

Building Coherence in World History: A Study of Instructional Tools and Teachers'
Pedagogical Content Knowledge

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
2008

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Dedication

To my parents, Bob and Shannon, and to my husband Daren

Acknowledgements

I have many things to be thankful for and many people to thank. Colleagues, mentors, friends, and family have all contributed to this dissertation in different ways, but, of course, any faults or shortcomings found in the following pages are mine alone.

I am grateful to the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School and the School of Education for financial support over the last five years. Since coming to the School of Education, I have had the opportunity to teach several courses and participate in interesting research projects, including working with world history teachers around the state of Michigan. I am thankful for this experience as it has allowed me to stay connected to what I care about deeply: helping teachers provide the best possible instruction for their students. I extend my thanks to the School of Education and the Rackham Graduate School for granting me fellowships for student-initiated research to conduct my interviews with teachers. In addition I received financial support for my final semester, allowing me to work full-time on my dissertation.

Before coming to the University of Michigan, I spent five wonderful years teaching world history at Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia. The collegial atmosphere and level of dedication to students and to teaching at Wakefield are second to none. The opportunities I received at the school, county, and state to work with other teachers and administrators to improve world history instruction inspired me to pursue my doctoral research, and for that I am grateful.

My work at the University of Michigan has been enhanced by the support of the terrific faculty and colleagues. I cannot say enough about the importance of the friendships I have made with fellow graduate students. Hala Ghouseini, Sarah Tucker, Karen Corvino, Beth Sanders, and Dana Gosen provided moral support and diversions over the past five years with lunches out, tennis games, and pot-luck dinners. Thanks to Melissa Stull and Brian Girard for great conversations about teaching and learning history, and allowing me to bounce ideas off of them. A special thanks to Anne-Lise Halvorsen for her friendship and for guiding me through the twists and turns of this doctoral program. Her advice and support over the years is unparalleled and I am deeply grateful that I have had the opportunity to work with and learn from her. Finally, I'm not sure I could have come so far without the friendship and collegial support of Tamara Shreiner and Heidi Matiyow. We started the program together and it has been my great pleasure to spend time with them in and out of the university setting. Together they read every word of this dissertation and provided unwavering support throughout this journey.

I would like to thank my committee members; I can truly say that our meetings, either individually or as a group, have challenged me to think more deeply about world history education. Jeff Mirel has been a terrific source of intellectual support over the years. Annemarie Palincsar gave me important suggestions about qualitative methodology and helped me to sharpen the focus of my dissertation. Douglas Northrop provided an important perspective from someone who teaches and writes about the history of the world.

It has been my great pleasure and honor to have been an advisee of Bob Bain for the past five years. Bob has been a true source of inspiration and has had a profound

influence on my growth as a teacher and a scholar. I am grateful for his high expectations and the support to reach them, and I look forward to our continued work together.

Although not on my committee, I would also like to thank Ross Dunn and David Christian – world history scholars who have provided me with important feedback on my work and professional opportunities in world history education.

I feel very blessed to come from a family of teachers. My cousin Julie McArthur has been an unofficial mentor, Michigan family representative, and provided important feedback on the final drafts of this work. As a college professor and elementary art teacher, my parents – Robert McArthur and Shannon White – are exceptional role models and have been incredibly supportive of this work and my life in general. They have provided advice and feedback throughout my teaching and scholarly endeavors, and for that I am truly grateful.

Last, I do not have the words to fully express my gratitude to my newest family member – my husband Daren Harris. I was lucky to have met Daren in my first year at the University of Michigan, and he has been more supportive than I could ever imagine a partner to be. As a design engineer, Daren probably never thought he'd have to think so much about world history education, but he did so with seriousness and enthusiasm. He served as a sounding board for every conference presentation on this work and a “guinea pig” for the card-sorting interview. He brought me cups of tea during long hours at the computer and made me laugh every chance he could. Daren, thank you for everything, and I look forward to our future adventures together.

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List of Abbreviations

AFT	American Federation of Teachers
AHA	American Historical Association
AP	Advanced Placement
CBE	Council for Basic Education
CEs	Content Expectations (Michigan)
CRSE	Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education
MDE	Michigan Department of Education
MEAP	Michigan Educational Assessment Program
NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NCEST	National Council on Education Standards and Testing
NCHS	National Center for History in the Schools
NCLB	No Child Left Behind Act
NCSS	National Council for the Social Studies
NEA	National Education Association
NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities
PCK	Pedagogical Content Knowledge
SOLs	Standards of Learning (Virginia)
VDOE	Virginia Department of Education
WHA	World History Association
WHFUA	World History for US All

Abstract

As more states require world history for students, there has been an increase in world history course work for *teachers*. Despite these demands, there has been little examination of world history teachers' knowledge, or what might provide coherence in teaching this vast subject. This gap in the scholarship is compounded by confusion in the field and school subject. Few teachers who teach world history have formal training in the subject; state and national standards vary drastically in content and usefulness; and world historians do not always agree upon the structure and scope of their field. Where, then, can teachers turn to reconcile this confusion when the very places where they might look to build coherence – standards and the field – are themselves in a state of disarray?

This dissertation takes up this question by studying instructional tools, the field of world history, and teachers' understandings about world history. My central purpose is to understand: *How can we develop coherence in world history from so much time, space, and events?* To address this question I engaged in three connected studies: a content analysis of the *Journal of World History*; an analysis of standards for world history; and card-sorting interviews with novice and experienced world history teachers.

A central finding in this dissertation rests with conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians. Explicitly and implicitly, world historians argue for and use multiple but nested units of analysis (comparison, case studies, interregional and global patterns), and different temporal and spatial schemes. In my analysis of standards I found

that, although the documents utilized some of these devices, they did not make the *process* of engaging in world historical thinking apparent.

I also found differences in how experienced and novice teachers used conceptual devices to build meaningful connections between events, construct coherent historical narratives, and relate world historical content to student understandings. By uncovering devices that make world history coherent for historians and describing how teachers thought about applying those features to their pedagogy, this dissertation has implications for teacher educators in using those features for designing instructional tools and preparing teachers.

Chapter One

World History Education: An Unacknowledged Problem

High stakes testing has captured much of the public and professional attention in education today, making it seem as if accountability is *the* critical step in improving the quality of education and increasing academic achievement of all students.¹ However, hidden among the testing battles is a deep concern with the quality of teaching, the preparation of teachers, and the structure of teacher education. Though testing has become emblematic of the federal imposition on states, schools, teachers and students, the No Child Left Behind legislation also mandates that only “highly qualified” teachers teach in America’s public schools. This recognition that tests alone will not improve education has focused legislative attention on teachers’ knowledge, understanding, and preparation.² The vehicle, then, for improving learning is improving teaching, and by implication, improving the preparation of our teaching force. Beyond such sensible but grand goals, what does it mean to be a highly qualified teacher?

Certainly, if we are going to improve education for all children teachers must have rich knowledge of the *content* they teach and a robust understanding of ways to help their students learn. Politicians, the public, and educators seem to agree that teacher content knowledge is a feature critical in making teachers highly qualified and highly skilled. However, there is little consensus over what constitutes the knowledge necessary

¹ Patricia Albjerg Graham, *Schooling America: How the Public Schools Meet the Nation's Changing Needs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, "Pub. L. No. 107-110 (H.R.I), 115 Stat. 1452" (2002).

² No Child Left Behind Act.

for teaching, where teachers acquire it, how they use it, and its relationship to student learning. This dissertation takes up these issues of teachers' knowledge and understanding as they pertain to the teaching of world history in our middle and high schools, and ultimately the preparation of teachers of world history.

Why focus on world history teachers' knowledge and thinking? World history is the fastest growing subject in the social studies, if not the school curriculum.¹ Since *Goals 2000* included world history in 1994, more than two-thirds of the states require world history for high school graduation.² The recent National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) transcript survey reported that seventy-seven percent of American students had taken at least one secondary world history class by the time they graduated in 2005 – an increase from sixty percent in 1990.³ In 2002, the College Board created the first Advanced Placement World History course and it is now among its most popular offerings with over 100,000 students taking the exam in 2007– marking an increase of 15,000 students from 2006.⁴ In 2012, National Assessment Governing Board will offer its first World History NAEP. In short, the federal government, states, local school districts, and students are making world history almost co-equal to U.S. history in popularity.

However, with this enormous growth in the numbers of students taking world history courses and the recognition of its importance in the curriculum has come

¹ Sean Cavanagh, "World History and Geography Gain Traction in Class," *Education Week* (2007), www.edweek.org.

² Robert B. Bain and Tamara L. Shreiner, "Issues and Options in Creating a National Assessment in World History," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005).

³ Ibid. Cavanagh, "World History and Geography Gain Traction in Class."

⁴ College Board, "Advanced Placement World History," http://www.collegeboard.com/student/testing/ap/history_world/dist.html?worldhist.

confusion. First, there is confusion over the contours of the world history course.⁵ There has been and continues to be controversy over the *National Standards for World History*,⁶ while state standards for world history vary drastically, and textbooks using the “world history” title differ widely in their approach to the subject.⁷ Additionally, world historians themselves continually engage in debates over the structure and scope of their field – a field which, on the surface, may not offer clear guidance. Second, few teachers who teach world history have formal training in the subject, leading to more out-of-field teaching. There is a lack of world history courses in colleges and universities that certify teachers.⁸ Professional development aimed specifically at world history teachers is sparse. Unlike with “traditional U.S. history” and programs such as the Teaching American History grants, there is no federal program to raise teachers’ knowledge of world history.⁹ Third, extant scholarship on teacher thinking might not offer extensive help for history teacher educators and history teachers. The research on teachers’ knowledge of their content is modest and uneven, as some content areas (i.e., math and reading) hold most of the quality work and others, such as history, have few valuable

⁵ Bain and Shreiner, "Issues and Options"; Ross E. Dunn, "Constructing World History in the Classroom," in *Knowing, Learning & Teaching History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Walter Russell Mead, *The State of State World History Standards* (Washington D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 2006).

⁶ For example in 2004, the Department of Education destroyed 30,000 pamphlets designed to aid parents in helping their children learn history because they mentioned the *National Standards for U.S. and World History*. See Ricardo Alonso-Zaldivar and Jean Merl, "Booklet That Upset Mrs. Cheney Is History," *The Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 2004.

⁷ Bain and Shreiner, "Issues and Options"; Mead, *The State of State World History Standards*.

⁸ Diane Ravitch, "The Educational Backgrounds of History Teachers," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Peter N. Stearns, "World History: Curriculum and Controversy," *World History Connected* 3, no. 3 (2006), <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuc.edu/3.3/stearns.html>.

⁹ In the last five years, the federal government has distributed almost three quarters of a billion dollars through Teaching American History grants to professional development programs that focus on improving teachers’ knowledge of “traditional U.S. history.” See U.S. Department of Education, "Teaching American History," <http://www.ed.gov/programs/teachinghistory/index.html>.

studies.¹⁰ Moreover, almost all of the work on teacher knowledge in history has focused on teachers of U.S. history or other national histories and almost none has looked carefully at the teaching of world history.¹¹

Where, then, can teachers and teacher educators turn to reconcile this confusion when most are poorly trained in world history and the very places where they might look to build coherence – standards, textbooks and the field – are themselves in a state of disarray? This dissertation takes up this question by studying the field of world history, world history content standards, and teachers’ understandings about world history and world history instruction. My central purpose is to understand: *How can we develop coherence in world history and world history instruction from so much time, space, events, cultures, and people?* Three sub-questions shape this study:

1. What is pedagogical content knowledge for world history teachers?
2. What tools might help teachers develop coherent world history instruction?
3. How do world history teachers think about world history and organize it for instruction?

In focusing on world history teachers and the type of thinking needed to create coherent, accessible instruction for their students, this study seeks to bring to the surface important issues for historians and history teacher educators and thus help improve the quality of pre- and in-service teacher education for world history teachers. I use the word “coherent” to describe knowledge that is organized with meaningful connections between

¹⁰ Robert Floden and Marco Meniketti, "Research on the Effects of Coursework in the Arts and Sciences and in the Foundations of Education," in *Studying Teacher Education: The Report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education*, ed. Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Kenneth M. Zeichner (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006).

¹¹ For an example of a study of U.S. history teachers see 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). For an example of a study of teachers of Canadian history, see Peter Seixas, "Student Teachers Thinking Historically," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 3 (1998).

related parts.¹² This dissertation argues that, like all teaching, world history teaching demands complex understanding of content, learners, and learning. However, it contends that world history teachers face a difficult set of intellectual demands in developing coherent instruction because they teach a history encompassing wide ranges of time and space. This, therefore, presents a unique, and I argue, rarely acknowledged set of challenges for world history teachers and teacher educators.

To address these research questions and build the argument, this dissertation draws on and integrates theoretical and research traditions that see teaching as a complex thinking practice that uses knowledge of the structure of the discipline and psychological/socio-cultural tools. I discuss each of these areas below.

Structure of Disciplines

As I will argue in this work, despite, or perhaps because of, the rapid growth of world history education over the last twenty years, national organizations, states, and schools differ widely on how they represent the history of the world in standards, curriculum, and pedagogy. In short, there is little agreement over what constitutes the structure, content, and nature of world history in American schools. One way scholars have suggested to manage history education's complexity is to look to the discipline to determine the knowledge and structure historians use to organize their work.¹³ History

¹² I developed this definition, in part, by examining how John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking describe experts in a specific domain as "possess[ing] an efficient organization of knowledge with meaningful relations among related elements clustered into related units that are governed by underlying concepts and principles." See John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking, eds., *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*, Expanded Edition. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), 38.

¹³ See Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Robert Bain and Jeffrey Mirel, "Re-Enacting the Past: Using R.G. Collingwood at the Secondary Level," *The History Teacher* 15, no. 3 (1982); Suzanne M. Wilson, "Research on History Teaching," in *Handbook of Research on Teaching*,

education research draws upon a forty-year tradition where reformers have argued that the systematic ways of knowing the world, that is the underlying structure of the disciplines, should inform the curricular and pedagogic organization that schools, teachers and students use.¹⁴ For example, Howard Gardner described the “disciplined mind” as one of the “five kinds of minds people will need if they – if we – are to thrive in the world during the eras to come.”¹⁵

This line of research argues that instruction should reflect the underlying structure of the disciplines, and educators must work to make that structure visible to students. Education, according to Jerome S. Bruner, should promote an understanding of the fundamental concepts and principles of subjects so that students can use them in thinking about the world. Such understanding is necessary for students to take part in the process of acquiring knowledge, because “grasping the structure of a subject is understanding it in a way that permits many other things to be related to it meaningfully. To learn structure, in short, is to learn how things are related.”¹⁶ Thus, learning the structure of a discipline, Bruner argued, is necessary for students studying that discipline.

While agreeing with Bruner, Paul Hirst identified characteristics that make knowledge distinctive, yielding different knowledge “forms.” Each form of knowledge, Hirst wrote, is essentially “experience becoming structured round the use of accepted

ed. Virginia Richardson (Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 2001). Samuel S. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

¹⁴ Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Paul Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowing," in *Knowledge and the Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974); Joseph J. Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978); Jerome S. Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

¹⁵ Howard Gardner, *Five Minds for the Future* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2006), 1.

¹⁶ Bruner, *The Process of Education*, 7.

public symbols.”¹⁷ According to Hirst, four defining characteristics make different forms of knowledge distinctive: (1) certain central concepts that are unique to that form of knowing; (2) logical relationships between the concepts that allow experiences to be understood; (3) expressions that are “testable against experience in accordance with particular criteria that are peculiar to the form”; and (4) particular techniques and skills for inquiry.¹⁸

Similarly, Joseph J. Schwab defined the characteristics of knowledge as *substantive* structures, the central concepts of a discipline and the relationships between those concepts, and *syntactic* structures, the distinctive methods of warranting criteria and the techniques of inquiry. He wrote that we can approach disciplines syntactically, by analyzing the logical organization of the discipline, and substantively, by studying the conceptual devices used to define and bound the subject.¹⁹

While there is variation in the language Bruner, Hirst and Schwab used in describing forms of knowledge and their curricular echoes, all agreed that failing to achieve clarity in the structure of the discipline limits the possibility of instruction being more than simple knowledge acquisition. To teach for understanding and to help learners produce – rather than simply consume knowledge – requires attention to the distinctive structural features of the discipline, and the relationships between those features. These structural features include the conceptual devices – or tools – scholars use to organize their discipline.²⁰ Schwab referred to conceptual devices as substantive knowledge used

¹⁷ Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowing," 44.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education*, 246.

²⁰ Alex Kozulin, *Psychological Tools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

for “defining, bounding, and analyzing the subject matters [scholars] investigate.”²¹

Teaching a discipline involves more than recognizing the ways scholars use conceptual devices in their fields, but requires teachers to “psychologize” the subject matter of the discipline by restoring it “to the experience from which it has been abstracted.”²² The conceptual devices of the discipline, therefore, may serve to build coherence, but only if teachers can translate or transform them for instructional purposes – an added complexity.

Although scholars have studied the disciplines of mathematics, science and history for pedagogical purposes, there have been few studies that look specifically at teaching world history, aside from general discussions of college and high school courses.²³ This dissertation will argue that world history has distinct structural characteristics within the discipline of history that differentiates it from national histories such as U.S. history or regional histories such as Western civilization. However, the distinct features are not immediately visible because debates within the field about the field are numerous and contentious. A closer examination of the debates and the field of world history, though, may reveal a common set of conceptual devices that world

²¹ Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education*, 246.

²² John Dewey, "The Child and the Curriculum," in *Dewey on Education: Selections*, ed. Martin S. Dworkin (New York: Teachers College Press, 1902/1959), 104.

²³ For examples of discussions on world history college courses, see Ross E. Dunn, *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000); Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). There have also been a few studies of student's historical understandings in world history classes. See for example Robert B. Bain, "Rounding up Unusual Suspects: Facing Authority Hidden in the Social Studies Classroom," *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 10 (2006), <http://www.tcrecord.org>; Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Peter Seixas, "Mapping the Terrain of Historical Significance," *Social Education* 61, no. 1 (1997); 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, Seixas Peter, and Wineburg Sam (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

historians use to structure their work, which, in turn, may inform pedagogy. This dissertation undertakes such an examination.

Psychological and Socio-Cultural Tools

The structure of the discipline is important pedagogically, in part, because it provides cognitive supports for teaching. Cognition and cognitive science are central paths into understanding the impact of disciplinary knowledge on instruction.²⁴ Central to this understanding is L.S. Vygotsky's idea of the role of "tools," which some people refer to as psychological or cognitive tools.²⁵ Vygotsky used the term tools to refer not only to physical objects humans use to pursue a goal, but also the use of psychological processes:

The invention and use of signs as auxiliary means of solving a given psychological problem (to remember, compare something, report, choose, and so on) is analogous to the invention and use of tools in one psychological respect. The sign acts as an instrument of psychological activity in a manner analogous to the role of a tool in labor.²⁶

Alex Kozulin described psychological tools as one of the "cornerstones" of Vygotsky's psychological theory. Kozulin defined psychological tools as:

Those symbolic artifacts – signs, symbols, texts, formulae, graphic-symbolic devices – that help individuals master their own 'natural' psychological functions of perception, memory, attention, and so on.²⁷

²⁴ See Bain, "Into the Breach"; Shirley J. Magnusson and Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar, "Teaching to Promote the Development of Scientific Knowledge and Reasoning About Light at the Elementary School Level," in *How Students Learn History, Mathematics, and Science in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2005); Samuel S. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, Critical Perspectives on the Past. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

²⁵ See James V. Wertsch, *Vygotsky and the Social Formation of the Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); L.S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

²⁶ Vygotsky, *Mind in Society*, 52.

²⁷ Kozulin, *Psychological Tools*, 1.

Sophisticated psychological tools, Kozulin argued, “function as a part of the conceptual apparatus of a given disciplinary field both in the sciences and the humanities.”²⁸

Identifying the cognitive tools of a discipline, then, may inform how teachers can help learners to take up the knowledge of that field. In addition, because of the socially constructed nature of psychological tools,²⁹ examining the social space in which the tools of a discipline are established would allow for a better understanding of the discipline.

In this dissertation I argue that world history has a more expansive set of psychological tools – different from those in typical national histories – that can inform pedagogy. However, no published study has looked specifically to the field of world history to identify socially constructed psychological tools. Therefore, turning to the work of world historians to examine the structure of the field of world history may provide tools – cognitive devices – that can support teachers in building coherence in world history instruction.

Teaching as a Complex Thinking Practice

This dissertation sees teaching in general and history teaching in particular as a complex thinking practice, requiring teachers to frame and solve problems in action.³⁰ In the last thirty years, research on teacher thinking has moved from general studies in teacher planning and instruction and its connection to teacher education and student achievement³¹ to an emphasis on domain-specific studies of teacher thinking and

²⁸ Ibid., 99.

²⁹ A. Sullivan Palincsar, "Social Constructivist Perspectives on Teaching and Learning," *Annual Review of Psychology* 49 (1998); Wertsch, *Vygotsky and the Social Formation of the Mind*.

