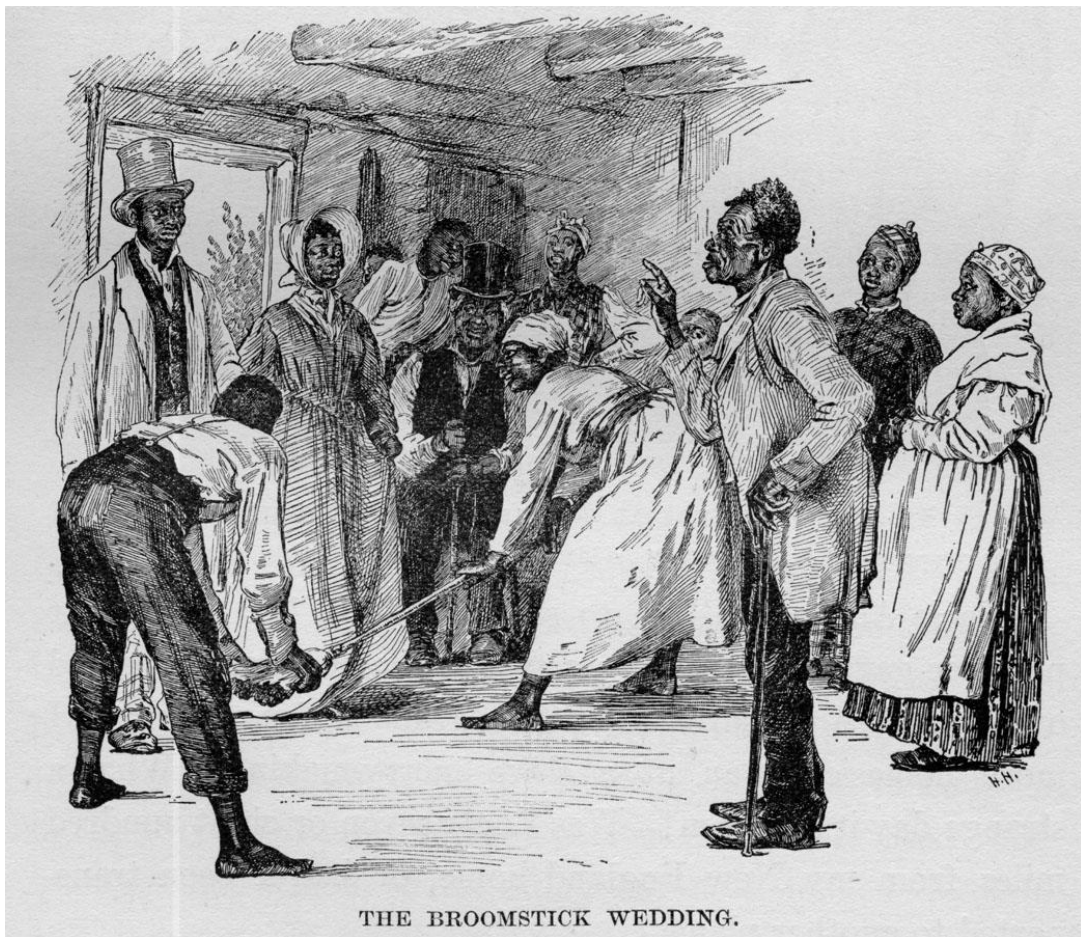


Image J-1: “The Broomstick Wedding”

This image of a slave marriage ceremony, originating possibly in Virginia around 1840, is included in abolitionist Mary Ashton Rice Livermore’s book *The Story of My Life*.

Source: Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, “The Broomstick Wedding,” in *The Story of My Life* (Hartford, CT: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1897), 257, available at Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, <http://www.slaveryimages.org> (accessed June 1, 2017).

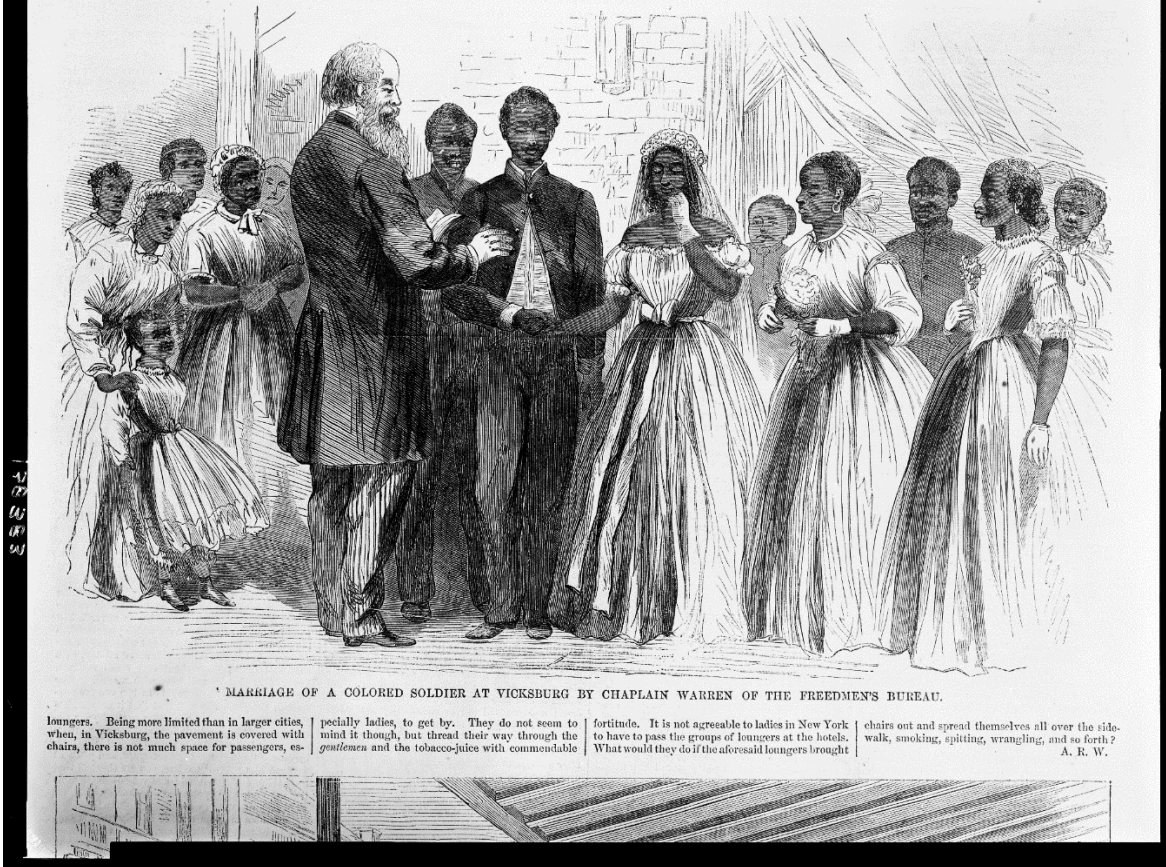


Image J-2: “Marriage of a colored soldier at Vicksburg by Chaplain Warren of the Freedmen's Bureau”

Alfred Rudolph Waud illustrated this wedding scene for an 1866 edition of *Harper's Weekly* magazine.

Source: Alfred Rudolph Waud, “Marriage of a colored soldier at Vicksburg by Chaplain Warren of the Freedmen’s Bureau,” *Harper's Weekly* 10, no. 496 (June 30, 1866): 412, available at Library of Congress, “Marriage of a colored soldier at Vicksburg by Chaplain Warren of the Freedmen's Bureau,” <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009630217/> (accessed June 1, 2017).

Myers: Let’s contrast the two images, sit back and look at them and consider what some of the obvious differences are between these two ceremonies. They’re both weddings, they’re both going to be incredibly emotionally important to the people who are involved, they involve African Americans. But in what ways are they different? What are some of the things you’d point out? And remember it’s not just saying well it’s X versus Y. It’s saying X versus Y which means Z. So analyze.

Tena: The first picture is more like a traditional wedding that we see today, clothing wise. Compared to the second picture where it’s more like they’re still in their work clothes, because it’s not really that important. Unlike the first picture which has the fancier dress like today.

Myers: So what does that tell us?

Tena: They're more traditional weddings.

Myers: Right, but analyze the image and tell me why that matters. What does that suggest about free black people and what's important to them? Why are they dressed this way? That's the question. I think you're right that clothing is super important, but you've not actually answered why it's important quite yet. Scott?

Scott: It's important because it shows the difference in the weddings isn't a stylistic choice. If you're a slave you can't have a big wedding. You're limited in every way in terms of what you can wear, who your guests are, whether or not you have to keep it hidden. Because you don't have the freedom to go out and have a big wedding ceremony.

Myers: Or the money. Right, that would be a part of it. So you don't necessarily have the freedom to choose your partner, to invite who you want, wear the clothing you want. How would slave laborers afford to buy the clothing that's being worn in the image by free people of color? Slaves don't technically own anything. By law they're not allowed to because they themselves are property. Where would they come up with the finances? So you can look at this and say by analyzing the images, it's clearly important for free blacks to be wearing more traditional wedding attire, but it also suggests that they would have the means and the finances to do so. I think you're right. But why else would it be important to dress the way they're dressed in the free wedding?