³⁰ See Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (United States of America: Basic Books, 1983).

³¹ See Christopher M. Clark and Robert J. Yinger, "Teacher Planning," in *Exploring Teachers' Thinking* (London: Cassell Educational Limited, 1987); Penelope L. Peterson, Ronald W. Marx, and Christopher M. Clark, "Teacher Planning, Teacher Behavior, and Student Achievement," *American Educational Research*

planning in subjects such as math, science and history.³² This shift coincided with education researchers taking up the work of Bruner and Schwab on the value of domain-specific knowledge.³³ Since the publication of seminal research on knowledge needed for the classroom in the mid 1980s, researchers have continually stressed the importance of teachers' knowledge of a particular content area *and* its respective pedagogy.³⁴ Lee S. Shulman referred to this specialized knowledge as pedagogical content knowledge (PCK):

Pedagogical content knowledge is of special interest because it identifies the distinctive bodies of knowledge for teaching. It represents the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instruction.³⁵

This type of knowledge, Shulman contended, is unique to teaching and involves a deep understanding of the subject and knowledge of how to represent the subject in a way that will lead to increased student understanding.³⁶

Some researchers report that this interaction between the content, pedagogy, and the student make teaching a complex enterprise like no other:

Journal 15, no. 3 (1978), Robert J. Yinger, "A Study of Teacher Planning," *The Elementary School Journal* 80, no. 3 (1980).

³² See Hilda Borko and Carol Livingston, "Cognition and Improvisation: Differences in Mathematics Instruction by Expert and Novice Teachers," *American Educational Research Journal* 26, no. 4 (1989); Magdalene Lampert, *Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching* (New London, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Wilson and Wineburg, "Peering at History through Different Lenses"; Carla Zembal-Saul, Phyllis Blumenfeld, and Joseph Krajcik, "Influence of Guided Cycles of Planning, Teaching and Reflection on Prospective Elementary Teachers' Science Content Representations," *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 37, no. 4 (2000).

³³ Reed Stevens et al., "Comparative Understanding of School Subjects: Past, Present, and Future," *Review of Educational Research* 75, no. 2 (2005).

³⁴ See Gaea Leinhardt and James G. Greeno, "The Cognitive Skill of Teaching," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 78, no. 2 (1986); Lee S. Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (1986).

³⁵ Lee S. Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (1987).

³⁶ Stevens et al., "Comparative Understanding of School Subjects."

The task of teaching occurs in a relatively ill-structured, dynamic environment. Goals and problem-solving operators are not specified defined, the task environment changes in a way that is not always under the control of the teacher's actions, and information appears during the performance that is needed for successful completion of that performance.³⁷

Teaching also includes the relationship of the content to the teacher and the student.

Magdalene Lampert argued that the “work of teaching is done in simultaneous relationships with students, with content, and with the student-content connection, while students do the complementary work of making a relationship with the content to learn it” and that it is “this complex relationship that we must understand.”³⁸

Despite a few rich studies, however, research on how teachers develop this complex cognitive skill is relatively new and still modest.³⁹ Particularly in history teaching, there has been little research on how teachers use content standards and curriculum materials – documents that could seemingly bridge the gap between content and pedagogy.

This is important because “any curriculum...is mediated by a teacher's understanding of the subject domain.”⁴⁰ Many researchers agree that teachers' deep understanding of the subject domain is vital to effective teaching and learning:

Expert teachers know the structure of the disciplines and this provides them with cognitive roadmaps that guide the assignments they give students, the assessments they use to gauge student progress, and the questions they ask in the give and take of classroom life.”⁴¹

Knowing the structure of the discipline, then, guides teachers in helping their students begin to see the subject content as a coherent whole rather than as discrete parts. How

³⁷ Leinhardt and Greeno, "The Cognitive Skill of Teaching," 75. See also Borko and Livingston, "Cognition and Improvisation"; Lampert, *Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching*.

³⁸ Lampert, *Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching*, 2.

³⁹ Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, eds., *How People Learn*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xviii.

effective teachers *use* their knowledge in different subject areas and *what* knowledge is needed, however, is not always as clear.⁴²

There has been some research of teachers' knowledge of the discipline of history and how they bring that knowledge into the classroom. Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg's study of four novice U.S. history teachers from different academic backgrounds found that the two teachers with less academic work in history (political science and anthropology majors) misrepresented the content at times and were naïve in their understandings of the discipline of history. The authors also found that the teachers' knowledge of the subject "was as much a matter of their beliefs as it was an accumulation of facts and interpretations."⁴³

Knowledge of the facts, interpretations, and structure of history is important in how teachers monitor their students' understandings. In a case study of his classroom, Robert B. Bain used the tools of the discipline of history to engage his students in "disciplined inquiry" of the textbook and teacher lecture (typical classroom "authorities").⁴⁴ By developing "peer status" with the text and the teacher, students in Bain's classroom were able to critique evidentiary claims that the two sources made of historical events. In doing so, students were able to expand their understandings of historical representations: "To talk differently *to* the sources of classroom authority, students must not only appropriate the tools of the discipline, but also disturb their conventional interactions with classroom authority."⁴⁵ To give students the opportunity

⁴² Floden and Meniketti, "Research on the Effects of Coursework in the Arts and Sciences and in the Foundations of Education."

⁴³ Wilson and Wineburg, "Peering at History through Different Lenses."

⁴⁴ Bain, "Rounding up Unusual Suspects: Facing Authority Hidden in the Social Studies Classroom."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 2086. Emphasis in the original.

to appropriate the tools of a discipline, Bain argued, the teachers themselves must have a deep understanding of that discipline.⁴⁶

The complexity that all teachers face in bringing content into the classroom may be compounded in world history with teachers drawing from a loosely defined field of study. Thus far, little research has looked specifically at the thinking of teachers about world history and world history instruction. This dissertation will argue that world history has its own complex thinking pattern that is different from that of national histories such as U.S. history, or regional histories such as Western civilization. To support this argument, this dissertation examines the scholarly and pedagogical fields of world history. By examining the field of world history as well as curricular materials and the thinking of teachers, this study hopes to uncover patterns in world history teachers' thinking and planning for instruction. Research on teaching over the last twenty years has found that because teaching is a purposeful, reflective activity, an important way to investigate this thoughtful behavior is to look directly at teacher planning.⁴⁷

Planning is a major determinate to what is taught in schools.⁴⁸ In a study of teachers' conceptions of history, Ronald W. Evans wrote, "How teachers conceptualize

⁴⁶ Other studies of history teachers' disciplinary knowledge include Elizabeth A. Yeager and O.L. Davis study of prospective social studies teachers reading historical texts. See "Between Campus and Classroom: Secondary Student Teachers' Thinking About Historical Texts," *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 18 (1995). G. Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen studied prospective teachers in a history methods course and historiography seminar and found that even though their ideas about history changed by the end of the courses, their ideas about *teaching* history did not. See "A Catwalk across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000). Gaia Leinhardt studied practicing teachers use of explanations in history teaching in "Instructional Explanations in History," *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 63 (1997). See also Seixas, "Student Teachers Thinking Historically"; Wilson, "Research on History Teaching."

⁴⁷ Yinger, "A Study of Teacher Planning."

⁴⁸ Christopher Clark and Magdalene Lampert, "The Study of Teacher Thinking: Implications for Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 27, no. 5 (1986); Ronald W. Evans, "Educational Ideologies," in

history, how their conceptualizations are transformed into classroom activity, and how those activities affect students should...be a central concern for social studies researchers.”⁴⁹ Yet, planning and instructional decisions are hard to capture, as teachers do not always produce visible plans for instruction or make explicit the knowledge and beliefs behind those decisions. Part of this dissertation, then, seeks to make the invisible visible by exploring teachers’ thinking about world history and organizing for world history instruction. This dissertation will also analyze common instructional tools – content standards – to determine if they provide a coherent structure for teachers. In addition, I will argue that the work of world historians – that is, the field of world history – may be able to provide coherent pedagogical support for planning for world history instruction.

The research questions for this dissertation, while related and interconnected, entail different modes of inquiry that I have linked to three sections of my dissertation: (1) examining the conceptual tools used by world historians in a scholarly journal; (2) analyzing content standards for world history teachers; and (3) describing teachers’ thinking about world history and organizing it for instruction. The remaining seven chapters address these sections.

Chapter Two sets the historical context for this dissertation. I begin by reviewing the direction and some of the major debates in the scholarly and pedagogical field before the convening of the national history standards committee in 1992 – an act that gave world history co-equal status with U.S. history at the federal level. Although the school subject of world history has reached unprecedented popularity recently, students have

Teaching and Learning in History, ed. Gaea Leinhardt, Isabel L. Beck, and Catherine Stainton (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1994).

⁴⁹ Evans, "Educational Ideologies," 174.

studied the history of the world outside of the United States at least since the beginning of the public school system in the U.S. Like the scholarly field, the school subject of world history has suffered debates and competing visions throughout the twentieth century. Thus, examining the history of both the school subject and scholarly field is crucial to understanding the status of world history today.

Chapter Two continues with the announcement by the federal government in 1991 to create voluntary national standards for world history – a document that politicians and educators believed would guide states and teachers in creating coherent world history courses.⁵⁰ Giving world history co-equal status with U.S. history immediately provided the subject national legitimacy. However, developing national world history standards in the midst of the competing views of world history presented more challenges than originally anticipated.⁵¹ To investigate these issues and challenges, I explore the historical and political contexts surrounding creation of national and state standards documents. The political controversy over the world history standards and the subsequent variation in state standards, however, may have impeded the goal of coherence in world history.

In Chapter Three, I turn to the field of world history to ask, *Is there an organizing scheme or conceptual devices that might help to make the school subject more coherent?* Following in the tradition of scholars such as Bruner, Hirst, and Schwab, who look to the disciplines to inform pedagogy, I conduct a content analysis on a collection of writings by world historians. Here I am interested not in the field for its own sake but rather to see

⁵⁰ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994).

⁵¹ Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000).

if teachers and teacher educators might find useful pedagogical devices in the ways that historians represent world history.

In my analysis, I identify key debates and a set of conceptual devices that, I argue, define and unify the field of world history. Explicitly and implicitly, world historians argue for and use multiple but connected units of analysis (e.g., comparison, case studies), and different temporal and spatial schemes (e.g., utilizing varying periodization schemes, moving up and down spatial scales from the local to the regional to the global), and link even the most local case study to larger interregional or global patterns. While others have treated these multiple schemes and debates surrounding them as divisive and harmful to the field, I argue that these competing views of time, space and units of study constitute the structure and salient features of world history, giving it its intellectual coherence.

However, uncovering these features suggests the cognitive challenges learners face in understanding world history. To make sense of world history, learners must move from the history of one region to that of another; shift among different periodization schemes; and frequently refocus their attention on local, mid-level, and global cases. The task teachers face in organizing world history for pedagogical purposes may involve even greater cognitive challenges. In the remainder of the dissertation, then, I analyze pedagogical materials for world history and the thinking of world history teachers to examine how they manage the complexities of world history.

Chapter Four describes a content analysis of selected national and state standards. I use the conceptual devices I found in my study of the work of world historians to ask: *Do extant pedagogical materials provide a coherent structure to world history?* In

Chapters Five through Seven, I focus on teachers' PCK in world history – specifically what instrumentality the scholarly field might hold for teachers. Using ideas developed in my findings from the first two sections of the dissertation, I gather information on ten prospective and practicing world history teachers' conceptions of world history through an interview with two card-sorting tasks. In this study I ask, *How do world history teachers think about world history and organize it for instruction?* By examining the understandings of both prospective and practicing teachers, I aim to provide a comparison of the categories and tools they use in thinking about world history and organizing for world history instruction.

Chapter Five describes my study design and methods of analysis. In Chapters Six and Seven I present my findings, focusing in particular on representations of knowledge specific for world history pedagogy. Finally, Chapter Eight reiterates the main points of the dissertation, describes implications of this study for curriculum development and teacher education, and offers suggestions for future work.

Chapter Two

Making the Impossible Possible? World History Education and Scholarship in the Twentieth Century

“World history is manifestly impossible.”¹

– Martin Mayer, 1962

How is it possible for historians to research the history of the world and its peoples? Given the world’s languages, the range of the evidentiary traces, and the complex local and regional stories that cross such vast time and space, how can historians “do” world history? And, given such complexity, how is it possible for teachers to organize the world’s history for their students to learn? Despite warnings about the impossibilities of combining all of the world’s history into scholarship or a course or two, historians in the West have tried over the last century to craft historical accounts of the world’s history, whereas history educators – teachers at the university and pre-collegiate levels, textbook authors, and curriculum designers – have attempted to define the shape and scope of world historical study for students.² Essentially different enterprises, the scholarly and educational trends “merged” in the early 1990s as world historians and

¹ Martin Mayer referred to the teaching of world history in high schools as impossible in a study funded by the Carnegie Corporation. Martin Mayer, *Where, When, and Why: Social Studies in American Schools* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 43.

² While the field of world history seeks to be a global enterprise, much of the scholarship published in the *Journal of World History* and most of the members of the World History Association live and work in the West, particularly the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Amidst growing concern about this, there have been some recent attempts to construct a “federated” organization of historians throughout the world working in this field. In this study, however, most of my references to a community or profession of world historians stem from the work of historians and educators working in the United States or in Western academic or scholastic institutions.

world history educators worked together to produce national educational standards for world history in American schools.

This chapter sets the historical and political context for the current status of world history as a growing, albeit (as I argue) confused, school subject by offering a brief description of world history as a teaching field, as a scholarly field in the twentieth century, and the relationship between the two. In examining the connections between world history as a school subject and the work of world historians I take a different approach than most studies that offer a detailed history of world history as a scholarly field,¹ or than the handful of recent studies that have focused on the history of school history, centering mainly on the tensions between social studies and “traditional history.”² In reviewing these connections – and at time disconnections – I seek to establish the context for understanding both the *importance* and *limitations* of the *National Standards for World History* – the first large-scale attempt to define world history for America’s school children. I argue in this chapter that, even though the national standards was a consensus document crafted and approved by a wide range of world history teachers, world historians, and all of the relevant professional organizations

¹ See for example, Paul Costello, *World Historians and the Goals: Twentieth-Century Answers to Modernism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993); Ross E. Dunn, *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000); Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann, eds., *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1998).

² See for example, Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000). For an overview of the history of history within the social studies subject see David Warren Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools: A History of the Early Years* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991). For the history of policy concerning the subjects of history and social studies within the larger curriculum see David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995); Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Battles over School Reform* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

in history and social studies, the project devolved into political controversy and curricular diversity.

In this chapter I contend that although there is a very long tradition of historians who have looked outside the borders of the nation-state or the civilization to study the past, world history as an organized field of scholarship has a short formal history. Unlike many other professional organizations, the World History Association, the field's major professional organization, is but twenty-five years old.³ Likewise, although teaching non-U.S. history in this country has been a part of school curriculum since the start of public schools, world history in secondary schools has grown by leaps and bounds over the last fifteen years. Indeed, it is now the fastest growing segment of the social studies curriculum.⁴

However, both as a scholarly field and as a school subject, "world history" has meant different things at different times. At various points in U.S. educational history, the study of the world's history in secondary schools has been referred to as Universal History, General History, "Western Civ," and World History – differences that are more than semantic.⁵ At times these titles have represented the current political climate, and at others the direction of the scholarly field. Although today most secondary schools use the World History title, the content of the course continues to vary. Studying the history of world history as a school subject and a scholarly field, then, is vital to understanding the

³ Consider that the American Historical Association was founded in 1884 and its flagship publication *American Historical Review* in 1895, whereas the World Historical Association just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, and the *Journal of World History* its eighteenth year in print.

⁴ Sean Cavanagh, "World History and Geography Gain Traction in Class," *Education Week* (2007), www.edweek.org.

⁵ I have limited the scope of this chapter to secondary schools (which generally translates to grades six through twelve). For an in-depth discussion of the subject of history in the elementary schools in the first half of the twentieth century see Anne-Lise Faye Halvorsen, "The Origins and Rise of Elementary Social Studies Education, 1884-1941" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2006).

debates and overlapping representations of the subject that existed during the 1990s standards movement and still exist today.

The first part of this chapter reviews the direction and some of the major debates in the scholarly and pedagogical field before the convening of the national history standards committee in 1992. The national standards project brought together leading world historians and educators to define the contours of a “common” world history, yet in many ways instantiated the controversy and dispute that had marked the field for at least seventy-five years. In the second half of the chapter I explore the historical and political context of the standards movement in world history, first at the national level and then at the state level. Although the national standards drew the most attention, educational governance has traditionally been a state and local issue instead of a national issue. Thus, after looking at the national story, I turn to construct case studies of the standards movement in world history in two states: Michigan and Virginia. These are good states for comparison because they developed world history standards at about the same time and in the wake of the national standards; yet they developed world history standards that differ widely in their view of world history, their relationship to the national standards, and, according to outside reviewers, in their quality.⁶

General or Universal History: Nineteenth Century Definitions of World History In and Out of Schools

Established in 1821, Boston English High School offered the first recorded secondary world history course called General History.⁷ The course focused mostly on

⁶ A recent review of state world history standards gave Michigan a “failing grade” for its standards and Virginia an “A.” See Walter Russell Mead, *The State of State World History Standards* (Washington D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 2006).

⁷ Gilbert Allardyce, “Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of the World History Course,” *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990); John Elbert Stout, *The Development of High-School*

ancient European history, biblical history, and classical mythology. As the course spread to other schools throughout the decades of the 1800s, it gradually took on more modern eras, but continued to focus on the story of the Western Europe. Throughout the nineteenth century, the course traded its religious focus for one of “progress” – particularly the progress of European civilization.⁸ For example, an 1889 General History textbook for colleges and high schools included non-Western history only in the first section of the first chapter: “Ancient History, the Eastern Nations.”⁹ The concluding chapter of the text, focusing on the late 1800s, exemplified the commonly-held view of history as progress:

By these inventions the most remote parts of the earth have been brought near together....Mind has been broadened and quickened. And by the virtual annihilation of time and space, governmental problems have been solved....Furthermore, the steps of human progress have been accelerated a hundred-fold.¹⁰

The late 1800s saw the growth of the public high school and in turn the growth of the history curriculum in secondary schools. High schools most frequently offered General History or a similar course called Universal History, which consisted of ancient Greek and Roman history, medieval history, and some modern history centered on Europe.¹¹ Some schools offered a sequence of history courses in the high school that included English history, U.S. history, and ancient history. History curriculum at the secondary level during this time period very much reflected what was happening in the discipline of history throughout the 1800s.

Curricula in the North Central States from 1860-1918 (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969).

⁸ Allardyce, "Toward World History."

⁹ P.V.N. Myers, *A General History for Colleges and High Schools* (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1889).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 730.

¹¹ Diane Ravitch, "History's Struggle to Survive in Schools," *Magazine of History* 21, no. 2 (2007).

The late 1800s brought the rise of professional historians with the expansion of universities both in the United States and abroad.¹² Johns Hopkins University introduced the first graduate history program in the 1870s and the American Historical Association (AHA) was established in 1884. In addition, this time period marked the beginning of new disciplines such as sociology, geology, and anthropology. Nationalism increased, further cementing the ideas of tracing the history of a nation to its roots in classical history. Historians wrote about long-term change as progress, and debated the causes of dominance of one society over another.¹³ One nineteenth century historian in particular greatly influenced the work of these historians: German historian Leopold von Ranke. Ranke sought to make history more scientific, focusing on the examination of documentary sources and verifying “truth” in accounts. Historians often refer to him as the “father of modern historical scholarship”; his legacy for world historians was not necessarily the scope of his studies, but his historical methods including his objectivity, use of chronology, “scrupulosity of research,” and “critical treatment of a wide range of

¹² Although I chose the 1800s as a starting point for this study, there is a long tradition of historians going beyond their local boundaries to tell the story of the world. For example, one of the earliest historians to write about global patterns was the Greek historian Herodotus. In his *Histories*, Herodotus ventures past his Greek borders to tell the history of not only his people, but also “remote” peoples. Herodotus attempted to tell a large-scale story, whereas his contemporary Thucydides rejected a broad account of remote events in favor of a precise account of events closer to home. By describing the far and the near, Herodotus and Thucydides represented two early models of writing history: one broad and all-encompassing; one local, contemporary, and rigorous. If world history is seeking to record the knowable past, historian William H. McNeill wrote, then Herodotus should certainly be classed as a world historian. Most classical Western historians in the decades and centuries that followed, however, followed the Thucydidean model of precision over inclusiveness. Nevertheless, there were some historians who did try to capture all of the world’s past in one narrative. Writing in the late 1300s, for example, the North African historian Ibn Khaldun set out to write a universal history that focused on the social organization of humans, with the civilization or dynasty as the highest form of culture. This civilizational and philosophical approach to history continued through the 1800s. See Herodotus, *The History*, trans. David Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. T.E. Wick (New York: Random House, 1982); William H. McNeill, “The Changing Shape of World History,” *History and Theory* 34, no. 2 (1995); Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, ed. N. J. Dawood, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

¹³ Manning, *Navigating World History*., 35.

previously unused sources.”¹⁴ The newly professionalized historians of the late 1800s were also closely involved with secondary school curriculum.

Commissions of university professors such as the Committee of Ten in 1892 stressed the importance of a four year history curriculum in high schools. These professors were almost always associated with the AHA. Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro noted that, by focusing on school history, it was “AHA’s intent...to move history from its marginal status to a more prominent and secure position in the changing educational enterprise.”¹⁵ Strengthening the school subject of history at the high school level, then, would increase the numbers of students prepared to take university history courses which in turn would allow for growth of undergraduate and graduate history programs.

Appointed by the AHA in 1896, the Committee of Seven made recommendations for a sequence of history in the secondary schools which would serve as college-entrance requirements. The committee – made up of professional historians and a secondary school teacher¹⁶ – reported that non-U.S. history was growing rapidly in secondary schools and was perhaps the second most populated school subject after algebra:

According to the statistics of the Bureau of Education the number of pupils studying history (other than United States history) has increased 152 per cent in the last ten years, a rate increase below that of only one subject in the curriculum.”¹⁷

Having no statistics on U.S. history at this time, the committee could not report on exact numbers of students taking history in the secondary schools, but they were convinced that

¹⁴ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" And the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 26.

¹⁵ 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 (2005), <http://www.historycooperative.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>.

¹⁶ The committee report mentions several times that three of the professional historians were former secondary school teachers.

¹⁷ American Historical Association, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 430.

this growth indicated the need for a “liberal amount of history among the prescribed and optional studies.”¹⁸ They recommended four years of chronological history courses, taught in a particular order that focused on the Western experience:

- (1). Ancient history, with special reference to Greek and Roman history, but including also a short introductory study of the more ancient nations. This period should also embrace the early Middle Ages, and should close with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire (800), or with the death of Charlemagne (814), or with the Treaty of Verdun (843)
- (2). Medieval and Modern European History, from the close of the first period to the present time.
- (3). English History
- (4). American History and Civil Government.¹⁹

The Committee justified a year of English history by arguing that “English history until 1776 is our history....Any argument in favor of American history, therefore, holds almost equally true for the study of English history.”²⁰ They did not propose teaching regions outside of Europe and the United States except for a recommendation to teach a “short introductory survey of Oriental history” as a background to studying ancient Greece and Rome.²¹ Thus the committee did not recommend the study of the all the regions of the world, but a sequence of courses that would tell the story of Western civilization. Historians and school officials generally accepted Europe’s starring role in the history curriculum in the years prior to World War I, and did not debate the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum.²²

With the Committee of Seven and subsequent reports on elementary history (1908) and secondary education (1911), Orrill and Shapiro argued, the AHA’s efforts led

¹⁸ Ibid., 430.

¹⁹ Ibid., 446.

²⁰ Ibid., 448.

²¹ Ibid., 457.

²² Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*.

to the “invention of modern school history in the United States.”²³ Other historians have contended that, although the AHA and other disciplinary organizations were part of these committees in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the actions of these committees less represented the dominance of university subjects over secondary curriculum, but more the professionalization of education and the rise of career educators in the form of professors of pedagogy and powerful superintendents and principals.²⁴ Regardless of who had the most influence on secondary school curriculum during this time period, there was a fairly uniform course of historical study at secondary schools across the country, centering mainly on ancient and modern European history.²⁵

Influences of Western Civ and Social Studies on School World History, 1918-1960

In the years following World War I, two forces would come to have great influence over the secondary history curriculum: the new school subject of social studies and the new college Western Civ course.

With the growth of high schools, some educationalists sought to make the secondary curriculum more efficient in training citizens. In 1916, a National Education Association (NEA) committee met to discuss the new subject of social studies. The committee included high school teachers, professors of education, school superintendents, and historians such as James Harvey Robinson and William H. Mace.²⁶

²³ Orrill and Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education."

²⁴ For more on this argument see Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School*.

²⁵ Diane Ravitch wrote that a “surprising number of the reformers’ recommendations were implemented by school districts, simply because it made sense to have some uniformity from year to year and from district to district.” See Ravitch, "History's Struggle to Survive in Schools," 29.

²⁶ Murray R. Nelson, ed. *The Social Studies in Secondary Education: A Reprint of the Seminal 1916 Report with Annotations and Commentaries* (ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1994), 15.

Among other things, the committee report suggested that secondary teachers address history through a “topical” or “problem” method instead of just through chronology alone.²⁷ The Committee recommended two or three years of history as opposed to the Committee of Seven’s four, and wrote that within those two or three years of European and American history, “due attention should be given to Latin America and the Orient, especially Japan and China, and to great international problems of social, economic, and political importance to America and the world at large.”²⁸ The recommendations of this committee echoed those of members of the AHA such as Robinson who had originally opposed the Committee of Seven’s recommendations for a chronological sequence of history in the schools and suggested that school history should be organized topically with an emphasis on recent history.²⁹

In 1918 the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE), co-sponsored by the NEA and the Bureau of Education, issued an influential report called the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The report stated that, in light of societal changes, such as more men and women working outside of the home, the mission of high school should be to prepare students for democratic life by teaching “health,” “command of fundamental processes” (i.e., reading, writing and arithmetic), “worthy home-membership,” “vocation,” “citizenship,” “worthy use of leisure,” and “ethical character.”³⁰ Civic education, according to the report, should be the domain of the subject of social studies, which included geography, history, civics, and economics.

²⁷ Ibid., 43.

²⁸ Ibid., 45.

²⁹ Gilbert Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," *The American Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (1982); Orrill and Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education."

³⁰ Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary Education, "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, 1918), 10-11.

Although the CRSE mostly emphasized the ideals of *American* democracy, they did write that civic education should consider other nations as well: “Our pupils should learn that each nation, at least potentially, has something of worth to contribute to civilization.”³¹

The commission added that learning about other nations would allow people to understand the “aspirations and ideals” of new immigrant populations and “have a basis for a wiser and more sympathetic approach to international problems.”³²

The CRSE’s suggestions moved even further away from the chronological model of the Committee of Seven, to a focus on the recent past in order to solve present and future problems. School history, the report contended, should “so treat the growth of institutions that their present value may be appreciated.”³³ As David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel noted, the CRSE report was as much a watershed event in curricular policy as the Committee of Ten report had been:

If the report of the Committee of Ten was the first nationally recognized call for the professionalization of curriculum planning, Cardinal Principles was an assertion that educational professionals, now largely composed of faculty in schools and colleges of education, their graduates, and allies in school administration, should play the leading role in such planning, rather than either faculty representing other parts of universities.³⁴

The CSRE report and its favorable reception marked a turning point in the AHA’s policy toward the schools.³⁵ Unlike with earlier reports, there were no history department representatives as part of the reviewing committee of CRSE.³⁶ The CRSE appointed committees to study every major subject in high school, but formed a Committee on

³¹ Ibid., 14.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School*, 16.

³⁵ Orrill and Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education."

³⁶ Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary Education, "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education."

Social Studies instead of a stand-alone history committee.³⁷ The move to incorporate history and other disciplines into the school subject of social studies symbolized a shift in history's position in secondary schools. In 1921, teacher educators at Teachers College with support from the NEA and AHA formed the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). NCSS would come to be the principle influence on the teaching of history in public schools for at least seventy years.³⁸ There was, however, another force which would provide a lasting influence over world history courses that is still felt today – the Western Civ course.

Columbia University introduced a Contemporary Civilization survey in 1919 that focused on the history of Western Europe with an emphasis on “European progress with American relevance.”³⁹ Gilbert Allardyce noted that the post World War I-timing of this course was not accidental:

The war, in this sense, vitalized an interpretation of history that gives the United States a common development with England and Western Europe and identifies this “civilization” with the advance of liberty and culture.⁴⁰

The Columbia course soon became a prototype for a Western Civ course which grew rapidly in popularity as history departments across the country began offering it to their students. The course represented the historical tradition in the United States and the current international situation:

The organizing ideas for Western Civ were...long present in historical consciousness. What gave them new meaning in the early twentieth century...was the emergence of the United States from isolation to partnership with Europe in a wider world.⁴¹

³⁷ Ravitch, "History's Struggle to Survive in Schools."

³⁸ The AHA and NCSS worked together for the Carnegie Commission on the Social Studies from 1927 to 1932. This would be the organizations' last collaboration until the 1990s standards movement. See Halvorsen, "The Origins and Rise of Elementary Social Studies Education."

³⁹ Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," 706.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 706.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 699.

This partnership encouraged some scholars to seek a common history that connected North America to Europe and focused on the progressive history of the West throughout history. Although designers intended the course to explain current events, the eventual framework of the course – starting with classical Greece and Rome, and ending with modern Europe – was not unlike the sequence of study in secondary schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In many ways, the course would become a stand-in for the history of the world:

It was a Whiggish view of History that pictured “Western Civilization” as the end product of all of world history, or at least all of world history that *mattered*, since entire continents, whole peoples, and complete historical epochs were ignored.⁴²

The Western Civ course would remain extremely popular at the college level until after World War II.⁴³

The college Western Civ course influenced history curriculum at the secondary school level during this time period. By the mid-1920s, with decreasing enrollments in ancient, medieval, modern and English history, some high schools began offering a new course called World History which combined the previous three or four-year sequence of history courses into one course.⁴⁴ Though World History by name, the course was similar to the college Western Civ course, and popular world history textbooks of the period hardly mentioned Asian, African or Latin American history.⁴⁵ Many historians supported the course’s emphasis on Western Europe. For example, in a 1934 report on the

⁴² Lawrence W. Levine, "Looking Eastward: The Career of Western Civ," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996/2000), 21. Emphasis in the original.

⁴³ Although Western Civ did not die after World War II, its popularity waned with the introduction of new areas of historical study. For more on the complete trajectory of this course see Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course"; Levine, "Looking Eastward."

⁴⁴ Ravitch, "History's Struggle to Survive in Schools."

⁴⁵ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*.

Commission on the Social Sciences of the AHA, historian Charles Beard recommended more European history in secondary schools within the social studies curriculum.⁴⁶ In the secondary world history course, the civilization was the primary unit of analysis, and the word carried with it political and social implications with some areas of the world described as civilized and others not.⁴⁷

On the scholarly front, this time period also saw the rise of publications in which historians attempted to combine all of the world's history into one narrative. Some historians have referred to these efforts as attempts to synthesize the world's history.⁴⁸ However, these attempts, for the most part, were made outside of the academy. For professional historians in the first part of the twentieth century, the nation-state was paramount. Universities and the AHA did not appear to value world histories: "Not synthesis but empiricism became house style – history in fine grain, layered, textured, nuanced, footnoted."⁴⁹ Therefore it is not surprising that two of the most influential world historians in the first half of the twentieth century – Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee – were not professional historians, but amateurs whose books appealed to a wide general audience.

Oswald Spengler was an independent scholar who saw history as an endless set of transformations. He used the civilization as a unit of analysis, but did not necessarily privilege any one civilization over another as previous historians had done:

The most appropriate designation for this current West-European scheme of history, in which the great Cultures are made to follow orbits round us as the presumed centre of all world-happenings, is the *Ptolemaic system* of history. The

⁴⁶ Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," 709.

⁴⁷ See Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial.*, 46-52 for a discussion of world history textbooks during this time period.

⁴⁸ See for example Allardyce, "Toward World History"; Manning, *Navigating World History.*

⁴⁹ Allardyce, "Toward World History," 23.

system that I put forward in this work in place of it I regard as the *Copernican discovery* in the historical sphere, in that it admits no sort of privileged position to the Classical or the Western Culture as against the cultures of India, Babylon, China, Egypt, the Arabs, Mexico.⁵⁰

Spengler, writing during World War I, focused on the rise and fall of civilizations drawing on a cyclical view of society instead of the progressive one that many nineteenth century historians had held.⁵¹

Another historian operating outside the academy, Arnold Toynbee, released the first three volumes of *A Study of History* in 1934. In his work Toynbee defended the use of the civilization as the most appropriate framework for viewing world history:

The starting-point of this book was a search for fields of historical study which would be intelligible in themselves within their own limits of space and time....The search for these self-contained units led us to find them in Societies of the species we called Civilizations.⁵²

Toynbee, like Spengler before him, put Western and non-Western civilizations on the same plane. Historian William H. McNeill later commented that this “was a real change from the myopic concentration of the glories of Europe’s past that had prevailed in the nineteenth century, and, at least potentially, distinguishes the historiography of our age from its predecessors.”⁵³ Toynbee’s later volumes of *A Study of History* shifted to include God as the force behind the rise and fall of civilizations. McNeill wrote that “this way of combining linear and cyclical macrohistory and of introducing God once more into public life won few adherents among historians.”⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West, Volume One: Form and Actuality* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926/1976), 18. Emphasis in the original.

⁵¹ McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History."

⁵² Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 1.

⁵³ McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History," 12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

In fact, despite the commercial success of both Spengler and Toynbee, in most academic circles historians dismissed their writings as “works of imagination, as philosophy, prophecy, pap.”⁵⁵ Allardyce noted that instead of opening the universities to large world historical narratives, “the influence of these modern masters of world history...caused them to harden to the subject.”⁵⁶ Later historians have argued that Spengler and Toynbee were not successful in achieving a synthesis of world history due to their treatment of civilizations as separate entities and not as larger societies communicating and borrowing from one another.⁵⁷ Thus, in the decades that followed, some historians would strive for a more appropriate frame through which to view the history of the world.

Despite its enormous influence for almost half a century, the AHA gradually became less and less involved in matters of school history by the beginning of World War II.⁵⁸ Most professional historians would not enter the secondary history conversation again until the late 1980s. For the first time since the development of public schools, then, university history departments did not have the majority of influence over school world history curriculum. In the 1930s many states revised their K-12 curricula to emphasize social studies over history. From the 1930s to the 1950s, U.S. history usually remained in the curricula, but world history courses dwindled. Those courses that remained continued to center almost entirely on European history.

⁵⁵ Allardyce, "Toward World History," 25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁷ See for example McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History."

⁵⁸ Halvorsen, "The Origins and Rise of Elementary Social Studies Education"; Orrill and Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education."

Attempts to “Globalize” World History: 1950s-1970s

Following World War II some historians and national organizations attempted to revitalize the secondary world history course through “globalizing” efforts. Often these efforts were part of larger movements to improve social studies curricula. In addition, university history departments went through major changes during this time period with the growth of area studies courses and the expansion of world historical scholarship. As a result, some historians began to question the traditional Western Civ model.

After the Soviet Union’s 1957 *Sputnik* launch, the U.S. government funded many K-12 educational programs including several social studies projects. Sometimes dubbed the “New Social Studies” these projects included the Amherst History Project and the Harvard Social Studies Project. Although based in the disciplines, these projects often lacked attention to analysis of history content in favor of interdisciplinary study and attention to discussion of values, policies, and thinking skills.⁵⁹ Most historians did not get involved in these federal education initiatives, and thus these projects were influenced by the latest scholarship in political science, anthropology, economics, and geography, but not necessarily history.⁶⁰

An exception to this was historian L.S. Stavrianos’ World History Project. Stavrianos’ project was an example of a larger global studies effort which included attempts to give relevance to the curriculum by opening it up to current issues. The school subject of world history, in particular, was not popular among teachers during this period. As Martin Mayer noted in his 1962 study of social studies teachers,

⁵⁹ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

except in their attitude toward the World History course (which everyone hates, because no one feels secure with more than a fraction of the subject), most social studies teachers are complacently dissatisfied with what they are teaching.⁶¹

In a 1958 paper presented at an AHA meeting, Stavrianos argued that the high school world history situation was “unfortunate, even tragic” and that “evidence suggests that the teaching of world history is in as melancholy a state in the colleges as in the high schools”⁶² In addition, Stavrianos noted, the field of world history is “perhaps unequaled in the problems it presents and the opportunities it offers.”⁶³ Stavrianos was particularly concerned with the overemphasis of European history in world history courses and called for a “view from the moon” in redesigning courses. He advocated separating Western Civ and world history courses.

Writing two years after the *Sputnik* launch, Stavrianos argued: “These epochal developments have caused many to question whether the traditional Western civilization course, by *itself*, is adequately preparing students for the one world in which they are destined to live.”⁶⁴ Designing a global world history course at the high school level, Stavrianos noted, would be difficult, but not impossible. He also recognized the need for teacher education in changing the high school course: “You can not globalize courses, without globalizing teachers.”⁶⁵ To this end, Stavrianos received funding from the Carnegie Foundation for his World History Project geared toward improving high school courses.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Mayer, *Where, When, and Why*, 22.

⁶² L. S. Stavrianos, "The Teaching of World History," *The Journal of Modern History* 31, no. 2 (1959), 110.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 111. Emphasis in the original.

⁶⁵ In Allardyce, "Toward World History."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Despite efforts such as these, however, the subject of world history never reached the levels that some people had hoped, due, in part, to the push for other subjects including U.S. history, math, science, and vocational education.⁶⁷ After the 1970s there was a sharp decline in all history enrollments in secondary schools and colleges, and as of 1977, although seventy percent of high schools offered world history, most often it was not a required course.⁶⁸

At the junior high level, pieces of world history were usually integrated into geography or world cultures courses.⁶⁹ Moreover, despite curricular shifts at the university, including the rise of area studies, what was taught in secondary schools post-World War II did not look that much different to what had been taught before World War II.⁷⁰ Developments such as the Cold War, decolonization, and the rise of new nations “called for a truly global history rather than a polished-up version of Western Civilization” Nash, Crabtree and Dunn argued, “but no such change occurred.”⁷¹ This stagnation at the secondary level would set the stage for later controversy.⁷²

Unlike in secondary school world history, this time period marked dramatic changes in the growth of world history as a scholarly field. During the course and immediate wake of World War II, there was a new set of scholarly publications on world history. While in a German prison camp during World War II, for example, Fernand Braudel wrote *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Era of Philip II*. This study focused not on any one civilization or series of civilizations, or even

⁶⁷ Frederick D. Drake and Lynn R. Nelson, *Engagement in Teaching History: Theory and Practices for Middle and Secondary Teachers*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 2009).

⁶⁸ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 89.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 54-5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 54.

necessarily on Philip himself, but on a maritime basin as a unit of analysis. Braudel did not mention Philip until after “some nine hundred pages in which [he] discussed the geography, the weather, the crops, the animals, the economy, and the institutions – everything, it seems, but the great man himself.”⁷³ Braudel, and the *Annales School* with which he was associated, challenged conventional historiography by insisting on a broad definition of the field of history, an interdisciplinary, humanistic approach to history, and critical reflection of historical methods.⁷⁴ This included a move away from a narrow political frame of history – the civilization – toward new frames, especially social and economic, and later geographic.⁷⁵

This search for new frames for the history of the world was not limited to Braudel. Another seminal work during this time period was William McNeill’s *The Rise of the West* first published in 1963.⁷⁶ With this book McNeill set about to improve on the earlier work of Toynbee by showing how separate civilizations were connected and borrowed from one another.⁷⁷ However, as he later wrote about this time period, “I was sufficiently under Toynbee’s spell to note those instances [of contact between civilizations] without diverting the focus of my attention from the separate histories of separate civilizations.”⁷⁸ With this and subsequent publications, McNeill’s scholarship was at center of the field of world history. Later McNeill would also become a leader of the movement to improve world history at the secondary level.

⁷³ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002), 23.

⁷⁴ Fritz Stern, ed. *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

⁷⁵ J.H. Hexter, "Fernand Braudel and the *Mode Braudellien*..." *The Journal of Modern History* 44, no. 4 (1972).

⁷⁶ William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of Human Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

⁷⁷ McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

This time period marked other major changes in the history profession in general, and world history in particular. It is worth examining some other examples of the writings of world historians during this period, not only because they broke new ground, but because of the debates that surrounded their work. It would be this work, and the ensuing debates that would eventually affect secondary world history curriculum.

After World War II, many people from diverse backgrounds entered the history profession, in part because of incentives for veterans to get college degrees from the GI Bill.⁷⁹ With a greater diversity of people, came a greater diversity of interests in different topics and different regions of the world. The Cold War and decolonization movements brought with them interests in a greater variety of historical topics and geographical regions. Courses and research agendas known as area studies increased in university history departments, with the federal government funding area study centers at universities.⁸⁰ The college Western Civ course declined in popularity. The study of topics such as imperialism, shifted to look not only at the experiences of the colonizers but also of the colonized.⁸¹ For example, in a 1966 article Andre Gunder Frank urged historians to consider underdeveloped regions:

Most historians study only the developed metropolitan countries and pay scant attention to the colonial and underdeveloped lands. For this reason most of our theoretical categories and guides to development policy have been distilled exclusively from the historical experience of the European and North American advanced capitalist nations.... our ignorance of the underdeveloped countries' history leads us to assume that their past and indeed their present resembles earlier stages of the history of the now developed countries.⁸²

⁷⁹ By 1947 veterans accounted for forty-nine percent of college admissions. See United States Department of Veterans Affairs, "GI-Bill History," http://www.gibill.va.gov/GI_Bill_Info/history.htm.