Arthur: They want to seem more like the free society, and more like how the white people dress to show that they are people, as opposed to being slaves. They don't want to dress like slaves, they want to dress like free people.

Myers: I think you're absolutely right. That's what I was getting at in terms of the why, in terms of the analysis. The finances are a big part of it, but slaves are looked at in a certain way. Black people as a whole are looked at in a certain way and not a good way by white people. So wouldn't it make sense that one of the things that free blacks would want to do is dress a certain way in order to be treated respectfully? They already believe themselves to be equal to white people, but by dressing a certain way I think they're hoping to also get that sort of treatment in response. So I think that's very smart analysis. It's important to look at the pictures and don't just do the superficial but to go a little bit deeper and say well why are they doing this? What does this teach us about their thoughts, their values, their beliefs? What do we learn about their society by looking at these images? That's how you do analysis of the image. There are still other things we can talk about in terms of similarities and differences other than the clothing. Yes?

Jasmine: They're being married by a minister.

Myers: Right, so on this side they're being married by the minister. And then so why is this important? Who is marrying them on the other side?

Jasmine: Probably one of the elders in the slave community.

Myers: What's the ritual that is being performed? On the left side we understand the ritual. This looks very much like a wedding ceremony that you would see even today. What's happening on the right side? What are they doing?

Jasmine: They're jumping a broom.

Myers: Yes, they're jumping the broom. So we see very different actual ceremonies happening. Why is that important? What does that suggest to us? What's the importance of that? Because you've again picked up on something that's really critical: minister versus jumping the broom. This is important because?

Madison: Free blacks are kind of adopting the practices that are more popular amongst the free population, so it's another shot at belonging with them.

Myers: They believe themselves to be citizens. They believe themselves to be equal to white people. They believe themselves to be worthy of being treated with human dignity. Therefore it makes sense that they're going to do all the things that the larger normative culture around them does in order to hopefully acquire that respect, those rights, those privileges. So we see the difference in the type of ceremony that's being performed. We see the difference in the clothing that's being worn. You have a slave elder performing the ceremony versus a licensed minister. Most likely the ceremony on the left is being held inside some sort of a church or some facility of that nature. On the right, this looks like it's happening inside one of their slave cabins on the plantation. So you look at the difference in where the ceremony is held, who's in attendance, who's actually performing the ceremony, what clothing is being worn, and you extract from that a lot of information about people, about society, about attitudes and values. It's drawing those conclusions about attitudes, values, societies, and beliefs is where you're performing analysis. That's the level, the step that you have to go to in order for this to make sense.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ U.S. History I, transcript, April 19.

Appendix K: Reading Paul Revere

In this segment from U.S. History I, Dr. Myers scaffolded her students' inquiry into Paul Revere's engraving so they could begin to read against the silence and develop an interpretation for why Revere might not have chosen to depict Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre.

Myers: And the guy who was at the very front of the whole protest is an African American man named Crispus Attucks. Crispus Attucks has lived in Boston for over twenty years. He's worked as a sailor, as a fisherman, on the docks. He's a seaman. And he's right on the front lines of this protest. Yes they're throwing snowballs and icicles and they're cursing, and tensions are high, but nobody on the demonstration side of things is armed with anything more than that. Eventually, one of the soldiers gets trigger happy and shoots into the crowd. And when he does that, all of his fellow troops fire as well. And so an unarmed crowd of protestors gets shot at. And a number of people died. Eleven people are shot, five people, including Crispus Attucks are killed. This comes to be known as the Boston Massacre. You might think, well is really five people a massacre? Well, according to the colonials, this was a massacre because you had unarmed people who were shot at by British troops and who are killed. All the soldiers are arrested, they're put in jail, they're put on trial, the government promises that there's going to be a legitimate trial, and the governor's says we're not going to let this end without some sort of justice. But out of all the officers, only two of them were found guilty and their punishment was to be branded on the thumb. It was an insult or a slap on the face as far as Bostonians are concerned. Five people are dead, and only two people are found guilty and they're branded on the thumb, that's it. So this seems like no kind of justice at all. I think it's really important to understand that Crispus Attucks is at the front lines, especially when you consider something else that I haven't told you about Crispus Attucks yet. He's a black man, been in Boston for twenty years. A seaman. Fisherman. Dockworker. Longtime member of the community. He's also a fugitive slave. He's also a fugitive slave. He had been living opening as a free man for over twenty years, but he had run away from his owners and had been illegally living as a free man in Boston for twenty years. What does it mean? What does it mean when the man at the front of a demonstration against British tyranny, protesting in favor of freedom and rights and liberty and democracy and citizenship, is himself not actually legally free and entitled to any of those things? It's kind of a mind-bender when you think about it.

[Myers advances to the next slide, displaying Paul Revere's engraving.]



Image K-1: Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre

An engraving by Paul Revere depicting the Boston Massacre. Although included in the image, Crispus Attucks has what many would consider a decidedly European appearance, despite his African and Native American ancestry.

Source: Paul Revere, *The bloody massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th Regt.* (Boston, MA: 1770), available at Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2008661777> (accessed June 1, 2017).

Myers: This is an incredibly famous engraving, made by our friend Paul Revere. Very, very famous silver engraving of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere who we, you know, mostly know about 'one if by land, two if by sea,' but he did a whole lot more than just that. I want you to analyze the image. If you know, I mean, I just finished telling you how the Boston Massacre happened, why it happened, who was there. What do you see and why does it matter?

Dale: Yeah, Crispus Attucks is not in the picture or, well, there's no, like, black man in the picture.

Myers: I don't see an African American person in this image. Good pick-up, Dale. Why is this something that is noteworthy?

Dale: Well, I mean, from what I've studied before, I've never heard of this guy, you know, I mean. I've, I've [inaudible] relevant per se.

Myers: You don't know how it's relevant? You just picked up on what I think is the most important thing of the painting, but now you're not telling me why it matters? Oh, come on. Yes you know why it matters. Why did Paul Revere leave him out?

Dale: Well, they weren't, like, seen, as, well I guess, I don't know. He didn't see him as a person, I mean.

Myers: Okay, but I think you're on the right track. But what would have happened if Paul Revere had put Crispus Attucks in? It would have been making a statement. What would that statement have been? See, here's where analysis is having to be entered into in a little more depth. Because you picked up the most important thing, but you're not quite sure why. We need to know why.

Mary: It might indicate that the Boston protests were led by an African American man.

Myers: And that would be problematic because?

Mary: Because that's not okay in that society.

Myers: We can't give a black man a leadership position! That would be highly problematic in terms of ending the racial hierarchy we established for ourselves, right? Yes! Let's add to this a little bit. People who haven't spoken today.

Rita: If the patriots want freedom and if there's a black man in there, then that also might suggest that they're fighting for slaves' freedom. Once this is all over, slaves would be free too.

Myers: Oh, see if you give a black man positionality in this painting, you could be setting up a situation where you're going to have to give slaves their freedom down the line at some point. This could get ugly, messy, weird, crazy, nasty. Yes.

Dennis: One of the biggest things I think in this is that it looks so organized. It's meant to draw emotion out of people. And I think that if he had portrayed a black person in it, then it might not have drawn the same reaction he was looking for, in the fact that people wouldn't see his life to mean as much. So a black person, it's not going to pull on people's heartstrings the same way as a bunch of dead white people would have at the time.

Myers: So here's the really important thing. Why do you think Paul Revere even bothers to create this silver engraving? And you just hit on it, you said, well because he wants to draw emotions out of people. But what does he want? What is he hoping that this image will do when people see this all over the colonies in different newspapers and pamphlets? It's going to make white people –

Dennis: Angry.

Myers: It's going to make them angry against the British. It's going to hopefully make them do what?

Class: Revolt.

Myers: Revolt, rise up, rebel. And then if you put a black man into that picture, maybe they won't be as willing or as likely or feel as emotionally connected. I'm on board with that argument... I mean, Paul Revere's famous engraving is a piece of propaganda. That doesn't make it a bad thing. What I'm saying is that it's meant to do a particular job. Therefore, it's constructed in a certain way, and not only are the British lined up in a certain way, but it also means that other people are left out of the picture... If I hadn't just spent five minutes telling you about Crispus Attucks you would have looked at this image and you probably still would have picked up on all the other stuff, but it wouldn't have occurred to you that they were sort of erasing black people from Boston's history and from revolutionary history. And that's exactly what Paul Revere and others in that generation were doing, because it's tricky. The potential is too scary if you put a fugitive slave at the front lines, dying in the cause of liberty and freedom and democracy and citizenship when he himself doesn't have any.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁸ U.S. History I, transcript, February 25.

Appendix L: Teaching Historical Thinking Concepts

In these excerpts from a session of Foundations of Social Studies, Dr. Barton taught his prospective teachers four critical concepts for historical thinking: causation, perspective-taking, agency, and evidence.

Causation and the Great Fire of London

Barton: So we're going to start off by talking causation. The central idea here is that causation is all about why do things happen. It's certainly no use to know that this happened, and this happened, and this happened. The whole point of studying history is to understand why these things happen. What are the consequences of that? Both are implied by causation. So I'm going to start with an example, the Great Fire of London in the seventeenth century. I mean this was really a huge event in the history of London, really all of Europe. Although there had been many fires in London throughout the middle ages, nothing really rivaled this in extent. It started at a bakery – the bakery of Thomas Farriner. This bakery was on Pudding Lane. It started just after midnight on Sunday, September 2 and it lasted until Wednesday. Destroyed pretty much the entire medieval city of London. So that is the part of London that was within the old Roman walls. Just like today, there were suburbs of London, but it was the central part of the city that was pretty much totally wiped out. There were 13,200 homes destroyed. That included the homes of 70,000 of the 80,000 inhabitants. I mean imagine just what a large percentage that is of people who lost their homes in the fire. St. Paul's Cathedral, which was the centerpiece of the whole city, was destroyed. Later rebuilt. And 87 parish churches. Pretty much all public buildings – business, government, administration buildings – pretty much all of that was wiped out. It was just a really huge fire. What we're going to talk about then is the question of why. Why did this fire destroy so much of London? There had been fires before, they may have been destructive but they didn't wipe out an entire city like this, destroy 70,000 out of 80,000 homes. So we're going to talk about why this was so destructive, and we're going to use that as a way to think about the nature of historical causation and its complications. So to start off with, we are going to bring you a big sheet of paper. So when you get that in the corner with a marker write this question: Why did the great fire of 1666 destroy so much of London? And then draw lines like this. [Barton draws a long line diagonally across the paper]. All right, now look back up here. So what I'll have you do is this: for each table I'm going to bring around an envelope and in each envelope is a set of ten different factors that might help to explain this question: why did the fire destroy so much of London? So what I want you to do as a group is arrange these along the line from least relevant way of explaining it to most relevant. So once I bring the envelope around you can go ahead and take it out. You might just want to lay all the factors out, and start talking about which ones are least relevant to explaining why it destroyed so much, which ones

are most relevant to that explanation. If there's some factors that you think aren't relevant at all, put them in a dashed line.

[Prospective teachers work in groups to sort out their factors explaining the Great London Fire]

Barton: All right, let me have your attention. Tell me something about the nature of the conversation that you had as you were trying to discuss these. What are some of the things you talked about or some of the things you had to consider? Robert, I'll start with you.

Robert: We had to consider what was really different between this fire and the other fires that happened in London. What caused this fire to cause so much damage?

Barton: And so how did that affect the way you wound up ranking? What was your top factor?

Robert: Our top one was that most houses in London were made out of wood. And close to that was that there was a strong wind, meaning that the fire could spread quickly between these easily flammable houses.

Barton: So in a sense you're saying that these two things had to go together in order to cause the fire. They're not really separate factors; each one depends on the other. That's interesting. Henry, what about at your table? What were some of the things that you guys talked about or the way you went about making decisions?

Henry: So originally we were avoiding the question of why, and then we came around and we started focusing on what was different about this fire to any other fire that had happened. And so we started thinking more about that. We had similar thoughts as far as how some of the certain cards overlapped, like strong winds and the houses very close together. Similar thinking to Robert's table. We had originally put that London's heating and lighting was provided by fire. And so as we started answering why some of these just didn't matter as much anymore, we started to dash that.

Barton: Okay. Donna, what about your table?

Donna: Well at first we just discussed what we thought would be more integral to keeping flames going, so we've got the wood, the urbanization aspect of everything being close together, and strong winds. And then we went to the technology, so the water supply for stopping the water, we kind of put that on the back burner because that obviously did play a part, but not as much. And then we put "someone started the fire on Pudding Lane" half in and half out of the dashed line.

Barton: Why?

Donna: Because it's technically the start of when the fire happened, but it's not a reason as to why the fire was so great, why it destroyed so much.

Barton: All right, so what a couple of you pointed out is the interacting nature of these reasons. So it's not necessarily easy to just separate them out as more relevant and less relevant. That's one way of thinking about it. But you can also think about how the different things interact. So for the next part, move the factors off your big paper and turn it over. And on the back draw three concentric circles. This time what I'd like for you to do is to divide the factors up in a different way: the immediate short term reasons, more medium term, and the longer term reasons of why the fire destroyed so much of London. Short, medium, and long term.

[Prospective teachers work in groups to re-sort out their factors explaining the Great London Fire]

Barton: All right, how did you decide between short range and long term Susan?

Susan: Well, the short term ones we thought were ones that weren't as relevant, so we put someone started a fire in Pudding Lane, town officials didn't take action, things like that. So we thought the short term were less important than the long term for the reason the fire was so large.

Barton: Interesting. So you're saying that the long term causes have more of an impact on the fire spreading than the short term causes. Interesting. So it's almost like you're saying that anything that's directly relevant to this particular instance doesn't help to explain why it spread so much. What were some of the examples of your short term ones?

Susan: We had rumors spread of foreigners starting fires, town officials not taking action, and someone starting a fire.

Barton: Okay Jennifer, what about at your table? What was the nature of your discussion on how you decided what went where?

Jennifer: For our long-term, what we had was throughout London, heating and lighting were provided by fire, most houses were made of wood, and houses were very close together because that's always going to be a long term. And then our middle terms, we had something that was kind of happening a little, but something that was going to last a little bit longer, and then for our short-term, it was basically things that happened just at that time.

Barton: Okay, so you're really looking at the time period as a way of deciding. Stephanie?

Stephanie: We talked about how the short-term causes were the less permanent ones. And the long-term part was the more permanent things, so like on the outer circle we had most houses were made of wood, because that was something that caused the fire to keep going.

Barton: So at your table, I want you to discuss this: Susan's table over here said that the short-term causes are the least relevant to explaining why this fire spread so much. It's the long-term reasons that really helped to explain why this fire is so destructive. Talk about at your table whether or not you agree or disagree with that. And Susan's table, talk about why somebody might disagree with that position.

[Prospective teachers discuss at their tables]

Barton: All right, we can bring it back together. Agree or disagree Carolyn?

Carolyn: We talked about how some of our answers definitely are long-term, but the fire-fighting equipment, like they said that wasn't really relevant for long-term but we categorized it as long-term. So we could see both sides of it, but I think it just depends on which way your group was discussing where you were going at the time.

Barton: What about Ernie? Do you agree or disagree that short-term were least relevant?

Ernie: We disagree. The wind was short-term, but played an important role as a short-term thing, for spreading the fire faster.

Barton: Okay, all right. Harrison?

Harrison: We took a different angle on the overall thing. We looked at long-term coming after the fire. So we threw like that rumors were spreading, we said maybe that could affect after the fire, but that doesn't really get to the root of the question as to why did this great fire cause so much damage to London. So when we stepped outside of that and we re-looked at it and we figured long-term meant something that was present before and after the fire that carried through. So the houses being made of wood and the fact that they were stacked so close together. They were built that way before the fire happened and became this long-term problem they had. It was just a matter of time until the fire hit it.

Barton: Okay. So some of the complexity of that will I think become even clearer in the next thing we're going to do. Once again push the factors aside and set your paper aside. What I want you to do next is to spread out that set of factors so that you can see them all at once. So far we've organized from most relevant to least relevant and short, medium, and long-term. What I want you to do at your table is to think of some other way of organizing. What other categories could you use? It doesn't have to be a specific number in each category. You could have two in one, eight in another. You could have four categories. Whatever. But how do they go together into sets? What are some similarities in the types of factors? So you will have to decide which things go together, how many groups you want, and most importantly, what would the heading be for that particular group. So like on the last one, short, medium, and long-term would be the headings. What would be the heading for your different categories here? So take a few minutes to decide.

[Prospective teachers work to develop a new causation categorization scheme for the factors at their tables.]

Barton: All right, let me have your attention back here. Some of the ways you can divide causes up include intentional factors (somebody chose to do something) versus contextual factors (factors unintended and just part of the setting). Another real common one is triggers, catalysts, and pre-conditions. Pre-conditions are what's already going on, such as everything being made of wood. A trigger, of course, is what happens right then, somebody setting the fire. A catalyst

would be what makes this worse. What makes something more extreme than it would be otherwise? So like the heavy winds the day of the fire. So that's a really useful thing to think about with lots of historical events. Because oftentimes you don't want to just know why did something happen, but why did it go so far. Or what was it in this particular case that led to war, or lead to disaster, or even lead to the solution of something, where it didn't in another situation? We can talk about short, medium, and long-term. You can talk about enabling and determining factors in causation – that is, the things that make it possible for something to happen, versus the things that actually make it happen. So there were a lot of enabling factors that allowed this fire to spread so much, but what were the things that actually made it spread so much in this particular case? So that's another way of dividing causation. All of this points to the fact that causation is never just simple or linear, that X caused Y. Or first thing happened, second thing happened, third thing happened. There's different ways to think about causation and there's different ways to think about how different causal factors interact. You can't understand any historical or contemporary event if you're not thinking about causality in multiple kinds of ways...And one other thing: there are a lot of words that are associated just with causation. In your evaluation system for student teaching, one of the things you'll be evaluated on is the extent with which you teach students the use of academic language. What that means is language that specifically is related to the concept you're teaching. So if you're teaching about causation, you need to be teaching students to use words like central, contribute, exacerbate, allow, relate, trigger, incite, spark, beginning, birth, foundation. A whole bunch of words that are specific to the nature of causation.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2.