⁸⁰ Manning, *Navigating World History*, 146.

⁸¹ Maggie Favretti, "Happy Twenty-Fifth Birthday, W.H.A.," *World History Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (2007).

⁸² Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review* 18(1966/1989), http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1132/is_n2_v41/ai_7659725.

Using examples from Latin America, Frank argued that the underdevelopment of Latin America at the time of his writing was a relic of European colonial conquest. Historians, he wrote, should examine not only the conquest itself, “but the development – and underdevelopment – of these metropolises and satellites of Latin America throughout the following and still continuing historical process.”⁸³ With work such as this, Frank brought Latin America into the discourse on modern world history.⁸⁴

Most historians of this period strove not to write a complete synthesis of world history, but to develop sets of relationships in the past. Some historians took the work on area studies and tried to figure out how these areas were connected, how they compared, or how they fit into larger patterns.⁸⁵ The world-historical monograph gained popularity during this period. For example, Philip D. Curtin’s writings focused not only on the history of Africa, but Africa’s place in the world, emphasizing African history as a segment of world history. Introducing a 1972 book of collected essays on Africa and the West, Curtin wrote:

Historians have recently begun to peer across the cultural barriers where only anthropologists ventured a few decades ago. The result is not merely the recent surge of nonwestern history by western historians; it extends to several kinds of cross-cultural history, including the history of people’s views of one another across these same barriers.⁸⁶

The cross-cultural history that Curtin emphasized was central to this new era of world history. No longer would some historians represent civilizations as separate entities – connections and large patterns across time and space were crucial.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Manning, *Navigating World History*.

⁸⁵ Favretti, "Happy Twenty-Fifth Birthday, WHA."

⁸⁶ Philip D. Curtin, ed. *Africa & the West: Intellectual Responses to European Culture* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), vii.

In the mid-1970s Immanuel Wallerstein introduced a new paradigm to world history – the “world system.” Focusing on economic history, Wallerstein merged a Western studies approach with “Third World” studies by dividing the world into core and periphery areas in modern history. He argued that a world system of unequal economic opportunities had developed in the 16th century and continued into the present. According to Wallerstein, the nation and the civilization were not sufficient units of analysis for viewing modern capitalistic history; the more appropriate unit of analysis was the world system.⁸⁷ Like McNeill, Wallerstein focused on large systematic processes and patterns connecting diverse peoples. Yet, unlike most “world” historians before them, they did not focus on civilizations going through fixed cycles.⁸⁸ Despite work such as this, most world historians of this time period were not trying to write one global story of the world, but rather tell the story of one or more world systems such as the Atlantic trade system.

For example, Alfred W. Crosby told an ecological history in his popular 1972 *Columbian Exchange*. In his book, Crosby not only discussed the system of trade between the “old” and “new” worlds that happened after 1492, but described this system as a *two-way* system of contact and exchange. By using contact and exchange as the unit of analysis, he abandoned the nation-state and civilization. Pulling in many disciplines outside of history, Crosby used geology, zoology, botany, anthropology, and demography to make his argument. He wrote in his introduction about these many disciplines:

“although the Renaissance is long past, there is great need for Renaissance-style attempts

⁸⁷ Dunn, *The New World History*, 225.

⁸⁸ Bruce Mazlish, "Crossing Boundaries: Ecumenical, World, and Global History," in *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities*, ed. Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 1998).

at pulling together the discoveries of the specialist to learn what we know, in general, about life on this planet.”⁸⁹

Working in the 1950s and 1960s, Marshall G.S. Hodgson formed the earliest conception of the interregion Afro-Eurasia as having a history of its own.⁹⁰ He described this “hemispheric interregional history” as a progression for world history:

A history of interregional developments among the literate urban civilizations of the Eastern Hemisphere, developments transcending cultural regions like Europe, the Middle East, India, or Confucian lands, will go far toward meeting our needs for world history.”⁹¹

This approach contradicted the civilizational approach of McNeill which had dominated the field during the 1950s and 1960s.⁹² Hodgson died in 1968, but his work continued, with Edmund Burke III publishing a collection of essays posthumously. In these essays Hodgson decried the Eurocentrism of historians before him:

I would go so far as to believe that if we began to study the history of the world as a whole, and not in the unbalanced way we have pretended to study it, we would discover the European history – in all its phases, social economic artistic, religious – has in the main, at least until recently, been a *dependent* part of the general development of civilization.⁹³

Hodgson contended that various sections of the world were connected long before the European hegemony of the nineteenth century. He argued that an interregional, hemispheric approach was logical because so many major civilizations had been Asian. Not until 1500, Hodgson contended, did Europe rise to the level of other civilizations.

⁸⁹ Alfred W. Jr. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), xv.

⁹⁰ Dunn, *The New World History*, 162.

⁹¹ Marshall G.S. Hodgson, "Hemispheric Interregional History as an Approach to World History," in *The New World History*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1954/2000), 114.

⁹² Edmund Burke, "Marshall G.S. Hodgson and the Hemispheric Interregional Approach to World History," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 1995/2000), 168.

⁹³ Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, ed. Edmund Burke III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 37. Emphasis in the original.

This theory partially contradicted Wallerstein's world systems theory which dealt only with the 16th century on. Previous historians, Hodgson argued, had not focused enough on the intertwined nature of societies. Debates such as this were common among world historians. Because the field was so undefined, historians were constantly defining and redefining the contours of "what is world history?" World history would also continue to be undefined in secondary schools during this time period.

In the 1960 and 1970s, a few more world historians began to pay attention to the teaching of world history, especially at the high school level. Stavrianos and McNeill were at the forefront of this attention. Although this was rare among U.S. and other national historians, world historians had quite often focused on both teaching and scholarship, perhaps because they felt they needed to not only define the scholarly field, but the teaching field as well. Similar to efforts by the AHA in the 1890s to strengthen school history, world historians may have felt that the foundation of the field of world history had to be maintained in secondary schools in order to sustain it at the university level. Stavrianos advocated separating world history from European history and the elevation of world history at the college level to a "field of study comparable to European history or American history."⁹⁴ During this same time period there was a decline in the popularity of the Western Civ courses at some universities.⁹⁵

While not all world historians became involved with secondary school issues during this time period, many promoted the teaching of world history at their universities. One center for world historical research and teaching was the University of Wisconsin. Curtin had been the organizing force behind the establishment of the program in the late

⁹⁴ L.S. Stavrianos, "The Teaching of World History," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's 1958/2000), 78.

⁹⁵ Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course."

1950s and early 1960s. The program emphasized the study of modern “Third World” societies in a global context and comparison across geographical regions.⁹⁶ Some of the program’s students included later leaders in world history such as Ross Dunn, Patrick Manning, and Michael Adas. Dunn wrote of the program:

Curtin did not teach a world history survey but took the inductive comparative approach for which became justly honored....Nevertheless, the course introduced me to the idea that the world is itself a spatial and temporal field of historical investigation [and] that no single civilization should stand in for the whole.⁹⁷

Curtin left the University of Wisconsin in 1975, and because of this and other reasons, the program fell into decline in the mid-1970s and ended by the end of the 1970s.⁹⁸

Although there had been many developments in research of areas outside of Europe and the U.S. during this time period, according at least one leader in the field, the scholarly field of world history remained “thinly researched and weakly conceptualized.”⁹⁹ World historians sought ways to strengthen their field, and returned again to focus on world history as a school subject. In 1977 McNeill wrote, “Our discipline is in danger of slipping away from its privileged position it has hitherto occupied in high school and college curricula.”¹⁰⁰ The only thing that could rescue world history and the discipline of history as a whole, he argued, was to teach it “en masse.” For McNeill and others, world history as a global project was both timely and possible:

Can anyone really doubt that such persons [modern people] need to know something about the way the heirs of great cultures of the past differ from us and

⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion of this program see, Craig A. Lockard, "The Contributions of Philip Curtin and the 'Wisconsin School' to the Study and Promotion of Comparative World History," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1994/2000).

⁹⁷ Ross Dunn, "The WHA: A Personal Prehistory," *World History Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (2007): 6.

⁹⁸ Lockard, "The Contributions of Philip Curtin."

⁹⁹ Manning, *Navigating World History*, 76.

¹⁰⁰ William H. McNeill et al., "Beyond Western Civilization: Rebuilding the Survey," *The History Teacher* 10, no. 4 (1977): 509.

among themselves? And how can historians teach students something about these things except on a world scale?¹⁰¹

The argument to bolster world history's position as a teachable subject would continue in the coming decades.

Toward Global World History, 1980s-1990s

More historians joined McNeill in framing the discussion about world history at the secondary level and renewing attention on the secondary world history course, seeking to reverse the decline in secondary world history education. As the scholarly field grew more powerful with spokesmen such as McNeill, school world history began to gain a more public voice.¹⁰²

During most of the 1970s and early 1980s, secondary course offerings and graduation requirements in world and western history declined. World history was most often an elective course at the high school level, and its enrollment constituted but a small fraction of students enrolled in U.S. history. Indeed, the enrollments in world history and all other non-U.S. history combined were only half as large as U.S. history course offerings.¹⁰³ In a 1985 report, Douglas D. Alder and Matthew T. Downey wrote that “the most urgent need is to restore world history to its proper place in the social studies curriculum.”¹⁰⁴ The authors noted that there was a wide variety in what schools were offering under the “world history” title, with many schools and texts focusing mostly on

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 514.

¹⁰² Bradley Commission on History in Schools, "Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools," in *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, ed. Paul Gagnon and Bradley Commission on History in Schools (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989); 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: Harper & Row, 1987).

¹⁰³ Matthew T. Downey, "The Status of History in the Schools," in *History in the Schools*, ed. Matthew T. Downey (Washington D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1985).

¹⁰⁴ Douglas D. Alder and Matthew T. Downey, "Problem Areas in the History Curriculum," in *History in the Schools*, ed. Matthew T. Downey (Washington D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1985), 13.

Western civilizations. Alder and Downey weighed the pros and cons of a Western Civ-type course versus a more global course, noting the merits of both. Nevertheless, they suggested that some uniformity would be beneficial: “Yet it would seem that all world history courses should have some essential content, some persistent intellectual concerns. These are not evident in the world history curriculum today.”¹⁰⁵ The authors also expressed concern with the lack of preparation of world history teachers. This report was one of several in the 1980s that emphasized the problem with world history in secondary schools. Many thought that schools and states should strengthen and increase their world history offerings. However, not everyone agreed on what the scope of these courses should be.

For example, Diane Ravitch and Chester E. Finn Jr. recommended at least two years of non-U.S. history in their report of the first national assessment of history and literature: “At minimum, students should study the history of Western Europe for a full year, and the history of other major nations and cultures for another full year.”¹⁰⁶ Some saw this call for a full year of Western European history as privileging the history of the West, and sought a more global history of the world in one course. Debates in school world history mirrored debates in the scholarly field, with some historians favoring the traditional Western Civ-type courses and lines of research and others advocating a broader global perspective. Many of the historians arguing for one or the other scheme would come to play important roles in influencing the growth of the teaching field of world history during this period.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 17.

¹⁰⁶ Ravitch and Jr., *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?*, 208.

The 1980s and 1990s also saw an increase of historical scholarship on a global scale. Although some world historians strove for global narratives in telling the history of the world or the universe, there was not one agreed-upon narrative or frame in the work of world historians. As the field of world history grew, so did definitions of world history both at the college and secondary levels. Production of books and articles expanded. There was scholarly growth in areas studies linking regions to world history. World historians who had studied at places like the University of Chicago, Northwestern, and the University of Wisconsin in the 1960s and 1970s formed new world history graduate programs at universities such as Rutgers, Ohio State, Indiana, and Hawaii.¹⁰⁷ There was a further development of thematic approaches such as looking at world history through technology, social history, gender, family life, and migration.

In some cases, however, these new areas of study compartmentalized the discipline of history even more. In a 1983 presidential address to the AHA, Curtin noted:

The discipline of history has broadened enormously in the postwar decades, but historians have not. We teach the history of Africa and Asia, but specialists in American history know no more about the history of Africa than their predecessors did in 1940. We have specialists in black history, women's history, and historical demography, but people outside these specialties pay little attention to their work. Where the field of history grew broader and richer, the training of historians grew narrower.¹⁰⁸

Curtin was in favor of new type of college course that would “have the perspective of world history...by treating topics selectively, with examples detailed enough to be comprehensible, rather than by surveying the entire panorama too superficially to be worth remembering.”¹⁰⁹ Despite Curtin's hesitation, the 1980s and 1990s included an increase in the number of world history “survey” courses at the college level, as well as a

¹⁰⁷ Lockard, "The Contributions of Philip Curtin."

¹⁰⁸ Philip D. Curtin, "Depth, Span, and Relevance," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (1984): 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

reinvigorated attempt to tell one coherent story of the history of the world. These renewed efforts were different from those of early twentieth century historians. For one, there was a more concerted effort to move away from Eurocentrism. Jerry H. Bentley wrote about this effort to seek large-scale explanations to world historical problems:

This view of world history might serve best as a framing device offering one way – out of many that are no doubt conceivable – to contextualize the experiences of most if not all human societies. It does not by any means represent the only useful approach to the past....But it offers several advantages for efforts to understand large-scale historical processes. It avoids ethnocentrism....It registers a clear improvement over invidious or tendentious alternatives that view some regions as sites of dynamism and progress, while regarding others as sinks of stagnation and regressions....In doing so it acknowledges the roles of all peoples in the making of a world inhabited by all.¹¹⁰

Some world historians revisited earlier work. For example, twenty-five years after the publication of *The Rise of the West*, McNeill critiqued parts of his own book for treating civilizations so separately. However, he also puzzled over how a historical narrative could capture separate civilizations and global cosmopolitanism:

Exactly how a narrative could combine both aspects of the human past is not easy to specify. Only by making the attempt can the possibility be tested, and this ought now to become the agenda for serious world historians.¹¹¹

Both Bentley and McNeill acknowledged a need for a new world historical framework, but also the complications in trying to tell the story of the entire world's history.

Some world historians built upon and expanded the work of their predecessors. For example, Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod expanded Wallerstein's world system theory to include the period of time before the 16th century. Wallerstein had argued that before the sixteenth century there were only empires not world economies of trade making up a

¹¹⁰ Jerry H. Bentley, "World History and the Grand Narrative," in *Writing World History, 1800-2000*, ed. Benedikt Stuchtey and Eckhardt Fuchs (Oxford: Oxford Historical Press, 2003), 64-65.

¹¹¹ William H. McNeill, "The Rise of the West after Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 19.

world system.¹¹² Abu-Lughod contradicted Wallerstein's theory by claiming that "at a number of times and places in the premodern period, complex interregional, if not international, trading systems developed whose range far exceeded that of any empire."¹¹³ The debate continued as Frank supported Abu-Lughod's argument, and Wallerstein defended his position.¹¹⁴ Some historians applied the world system unit of analysis to other areas of historical study, such as John Obert Voll's study *Islam as a Special World System*.¹¹⁵

Others historians ventured into new areas of inquiry, such as David Christian's argument for a "big history" lens to the world's history using the geographic scale of "the whole of the world" and the temporal scale of "between 10 and 20 billion years."¹¹⁶ Christian's big history not only represented a revised and revamped search for a coherent narrative of the world's history, but also the trend of world historians to continually consider issues about world historical scholarship *and* teaching. Big history is teachable and manageable, Christian argued, "once one has shifted mental gears."¹¹⁷

By the 1980s, then, the field of world history was expanding with new areas of research and some new attempts to craft a global narrative. Despite this growth, however, there remained debates among historians about the scope, or even the possibility, of the field. The school subject, on the other hand, had not experienced such

¹¹² In Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod, "The World-System Perspective," in *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities*, ed. Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 1998), 71.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Andre Gunder Frank, "The Modern World System Revisited: Rereading Braudel and Wallerstein," in *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World Historical Change*, ed. Stephen K. Sanderson (London: Altamira Press, 1995); Immanuel Wallerstein, "Hold the Tiller Firm: On Method and the Unit of Analysis," in *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World Historical Change*, ed. Stephen K. Sanderson (London: Altamira, 1995).

¹¹⁵ John Obert Voll, "Islam as a Special World System," *Journal of World History* 5, no. 2 (1994).

¹¹⁶ David Christian, "The Case for Big History," *Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (1991): 223.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 235.

growth, overshadowed as it was by U.S. history. There were also lasting debates over how much emphasis Western civilization should have in world history courses. Around this time, new forces emerged that would seek to create legitimacy and coherence in both the scholarly and scholastic fields: a national professional association, a scholarly journal, and national standards in world history.

Seeking to Cohere and Define the Field and School Subject of World History

An event in the early 1980s marked a major moment in defining world history as a scholarly field and a teaching field. In 1982 the Air Force Academy hosted a world history teaching conference. The Academy had been offering world history courses since the late 1970s, and was one of the only universities to teach world history to all its students.¹¹⁸ The conference drew around 150 participants from around the country, although organizers had originally expected fewer than fifty.¹¹⁹ Co-sponsored by the AHA, the conference aimed to establish collaboration among university researchers in world history and secondary educators.¹²⁰ McNeill delivered the keynote address. The conference served as the impetus for a group of historians – including Kevin Reilly, Ross Dunn, Craig Lockard, and Jerry Bentley – to found the World History Association (WHA) as a professional organization that would encourage collaboration between university faculty and secondary educators.¹²¹

From the beginning, secondary teachers were equal participants in the WHA; former president Reilly held that secondary teachers were instrumental in setting up the organization: “Heidi Roupp and Marilyn Hitchens and dozens of teachers from the

¹¹⁸ Favretti, "Happy Twenty-Fifth Birthday, WHA"; Kevin Reilly, "Further Recollections," *World History Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (2007).

¹¹⁹ Reilly, "Further Recollections."

¹²⁰ Favretti, "Happy Twenty-Fifth Birthday, WHA."

¹²¹ Ibid.

Colorado area were full participants in the planning; most had more experience in teaching world history than the college teachers.”¹²² When the WHA wrote its constitution, it included a unique clause that guaranteed that secondary educators would hold leadership roles in the association. Teaching was at the heart of the WHA, and the organization’s inclusion of secondary educators marked a long tradition of the scholarly field of world history’s close connection with teaching. Some world historians argued that a way to make world history possible was to teach it. Allardyce wrote that this is exactly what McNeill meant when he addressed a group of world historians in 1982: “So my injunction to you is this. Try to teach world history and you will find that it can be done.”¹²³

The establishment of the WHA seemed to support and add to a revival of the growth in world history as a teaching field, last seen in the 1960s and the early 1970s.¹²⁴ In publishing the first issue of the peer-reviewed *Journal of World History* in 1990, the WHA helped to create academic legitimacy to the scholarly enterprise. According to Editor Jerry Bentley, the mission of the journal was to “serve as a forum for historical scholarship undertaken from a global point of view” and would also include articles on comparative and cross-cultural themes.¹²⁵ Such luminaries as McNeill and Allardyce sought to define the field in opening essays, a practice that was exercised in subsequent issues as well. The WHA would grow in stature and influence over the next two and half decades marked by a strong dual commitment to world historical scholarship and world history pedagogy. This association would serve an important role when the federal

¹²² Reilly, "Further Recollections," 2.

¹²³ In Allardyce, "Toward World History," 26.

¹²⁴ Lockard, "The Contributions of Philip Curtin."

¹²⁵ Jerry H. Bentley, "A New Forum for Global History," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): iv.

government selected world history as one of the *Goals 2000* content areas, thus requiring world history “join” the 1990s standards movement.¹²⁶

Beginning in the early 1990s, emerging in part out of a concern for the quality of American public education, the Department of Education began funding different organizations to create voluntary national standards in core subjects; they selected world history to join U.S. history as one of the core content areas. The choice of standards in world history, rather than in Western civilization or social studies, immediately elevated the field, giving it co-equal status on the federal level not only to U.S. history, but also other subjects such as to mathematics and English.

Creating national standards in world history offered the promise of settling in on a common conception of what world history for instructional and assessment purposes entailed. However, as I argue in this and a subsequent chapter, instead of reconciling the fractured nature of the field for instructional purposes, the process of creating standards and the decentralized governance system of American education essentially codified the competing views of world history either in one “voluntary” national document or among fifty different educational state standards documents.

Creating National and State World History Standards

In 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education released *A Nation at Risk*, a seminal report that warned that a decaying educational system had placed the United States in great danger: “The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and

¹²⁶ Dunn, “The WHA: A Personal Prehistory.”

a people.”¹²⁷ The report cited a poll which stated that seventy-five percent of the American public in 1982 believed that every high school student planning to go to college should take four years each of mathematics, English, history/government, and science. The report called social studies (which included the subjects of history and government) one of the “Five New Basics,” and recommended that “the teaching of social studies in high school should be designed to...understand the broad sweep of both ancient and contemporary ideas that have shaped our world.”¹²⁸ This report set off a wave of reform movements, including one in history. Although many agreed that reform was needed in history education, there was disagreement from the outset over how history would be represented.

Five years later, there would be no more mention of social studies at the federal level; only history. This shift was, in part, due to release of National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) scores in history and new history-specific interest groups, particularly the Bradley Commission. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), Ravitch and Finn analyzed the results of the first history NAEP administration to eleventh-graders nation-wide. This exam assessed U.S. and not world history, because U.S. history was the only history course that high school students consistently took. Despite this consistency, the results were dismal with the average student only answering 54.5 percent of the questions correctly.¹²⁹ The timing of the release of NAEP scores in U.S. history and their dissemination by Ravitch and Finn, in

¹²⁷ National Commission on Excellence in Education, "A Nation at Risk," www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/risk.html.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ravitch and Jr., *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?*, 46.

the wake of the *Nation at Risk* report, focused attention on history as opposed to social studies as a whole. It also increased interest in and concern for world history education.

In spite of the U.S. history focus, Ravitch and Finn's report provided specific recommendations for the teaching of world history. They argued that the completion of a year-long world history course had a positive effect on U.S. history scores: "It is also the case that those who have studied a year of world/Western history perform significantly better than those who have studied it for half a year or less."¹³⁰ The authors recommended that every secondary student take two years of world history and that the world history program should include more than just Western European history. The authors even went so far as to say that three years of world history, including a year in middle school, were "hardly too much."¹³¹ By specifically recommending at least two years of world history for every secondary student, this influential report marked the first step in creating national history standards for world history. Many of the recommendations in this report reflected Ravitch's work in designing new history-social science curriculum in California from 1985-1987. The state had designed a three-year secondary world history program which consisted of: ancient history in sixth grade; A.D. 500 to the late eighteenth century in seventh grade; and modern history in tenth grade.¹³² The California standards would serve as a model for the national world history standards project, with some of the same people participating in both projects.

The NAEP report was soon followed by a similar proposal from the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools. Founded by the Educational Excellence Network

¹³⁰ Ibid., 176.

¹³¹ Ibid., 208.

¹³² Ross E. Dunn, "Central Themes for World History," in *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, ed. Paul Gagnon and Bradley Commission on History in Schools (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989).

in 1987 to draw attention to and offer solutions for poor student performance in history, the Commission included classroom teachers, curriculum specialists, and historians, including Kenneth Jackson and William McNeill. After a year of work, the Bradley Commission issued the report *Building a History Curriculum* that called for more history courses coherently offered throughout student careers, better trained teachers, and clearer educational goals in history.¹³³ History, the report stated, “should occupy a large and vital place in the education of the private person and the public citizen.”¹³⁴ The Commission found that at least fifty percent of high school students did not take any world history or Western Civ courses in high school.¹³⁵ They recommended that “every student should have an understanding of the world that encompasses the historical experiences of the peoples of Africa, the Americans, Asia, and Europe.”¹³⁶

To ensure this, the committee recommended one year of Western Civ *and* one year of world history. This minimum two-year sequence was necessary, the committee wrote, because “world history is inadequate when it consists only of European history plus imperialism, just as it is inadequate when it slights European history itself.”¹³⁷ The committee acknowledged that world history was difficult to teach effectively because of its enormous scope, and recommended that teachers make “imaginative use of the larger ‘vital themes’” such as “conflict and cooperation,” “human interaction with the environment,” and “comparative history of major developments.”¹³⁸ To manage the scope of the course, the report specified that “facts and narrative must be selected and

¹³³ Bradley Commission on History in Schools, "Building a History Curriculum."

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26-7; 30.

taught to illuminate the most significant questions and developments.”¹³⁹ According to the report, world history courses should take a global perspective and emphasize interconnections between regions and civilizations and comparative history.

Following the publication of the report, Paul Gagnon and the Bradley Commission edited a book entitled, *Historical Literacy* which further presented the case for a strong school history program. The book included two chapters specific to world history education, written by world historians Dunn and McNeill. The chapters had different areas of focus, but a common strand was the recognition of the both the importance and the difficulty of teaching a world history course. Dunn referred to the proposed new world history course as “global history,” and wrote that “every teacher must be something of a pioneer in the search for an effective conceptual approach.”¹⁴⁰ This was because the appropriate scale for teaching world history had not yet been identified by teachers or historians, although, as McNeill wrote, some historians had made the attempt.

McNeill considered global history to be the most difficult of all school histories because there was not yet a “satisfactory vision of the history of humanity.”¹⁴¹ This was due, he contended, to traditional training, since “few historians even try for a global overview.”¹⁴² However, both Dunn and McNeill had high hopes for school world history; McNeill wrote that it would be possible to define appropriate patterns for global world history and that “careful and critical world history is attainable just as surely as is a

¹³⁹ Ibid., 30.

¹⁴⁰ Dunn, "Central Themes for World History."

¹⁴¹ William H. McNeill, Michael Kammen, and Gordon A. Craig, "Why Study History? Three Historians Respond," in *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, ed. Paul Gagnon and Bradley Commission on History in Schools (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), 108.

¹⁴² Ibid.

careful and critical national history.”¹⁴³ Although he also noted that “consensus is slow to come, and may never be achieved.”¹⁴⁴ The recognition of the challenges of teaching world history, a search for an appropriate scale for world history instruction, and a desire for consensus would continue into the 1990s world history standards movements.

Seeking Consensus: Crafting the National Standards for World History

The late 1980s saw the establishment of new national committees specifically aimed at improving history education. In 1990 members of the Bradley Commission formed the National Council for History Education; this group would play a leading role in developing national history standards. In 1988 the National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH), under the leadership of Lynn Cheney, awarded a \$1.5 million, three-year grant to UCLA to establish the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) to create exemplary programs for the humanities in the schools.¹⁴⁵ Three years later, Cheney would award NCHS a bid to develop the national standards for U.S. and world history. This confluence of concerns over history raised by the NAEP results, recommendations to improve history instruction by groups such as Bradley Commission, and new organizations dedicated to history education continued through the late 1980s and into the 1990s as political leaders directed their attention to improving America’s public schools.

In 1989 President George H.W. Bush met with the nation’s governors in Charlottesville, Virginia to establish goals for education, marking an unprecedented

¹⁴³ Ibid., 108.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 109.

¹⁴⁵ Linda Symcox, *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in American Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 86.

bipartisan commitment to education.¹⁴⁶ Former Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas said of the meeting: “This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals.”¹⁴⁷ At the meeting President Bush recommended that states share a core curriculum and standards, but also that states maintain diverse styles of teaching and varied ways of reaching shared goals.¹⁴⁸

The next year President Bush announced six National Goals for Education for the year 2000 in his 1990 State of the Union Speech. These goals, called *America 2000*, eventually became a framework for President Clinton’s *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, which he would sign into law in 1994. The third of the six goals stated that challenging new expectations would be established for history, as one of the core school subjects:

By the year 2000, all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts, history, and geography.¹⁴⁹

Although *Goals 2000* did not specifically mention world history, by the early 1990s, the act firmly established history and other social scientific disciplines, instead of social studies, as a core subjects.

In October 1991 a history task force of the National Council on Education Standards and Testing (NCEST) met in Washington D.C. to discuss the development of national history standards and assessments. Cheney, representing the NEH, chaired the

¹⁴⁶ Bernard Weinraub, "Bush and Governors Set Goals," *New York Times* 1989, A10.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ In National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994), iii.

task force's eleven members. The NCEST task force echoed the suggestions of Ravitch and Finn, and the Bradley Commission by calling for national standards in both U.S. and world history, recommending that these voluntary standards "include interpretation and analysis, not just basic facts."¹⁵⁰ The NCEST task force recommended that the process involve a variety of groups of stakeholders and be both consensual and public.

The NCEST report released on January 24, 1992 also proposed a national system of assessments to accompany the national standards for history. However, although Congress approved funding for the creation of voluntary standards in history, they never created legislation for national assessments. The goal of national standards in U.S. and world history, then, would be to provide "focus and direction, but not constitute a national curriculum" nor design a set of national assessments.¹⁵¹ In December 1991 the NEH, the Office of Educational Research, and the U.S. Department of Education awarded a \$1.6 million grant to the NCHS to develop separate voluntary national standards for both United States and world history. The goal of the standards project was to "develop broad national consensus for what constitutes excellence in the teaching and learning of history in the nation's schools."¹⁵²

To encourage consensus-making, the NCHS set up separate curriculum task forces for grades five through twelve, U.S. history, and world history that included college professors, public school teachers, state social studies specialists, public interests groups, parents, and professional organizations. In all, thirty-three professional organizations and almost four hundred people participated in creating the national history

¹⁵⁰ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 156.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁵² National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History*, iii.

standards by the time of their first release in 1994.¹⁵³ The WHA was a participating organization; McNeill served on the National Council for History Standards; and Dunn and Roupp served on the World History Curriculum Taskforce along with dozens of college and secondary teachers from across the country.¹⁵⁴ The widespread participation and support for this project indicated the important role that the national world history standards had in the education reform movements in the 1980s and 1990s. However, groups had to work out their differing views of history's purpose, structure, scope and sequence. In short, while everyone could agree that history was important, they did not agree on how it should look in the form of national standards.

This issue was particularly true in world history, where few states required world history courses and where, unlike in U.S. history, there was no common chronological frame or mode of temporal and spatial structure. Even though the decision to create national standards for world history indicated the importance of the subject, the NCHS had to face the question of what world history in the schools should look—a task made more complicated by the different and competing representations of world history in the schools and scholarly field. Dunn wrote that the final product represented “numerous compromises, the project involving as it did a huge cast of academics and teachers with divergent views on world history definitions.”¹⁵⁵

Controversy over representations of world history. While both the U.S. and world history committees faced serious, internal debates, it appeared that, from the

¹⁵³ Robert B. Bain, "Beyond the Standards Wars: Politics and Pedagogy in the National History Standards' Controversy," *Ohio Council for the Social Studies* 32, no. 1 (1996): 36.

¹⁵⁴ For a complete roster of participants see National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History*, 303-13.

¹⁵⁵ Ross E. Dunn, "Contending Definitions in World History: Which One Should We Choose for the Classroom?," 2004, no. March 13 (1999), <http://www.globaled.org/issues/151/a.html>.

beginning, more controversy threatened the world history standards committee than the U.S. history committee.¹⁵⁶ With debates in the field of world history over scope and structure, and differing opinions on how much the standards should focus on Western Europe, the answers to questions about the structure of the world history standards were by no means clear.

The leaders of NCHS were also concerned about if or how the 26,000-member National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) would support the history standards.¹⁵⁷ Although the *Nation at Risk* report had originally named social studies as one of the five core subjects in 1983, President Bush's *America 2000* dropped social studies as a core subject. At the start of the national standards project, NCSS lobbied Congress to add social studies to the five core disciplines identified in *America 2000*. Charlotte Crabtree and Gary B. Nash, as co-directors of the history standards project, were not certain that the members of the NCSS would support the chronological model they envisioned for the U.S. and world history standards.¹⁵⁸ Given the charge to craft world history standards, rather than Western Civ standards or history within a larger set of social studies standards, however, advocates of all forms of history and social studies eventually agreed to participate in the standards project. The simple fact was, as Nash, Crabtree and Dunn explained,

the train was leaving the station. History standards were clearly on the country's agenda and strongly supported by the public, the governors, Congress, and the Bush administration. . . . If the cards were being dealt, why would historians or social studies educators not want seats around the big table?¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 164.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

Nevertheless, a simple willingness to get on board did not assuage fears that the dissenting views or competing stakeholders would make consensus impossible. There were so many stakeholders and professional organizations participating, that Crabtree and Nash immediately set out to build a structure to both the U.S. and world history committees that would maximize consensus among project members. In creating a steering committee, Crabtree recognized that it would “include several groups with sometimes conflicting opinions on the subject.”¹⁶⁰ The project structure represented a federated system with an overseeing council including people such as Cheney, Crabtree and Nash; a forum with representatives from twenty-four different organizations; organizational focus groups, including the AHA, WHA, NCSS and six other organizations; and curriculum task forces for both U.S. and world history who wrote the actual standards.¹⁶¹

On February 21, 1992, the forum met for the first time with the council to draft criteria for developing the standards. The world history standards project was almost stalled in this forum over what type of world history the standards would reflect. At issue was Criterion 13:

Standards in world history should include both the history and values of western civilization and the history and cultures of other societies, with the *greater emphasis on western civilization*, and on the interrelationships between western and nonwestern societies.¹⁶²

According to Linda Symcox, assistant director of NCHS, “Criterion 13 was so controversial as to place the entire project at risk. The wording of this single two-

¹⁶⁰ Debra Viadero, "Two Federal Agencies Launch Project to Develop National History Standards," *Education Week* (January 8, 1992), www.edweek.org.

¹⁶¹ For a detailed discussion of the project’s organizational structure see Symcox, *Whose History?*, 97-9; 167.

¹⁶² In *Ibid.*, 107. Emphasis is mine.

sentence criterion launched a two-year debate.”¹⁶³ Some historians criticized the language of the criterion; in written comments, McNeill contended:

I do not agree that Western Civilization deserves greater emphasis than others, at least not for the period before 1500 A.D. Why not: world history should explore the history and values of all ten major civilizations of the world, and study some simpler societies as well.¹⁶⁴

In the end it would be some members of the AHA, by threatening withdrawal of support if the criterion were not changed, that forced the amendment of Criterion 13. The new criterion read: “Standards in world history should treat the history and values of diverse civilizations, *including those of the West*, and should especially address the interaction among them.”¹⁶⁵ The amended criterion deemphasized the importance of Western civilization, but still acknowledged the inclusion of the West in its connection with other areas of the globe.

With the controversy over the focus of the standards seemingly behind them, members of the world history task force continued their work through 1993. The first step in this work was creating a framework for the writing of the standards. The NCHS created an ad hoc World History Committee of teachers and historians to do this work. Michael Winston from Howard University chaired the committee; the report that the committee produced would become known as the “Winston Report.”¹⁶⁶ The task force then worked from this report to write the world history standards. Symcox, a participant in these meetings, wrote that the committee drew upon recent world history scholarship in their work including that of historians Hodgson, McNeill, Curtin, Crosby, Bentley, and

¹⁶³ Ibid. Criterion 13 was later renamed Criterion 15 when two more criteria were added.

¹⁶⁴ In Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History*, 4. Emphasis is mine.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Dunn.¹⁶⁷ According to Symcox, this scholarship influenced the periodization scheme for the standards.

The NCHS decided that the standards should contain both historical content and historical thinking skills, such as “historical analysis and interpretation” and “historical research capabilities.”¹⁶⁸ In an attempt to provide examples for the challenging task of teaching standards that combine history content and analytical skills, the NCHS decided to include “examples of student achievement” along with the standards.¹⁶⁹ These teaching examples gave specific lesson suggestions by grade level and would later become the focal point of much of the controversy surrounding the standards.¹⁷⁰

By 1994, the world history curriculum task force, despite having traveled a rocky road through many drafts and revisions and almost a year behind the U.S. history task force, was able to prepare a final draft of the world history standards.¹⁷¹ At the end of the summer of 1994, the directors of the NCHS project for world history standards were ready for publication with a final draft that they believed had “fulfilled its mission of reaching broad consensus on the contentious issues of content vs. process [and] the place of western civilization in the teaching of world history.”¹⁷²

Reaction to the National World History Standards. On October 20th, 1994, the “history wars,” which had been bubbling up through the committees of the U.S. and

¹⁶⁷ Symcox, *Whose History?*, 113.

¹⁶⁸ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History.*, vii. For a discussion on the creation of the five Standards in Historical Thinking see Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 175-8.

¹⁶⁹ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 177.

¹⁷⁰ Each standard in the 1994 *National Standards for World History* had three groups of teaching examples: grades 5-6, grades 7-8 and grades 9-12. Standards for grades K-4 were published in a separate volume. An example of a teaching example in the world history standards Grades 7-8 is: “Research the global influence of CNN in the past ten years. In how many countries of the world can CNN be viewed? What role did CNN play in the Gulf War?”

¹⁷¹ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 181.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 187.

world standards since their creation in 1992, boiled over.¹⁷³ Before the national history standards had even been released, former NEH chair Cheney attacked them in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* entitled “The End of History.” Cheney denounced the standards as “politically correct,” “revisionist,” and “distorted.” She asked the reader to

imagine an outline for the teaching of American history...in which the foundings of the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women are considered noteworthy events, but the first gathering of the U.S. Congress is not.¹⁷⁴

Although NCHS had not yet published the U.S. standards, Cheney, having reviewed them, cited many examples of omissions and topics that she considered to be a sign of leaving out traditional history.

Cheney spent less time in the article discussing the world history standards, even though they had been the source of most of the contention during the standards project. Because she had not reviewed the world history standards, Cheney relied on information from a “second council member” to support her argument that the standards did not give enough emphasis to the United States’ Western heritage:

After the 1992 election, this member reports, the American Historical Association, an academic organization, became particularly aggressive in its opposition to “privileging” the West. The AHA threatened to boycott the proceedings if Western civilization was given any emphasis. From that point on, says the second council member, “the AHA hijacked the standards-setting.” Several council members fervently protested the diminution of the West, “but,” says the second council member, “we were all iced-out.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Several scholars have referred to debates over historical representations in schools as the “history wars” part of larger “culture wars”. See for example Ibid; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁷⁴ Lynn V. Cheney, “The End of History,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1994, 22A.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

At the end of the article Cheney urged readers to oppose the certification process of the standards, writing that “the battle is worth taking on” and that “[we] are a better people than the National Standards indicate, and our children deserve to know it.”¹⁷⁶

Other public critique came on the heels of Cheney’s condemnation of the standards. A few days after Cheney’s article, Rush Limbaugh declared on national television that the history standards should be “flushed down the toilet.”¹⁷⁷ On October 26, 1994, the day of the release of the U.S. history standards, the *New York Times* ran an article that described Cheney’s critique of the standards, by claiming that they “bow to political notions and ignore United States’ white male heroes.”¹⁷⁸ The article quoted Nash, co-director of the standards project, as saying “he thought Ms. Cheney was ‘confusing a curriculum guidebook with a history textbook.’”¹⁷⁹ With this article and more, Nash became a major spokesperson for the defense of the standards.

Throughout October many major newspapers and periodicals including *Newsweek*, *Time*, *USA Today*, and *The Washington Post* carried Cheney’s criticism and Nash’s defense. At first most coverage focused on the U.S. standards, but a November 11th *Wall Street Journal* article critiqued the world history standards. The article quoted Albert Shanker, then president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and former standards project participant, as saying that the standards were a “travesty, a caricature of what these things should be – sort of a cheapshot, leftist point-of-view of history.”¹⁸⁰

Specifically referencing the world history standards, Shanker added that: “Everything

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 22A.

¹⁷⁷ Jon Wiener, "History Lesson," *The New Republic* 1995, 9.

¹⁷⁸ "Plan to Teach U.S. History Is Said to Slight White Males," *New York Times* October 26, 1994, B12.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., B12.

¹⁸⁰ In Gary Putka, "Historians Propose Curriculum Tilted Away from West – Critics Worry Contributions of Europeans, Americans Will Not Get Proper Due," " *Wall Street Journal* November 11, 1994, 1.

that is European or American, or that has to do with white people is evil and oppressive, while Genghis Khan is a nice sweet guy just bringing his culture to other places.”¹⁸¹ The article also quoted Dunn who denied that Western Europe was short changed and remarked that he would “rather have students graduate from high school knowing less detail about European history, than for them to graduate ‘not knowing anything about the history of China, the industrial revolution in Japan or the Middle East, where we just fought a war.’”¹⁸²

On the same day, a *New York Times* article discussed the debate over how much European history should have been included in the standards. The article quoted world historians defending the treatment of Europe and the West. A quote from historian Peter N. Stearns said that the standards were “quite strong” although “characterized by a level of detail that may be slightly self-defeating.” Stearns commented that he would have been comfortable with a “sparer set of standards.”¹⁸³ This article foreshadowed not only the continued debate over Western civilization’s place in world history, but also referenced the challenges of managing world history content for pedagogical purposes.

In the light of the contentious debates, on January 12, 1995, representatives of the history standards project, Shanker, Ravitch, observers from the Department of Education, Democratic and Republican staffers from the House and Senate, and other supporters and critics of the standards met at the Brookings Institute in Washington D.C. to discuss the state of the U.S. and world history standards.¹⁸⁴ The result of the meeting was a pledge on the part of the NCHS to have a “broad-based panel of noted scholars and

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Jo Thomas, "A New Guideline on History Looks Beyond Old Europe," *The New York Times* November 11, 1994.