Perspective-Taking and Bloomers



Image L-1: Amelia Bloomer in the “short dress”

An undated (circa 1852-1858) photograph of Amelia Bloomer displaying the short dress and baggy trousers she popularized through her newspaper *The Lily*. The image comes from a special history study on Women’s Rights from the National Parks Service and is also on display at the Seneca Falls Historical Society Museum.

Source: Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, *Special History Study: Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York*, by Sandra S. Weber (Washington, DC: G. Government Printing Office, 1985).

Historical Agency

Barton: What I want to spend a little more time on here is how to help students, and that has to do with which things you pick out to study. But I want to focus here on the idea of helping students understand how people's actions are situated in a larger context. And one thing for students to understand is that people's actions now and in history oftentimes are very constrained. So, and this is from apartheid era South Africa: 'Danger! Natives, Indians & Coloureds. If you enter these premises at night, you will be listed as missing. Armed guards shoot on sight, savage dogs devour the corpse.'⁴⁷⁰ This is an extreme example but it just goes to show that oftentimes there are aspects of the setting or the context that really limit what people are capable of doing. So keeping those two things in mind, what did people do, what are the constraints on what they did? You have to understand both of those things at the same time to really make sense of people's actions in history.

But like I say, students oftentimes think that they could just do whatever they wanted. So when they learn about slavery, students sometimes have trouble understanding why, why didn't just every slave escape? Why didn't they all just run away? They don't really understand what social, legal, and even family factors would have kept people from running away from slavery. Or I mean, when I was a teacher, it was still the time of apartheid – shows you how old I am – and in learning about South Africa, my students had a similar problem understanding South Africa. Why don't all the blacks just leave South Africa? Why don't twenty million people, most of whom have very little money, why don't they just all get up and take a flight out of their country? And so they don't see the constraining factors. And I just wanted you to help students' understanding.

On the flip side of that though, sometimes students think of people in history as just being victims, rather than agents, as though they couldn't do anything. And so that's the flip side of their understanding of slavery. Sometimes they don't understand why slaves didn't do whatever they wanted, but other times they think slaves are just getting the tar beat out of them every day so that they couldn't do anything. And they just see slaves as though they were passive victims. But in fact, despite all the constraints of slavery, African Americans developed a vibrant culture, artistic traditions, they had families. So they did all kinds of things within these really severe constraints. Understanding how those things go together is the key to understanding agency... So people continue to do things under extreme conditions – those two things always go together. And helping students understand that is critical.

And finally the last point I want to make about this is that students will tend to see agency purely in terms of individuals. Either thinking individuals can do anything or they can do nothing. The part that they have less familiarity with is the societal institutions that either made it possible for somebody to do something, or that constrain their actions. So Rosa Parks is a great example of

⁴⁷⁰ A photographer for *Drum* magazine, a Johannesburg-based magazine founded in 1951 and aimed at Black readers, captured a billboard of the South African apartheid in a 1953 image. Displaying the image of a skull and crossed bones, it reads "Danger! Natives, Indians & Coloureds. If you enter these premises at night, you will be listed as missing. Armed guards shoot on sight. Savage dogs devour the corpse. You have been warned!" The image comes from Bailey's African History Archives, a collection of forty years of material from *Drum* magazine and its sister publications. *Drum* Photographer, "Apartheid signs" (1953), Bailey's African History Archives, photograph, <http://www.baha.co.za> (accessed January 23, 2017).

this, and the civil rights movement in general. They will think of Rosa Parks; they think it was a tired old individual woman who decided not to go to the back of the bus, as though this was an act of individual courage. But in fact, she was part of an organized group that had asked her to be the representative who would get arrested. She was literally trying to get arrested. She had tried before to get arrested. She was part of a larger social group that was organized, and then of course once the bus boycott had begun, there was massive organization that had to go into making that work. Part of what enabled that was African American churches, which provided both the organizational structure and the leadership capacity to not just run the boycott, but throughout the civil rights movement to help structure and organize what was going on with the civil rights movement. Those are the things that tend to go past students. They don't think about these societal contexts... So helping students understand these societal institutions that enable or constrain people's actions is critical to understanding agency... Helping students think about what choices we make within a broader social context that either led to change or continuity throughout history is a big part of what agency is all about.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 2.

Evidence and World War II Propaganda Posters



Image L-2: Women in the Workforce World War II Posters

Part of a publicity campaign, these posters encouraged women to join the workforce while many American men served in the military.

Source: Lawrence Wilbur, "Longing won't bring him back sooner...Get a war job!" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944); "Victory waits on your fingers," (New York, NY: Royal Typewriter Company), all available at the National Archives, "Powers of Persuasion," https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/powers_of_persuasion_home.html (accessed June 2, 2017).

Adolph Treidler, "'The girl he left behind' is still behind him – She's a WOW," U.S. Army (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943); "The more women at work the sooner we win!" (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943); "'Good work, sister: we never figured you could do a man-sized job!' America's women have met the test!" (New York, NY: Bressler Editorial Cartoons, Inc., 1944); "'I've found the job where I fit best!' Find your war job in industry, agriculture, business" (Washington, DC: Office of War Information, 1943), all available at Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/> (accessed June 2, 2017).

Appendix M: Assessing a Disciplinary Concept

In this excerpt from a session of Foundations of Social Studies, Bruce Taylor helped his prospective teachers assess students' misunderstanding of the historical thinking concept of agency.

Taylor: All right, we're going to spend some time this morning going back over agency. Today what we're thinking about is history and civic education. So we're not going to talk explicitly about a civic education curriculum today, but we'll get at it a little bit. We'll talk really about how history helps to teach civics and prepare students for citizenship and civic life. And so we're going to start with a review of agency. This is one of the four things that Dr. Barton talked about last week in history instruction. So we're going to talk about agency and how it relates to teaching civic education today. So one thing that we know about agency, we talked about this a little bit last week, is that students often focus on leaders. So they ignore the agency of others. So students will often think leaders are single-handedly responsible for actions of motivating others to act. And we see student work celebrating FDR and Winston Churchill as liberators of the world. We also see the same things on the other side. So with Hitler, a focus on Hitler as solely responsible for all the acts of Nazi Germany. So the following are student quotes. 'One man nearly destroyed a whole race of people, and he nearly went on to conquer all of Europe.' 'Hitler tried to separate German speaking people from Czechoslovakian speaking people, and he tried to break the Jews from everyone. And no one really cared before that. They were all living together and they were all fine with each other, but then he had to come and separate everyone and then they thought, that's true, I'm living with someone who's not the same race as me.' 'Hitler gave the people of Germany somebody to blame. He said well this is all of the Jews' fault. And I don't know where he got that from.' Another example, talking about Martin Luther King here: 'In U.S. history, there's always one person who goes this isn't right, and decides to challenge that. It was just the worldview at the time that blacks were inferior and came to a point when one person was like, well actually no they're not. A lot of people were like yeah, maybe that person's right.'

[Laughter across the classroom]

Taylor: So you can see, that's probably not accurate. We weren't there at the time, but probably that's not how it worked. So in your groups talk a little bit about why this matters. What's wrong with focusing on leaders?

[Prospective teachers discuss in small groups]

Taylor: All right, Mark, what's going on in your group?

Mark: We talked about how it takes away from what other people did at the time. And then focusing on one lens gives you tunnel vision, you can't really see how a group of people made changes.

Taylor: Javier, what did you guys talk about?

Javier: We talked about how it's important to not just focus on the top people. Everyone is making their own decisions and the whole population is also able to do their own actions.

Taylor: But why is this important? Jennifer, go ahead.

Jennifer: I believe actions influence history. I think it's important to understand why they acted the way they did to see where we are today.

Taylor: Okay, that speaks a little more to perspective, right? Why they acted the way they acted. That's going to speak more to the idea of perspective. Ryan?

Ryan: Followers give leaders power, and without them they would just be isolated. They're really just representations of what was going on. So average consciousness summed up in them.

Taylor: Okay, so followers give leaders their power.

Isabel: And also because the students get a sense that they can actually do anything civically because if it is just about the leader it makes them feel less empowered.

Taylor: Okay, so it relates to student empowerment in some way.

Pedro: I starting thinking along those lines a little differently. If you only get these leaders, these far-removed characters, than it seems totally unrelatable. But you have to disperse the responsibility so that people can relate and see how that could happen to an entire society, how they can personally be involved in a situation like that, so you can connect and learn from it.

Taylor: Okay, so we've got these two ideas, learning what citizens did or didn't do at the time and empowering students. That's important ways of thinking about agency and why it's important today.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷² Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, February 9.

Appendix N: Developing an Essential Question

In this excerpt from a session of Foundations of Social Studies, Bruce Taylor worked with his prospective teachers to develop essential questions for lessons in history.

Mandi: We talked about the invention of the printing press, and our question is how did the advancement of technology during this time period affect the outcome of society as a culture in the ways people would communicate and gather information?

Taylor: Okay, so that's a fairly specific question. So think a little bit about how that question could still be related to the printing press while being potentially a little less specific.

Robert: Maybe just how does the invention of technology affect societies?

Taylor: Yes, so I think just stop your question a little bit earlier. So your whole question got a society through technology related to communication, something along those lines at the end. So 'how do advances in technology change society?' might be a good question.

Lewis: We talked about the printing press too. We talked about how the printing press led to the Protestant Reformation. And then for a present day event, we connected it to the Arab Spring with Twitter and how that communication led to that big reformation in the Middle East.

Taylor: So what was your big idea question?

Lewis: How did the printing press lead to changes in the Catholic Church?

Ryan: Well one of the reasons why the printing press changed the culture of Europe is Enlightenment writers explained the world in other terms. Their pamphlets were allowed to spread and their books were allowed to be printed. So the movements weren't just tied to people anymore. Their ideas could be on something other than a scroll.

Taylor: Okay, let's take that idea from Ryan and see if we can change the question that you've given us to make it a bigger idea so it's not specifically tied to that development of the printing press. So that question one more time: how did the printing press lead to changes in the Catholic Church? So what are the ideas shaping this question?

Lewis: Well you can do more poor people getting educated in society and finally being able to read what the Church has been spewing for the longest time.

Taylor: So there's something about the education of the poor or the masses. So the Catholic Church, what does that represent?

Class: Religion.

Taylor: What else?

Isabel: Belief systems?

Pedro: People.

Nicholas: Authority.

Taylor: Authority, power. So the Catholic Church was one of the major powers, major authorities, in Europe. So we have some question about how the printing press relates to changes in power, in authority. All right, so how does X relate to Y? So that's really the frame we've got here for the question. In this case Y is power or authority, so what is X?

Ryan: X is ideas, knowledge, access to reading materials.

Taylor: Access to reading materials is pretty specific – it's probably not that.

Harrison: Technology.

Taylor: It could be technology again. What were the first two things you said Ryan?

Ryan: I said ideas.

Taylor: Okay, so we've got something about ideas maybe. Lewis, you tied this to Twitter and the Arab Spring. So what role would we say Twitter played in the Arab Spring?

Lewis: It got information spread throughout the masses.

Taylor: Spread of information. What else?

Lewis: Communication.

Taylor: There was communication between people. Any other role Twitter played?

Edith: Awareness.

Taylor: Okay, so awareness of people within and without. Right, a lot of the tweeting was in English and that was for our benefit, not for the benefit of most activists. Many of the activists had to read the tweets that were posted in Arabic. A lot of the tweeting that was done in English was done for the purposes of foreign journalists. So awareness within and awareness outside the group of activists. So the question of how did the ideas lead to changes in power and authority –

it's unintelligible as a question, but there's something there as a question. That's what needs to be reframed. You've got something about technology or ideas or communication and power and authority. Talk with your partner about how you would reframe this question to be a big idea question.

[Prospective teachers discuss in pairs.]

Taylor: All right, we can come back together. What did you guys talk about?

Isabel: Maybe how do ideas lead to social reformation?

Nicholas: Can I add on to that? How did the spread of ideas lead to social reformation?

Taylor: That informs the entire sentence actually. How do the spread of ideas lead to social reformation? So that could be one way to go, and that relates to the fact that it was a specific communication technology that made it easier for people to spread their ideas, which we might also say about a lot of new technologies, whether we're talking about the radio, television, internet, all social media platforms that have come up in the wake of the internet. So what would allow you to apply this question to a lot of different settings? Go further back in history and talk about the development of a written language? So there's all sorts of ties you can make with a question like this. So this is one way to go with a question. Another question, this would get back to just the technology question, could be something along the lines of how does innovation transform society. So that would be very similar to the question that Mandi and Robert had. So that would be very similar to that question. Let's take a look at the Stonewall Riots. Cynthia, what did you guys come up with for your question?

Cynthia: For our big idea, it was just how marginalized groups have responded to being persecuted in different ways. So you could look at Shay's rebellion. What else did we say?

Ernie: Well our current example was the Black Lives Matter movement.

Taylor: Okay, so the question is how have marginalized groups responded to their situation? And obviously that's a question that you could look at throughout time. And that could also have been the question for the Boxer Rebellion. It could have fit in with that. Did anybody talk about the Boxer Rebellion for their question? Who knows what the Boxer Rebellion is?

Patrick: The Chinese around 1900.

Taylor: Yes, so it was the very beginning of the twentieth century. One of the things that it ties into well today is debates about globalization. So what the group we refer to now as the Boxers were rebelling against was Western and Japanese influence in the Chinese economy and Chinese culture. And so this was a group of people who were protesting to return to what they considered a more traditional Chinese way of living. And it relates to questions when you come forward to the present day, things like protests at the World Trade Organization like you had in Seattle in

1999, and in 2001 all the protests surrounding the meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and surrounding trade policy today.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ Foundations of Social Studies, transcript, March 29.

Appendix O: K-12 versus Disciplinary History

In this excerpt from a session of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz led her students in a discussion of the differences between history as they experienced it in their K-12 education and the disciplinary history of the academy.

Díaz: How is this different from the other types of histories you have encountered before?

Harrison: In my classes here a lot of it is very heavily placed in different perspectives, in that we have to form an argument for or against a side and then the sides usually come right down the middle given what the issue might be. So in my class on American Empire, it's the question of is American this big evil person or are they doing things to help other people? You have to figure it out for yourself, given the readings that we had. So we were given a lot more autonomy in what we would learn and what we were allowed to think about.

Dan: Something I found when I started taking history classes in college was just how much choice you had of what you wanted to study. And I think about what could you even change as far as public education? Because you can't offer such a wide variety of courses...you can't be all over the place, because you're on pretty much a four year path for your time. So I understand where people are saying not enough is covered, but I think the idea is what you want to get out of high school is a spark, so when you go to college you want to look for more history...

Díaz: And I hope that this class allows you to see all of that universe, to have some criteria by which you as a teacher could see, these are the things I really want to focus on, because this will allow my students to get ready for the next level. That's a little bit of where we're going. Yes?

Carolyn: We talked about those big wars, like World War I, World War II, and the Civil War. You learn about those in your history classes in high school and they brush the surface. And I know that we should be learning about other wars. But just those wars – I've taken a World War II class and the amount of things that they delve into is so beyond anything ever imagined. It's so much more than just what you learned in high school. But I think those are important classes to take because there's so much more to learn in those periods than just what you learned in high school. There's deeper knowledge, and although those are things that happened that you learned before, there's just so much more to them than just what you learned before.

Mandi: And drawing on what Carolyn said: a lot of time in high school you learn a lot about those names and dates, but in a lot of the classes I've taken here, you learn about the significance and why it happened. A lot of my tests are just you pick four out of the eight identification terms

and you state what happened, but a lot of the time you look at the significance and why it happened.

Díaz: These are huge issues that you're mentioning here. Yes?

Donna: You also learn about the culture surrounding the people of the times.

Díaz: So you're talking a lot about people, right? Not the big generals, not the big names, but real people like we are. What else?

Carrie: In high school, dates were *so*, so, so important to all of the teachers. And then in college, they're like forget dates, that doesn't matter at all. So it's just very different ideas, I guess, from high school to college.

Díaz: So the focus is not on the names, the dates, the facts, but...

Carrie: But the big idea as a whole.

Díaz: The big idea as to why and the significance. Yes?

Jennifer: I know for the first two years of taking history classes here, I never even had to purchase a book. And in high school your history textbooks are the biggest ones. So definitely in college a lot more research-based and provided primary sources gets you reading with what you're dealing with source-wise.

Díaz: Yes. One question: why?

Sean: I was going to say what Jennifer said about primary sources and how in history classes here, a teacher would pull up a newspaper from actually that day. And words were spelled differently and they're actually really hard to read. But it was a cool source to have, just the tone, the person who was writing it, and telling you kind of what was going on.

Díaz: Yes. When you have taken courses here in the History Department, was it difficult – that you had an idea of what you needed to do that was different from what the professor was expecting? Was there a dissonance there?

Carolyn: Well I think that writing in history is so much different. I know people who take history courses, and they're not history majors, they don't take a lot of history, they need it for general education, and they don't do well because they don't know how to write for history. They try to throw in all this information, and that's not what they want. They don't want to know how much you know. They want to know what you really know – the bread and butter of what you know. And so I was trying to help my friends in those classes that just take them for fun. I'm like, you have to know, it's much different than what you're used to writing. It's more.

Díaz: When did you realize that it was not throwing in all the dates and facts that you know?

Carolyn: Freshman year, when I got a big fat F on my first paper [laughter].

Díaz: Any other examples of that?