¹⁸⁴ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 229.

teachers...make recommendations regarding changes in the light of the criticisms and to seek foundation support for this effort.”¹⁸⁵ The NCHS also agreed to create a “basic edition” of the standards, as much of the criticism of the standards had been targeted at the expanded “examples of student achievement” teaching examples in both the U.S. and world history standards. Although many members of the panel believed that progress had been made during the Brookings Institute meeting in clearing up the controversy, John Fonte, who attended the meeting as a representative for Cheney, disagreed. In a statement made following the meeting, Fonte stated that progress had not been made and that the standards were “seriously flawed...from start to finish.”¹⁸⁶

Six days after the meeting at the Brookings Institute, Senator Slade Gorton (R-Washington) made a speech calling for a “Sense of the Senate” resolution to denounce and block certification of the U.S. and world history standards. Senator Gorton started his speech by asking “Mr. President, what is a more important part of our Nation’s history for our children to study—George Washington or Bart Simpson? Is it more important that they learn about Roseanne Arnold, or how America defeated communism as the leader of the free world?”¹⁸⁷ The Senator claimed that the “world history guidelines whitewash the less attractive historical backgrounds of many non-Western civilizations” and that “Western civilization is buried as a relatively minor element of the world we live in today.”¹⁸⁸ Despite the recent pledge by the NCHS to revise the standards, Senator Gorton proclaimed that “we didn’t get what we paid for” and that the

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 231.

¹⁸⁶ Karen Diegmueller, "Panel Agrees to Revise National History Standards," *Education Week* (January 18, 1995), www.edweek.org.

¹⁸⁷ "Amendment No. 31: National History Standards," *Congressional Record* January 18, 1995, S1026.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

standards should be “junked in total.”¹⁸⁹ In a 99-1 vote the Senate passed a non-binding resolution stating that the U.S. and world history standards developed by the NCHS should not be certified.¹⁹⁰

In the fall of 1995, the history wars entered the presidential campaign. In a Labor Day speech, candidate for the Republican nomination Bob Dole dramatically spoke out against both the U.S. and world history standards:

The purpose of the national history standards seems not to be to teach our children certain essential facts about our history, but to denigrate America's story while sanitizing and glorifying other cultures. This is wrong, and it threatens us as surely as any foreign power ever has.¹⁹¹

Less than a week later Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley spoke for President Clinton by saying “The president does not believe, and I do not believe, that the UCLA standards should form the basis for a history curriculum in our schools.”¹⁹² A few days later Riley added that the standards “portray America in a bad light” and basically absolved the President of any association with them, claiming “we had nothing to do with them.”¹⁹³

The almost unanimous Senate censure of the U.S. and world history standards and the statements by Dole and Riley indicate that the history wars was not simply a debate between conservatives and liberals, as recent studies have indicated, but a debate over how history should look in American schools. The national controversy surrounding the world history standards focused mainly on the lack of focus on the history of Western

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Senator Bennett Johnston (D-Louisiana) cast the dissenting vote because he did not think the resolution was a strong enough measure against the standards. See Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*.

¹⁹¹ Mark Pitsch, "Dole Decries History Standards for Dwelling on the Negative," *Education Week* (September 13, 1995), www.edweek.org.

¹⁹² In Diane Ravitch, "50 States, 50 Standards: The Continuing Need for National Voluntary Standards in Education," *Brookings Review* 14, no. 3 (1996), http://www.brookings.edu/articles/1996/summer_education_ravitch.aspx.

¹⁹³ Pitsch, "Dole Decries History Standards for Dwelling on the Negative."

civilization. To critics, the representation of world history that emerged from the consensus process at the NCHS was not the history that they wanted taught to America's students. To evaluate the standards and the criticism surrounding them, the Council for Basic Education (CBE) stepped into the review process in 1995.

Review and revision: The Council for Basic Education. In the spring of 1995, The Pew Charitable Trusts, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, The Ford Foundation, and The Spencer Foundation came together to fund the CBE's two independent panels charged with reviewing the U.S. and world history standards.¹⁹⁴ Like the original committees of the NCHS standards project, the CBE panels included a variety of participants from college and K-12 teachers to public figures. The world history panel included, among others, then-high school world history teacher Robert Bain, and historians Philip Curtin and John Voll.¹⁹⁵ In an attempt to remain independent, the CBE did not invite anyone from the NCHS to serve.¹⁹⁶ The CBE's report, published in January 1996, acknowledged that the world history standards "make a significant contribution toward strengthening students' knowledge of world history."¹⁹⁷ In particular the world history panel noted that the standards make possible the teaching of comparative history across regions and time, and global patterns of change and interaction.

The panel pointed out some of the challenges of periodization, noting that the standards incorporated a world systems periodization scheme which "fits some parts of

¹⁹⁴ Council for Basic Education, *History in the Making: An Independent Review of the Voluntary National History Standards* (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1996), i.

¹⁹⁵ For a complete list of U.S. and world history panel members see *Ibid.*, iv.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* ii.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

the world better than others.”¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the panel wrote that the standards at times represented civilizations and societies in a static manner by not highlighting, for example, encounters between civilizations and peoples in borderlands. The panel made a specific recommendation to split the original Era 8 (twentieth century) into two so as to make it more coherent. Coherence was a major area of concern for the world history panel:

In the World History Standards, find ways to encourage students to see the big picture based on their understanding of particular facts and to consider large issues and their development over the span of time and place. The collective standards lack a coherent narrative. Better coordination in the standards will help students place the pieces of history into a larger framework.¹⁹⁹

One way the CBE committee suggested that the standards could increase students’ opportunities to construct meaning across time and space was to include “global” standards at the beginning of each era “to signal the principle elements of a global narrative. So that students do not see ideas, events, and people as isolated bits.”²⁰⁰

The panel also commented on a major source of controversy surrounding the standards: the teaching examples. The panel considered the examples problematic for several reasons. First, much of the criticism in the press was about material covered in the examples. Second, seventy percent of nearly six hundred pages of the U.S. and world history standards were devoted to the examples which may have given more of an impression of a national curriculum rather than a voluntary framework.²⁰¹ Third, the examples were not as well edited as the rest of the standards and therefore some may have contained loaded or biased language.²⁰² Finally, since many of the examples covered topics not traditionally covered in schools, the panels thought that readers who

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 26.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 15.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 3.

²⁰² Bain, "Beyond the Standards Wars," 39.

did not differentiate between the examples and the standards might assume that the standards as a whole were unbalanced.²⁰³ For these reasons the CBE unanimously voted to recommend to the NCHS that the teaching examples be eliminated. Without the examples the panels viewed the standards as “promot[ing] a sound basis for the study of history through their emphasis on knowledge and critical thinking skills.”²⁰⁴

When the CBE recommended revisions to the NCHS, one of the areas that they pointed to was the use of loaded language:

Similar uses of prejudicial language can be found in the world history document. For example, students are asked to examine “encounters between intrusive European migrants and indigenous peoples [Era 7, Standard 5]...Although the characterization of such European movements is accurate, the use of descriptive language like ‘intrusive’...sets up a view that differs from parallel references to “analyzing Inca expansions.”²⁰⁵

With recommendations from and assistance of the CBE, the NCHS published a new edition of the *National Standards for History* on April 3, 1996. This “basic edition” combined U.S. and world history into one volume and did not include teaching examples. NCHS made many of the recommended changes to the standards, including removing much of the loaded language that had sparked criticism. For example, in Era 7, Standard 5 the authors deleted the word “intrusive” to describe European migrants.²⁰⁶ To the world history standards the NCHS added “Major Trends” standards to all but the first era. This addition was in response to recommendation by the CBE for the addition of global standards. However, instead of placing these at the beginning of the era as CBE had recommended, NCHS decided to put the “Major Trends” standards at the end of each era.

²⁰³ Ibid., 39.

²⁰⁴ Council for Basic Education, *An Independent Review of the Voluntary National History Standards*, 3.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 6.

²⁰⁶ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History: Basic Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), 194.

NCHS also added a section to the world history portion of the standards that gave recommendations for different approaches to world history: Comparative civilizations, civilizations in global context, interregional history, and thematic history. This implied that states, districts, schools, or teachers could pick and choose from the standards to fit their course frames.

Because so many school districts already had copies of the 1994 edition of the standards, the NCHS sent all 16,000 school districts in the nation a copy of the 1996 version.²⁰⁷ The revised standards, by addressing some of the original complaints and removing the teaching examples, appeased most of the critics of the originals. On the day the revised standards were released, Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. wrote a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* stating that “In response to the CBE recommendations, the UCLA Center [NCHS] recast the standards, removing every legitimate cause for complaint.”²⁰⁸ Ravitch and Schlesinger also reiterated the need for national history standards in both U.S. and world history as framework for states to voluntarily follow. In an *Education Week* article, Shanker of the AFT and his colleague Ruth Wattenberg claimed that the revised U.S. standards had “improved substantially” and that the world history standards had improved somewhat.²⁰⁹

A few staunch critics remained, however. Cheney, in a May 2nd letter to the *Wall Street Journal*, wrote that although the standards were “an improvement over the original,” that they remain “one-sided.”²¹⁰ Moreover, although she did not give specific

²⁰⁷ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 253.

²⁰⁸ Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., “The New Improved History Standards,” *The Wall Street Journal* April 3, 1996, A14.

²⁰⁹ Karen Diegmueller, “History Center Shares New Set of Standards,” *Education Week* (April 10, 1996), <http://www.edweek.org>.

²¹⁰ Lynn V. Cheney, “New History Standards Still Attack Our Heritage,” *The Wall Street Journal*, May 2 1996, A14.

reasons for doing so, Cheney argued against her own previously-held opinion that there should be voluntary national standards in history: “Danger can lie in deciding to visit a single version of any subject on every child in the nation. That single version can too soon go awry, and the risks thus entailed are not worth any reward that might come even if a truly excellent national model were developed.”²¹¹ Instead, Cheney wrote, standards should be developed at the state level “since the states are quite capable of excellence.”²¹² In the years after the controversy, Cheney abandoned her faith in national history standards; all history standards, she argued, should be developed at the state level.

Within two months of the re-publication of the national standards in the spring of 1996, the history wars all but disappeared from the national spotlight. Although there were lingering concerns by Cheney and some members of Congress that everyone should be informed that the history standards were in no way official documents that the states had to follow, for the most part stakeholders appeared satisfied with the revised, albeit unofficial, history standards.²¹³

As both the critics and the proponents understood, the standards would not change history education unless they influenced the states and local school districts. Indeed, it was Cheney’s fear and Nash’s hope that the national history standards would become the central catalyst for revising history education across the nation. By 1998, two years after the release of the revised national history standards, thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia had developed state standards for history and/or social studies.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 257.

²¹⁴ David Warren Saxe, "State History Standards: An Appraisal of History Standards of 37 States and the District of Columbia," *Fordham Report* 2, no. 1 (February 1998): vii.

To understand how the standards impacted the states, we need a closer analysis of the how – or if – states created their own world history standards and how they made use of the voluntary national standards. Michigan and Virginia, states who developed history and social studies standards in the early 1990s, but created very different approaches to world history, provide powerful illustrations of the hopes and fears of the history standards critics and proponents.

Integration at the Cost of World History: Creating Social Studies Standards in Michigan

During the national controversy over the world history standards, Michigan was in the process of enacting educational reforms and creating curricular standards. However, Michigan chose to go in a different direction than the NCHS by focusing on a framework for integrated social studies standards instead of a chronological approach to world history. Additionally, unlike the national history standards project, Michigan chose to incorporate a state assessment with the social studies standards. Both of these choices would affect how Michigan represented world history in their standards.

After the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, Michigan responded with reports of its own calling for raised academic standards and a core curriculum as set out in the national report.²¹⁵ In 1990, Michigan's Public Act 25, section 1278 empowered the Michigan Department of Education (MDE) to develop a model core curriculum in order to assist local districts with the development of their own curriculum. However, Public Act 25 did not allow the state to mandate standards; the model core curriculum was to be strictly voluntary for districts and schools.

In 1993 the state legislature amended the School Code with Public Act 335 that designated the subjects of math, science, reading, writing, history, geography, economics,

²¹⁵ Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School*, 183.

and American government as academic core subjects in which “desired learning objectives” should be developed.²¹⁶ This amendment also mandated that all school districts offer the core curriculum by 1997-98. In this same year, at the time that the NCHS committees were drafting national standards in history, the U.S. Department of Education awarded the MDE funding to develop curriculum frameworks for English language arts, mathematics, science and social studies.²¹⁷ Unlike at the national level, Michigan decided to create integrated social studies instead of separate ones for U.S. history and world history.

The stated goal of the Michigan Curriculum Framework project was to “improve student achievement by aligning classroom instruction with core curriculum content standards and national content standards.”²¹⁸ Thus, in 1993 the Social Studies Committee began the task of writing a curriculum framework that was to be tied to national history standards and to a state social studies assessment. Although the committee chose to incorporate some aspects of the national U.S history standards and the skills in historical understanding and thinking, they decided not include *any* of the content of the national world history standards.

The Social Studies Framework Writing Committee included public school teachers and administrators, representatives from professional educational organizations and university representatives.²¹⁹ Although the social studies writing committee included several representatives from schools of education, it involved only one historian: Maris Vinovskis, a U.S. historian. World history is mentioned briefly in the curriculum

²¹⁶ Ibid., 184.

²¹⁷ Michigan Department of Education, "Michigan Curriculum Framework,"(1996), http://www.michigan.gov/documents/MichiganCurriculumFramework_8172_7.pdf.

²¹⁸ Ibid., ii.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

framework; however, there are no specific “strands” for world history. The decision to include a social studies assessment may have affected the lack of world historical content in the social studies standards.

A Social Studies Framework Committee member, David Harris, recalled that originally the State Board planned to have the assessment for social studies in tenth grade. This assessment would be a cumulative test of social studies from skills and content acquired in the 9th and 10th grades.²²⁰ Assuming that to be the case, the committee had to decide what courses high school students would most likely have taken before the spring of their sophomore year. Since world history was not a specified part of the state core academic curriculum (whereas history, economics, American government, and geography were), it was decided that world history would not likely be a course that high school sophomores would have taken. Thus, the committee decided to incorporate some world history in the strands of the social studies framework, rather than have the subject stand on its own. Because of the limitations imposed by the state assessment, Harris asserted, the committee did not incorporate the national standards for world history into the state framework. Ironically, after the committee presented the framework to the State Board, the Board announced that the social studies assessment would be in the 11th grade instead.²²¹ Had the members of the social studies committee known that at the beginning, Harris contended, world history might have comprised a larger piece of the social studies framework.²²²

In order to align with the state’s core academic curriculum, the committee divided the Framework into seven strands: Historical Perspective, Geographic Perspective, Civic

²²⁰ David Harris, "Interview with the Author," (Ann Arbor, MI. March 3, 2004).

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

Perspective, Economic Perspective, Inquiry, Public Discourse and Decision Making, and Citizen Involvement.²²³ The committee opted against a chronological structure, focusing instead on a study of the contemporary world. The first line of the vision statement of the Social Studies Framework reads: “Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences to prepare young people to become responsible citizens.”²²⁴ The standards stress that disciplinary knowledge, including history, was to be “used by students to construct meaning through understanding of powerful ideas...The meaning students construct shapes their perspective for understanding society and informs their judgments as citizens.”²²⁵

The Michigan committee finished writing a preliminary draft of the social studies standards in 1994, the same time as the release of the national history standards. Reviews of the state standards were conducted around the state and legislative public hearings were held in November of 1994. The Department of Education’s responses to input from the Board and public hearings began in January of 1995. The content standards were approved at the July 1995 State Board of Education meeting, and the MDE published the Michigan Curriculum Framework in 1996.

State and national response to Michigan’s social studies standards. The content and structure of the Social Studies Curriculum Framework received strong support from Michigan’s business and education groups.²²⁶ The controversy over what type of history should be taught that had captured national attention a year earlier did not surface in Michigan when the standards were published in 1996. Instead, what was controversial

²²³ Michigan Department of Education, "Michigan Curriculum Framework."

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Lonnie Harp, "Mich. Board Makes Curriculum Standards Voluntary for Districts," *Education Week* (August 2, 1995), www.edweek.org.

was whether or not the standards should be mandatory for the districts. In 1995, the Michigan Board of Education voted to make the curriculum standards voluntary for school districts, a decision that went against the original plan that the state legislature had envisioned in 1993.²²⁷

At the national level the Michigan's standards have not been as well received.²²⁸ In David W. Saxe's 1998 report "State History Standards," Michigan received a score of "F-useless" for the Social Studies Curriculum Framework:

The Michigan standards focus on "time and chronology," "comprehending the past," "analyzing and interpreting the past," and "judging decisions from the past." These categories are fine but, without specific historical content and skills, they do not make for good standards.²²⁹

In 1999 the AFT followed Saxe's report with one called "Making Standards Matter." The AFT report claimed that Michigan's social studies standards were "vague" and not grounded in content. The report stated that "world history is...broad at the middle level and ignored at the high school level."²³⁰ Michigan received another "F" in Walter Russell Mead's review of world history standards in 2006. Calling the states' approach to world history "unwieldy" and "confusing," Mead stated that "like too many other states, Michigan folds world history into social studies, with disastrous results."²³¹

Ironically, in Nash, Crabtree and Dunn's book *History on Trial*, Michigan is listed as one of a few states that incorporated significant elements of the national history

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Very few organizations rank state standards in history. The agencies that do issue "report cards" for state standards, such as the Fordham Foundation and the American Federation of Teachers, focus mostly on clarity of content and alignment with assessments.

²²⁹ Saxe, "State History Standards," 32.

²³⁰ American Federation of Teachers, "Making Standards Matter 1999: An Update on State Activity," (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, November 1999).

²³¹ Mead, *The State of State World History Standards*.

standards into their own standards.²³² From the beginning the standards project in Michigan, the MDE stated that a goal of the curriculum framework committee would be to align with national history standards.²³³ The Michigan committee incorporated the periodization scheme from the national standards for U.S. history, and used much of the language from the historical thinking skills of the national standards.²³⁴ However, there is no chronological model of world history in the Michigan standards.

The Michigan standards since their release. Since their publication in 1996, the main conversation surrounding the Social Studies Curriculum Framework has been about its relationship to the social studies assessment. Prior to the 1993-94 school year the only state-wide assessments were the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) in the subjects of mathematics, reading, science and writing.²³⁵ Bruce Brousseau, former social studies assessment consultant for the MDE, wrote that when the social studies committee took on the task of creating a curriculum framework, they also “were determined to make statewide assessment a driving force of positive change in the social studies curriculum.”²³⁶

After the Social Studies Curriculum Framework was recommended by the State Board of Education in July 1995, the Board accepted the committee’s plan for a statewide assessment of social studies. Originally planned to be administered in tenth grade at the secondary level, the social studies MEAP was administered for the first time in the winter

²³² Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, xix.

²³³ Michigan Department of Education, "Michigan Curriculum Framework."

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Bruce Brousseau, "Can Statewide Assessments Help Reform the Social Studies Curriculum?," *Social Education* 63, no. 6 (1999): 656.

²³⁶ Ibid., 656.

of 1999 to grades five, eight, and eleven.²³⁷ The test was based on the 1996 Social Studies Curriculum Framework. The MEAP assessment, therefore, served as a greater incentive for teachers around the state to follow the voluntary framework.²³⁸ Harris, former member of the Social Studies Curriculum Framework Committee, was quoted in a 1998 *Detroit Free Press* article as saying that the focus of the social studies MEAP was on “higher-order thinking not mindless recall of information.”²³⁹ Harris went on to say that the test was “the most positive thing that’s happened to citizen education in the history of Michigan.”²⁴⁰

For the graduating class of 2001, the second year Michigan administered the social studies MEAP, the MDE reported that only 26.6 percent of public school students “Exceeded or Met Michigan’s Standards” on the exam.²⁴¹ The MDE wrote that “the *Social Studies* test appears to be the most difficult for students.”²⁴² The state felt that, since the Social Studies Framework and assessments were fairly new, many schools had not yet aligned their curriculum with the framework. Additionally, the social studies MEAP has been the only state-wide high school assessment that does not serve as an incentive for merit scholarships for students. Since 2001, Michigan students’ social studies MEAP scores have improved; for the 2007 graduating class, seventy-seven percent exceeded or met the standards.²⁴³

²³⁷ Tracy Van Moorlehem and Peggy Walsh-Samecki, "New Michigan Social Studies Test Unveiled," *Detroit Free Press*, February 26, 1998.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Michigan Department of Education, "Michigan Educational Assessment Program Graduating Class of 2001," http://www.michigan.gov/documents/MEAP_info_01_95339_7.pdf.

²⁴² Ibid. Emphasis in the original.

²⁴³ Michigan Department of Education, "Class of 2007 Statewide Michigan MEAP Results," http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/2MEAP-Class_OF_2007_Statewide_MEAP_results_205716_7.pdf. In 2005 Michigan changed the social studies

Because of the lack of specified content for world history in the Social Studies Curriculum Framework, districts in Michigan have offered a wide variety of world history courses to their secondary students. For example, students in the Ann Arbor public schools used to take one semester of Western civilization and one semester of non-Western civilization (African, Middle Eastern, Asian, or Latin American) history. Students in the Detroit Public Schools took one semester of Global Issues, along with semesters of Geography, Government, Economics and U.S. History. Currently, history and social studies programs in Michigan are in a transitional period.