Richard: Playing off what Carolyn said, I had a similar but polar opposite experience. Where I grew up, my school's oddly the same set-up as what it is in college, writing-wise. And my roommates I'm living with now, they're from all around the country and we all had different experiences taking the same similar classes, with writing-styles. And looking in a broader sense, depending on the high school you go to, and which state you got to, the curriculum may be very different or the way they approach it could be drastically different.

Harrison: In high school, I remember the prose you wrote, how you wrote it, how fluid you were with it, was really important and they would rip up your grammar and take points off for that. But when I got to college, it was more about, here's an idea, here's another idea. I support those ideas with this claim, and then you could move on.

Dan: That's where we get back to sources in general. Because when we went through high school most of us just got a huge textbook. Whenever we wrote for our classes that was our source. You didn't have to cite too much maybe a page number. But when you get into a more advanced history course, so anything in the 300 level for history, you're going to be getting a lot of sources and you have to learn how to actually use them in conjunction with each other. To use them to contradict each other or to use them to supplement their own ideas. So a lot of people – me especially – when you started writing papers for that, I wasn't very good at citing sources in the way that I knew, after getting a D or an F on a paper, my professor wanted me to do. So it was a big learning curve and I think that goes back to what Richard said. Whatever your high school does, as far as writing style, it's going to be very different. Because we didn't write as much in my history classes, it was a lot of multiple choice and maybe one project and stuff like that. So when you go from reading all this stuff and not really writing about it, just pretty much writing in language arts only, you're just writing your own stories. You're not using primary sources to write something. It's very different.

Díaz: I think that is a very important point. You have all said very important things here. This makes me think, for example, in some other writing-intensive classes where I have heard this before. Many of the students when they give me their first essay, it was just full of quotes. It's like if the quotes were a piece of evidence sometimes, but not always. And students were looking for a plot, like if it was a class in literature. So I was wondering why this was. And then I started to discover at least in our local schools here, the only classes that teach writing are in literature, in English classes. But the conventions of writing in literature and the conventions of writing historically are going to be very different. So initially yes, what you were saying about preparation for college history in K-12, yes, that was the idea. The question is how successful has that been? And that is something to further investigate. But a number of surveys that have been done, at least after the 1980s, have found that this type of memorization and regurgitation has not proven to be very successful. Which is very interesting. Then why are we still fighting with this? But that's another story we're going to be talking about later. What I wanted to actually get at with a lot of this is how history as a discipline is understood. And the point that I would like us to leave today's class with is the differences between the way K-12 history has

been taught, usually, in schools, and what history as a discipline is and how is that different from the teaching in schools and why. Why has there been this dissociation between K-12 and disciplinary history as we know it in college? That's something to understand. So my question is then, why the disconnect?⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁴ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

Appendix P: Reading VanSledright

*In this excerpt from a session of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz worked with her prospective teachers on reading a scholarly article. Díaz modeled with Bruce VanSledright's "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education."*⁴⁷⁵

Díaz: So the way I would like you to think about a book is the following: I like to use the metaphor that a book is a person. A book is produced by someone. It has one author or many authors. And in a book, the person is trying to make a claim. I'm going to put the disciplinary aspects here. And we can also think of this as the thesis statement or argument. I had to actually branch out from the use of the word argument because some students believe that historians were always fighting, getting into an argument you know. We are fighting in a good way. So there is a claim, there is a purpose of the author for writing something. The same way that if you go through your text messages, there is a purpose if you send something. 'I'll meet you afterwards in this place.' Well, you are meeting the person in this place because you cannot go to another place, right? There's always an agenda, there's always a purpose.

So the book is a person, and it is your duty to understand what the author wants to tell you. I guarantee you that, in your history courses, if you read this way, you're going to do way better, because that's what the professors want of you. What is the claim? What is the argument? What is the author trying to tell me? The problem is that getting there is painful; we're going to be exercising those mental muscles. So here is a book, and you are going to say 'Okay, what is it they are trying to claim? Let me find out. Why are you saying that? What makes you say so? Why are you saying what you are saying? What evidence do you have?' So your role here is to ask those questions to the text. Have this conversation – but when you meet someone new, you have to let the person speak. Give them time. You cannot be imposing your voice upon someone else, because your duty is to represent what that person is saying fairly. I cannot have a conversation with you and then put my own words to you, right? Because that would be disrespectful to what you're saying. I try to represent you the best way I possibly can, understanding the concepts I hear you using, the words you are using, and why you are saying what you are saying. So when you're interviewing the book, you ask, 'But okay, I do not understand why you are using this word.' So if you do not understand, you write down, 'I do not understand this.' You can bring it to the class and we will discuss.

So your duty here is to understand what the claim is. The purpose of this is to actually see the human being that is inside the book. Not only the author, but the content, the people that we are

⁴⁷⁵ Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," *Review of Research in Education* 32, (2008): 110.

going to be talking about. So again the book is the person you need to meet. Ask who are you? Who is this person? What makes the person write this? Is this person an expert? So what is going to be his bias or his perspective on this issue? You need to know that, because you are going to need to know what facts there are, what are the filters that you need to evaluate the information that this person is telling you. So let them speak to you and listen carefully. When I read something that is new to me, I try to go sentence by sentence – yes in this class you will have to read everything; that’s why I have made smaller the number of readings. So you need to constantly be asking yourself what is this person saying? Why is this person saying that? As a historian, those are the two things I am always asking: what is it? Why are you saying that? How can you prove that to me?

To me, that’s the best connection to a democracy, the freedom that you have to actually have all of these different ways of looking at reality. And that is going to give us a lot of benefit, as future citizens that you cannot be told that you have to do this or think that. I am not told that. I get to see what everybody’s telling me. I evaluate it, and then I come to my own conclusions. We are going to be working more on that skill. So we need to meet the person behind all this. To give you an idea, there are a couple of things I would like to do now with this reading. I want to explain some things about a disciplinary piece. Why? Because you’re going to be writing. Sometimes when someone is not such a good writer, sometimes it is because they are not a very good reader. And I would like you to use this as a model of what we do in the discipline of history and why we do things the way we do...we’re going to be doing a little bit of practice at the beginning so that you can get used to it and you know what things you’re doing not as well, and I can help you get there. So I’m saying this is a piece of scholarly writing because it was published where? And how do you know that?

Dan: American Educational Research Association.

Díaz: That’s the publisher. But what is the journal? What is its title?

Mark: *Review of Research in Education*.

Díaz: Yes. So what makes this a piece of scholarly work?

Mark: Peer review.

Díaz: And what does that mean?

Richard: When your peers look over it.

Díaz: Who? Which peers?

Dan: I’m assuming the peers of Bruce VanSledright, he’s a researcher, so researchers would have reviewed this and given it a stamp of approval.

Díaz: Yes. But it would be easy if I just tell the *Review of Research in Education* ask this and this guy to do the peer review. No. So they have a database of people who specialize in different

things and then they will send me an email: could you please review this for a journal? These are anonymous. And the idea here is to make sure that this is a good piece of scholarship, that it follows the rules of the discipline. And I will be telling you some of the rules, just basic ones that allow you to move forward. So, for example, if this guy is saying 'there is the evidence.' We need to go back to the evidence to make sure it exists. Or if there are things that are weak, peer reviewers can say 'you need more evidence here,' to give the author the possibility to fix the article. Or if it is not good all together, the peer reviewer can say 'no, sorry we're not publishing that.' So that is a feature of disciplinary history as practiced in college. This piece, for example, would be considered for tenure. Do you know what tenure is? Why professors have tenure?

Richard: So you can't get fired.

Díaz: In some ways yes. But what would that process take to become a tenured professor? What do you think?

Mark: You have to be published, don't you? And you have to do research as well.

Díaz: Yes. You have to do research to produce a book, basically. In history, a book published by a university press. There are certain standards there. I'm saying that because in a survey we did, most of our students did not know that our professors are actually historians that have published books. But you also need to understand that there are certain things about disciplinary history, what makes it disciplinary and what are the ways we try to keep each other honest. We are all biased, but there are ways in which we can tell someone you need to really look at this because you may be putting too much of yourself in this and you need to explain that. So we try to keep as honest as we can when we are dealing with any topic; that is the way in which we do it. So in order for you to have tenure, you need to have published a number of articles or a book. In my discipline it has to be a book. And there's sets of filters and letters of recommendation by experts, and so on and so forth. I'm telling you that because there is a process here. So from there the other thing that I would like to start here with is the title. And I'm emphasizing this because when you write an essay, the title has to have certain qualities. "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," what is that title doing for us?

Harrison: Laying out what's going to be talked about.

Díaz: Yes. So it gives us an idea of what is going to be talked about. So it gives us a little map. Now I know that it's going to be about these topics. So you have to be engaging but it also has to tell you a good idea of what this piece's about. So those are two qualities that your titles must have when you write an essay. So I would like someone to read the first paragraph.

[Robert reads the first paragraph]

Díaz: Let's stop there. One thing is what a paragraph is doing. Another thing is what a paragraph is saying. What is this author saying in that paragraph? Okay, so doing has to do with the writing and the structure of the piece. What is he doing in that whole writing? Another thing is what the writing is saying. And I asked about the saying. Yes?

Dan: So he's actually saying that Florida has made legislation, right?

Díaz: And what about that legislation?

Robert: It's part of a long battle in education about the hallowed ground of American history and how we present it.

Díaz: So why is this author starting here? What is this paragraph and quote doing? What is the purpose in this piece of writing?

Jesse: He's setting up a flow between an opening statement of an event that happened, and then the multiple things people talk about in the rest of the paper. So he's setting up the rest of his paper through starting with a quote from an actual event.

Díaz: So he's starting there. This is actually happening. But why is he starting here? As you mentioned, he's going to be talking about the rest. But he's actually trying to start with a very controversial issue. So here's the problem some people are fighting over. So he's grabbing the attention at the same time he's doing what you are saying, which is clearly this person is going to build up to what follows. So that's what I mean by what is he saying, what is he doing? Because when you write, you need to think the same way. After you have written, then I go back – I'm going to now check for the structure. So let's continue.

[Robert reads the next paragraph]

Díaz: Okay, so what is he saying and what is he doing? What are we learning from this paragraph?

Richard: Well, I realized he's very sarcastic. Like how he starts the words, "apparently, protecting the hallowed ground..." That entire sentence seems like he's trying to – it almost broadens his point. I don't know if that's exactly what he's trying to say. I'm a very sarcastic person so I read it that way. So for instance, late twentieth century immigration patterns had been perceived by some who considered themselves American natives because they were born in the country, even though their ancestors were European. I almost read that as he's, at least from my standpoint, he is not affirming that attitude. I just wanted to point that out because I don't know if I am right or if I'm just reading that wrong.

Díaz: I'm so glad that you are mentioning what you are mentioning. Another of the things that we need to understand is that the way in which all of us are going to be reading things can be different, and we're going to be discussing why that's going to be later on. So that's very important, see you said 'I'm sarcastic, so maybe I'm putting my sarcasm here.' That's a very important move. We're going to keep building on that. Yes?

Dan: A little bit going off of what Richard is saying. It seems he's taking what all of these states are doing in response to these statistics that he brought up and question why those decisions were made that weren't necessarily either the correct decision or a decision of that magnitude didn't need to be made in the first place.

Díaz: How did you know that? What sentence made you think about that?

Donna: The first sentence he starts off with, ‘Why all the fuss, a reasonable observer might ask, and to what end?’ And then he goes into explaining what he’s going to do after asking that question to justify what he believes is a way to answer that question.

Díaz: That’s a very important point. You have there a very important topic sentence. So we have the first part, telling you what it is, and then here he’s starting to tell us why. The different moves. And it’s very interesting that if you look carefully, he’s giving us numbers, statistics. What purposes does that play in a piece of writing? What strategy is that?

Bill: He’s trying to validate it.

Díaz: Yes. Could someone say this is wrong, when you’re using the numbers? Numbers usually convey something that is objective, which it’s not, but it gives you that sense. And VanSledright will compare those to different periods. So I wanted to show you a little bit how we are reading that. Topic sentences are important. And we could see how the topic sentence is saying one thing and then the person expands it in the rest of the paragraph. Usually also the last sentence becomes very important. Now the question is, is this the claim that the author wants to give us? Maybe it’s part of it. We would need to actually read more. I’m just going to give you some other hints as to how to get to that claim. And there are different ways of doing this. But something I do when I am reading something that is totally different from what I know is I read the beginning really well. What is this person saying and why is this person saying what they are saying? And then I go to the conclusion. That’s not the only thing I’m going to read. But after I’ve read that, I see what the patterns, the things that repeat themselves are. Then I go to the subtitles and try to see how this is mapped out in the piece of writing. Then I proceed to read, because that allows me to read more efficiently. But the painful part is that, yes, you need to read every sentence. You need to try to make sense of what you are reading. Now I would suggest that you actually make your notes, that you put a question mark next to things you do not understand, bring that to class next time because that’s going to give us fuel for our discussion. Each one of you should look at the reading like Richard did, and ask ‘This is the way I am reading it, am I correct?’ Bring that to class. That’s part of what seminar should be. Question the author. I invite you to keep paying attention to what the author is doing and saying in each paragraph. Take notes. My copy of this essay has my comments. This is extremely valuable. Do the same: make your readings really valuable to you, because you’re going to be using this for your papers.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁶ History Writing Seminar, transcript, January 13.

Appendix Q: Assessing El Cid

*In this excerpt from a session of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz had her prospective teachers diagnosis students' misconceptions in their poster depictions of the "Poem of the Cid."*⁴⁷⁷

Díaz: All of you have different posters, so I would like us to analyze this poster. Because then the next question that you have is based on the evidence produced by this assessment, how accurate are these students reading the historical source? What is this telling us of the way these students read El Cid? Who has poster number one? What did you find there? What observations did you draw on the way they depicted El Cid? And those observations can be based on things they included or did not include in how they depicted El Cid.

Edith: I think they paid a lot of attention to what he was wearing and the features of his build. They talked about his beard and it was a symbol of his age and wisdom and masculinity. And they talked about his weapons, talked about a symbol of his knighthood and about how to be a great leader like El Cid you not only need to give orders but to take orders from your loyal army.

Díaz: Look at that depiction. What things stand out?

Dan: I don't know if this was meant by how they draw, but just the size difference between his El Cid, his own army, and then the Moors at the bottom, just basically looking at him like this Goliath figure.

Díaz: So he's at the center. He's much bigger. But look at El Cid [flexes]. He is fit – he goes to the gym every day. Look at his muscles. Could we see the muscles of El Cid at that time? With all the armor they are wearing, can we see the muscles of these people? So I think that the observation that he's in the middle, and the quantity of his soldiers as compared to the Moors...what other things are going on with El Cid?

Brett: He's also got a purse on his belt.

Edith: It says that it's a symbol of economic power.

Díaz: So probably his spoils. And he has a banner, the sword, and what else?

Edith: His horse, talked about a symbol of nobility, leadership, and power as well.

⁴⁷⁷ W.S. Merwin, trans., *The Poem of the Cid* (London, UK: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1959), 40-56.

Díaz: Anything else from the picture?

Dan: You see that whoever drew this didn't arm the Moors. They're the only ones in the picture not armed. El Cid is armed, his army is armed, but the Moors don't have any weapons or armor.

Díaz: Okay, poster number two?

Jennifer: There's obviously a lot of reference to his religion. The horse looks pretty good, and they did a good job of drawing El Cid as well. He's not buff or anything but they have the beard and his skullcap and his bloody sword. There's also the castle in the background and there's the one person with the bread saying don't touch my bread – unless we fight no bread. So they're fighting for the bread. And it says here he has a great voice, so I'm assuming they're saying that he's powerful and everybody's going to listen to him. There's not much though about his army and it doesn't talk about the division of gold at all.

Díaz: So there are many more elements in this poster than the first one. What observations can you make in terms of the way they are depicting things here?

Donna: The colors that they used can help define more things. So the sword has red at the end of it and the horse has got a purple saddle on it.

Díaz: So there's blood.

Donna: There's blood and if he's got a fine horse, purple is seen as regal and so they make that connection for it being something of higher value based on the colors.

Díaz: Okay. What about Jesus? Where was Jesus mentioned in this poem? He wasn't. Not only that, what is next to Jesus on this poster? A money sign. [She draws a \$ on the board]. Wait, is this money or what is it? Because money could be drawn this way. [She draws a €]. Is there a problem?

Carolyn: Yes because there wasn't even currency except gold then.

Díaz: Thank you. So you need to start reading into these assessments. Where are dollars? Where is Jesus? Jesus was never mentioned. The poem talked about God. It talked about saints. But there was no Jesus. Okay, let us keep going on to the third poster because things get more interesting.

Harrison: We thought it was really neat that they jumped into El Cid's head. They said his thoughts and behaviors with his sense of entitlement and logic going into battle. But we didn't really agree with that because El Cid was always willing to give the things that he took and always willing to go back to take care of someone if need be. There's the logic going into battle but I'm not so sure of the sense of entitlement. Everyone behind him trusts him. And then what did you have to say Richard?

Richard: There's no mention of the enemy at all. And his representation is pretty bare bones too.

Díaz: So no one else but El Cid, and that is really important. Also the cross. Was there ever any mention that he was wearing a cross necklace?

Harrison: None.

Díaz: Okay. But the student did do something very good, which was using gold and silver instead of putting dollar signs. Any other observations? This one has more elements, but it's all centered on El Cid. It's like there was no context for El Cid in terms of the castle, the landscape, so on and so forth. Okay, let's move on to the fourth poster. This is a very interesting one. El Cid has attitude in this one.

Edward: Oh yeah, he's full of it. Overall the student did a really good job of identifying who El Cid is and what he's about. But again there were some problems we felt. I don't like how they said El Cid was a Christian and that Christianity led his army. I don't get how an army is led by Christianity. It's not like Jesus is the drummer boy in the background motivating them to go on. Also the cross necklace like in the last poster. One thing I really liked is how they defined wealth as gold and silver instead of putting dollar signs. They define wealth as gold and silver rather than a dollar. I like how they define who the Moors are up in the top right. Though they include the Quran, which the poem doesn't mention.