In December, 2006 the Governor of Michigan signed Public Acts 123 and 124 which incorporated new graduation requirements for high school students including a year of World History. The Board of Education also approved new world history “Content Expectations” which will supplement the current Michigan Social Studies Standards.²⁴⁴ Both of these will go into effect with the incoming 9th grade class in the fall of 2008. The statewide assessment plan for world history and social studies in general is also in a period of transition. At the time of this writing, the state had not yet decided how (or if) the state exam will assess world history.

An Emphasis on the West: Creating World History Standards in Virginia

If Michigan represents one end of the spectrum of how the states responded to the national call for world history standards in the 1990s, at the other end is Virginia. The state of Virginia has a fairly uniform study of world history in its school divisions in part because of the decision to create world history assessments in addition to world history

“cut scores for student performance.” See Michigan Department of Education, "Frequently Asked Questions About MEAP and MI-Access Fall 2005 Assessment Results," http://www.michigan.gov/documents/Fall_2005_FAQ_-_JG_edits_v7_152662_7.pdf.

²⁴⁴ I discuss more of the implications of these Content Expectations in Chapter Eight.

standards in the 1990s. In the Virginia standards committee meetings the question, therefore, was not should world history be taught, but instead which representation of world history should be taught.

Although many states were writing and revising history standards in the early 1990s, the controversy surrounding Virginia's standards rivaled that of the national history standards.²⁴⁵ The release of a draft of the standards in the spring of 1995 drew throngs of protestors to public hearings. Like the *National Standards for World History*, Virginia's world history standards were criticized in the press and the subject of widespread local debate. However, whereas the national world history standards were criticized for being politically correct, left-wing, and de-emphasizing Western civilization, the Virginia standards were criticized for relying on rote-memorization, reflecting a right-wing ideology, and for overemphasizing Western civilization.

In 1994, the newly-elected Republican Governor George Allen appointed a Commission on Government Reform to make policy recommendations on education initiatives.²⁴⁶ The Commission published a summary of recommendations on November 10, 1994. Among the recommendations was one that asked the state to consider carefully whether or not it would participate in *Goals 2000*. The Governor did not want Virginia to participate in *Goals 2000* because of the potential strings to which federal monies would be attached. By 1995, Virginia was one of only four states that declined to submit applications for *Goals 2000* funds.²⁴⁷ As the national standards movement was part of

²⁴⁵ Jessica Portner, "'Back to Basics' Standards Proposal under Attack in VA," *Education Week* (April 19, 1995), www.edweek.org.

²⁴⁶ Linda Compton Fore, "A Case Study of Curriculum Controversy: The Virginia Standards of Learning for History and the Social Sciences" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1995).

²⁴⁷ Mark Pitsch, "Ala. Joins 3 Other States in Rejecting Goals 2000 Funding," *Education Week* (October 11, 1995), www.edweek.org.

Goals 2000, Governor Allen was not in favor of the national history standards that were published during the time that he took office. The Governor, however, was interested in designing rigorous “back-to-basics” standards at the state level.

In May of 1994 Governor Allen established, by Executive order Number 94, a forty-nine member Commission on Champion Schools with the goal of updating the Virginia Standards of Learning (SOLs) which had been in place since 1981.²⁴⁸ The Commission included state Senators and Delegates, and some members of the State Board of Education, as well as members of professional organizations. The Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) contracted out to Lead School Divisions to revise the social studies standards; the criteria were that the revisions were to be “academic; rigorous; measurable; and jargon-free.”²⁴⁹ From the beginning, the VDOE split the social studies curriculum into four separate disciplines, history, civics, economics, and geography. This decision to split the social studies curriculum instead of developing one integrated social studies curriculum would, in part, determine how world history was represented in the Virginia Standards. In addition, in 1994 the VDOE announced the intention to assess student progress against the standards with state-wide end-of-course exams for each discipline.²⁵⁰

During the summer of 1994, writing teams led by the Lead School Divisions worked on the standards. Although the Lead School Divisions had invited over sixty participants, most school districts sent curriculum specialists and supervisors, and not

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁴⁹ The Lead School Divisions were three Virginia school divisions that were contracted to write the first drafts of the Virginia Standards of Learning. See Virginia Department of Education, "Virginia's K-12 Education Reform: A Chronology," <http://www.doe.virginia.gov/VDOE/PolicyPub/EduReform/Infopac2.pdf>.

²⁵⁰ Fore, "A Case Study of Curriculum Controversy," 90.

classroom teachers to the first meeting. Educators would later criticize the writing committees for not including enough classroom teachers or academics.²⁵¹ Moreover, unlike at the national level, the world history sub-committee did not include any world historians. The VDOE planned to review the drafts of standards and then present them to the Board of Education.²⁵² However, in July the Champion Schools Commission, appointees of Governor Allen, asked the Lead School Divisions to submit the drafts to them first.²⁵³ This extra revision power by the Commission led to a string of later controversies over the first drafts of the SOLs.

In the late fall of 1994, while the controversy over the national history standards was in full swing, the Champion Schools Commission, Lead School Divisions and representatives of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators met in Richmond, Virginia to refine the summer drafts of the SOLs. By January 1995, the committee sent draft standards to the Governor and the Board of Education members.²⁵⁴ In February the Board released the drafts for public comment and scheduled ten public hearings throughout the state. During these public hearings, hundreds of protesters from parent groups and educators to local school boards came out to protest documents that they believed “promoted rote memorization over critical thinking,” were “overly ambitious,” and would “play down world events and over simplify and whitewash the nation’s history.”²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Jessica Portner, "Back to Basics."

²⁵² Fore, "A Case Study of Curriculum Controversy," 91.

²⁵³ Ibid., 93.

²⁵⁴ Virginia Department of Education, "Virginia's K-12 Education Reform."

²⁵⁵ Spenser S. Hsu and Robert O'Harrow Jr., "Allen's Back-to-Basics Plan for Schools Draws Outcry; Changes Would Reverse Progress, Critics Say," *The Washington Post* March 29, 1995, A1.

The focus of the criticism of the Standards of Learning was overwhelmingly on the history standards, even though other standards were released around the same time.

This is evidenced by the opening sentences of a front page March 29, 1995 *Washington Post* article:

Gov. George Allen (R) is proposing standards for Virginia's public schools that would have children reading Bible stories and discussing early Africans brought to the state as settlers, not slaves. The standards, which Allen would like to make mandatory, emphasize facts and technical knowledge. Third graders would trace the development of parliamentary and constitutional democracy in England and the United States...the back-to-basics revisions...have provoked scathing criticism.²⁵⁶

Articles in *The Washington Post* during this time not only targeted the content of the history standards, but also the committee that revised them. An April 4th article stated, "The appointees of Republican Gov. George Allen involved in drafting new back-to-basics teaching standards for Virginia students have a record of criticizing public schools, challenging popular teaching methods and participating in GOP politics."²⁵⁷ The author also pointed out that

Virginia stands out in using an appointed commission as the final editor for revisions to classroom standards. According to Ramsay Selden, director of the academic standards project for the Council of Chief State School Officers in Washington, about 30 states have embarked on similar projects since 1989. Most have worked through grass-roots committees in local districts or in statewide 'curriculum congresses' of educators and parents.²⁵⁸

Many critics of the SOLs disapproved of the Champion Schools Committee's closeness to the Governor and the Commission's final revision power over the draft Standards.

In response to criticism over the social studies standards, the Virginia Board of Education appointed an Advisory Committee to review the drafts in the spring of 1995.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Spenser S. Hsu, "Conservative Critics of Schools Drafted VA. Back-to-Basics Plan," *The Washington Post* April 4, 1995, B1.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

On May 30, 1995 the Advisory Committee convened for the first time. The committee included a variety of stakeholders from parents to educators to business leaders as well as State Board of Education members.²⁵⁹ The committee divided into four sub-committees to discuss the drafts of the standards. Linda Compton Fore observed the history sub-committee meetings during May, June and July, and eventually wrote her dissertation on the drafting of the Virginia History and Social Studies SOLs.²⁶⁰ The history sub-committee was charged with refining the standards for both U.S. and world history. Fore's dissertation gives a glimpse of some of the debates in the history sub-committee over the scope and structure of the world history standards.

Fore wrote that one of the major conflicts in the history sub-committee was over a chronological versus thematic organization of world history. Proponents of the chronological model of world history wanted emphasis placed on Western civilization, whereas proponents of a thematic model of history argued for either different perspectives or case studies to examine certain cultures in depth.²⁶¹ In the end, the chronological model won out. This shift away from an integrated social studies curriculum was evidenced in the title change that the Board recommended in June, from "Standards of Learning for Social Sciences" to "Standards of Learning for *History* and the Social Sciences."²⁶² The new title privileged the discipline of history over the other social science disciplines.

On June 29, 1995 the State Board of Education approved the revised Social Studies SOLs pending further revisions. A four-person team made up of Board members

²⁵⁹ Fore, "A Case Study of Curriculum Controversy," 119.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 124. Emphasis is mine.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 127.

– two Republicans and two Democrats – would do additional editing. Because of lasting controversy, especially over the world history standards, this approval occurred a week after the Advisory Committee approved the other core subjects. A June 30, 1995 *Washington Times* article gives two examples of the debates that occurred in the final week of the Advisory Committee meetings: one was a disagreement over the changing status of women in world history between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, the other was a debate over whether or not to include a comparison of world religions in modern world history.²⁶³ The State Board President said about the standards, “This has been the tough one. Social studies goes to our basic beliefs about society.”²⁶⁴ In July 1995, at the same time that the CBE was reviewing the national history standards, the VDOE published the Virginia SOLs and distributed them to local school divisions.²⁶⁵

State and national response to the Virginia standards. By the time the State Board of Education released the revised standards in July of 1995, the controversy over the Virginia world history standards had cooled, although some criticism remained. In a May 4, 1997 letter to the editor, Dan B. Fleming, former Advisory Committee member and professor of social studies education at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, criticized the content of the history SOLs and the process by which they were written: “one should remember that a politically appointed board members writing detailed objectives is comparable to members of a hospital board performing brain surgery.”²⁶⁶ Nationally, the Virginia SOLs were better received.

²⁶³ Maria Koklanaris, "New Standards Set for Social Studies Emphasize Geography, Civics, Economics," *The Washington Times* June 30, 1995, C6.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Virginia Department of Education, "Virginia's K-12 Education Reform."

²⁶⁶ Dan B. Fleming, "Virginia's New History Standards Reflect Odd Choices: No Room for Harry, Ike or JFK," *The Roanoke Times & World News* May 4, 1997, 3.

Cheney, in her May 1996 *Wall Street Journal* article criticizing the idea of national history standards, cited Virginia as a state “quite capable of excellence” for “develop[ing] straightforward, sensible history standards.”²⁶⁷ Interestingly, Cheney also wrote that the Virginia standards “avoid controversial interpretations.”²⁶⁸ Agencies that rated state standards also ranked the Virginia standards highly. In Saxe’s report on state history standards in 1998, Virginia received an “A-exemplary.” He wrote that “Virginia has developed outstanding history standards. They are clearly written and provide solid content. Standards-setters from other states should carefully review them.”²⁶⁹ Some states such as Massachusetts appear to have heeded that advice, adopting the Virginia framework instead of the national one.²⁷⁰ In 1999, the AFT report *Making Standards Matter* stated that the Virginia world history standards were clear, specific and grounded in content.²⁷¹ Virginia received another “A” from the Fordham Foundation in a world history-specific review of standards in 2006. The review complimented Virginia for including African and Indian independence movements in its standards, but critiqued the lack of focus on Latin America in the high school standards.²⁷²

The Virginia standards since their release. The Virginia Department of Education began development of state world history assessments for the eighth and ninth grades in 1996 (World History I and World History II). The first official test administration was in the spring of 1998. In the first administration, sixty-two percent of Virginia high school

²⁶⁷ Cheney, "New History Standards Still Attack Our Heritage," A14.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. A14.

²⁶⁹ Saxe, "State History Standards," 39.

²⁷⁰ Early drafts of the Massachusetts’s standards also provoked controversy and local debates. See Kathleen Kennedy Manzo, "In Mass. Silber Goes to Battle over History Framework Draft," *Education Week* (January 22, 1995), www.edweek.com.

²⁷¹ "Making Standards Matter 1999, State-by-State Analysis: Virginia," *American Federation of Teachers*, <http://www.aft.org/edissues/standards99/states/Virginia.htm>.

²⁷² Mead, *The State of State World History Standards*.

students passed the World History I exam, while only forty-one percent passed the World History II exam.²⁷³ In part because of continuing critique of the world history standards and the low assessment scores, Virginia decided to revise the world history standards; the new standards were approved in June 2001.

Although the Board of Education announced that they eventually planned on revising all standards, the Board started with history and social studies standards because, as Board chairman Kirk Schroder said in December 2000, “Any criticism of the SOLs in Virginia is usually linked to history and social studies scores.”²⁷⁴ The 2001 revisions to the world history standards included the addition of additional standards relating to non-European history and more historical thinking skill objectives in historical research and analysis. Although they still focus on Western civilization, the revised Virginia standards include a greater amount of history outside of Western Europe than the previous draft. In the spring of 2002, eighty-six percent of Virginia high school students passed the World History I exam, and seventy-nine percent passed the World History II exam.²⁷⁵ Currently, each district in Virginia requires one year of world history for graduation, and many districts offer two world history courses at the secondary level.

Politics Trumps Coherence in the World History Standards Movement

The story of world history in the twentieth century is dotted with controversy and debate, both in the school subject and scholarly field. Beneath the seeming consensus around the value of world history are the disputes that have made the field of world

²⁷³ Virginia Department of Education Division of Assessment and Reporting, "Virginia Standards of Learning Assessments: Statewide Spring Passing Rates," <http://www.doe.virginia.gov/VDOE/Assessment/StatePassRates02.html>.

²⁷⁴ Vaishali Honawar, "Virginia Board OKs Revisions to Two SOL Tests," *The Washington Times* December 1, 2000, C3.

²⁷⁵ 2002 is the latest year for which the state has released state-wide SOL data. See Virginia Department of Education Division of Assessment and Reporting, "Virginia Standards of Learning Assessments."

history so dynamic as a disciplinary endeavor. The crafting of the *National Standards for World History* seemed to promote the importance of world history education without reconciling the debates that constitute the field. Indeed, the standards might have combined the many of the debates in one document allowing states to select how (or if) to represent the history of the world for instructional purposes.

As this study has demonstrated, states define world history education differently, in part because of the political context in which they created their standards. It seems that politics trumped coherence in the 1990s standards movement. The variation I captured in Michigan and Virginia reflects the variation nationwide.²⁷⁶ Where, then, might we look for coherence in world history? Is there a structure to the scholarly field of world history that is different from that of national histories such as U.S. history? Is there an organizing scheme that might help to make the subject more coherent in the wake of the failed standards movement? Could a journal specifically devoted to world history represent coherence in a fractured field? The next chapter takes up these questions, looking carefully and critically at the work of world history scholars to uncover conceptual devices that may provide a coherent structure to the history of the world.

²⁷⁶ Bain and Shreiner argued that twenty-eight states employ an “Expanded Western Civilization” model in their standards, twenty employ a “Social Studies World History” model, and only a few reflect a regional or global view. See, Robert B. Bain and Tamara L. Shreiner, “Issues and Options in Creating a National Assessment in World History,” *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005).

Chapter Three

Looking for Structural Coherence in the Work of World Historians

Standards documents created in the 1990s did not “standardize” world history either for assessment or instructional purposes. After the completion of the first phase of standards writing at the national and state levels, there remained variation in what constituted world history in schools. Although the national standards movement offered world history legitimacy and a place within the curriculum, it did not reconcile some of the central and, at times, competing tensions within the field, but rather included them all under the world history label. A central question lingers: Is it possible to develop some coherent picture of world history for instructional purposes, given the range of time, space, events, people, and cultures that world history “covers”?

And what of the scholarly field? Did the creation of a professional organization and a peer-reviewed journal under the leadership of the same editor for almost twenty years shape or define the field? Within the diversity of topics, places, and times that world history must embrace, has there emerged an underlying structure that might inform world history educators’ attempts to develop meaningful frames for teaching?

The next two chapters look carefully and critically for meaning-making features within the products that came out of formation of a professional world historical organization with its own scholarly journal and the creation of national and state world history standards. First, in this chapter, I analyze the monographs across the full run of the *Journal of World History* (JWH), seeking to uncover conceptual devices that might

offer structural coherence to the field, as least as it is represented in this journal. As I have argued in the previous chapter, at first glance the field of world history seems to be as confused as the national and state standards for world history. However, this chapter argues that while there are debates and arguments about the scope, scale, and even possibility of world history, a journal and professional organization might build into its interactions deep structures and patterns – conceptual devices – that provide unity and coherence even amidst vociferous debates. Is there such a structure within the field that, once excavated, might serve world history teachers?

In the next chapter, I examine standards documents for possible common structures and frameworks, but first I turn my attention to world history scholars writing for other scholars. This chapter describes a content analysis I conducted of the monographs in JWH. In this analysis, I sought to identify the devices world historians use to provide an intellectual coherence to the field – even when disagreeing. Scholars use conceptual devices to define, bound, analyze, evaluate, and situate their work within a particular field, though they often use these devices without calling attention to them.¹ This chapter seeks to illuminate substantive, conceptual devices world historians use to represent their ideas and the syntactic processes by which they conduct their work.

I am particularly interested here in the substantive and syntactic features that distinguish world history from other types of history, such as national or civilization histories. Like others who argue for the value of the structure of the discipline,² this chapter seeks to locate distinctive conceptual devices of the scholarly field of world

¹ Joseph J. Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 246.

² See for example Howard Gardner, *Five Minds for the Future* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2006); Paul Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowing," in *Knowledge and the Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974); Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education*.

history, not for its own sake, but rather to see if these might help inform the work of teaching and learning world history. If world historians have developed distinctive “habits” of work and of representation that enable them to participate in a meaning-making conversations across vast and diverse regions of time and space, then world history educators might re-purpose these to assist in designing effective instruction. In what follows, I make a case that world historians publishing within the pages of the JWH use shifting but *nested* scales of time and space, *structured* cultural and temporal comparisons, and multiple but *linked* units of analysis and periodization to represent the history of the world.

Methods and Data

Using a grounded theory approach,³ I reviewed major historical statements about the structure of the field of world history and I “read across the field” by analyzing 202 JWH articles from the first article in 1990 to the most recent in 2008 (see Appendix A for a complete bibliography of articles reviewed).⁴ As the World History Association’s (WHA) premier peer-reviewed journal, JWH provides a forum for research and scholarship in world history. I chose JWH because of its association with the WHA and because it is the longest running journal specifically dedicated to world history. However, I am mindful that there are other journals and collections of work that would also be good for analysis.⁵ Moreover, since JWH has only had one editor since its

³ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998).

⁴ These included all articles listed in the *Journal of World History* as “Articles” and “Forum.” I did not include book reviews or letters to the editor in my analysis.

⁵ For example, since I began this study, the London School of Economics and Political Science began publishing the *Journal of Global History* (first issue March 2006). An analysis of this journal would be worthy for comparison and corroboration of my analysis of JWH, but is beyond the scope of this study. It is, however, a publication that I hope to analyze in future work. Additionally, since at least 1999, the World History Association has awarded a book prize for “outstanding achievement in a world history

inception, one could argue that the features of world history that I identify in the work of world historians are more reflective of how Editor Jerry Bentley conceptualizes world history than how the field does. However, my goal in analyzing JWH was to generate key organizing concepts world historians use to structure the field by looking at the work of world historians over a number of years. The articles in JWH provided that with a rich data set of monographs written by over 160 authors and spanning eighteen years.

My guiding question in the analysis of the work of world historian was: What makes world history a distinctive form of history? Although recent books by world historians contain historiographic statements and definitions of world history,⁶ I wanted to go beyond those statements and “read” the field itself by analyzing the JWH articles. In categorizing historians’ writings, most people view journal articles as secondary sources. However, for this chapter, I treat these monographs as primary sources, seeing the articles in these journals as reflective of the turn the profession has taken over the last twenty years. By attending to more than just the specifics of its thesis and its evidence, I approached each article as more than an argument about some historical event. Rather than reading only the text of the article – what historical content the article contained – I tried systematically to read the subtext, looking for how the historians framed their work and the modes of analyses they used. The analysis conducted in this chapter, then, attempts to uncover and categorize the distinctive features of the field of world history through its most prominent peer-reviewed journal.

book.” Examining the selection criteria and analyzing past winners might also help to understand the defining structure of the field.