Díaz: Another aspect. And please notice was there any violence in this one?

Dan: It looked like a lot of this was random what the student perceived as facts – but there's the cross on El Cid too and the poster points to section thirty-six, line six, but that was the line that says 'The Moors call on Mohamet / and the Christians on St. James.'⁴⁷⁸ And it uses that reference for the cross, but that's not necessarily mentioned in the poem.

Díaz: Well done, yes. That is why references are so important. Why is the line saying one thing and you are drawing another? There was a filter there. You didn't go from the reading directly to the poster. You interposed yourself in the way you are interpreting that. Yes, now any other aspect?

Dan: One of the lines, the one right below the castle, it basically says the Christians wanted to attack and conquer the Moors to gain their resources and remove non-Christians from Spain. That's a straight up interpretation, and I'm not sure exactly where it came from. Everything else is kind of fact-based. Christians camped here. Horses were stolen. But that's the only one where they're making this bold conclusion. Where in there does it say that that was their motive?

Díaz: I think they may have taken that from the context I provided. But it's very interesting that observation that all of the things that they are giving in that poster are very factual. There are not things about values. There are not even other people represented.

⁴⁷⁸ W.S. Merwin, trans., *The Poem of the Cid* (London, UK: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1959), 40-56.

Edward: I felt that another interpretation was when they said that Christians had beards because they wanted to look ready for battle. Because they say they wore helmets and they wielded swords and had beards to look ready for battle.

Brett: The point of the causes and the idea of dollar signs, since they're trying to depict something they don't know how to depict in the medium that they're working in, they're trying to say religion is part of this, how do we draw that? The students use a cross.

Díaz: Okay, so what are they doing when they do that?

Brett: That's presentism.

Díaz: Yes! We're getting there.

Brett: But they don't have the knowledge about the medieval world to represent it properly.

Díaz: So if you do not have knowledge of medieval religion, then what could you have done? What would a historian have done?

Dan: Find another source.

Díaz: Find another source, but if this is the only one that you had?

Dan: Don't assume.

Díaz: Don't assume. But what would you use? The words that were used in the poem. So you could have used the quote about God. You could have used the way it is referred to in the poem. But no, they resorted to elements of the present to represent the past. And that's called presentism. So it is here where you started seeing how these people are reading. Please also note the issue with violence. Where is the violence here? Where is the blood? Where is the people cut in half? Okay, let's do poster number five.

Carolyn: So there's a cross again, which we just talked about. There was no mention of the cross in the poem. It was just about God and Christianity. Well, they didn't really say which Christianity but they had saints. You can kind of assume it is Catholicism. This one talks about money. I don't know if you can call it money necessarily; you might call it loot or plunder. But I think it's good that they made reference.

Díaz: But to the student's defense, at the end of the poem, the translation says money. But it needs to go back to the original language, because I'm pretty sure they should not have translated it as money.

Carolyn: But I think it's good that they made reference to exactly where they pulled it from which I think is the right way to do it. And whether it's completely accurate or not, I'm not sure. I didn't think the poster was really that bad besides the cross, the money, and there wasn't really any violence.

Harrison: I think it's interesting the differences in helmets and the different armors that are worn. Because in my poster it was a big plate, but the poem doesn't mention any plate armor. It's all mail. So that just could be the students representing things they know as armor from a movie or something else they've seen – not necessarily pulling out what they've read. And this helmet looks vaguely like a present helmet, like World War I.

Díaz: Yes. Next time I do this I'm going to tell them if you do not know how to represent something, do it directly from what it says in the poem. Because clearly they're interfering in between the source and what they are depicting.

Edward: I like how they point to his heart and his brain and do something none of the other posters did, which is point not only to his physical features but also –

Díaz: Values. Yes. So here if we were actually to start to quantify the elements in this poster, just like Wineburg did in his study, we could see how many of these pictured did only factual type of evidence. How many included some type of values in it? And then how many instances of values? So that would be one way in which we could quantify and evaluate the way they are doing this.

Dan: In all of these posters, I keep seeing knights with horses. The Christians had horses. In the poem, I keep reading, there's no mention that the Moors did not have horses. It said that their horses were better. But the posters keep painting them as straight infantry. And there's no evidence for that. How do you think the conquest of Spain happened in a pretty short span if they didn't have horses?

Díaz: Yes! And again, where's the violence? Where are the Moors? They disappear. Okay, the last poster, number six.

Robert: So there's a dead person right next to El Cid, kind of mangled.

Díaz: So they did include violence in this poster. And there are many people.

Robert: But then rather than a medieval sword El Cid's got a rapier. Which is very strange. The student represented his money as tributes.

Díaz: Which is correct.

Robert: And then they had King Alfonso up in the top left with the crown. And they did the castle, the serving women, the Moors, and his army. As well as the people El Cid had conquered and who were giving him tribute.

Díaz: So you can see there are many more elements in this poster. What other elements?

Edward: How El Cid wants to get back in Alfonso's good graces.

Díaz: Yes, not many people remembered Alfonso. So compared to the other posters you can see that this one had many more elements included, including the Moors and including violence in it. We have gone over these elements. And I would like you to connect what we have observed in these posters with your table on historical thinking that you produced. What challenges are students having when they have to read historically?⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁹ History Writing Seminar, February 17.

Appendix R: Critiquing a Textbook

In this excerpt from a session of the History Writing Seminar, Dr. Díaz had her prospective teachers critique a textbook's depiction of the U.S.-Mexican War after having completed their own research on the topic.⁴⁸⁰

Díaz: What is the narrative about the boundary in this chapter? What is it arguing? One of the issues you could look at is once you read this chapter, what is the flavor that it leaves on the reader as to the U.S.-Mexican War? You can relate that actually to what we read in this course. Does the textbook say the Mexicans invaded first or the U.S. invaded first?

Donna: It's more taking the side of the Americans and saying that Mexico was wrong. It discusses the rivers and then it goes on to talk about how Mexico owes the U.S. money. So I think that puts the reader in the standpoint that Mexico is wrong. They already owed us money and now they're doing this with our land.

Díaz: So it's qualified. In the way it's narrated, it takes away the intricacies of this event [the disagreement over the river boundaries and the first shots leading to the U.S.-Mexican War], which is a major issue about the war. The complexities of it. That is something to think about.

Sean: In the section there where it lists key terms and key people, the textbook doesn't list any Mexican leaders. It's all people from Texas that are Americans and white, not any other different perspectives. It's all John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, Stephen Kearny, Winfield Scott. And then it just talks about Mexican Cession and the treaty.

Díaz: So what idea can be claimed from this?

Donna: They don't really matter.

Díaz: Yes, that Mexicans are not worthy historical actors, I guess... There's this idea of creating the other, an emphasis on what you are not, based on the Mexicans. So I know who I am because I'm not Mexican. So when they talk about Mexicans, it's about this other that has a bag of bad things. And we could see how in some ways the textbook is actually reaffirming that vision. What else?

⁴⁸⁰ Edward L. Ayers et al., *American Anthem* (Orlando, FL: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 2007), 308-311.

Donna: It ties in with the Texas creation myth – earlier in the first section they talk about Texas as just an area that America was starting to colonize. They make it seem completely empty, no one was there. They mention that by 1800 Spain had only three settlements.

Díaz: So you could see how the textbook is looking at history. They are doing a very nationalistic type of history that is easy to understand, with very few characters. It's very much a simplified version of a very complex event. We see that the land is empty, that the majority of the people who inhabited those lands do not form part of that history. Any other observations?

Bill: In the beginning of the text it said the Spanish were asking for America's help to colonize Texas. So it's setting up where American would have an interest in that territory.

Díaz: So you can imagine here how selective the textbook is with its portray of the war with Mexico. Because for someone who is reading that, what are the conclusions that the textbook is saying? Well, Mexico looked for this war. Look at this – they are even asking for Americans to inhabit the land. Look at this, they do not even care about this land. It was empty. So there are all sorts of clues here and there that are part of the U.S. narrative that becomes like common sense for people. It's an easier way to understand this war. The problem is when you get into the complexities of it. But the question then is what do we do? What benefit would our students receive from a history like that? In terms of their education? In terms of their thinking levels? That is something we are going to be talking about more later in this course. Something Wineburg tells us is that it is easier to memorize and regurgitate facts and see things in black and white. It is harder to actually analyze stuff, to use evidence to build your own conclusions, to see things from different perspectives. That is an unnatural act. But in terms of your cognition, it actually leads to higher intelligence. So keeping by keeping our students in this type of textbook narrative, we're not doing much to actually prepare future citizens that would actually question the evidence and come to their own conclusions. There is something about the humanities in that sense of helping you to think, to analyze, and then put that down on paper or be able to explain that to someone else. So where we are going in part of this is that if we are going to follow this textbook narrative, we are not doing any good to our children in terms of not actually showing them or taking them to higher forms of thought.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ History Writing Seminar, transcript, April 6.

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