⁶ See for example, Paul Costello, *World Historians and the Goals: Twentieth-Century Answers to Modernism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993); Ross E. Dunn, *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000); Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann, eds., *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1998); Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

First, I read articles across the eighteen-year run of JWH, looking for features that made the studies unique to world history. I asked myself, “Why would these studies be included in a journal of world history, and not, say, in a journal of national or regional history?” This “litmus test” guided my work in trying to identify distinctive categories of world history. My goal in analyzing the JWH articles was to search for the conceptual devices and the relationships between those devices that allow for historical experiences to be understood, recognizing that, within disciplines such as history, there are areas of further distinction that must be made.⁷ I was particularly interested in those conceptual devices that distinguish world history from other forms of historical knowledge and how those might inform pedagogy.

To compare features and begin to establish categories, I also looked carefully at epistemological statements about the nature of world history by reviewing historiographic essays and books written by leaders in the world history field.⁸ After establishing initial categories, I identified what a reader across the journal articles would have to understand in order to make sense of them. As an experienced secondary world history teacher, I took special notice of the challenges I faced and the knowledge I had to employ to understand JWH articles. I figured that these challenges might be similar to what other teachers or students of world history would face. This second litmus test allowed me to refine my categories through constant comparative analysis.⁹ Thus, I moved constantly

⁷ Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowing."

⁸ Throughout my analysis, I reviewed many historiographic statements by world historians. Some of the most valuable were included in several collections of essays and recent books by world historians; see Dunn, *The New World History*; Pomper, Elphick, and Vann, eds., *World History*; Benedikt Stuchtey and Eckhardt Fuchs, eds., *Writing World History, 1800-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Manning, *Navigating World History*; William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Truth: A Historian's Memoir* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky, 2005).

⁹ Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research*.

between articles in JWH and classic statements by world historians about their field to identify conceptual devices that organize world history.

World History: Contested Terrain

World history, like most history, is filled with interpretation and re-interpretation. However, much of the intellectual debate among world historians centers on what constitutes the field of world history itself. As I discussed in Chapter Two, statements by historians who write self-consciously about world history reveal a series of disagreements about the definition of world history, its boundaries, its methodological approaches, and its purposes.

Some world historians have argued for a comparative approach to the history of the world. Michael Adas wrote that practitioners of the “new world history” have often adopted the comparative approach because “they see it as the most effective way of bringing the experience of the ‘people without history’ into the mainstream of teaching and scholarship.”¹⁰ Other historians have claimed that the unit of analysis in world history should be the civilization, the “interregion,” or even the entire globe. Debates among world historians can even reach seemingly desperate measures as with Andre Gunder Frank “pleading” for “world system history” that would “offer a more humanocentric alternative to western Eurocentrism.”¹¹

In his book *Europe and the People without History*, Eric R. Wolf stressed that it is connections in world history, be they ecological, political, or cultural, which give meaning to concepts like “nation” and “society.”¹² Ross E. Dunn contended that there is

¹⁰ Michael Adas, “Global and Comparative History,” in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1993/2000), 413.

¹¹ Andre Gunder Frank, “A Plea for World System History,” *Journal of World History* 2, no. 1 (1991): 1.

¹² Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 1.

no one master narrative for world history, and defined world history not so much by what it is, but by what it is not: “World history is not so much a matter of deciding what data should be learned as it is a way of addressing historical problems that resist their being caged behind civilizational, national, or ethnic bars.”¹³ William H. McNeill wrote that world history should focus on shifts at the “ecumenical world system” level and then fit developments into various boundaries such as the civilization, the nation or the state, while staying connected to the whole.¹⁴

I argue that debates such as these define the field. That is, world history is the sum total of its shifts among analytical, temporal, and spatial boundaries, and the absence of temporal or spatial limitations. Even with recognition of the fluidity of these shifts, there still exist among world historians lively debates on a better unit of analysis or on a preferred spatial scheme for a given time period.

Using JWH to Identify the Coherent Features of World History

Not surprisingly my analysis of JWH found that the articles mirrored the debates in the field. What was surprising was the plurality of these conceptual devices *within* individual articles and across the entire field.¹⁵ Of course, all historians must use a temporal and spatial scheme and a unit of analysis to bound their work. What makes world history distinctive, however, is that world historians do not employ just one conceptual scheme; they employ multiple schemes. Each volume of JWH had within it a

¹³ Dunn, *The New World History*, 2.

¹⁴ William H. McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995/2000).

¹⁵ In 2005 I completed initial analysis of JWH (1990-2005) for my preliminary examination paper. Since then I have added to my analysis as new volumes of the journal continue to be published. In 2008 I revisited all of my original analyses. Although for the most part I did not disagree with any of my initial coding, at times I added codes to some of the articles. I believe that, in my work over the last few years, I have come to recognize more of the layers that any one world historical monograph might contain. See Appendix A for my coding scheme and how I coded the JWH articles.

wide range of temporal and spatial schemes and employed multiple units of analysis. Individual monographs consistently used case studies, patterns of contact and exchange, comparison *and* inter-connected large global or interregional patterns, sometimes all in one article. Moreover, the authors link or nest regional, interregional, and global patterns. What makes the field distinctive, then, is not the use of periodization, geographic boundaries or units of analyses, but the plurality of these conceptual devices, how they are nested or linked, and how world historians move between them. The authors of JWH articles do not necessarily make these shifts explicit; rather the reader must be able to follow shifts in time and space to follow their reasoning.

Four conceptual devices emerged from my reading across JWH articles (see Table 3.1): (1) Using multiple temporal/periodization schemes; (2) Utilizing multiple spatial/geographic schemes; (3) Employing multiple units of analysis; and (4) Incorporating disciplinary tools and concepts outside of history. The field also produced a distinctive set of historiographic issues in world history. I discuss each below.

Table 3.1
World History’s Distinctive Features: Conceptual Devices that Structure the Field

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Distinctive Capacities for World Historical Inquiry and Understanding</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Using multiple temporal/periodization schemes 2. Utilizing multiple spatial/geographic schemes 3. Employing multiple units of analysis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Geographically-defined case studies linked to interregional or global patterns ▪ Cross-regional or cultural contacts and exchanges ▪ Cross regional or cultural comparisons ▪ Interregional patterns ▪ Global patterns 4. Incorporating disciplinary tools and concepts outside of history • <i>Distinctive Set of Historiographic Issues in World History</i>
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Using Multiple Temporal/Periodization Schemes

Periodization in history refers to historians' identifying patterns of continuity and discontinuity by identifying significant turning points. Peter J. Lee wrote that "historians clump and partition segments of time not as bits of time but as events, processes, and states of affairs that appear to belong together from different perspectives."¹⁶ Peter N. Stearns noted that periodization is a "conceptual tool that makes change over time a manageable topic."¹⁷ Though periodization schemes might make time more manageable, determining periodization schemes is not easy in any historical work. In world history, with its multitude of perspectives, the task is even more complex. One argument for why world historians have not established a common periodization scheme is the relative youth of the professional field.¹⁸ However, the complexity of periodization in world history may be due more to the nature of the field than the youth of the field, as Dunn wrote:

No periodization scheme in world history can intelligibly integrate all, or even most phenomenon except perhaps at the broadest and thus least useful levels of generalizations. Whether the stretch of time under investigation is short or long, any ordering of perceivable continuities and breaks is a mental construction of the historian. Consequently, a periodization that seems illuminating to one scholar is hopelessly wrongheaded to another.¹⁹

Although every study in history works within limits of time, the multitude of regions and perspectives included in world history add to the complexity of periodization.

¹⁶ Peter J. Lee, "Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History," in *How Students Learn History in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005), 42.

¹⁷ Peter N. Stearns, "Periodization in World History Teaching," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1987/2000).

¹⁸ William A. Green, "Periodizing World History," in *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995/2000).

¹⁹ Dunn, *The New World History*, 359-60.

Readers of JWH must be able recognize and navigate among the use of multiple periodization schemes to make sense of the scholarship. For example, Tonio Andrade's article on Chinese pirates, the Dutch East India Company, and mainland China used Imperial Chinese eras, by centering the study at the transition period between the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and eras from Western periodization, because it takes place during the Early Modern Period in an era of Western expansion and commercialization.²⁰ By using both Chinese and Western perspectives in the same study, Andrade invokes periodization schemes from both regions and provides a challenge for the reader.

K.N. Chaudhuri alerts the reader to his use of multiple periodization schemes in the text of his title: "The Unity and Disunity of Indian Ocean History from the Rise of Islam to 1750."²¹ Chaudhuri's use of the "Rise of Islam" as a starting date instead of 622 indicates that the author is emphasizing both Islamic and Gregorian calendars. Chaudhuri shifts from periodization scheme to periodization scheme many times in the article:

The period from the rise of *Tang China* (A.D. 618) and the *foundation of an Islamic community* (622) to the *eleventh century* constitutes a distinct double phase of expansion and decline. The *Abbasid period* in the history of Islam saw an astonishing mastery and control of space....The political unification of China and the progress of towns and cities in China during the *Song period* was no less striking.²²

In the above passage, Chaudhuri shifts temporal schemes several times in one page of text. In using multiple scales in his work, Chaudhuri seems to acknowledge the challenge to the reader because he places some dates in parentheses to help the reader move through various temporal schemes and understand his argument.

²⁰ Tonio Andrade, "The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 4 (2005).

²¹ K.N. Chaudhuri, "The Unity and Disunity of India Ocean History from the Rise of Islam to 1750," *Journal of World History* 4, no. 1 (1993): 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 14. Emphasis is mine.

Some world historians call for a common periodization scheme for the entire run of world history, yet serious disagreements over the nature of that scheme shape the field. For example, Jack A. Goldstone wrote that the term “early modern” in world history is misleading, offering “preindustrial” or “late premodern” in its stead. Goldstone’s suggestions do not merely involve terminology, but also include a shift in periodization:

Indeed, a sensible periodization of world history might run from ‘ancient’ (3500-500 B.C.)...to late premodern (1350-1900) to modern (1900-), taking rather arbitrary 500-year intervals, except for using the Black Death to separate the end of the medieval from the late premodern.²³

Goldstone’s argument for a shifting of a periodization scheme, not uncommon in JWH, indicates not that the field of world history needs to have one “correct” periodization scheme, but instead that world history is comprised of multiple periodization schemes. Moreover, periodization is more than creating clumps of time, but involves the historian designating meaning to those clumps of time. Students of world history must be able to understand that periodization schemes are constructs used by historians to make sense of the past. They also must understand that in world history these constructs shift, depending on the spatial scheme, or object of inquiry of a study.²⁴

Utilizing Multiple Spatial/Geographical Schemes

In addition to employing multiple temporal patterns through shifting periodization, world historians also employ multiple spatial schemes using shifting geographic boundaries. Manning wrote that “just as time cannot be limited to a one-dimensional measure of duration, the space that historians ‘cover’ cannot be limited to a

²³ Jack A. Goldstone, "Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the “Rise of the West” and the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 333.

²⁴ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that used multiple temporal/periodization schemes.

two-dimensional region marked out on a map.”²⁵ However, he contended, every study in world history must work within some defined limits of space. These limits, or boundaries, shift depending on the emphasis of the historian. Whereas national history is commonly bounded by the nation, world historians use a multitude of boundaries in their studies including the region, the interregion, and the globe. These boundaries represent geographic schemes for the historian. Historians can use the entire globe as an object of inquiry, or scale down and look at a local or national case study that they connect to larger global patterns. World historians shift geographic boundaries depending on the emphasis of the study and the time period. For example, the geographic boundaries of the Middle East may shift depending on the emphasis and temporal period of a study.

Some studies in JWH argue for a reevaluation of a long-held spatial scheme. Bin Yang argued for placing historical Yunnan in a larger global context by “redrawing the map” of early Eurasian communication.²⁶ By providing evidence for Yunnan’s significance in global trade of horses, silver, and shells, Yang asserted that the Yunnan province should be considered part of the Southeast Asia in the modern period. In short, Yang’s is a spatial argument that attempts to redefine the boundaries of historical regions.

Maghan Keita also questioned the geographic boundaries of the “Orient,” “Africa,” and the “West” to challenge previously accepted views of Asian and African roles in globalization. Keita argued that “one key to understanding this is the debate over the geographic and cultural placement of Egypt . . . as either Asian or African.”²⁷

²⁵ Manning, *Navigating World History*, 271.

²⁶ Bin Yang, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 3 (2004): 282.

²⁷ Maghan Keita, "Africans and Asians: Historiography and the Long View of Global Interaction," *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2005): 4.

Understanding the multiple spatial scales that world historians employ, then, is an essential cognitive strategy for world historians, teachers, and students of world history.²⁸

Employing Multiple Units of Analysis

All history defines and bounds its studies using conceptual devices such as time and space. A distinctive feature of world history is the use of multiple, nested units of analysis in addition to the use of multiple temporal and spatial scales. The historians in JWH used a number of distinctive, yet fluid boundaries to define their studies. Five units of analysis emerged from my study of JWH: (1) Geographically-defined case studies broadened through specific interregional and/or global connections; (2) Cross-regional or cultural contacts and exchanges; (3) Cross regional or cultural comparisons; (4) Interregional patterns; and (5) Global patterns (see Table 3.1 on page 99). These categories are not mutually exclusive, indeed, what makes world history distinctive is how these units of analysis are nested within or linked to each other, with almost of the JWH articles connecting cases, comparisons, or contacts and exchanges to larger interregional or global patterns.

For example, a JWH monograph might describe the case study of an object or a person and connect it to a larger global pattern. In this monograph, then, both the global pattern and its nested case study are the historian's objects of inquiry. Therefore, these connected ways historians represent their work in JWH define what constitutes world historical studies, and suggest what makes these studies different from those with a national or regional bend. I describe each below.

Case studies connected to larger patterns. Case studies in world history center on a local, national or regional area, and in this, are no different than any other local,

²⁸ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that utilized multiple spatial/geographical schemes.

national or regional case. However, world historians do not present their cases in isolation. Rather, the world historian links the case studies – no matter how “small” or local – to interregional or global patterns. This linking differentiates a world historical case from a regional, national or local case. For example, both a national historian and a world historian could write a case study of Mohandas Gandhi. However, a national historian might focus solely on Gandhi’s work in India, whereas a world historian might connect the case of Gandhi to global patterns of civil disobedience and decolonization in the twentieth century.

Karen Garner’s analysis of World Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) representatives in post-World War II Japan is a good example of a world historical case. Garner examined *both* the YWCA’s agenda to “liberate” Japanese women after World War II and the YWCA’s larger goal of promoting Christian values and women’s liberation around the world.²⁹ Thus, Garner *nested* the study in the larger context of Western-led feminist movements operating after World War II in non-western communities. This global movement, Garner argued, contributed to the rise of women’s roles in international policy making and governance.

The world historical case studies that I encountered in JWH varied from centering on a person, a nation, or even an object. What these cases have in common is the link to interregional or global patterns in world history. For example, I.C. Campbell’s case study of the lateen sail connected this innovation to the global history of navigation. Campbell argued against the previously-held views that Arabs invented the sail and that the sail played a major role in the history of navigation:

²⁹ Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004).

The history of the lateen sail is both more complicated and less significant than has generally been supposed. . . . This is not to deny the importance of sail evolution but rather to suggest that credit should be attached to the much underrated square sail—and to the true fore-and-aft sails with which the lateen sail has been too long confused.³⁰

The case studies in JWH illustrate the importance of connections to larger interregional and global patterns in world history. Without these connections, the cases would cease to be world history.³¹

Contact and exchange: Many studies in JWH make contact and exchange – not simply a geographic location – their central focus. World historical studies of contact and exchange differ from national or imperial studies focusing on one culture dominating or being dominated by another. The object of inquiry in world history is the point of exchange, placing multi-lateral interactions at the center of the historical study. For example M.A. Scherer shone new light on a case that historians had previously treated as an example of European imperialism.³² Scherer argued that Annette Akroyd, the British head of a boarding school in Calcutta in the nineteenth century, not only forced European ideas of schooling on Indian society, but also contributed to Indian scholarship by translating an Indian text into English for the first time. In making a case for revisiting this study, Scherer noted:

Some recent work has attempted to right the balance of older imperial studies by focusing on Indian culture and points of view. All this is good, a long-needed corrective. But whether the focus is British-Indian relations or comparative culture, the British cultural analysis needs to be as finely tuned as the Indian; the study of contact between two cultures is only as interesting as it is *two-way*.³³

³⁰ I.C. Cambell, "The Lateen Sail in World History," *The Journal of World History* 6, no. 1 (1995).

³¹ See Appendix A for additional JWH case studies.

³² M.A. Scherer, "A Cross-Cultural Conflict Reexamined: Annette Akroyd and Keshub Chunder Sen," *Journal of World History* 7, no. 2 (1996).

³³ *Ibid.*, 232. Emphasis in the original.

By focusing on the two-way contact and exchange, Scherer differentiated this study from one of British imperialism, where the focus may have been solely around Akroyd's contribution to the Indian education system.

Ian Tyrrell's transnational study of the Western United States and Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries described environmental contacts and exchanges between the two regions: "Extensive tours of the United States by Australian horticulturalists and irrigation promoters gave rise to an important exchange in irrigation technology, ideology, and personnel in the 1880s."³⁴ In addition, Tyrrell linked this exchange to larger patterns of exchange, writing that the "Californian exchange was only one, albeit important, part of larger and more complex patterns of environmental contact in the Pacific that dated to long before European arrival in the region."³⁵ Here Tyrrell documented the bilateral exchange of ideas and technology between two regions and the connection that this exchange had with global patterns.³⁶

Cross-regional or cultural comparison. In studies of cross-regional or cultural comparisons, the object of inquiry becomes the point of comparison between two or more regions or cultures. Comparative work in history serves several purposes. Some historians have used the comparative approach to bring "people without history" into the mainstream of scholarship, or contest the idea of Western political and economic hegemony:

Over the past two or three decades, global and comparative history have proved compelling vehicles for relating the development of Europe to that of the rest of

³⁴ Ian Tyrrell, "Peripheral Visions: Californian-Australian Environmental Contacts, C. 1850s-1910," *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (2005): 284.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁶ See Appendix A for additional contact and exchange articles in JWH.

the world and of challenging the misleading myth of exceptionalism that has dominated much of the history written about the United States.³⁷

Other scholars, however, have questioned the place of the comparative approach in world historical scholarship. For example, Dunn asked: "Is a book that compares a similar pattern of developments in two different parts of the world necessarily world history?"³⁸

In my analysis of JWH, I found that comparative articles ventured beyond simply comparing two different regions of the world by linking them to larger interregional or global patterns. For example, Yinghong Cheng and Patrick Manning compared the Cultural Revolution in China with Cuba's Revolutionary Offensive. Although these movements developed separately, by using "education for revolution" as the point of comparison, the authors were able to connect both movements to the larger worldwide theme of educational reform against "the elite-and-urban bias of the modern educational system."³⁹

Similarly, William K. Storey analyzed big cat hunting in Kenya and Northern India from 1898-1930. Storey contended that the hunt symbolized the social structure of European imperial colonies:

For the hunters, the basic underlying structures of the hunt symbolized the triumph of culture over nature and of the colonist over the colonized. Hunting stories, particularly those about big cats, picked up the most salient themes of colonial society.⁴⁰

In addition, Storey argued, the hunting experience in these two regions fits into a larger framework of British expatriate culture in Africa and Asia. By creating structured

³⁷ Adas, "Global and Comparative History," 413.

³⁸ Dunn, *The New World History*, 407.

³⁹ Yinghong Cheng and Patrick Manning, "Revolution in Education: China and Cuba in Global Context, 1957-76," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 3 (2003): 385.

⁴⁰ William K. Storey, "Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930," *The Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (1991): 149.

comparisons of two regions *and* by connecting the points of comparison to larger global and interregional patterns, both Cheng and Manning's and Storey's monographs demonstrate the authors' world historical stance in comparing two regions of the world.⁴¹

Interregional patterns. Historians focusing on interregional patterns in world history often ground their approach in the work of Marshall G.S. Hodgson and his hemispheric interregional stance to world history. Hodgson argued that historical events may be "dealt with in their relation to the total constellation of historical forces of which they are a part... This means that we are to consider how events reflect interdependent interregional developments."⁴² An example of interregional development in history, Hodgson claimed, was the rise and spread of Mongol power in the thirteenth century. With this rise and spread of power, "even the economic life of remote parts of the Hemisphere were made to act quite directly."⁴³ In studies of this nature the object of inquiry is the interregion or even the hemisphere.

Liu Xinru provided a JWH example with "Silks and Religions in Eurasia." In connecting the silk trade to other institutions such as religion, Xinru used Eurasia as the backdrop for his inquiry, arguing that "only in Eurasian scope is it possible to identify trends concerning [silk's] circulation, the origins of its supply, and the relationship between silk transactions and social institutions, especially religious institutions."⁴⁴ In short, Xinru needed a much bigger canvas than the nation in which to see the Silk Road and its interconnections. Similarly, David Christian argued that it is more useful for

⁴¹ See Appendix A for additional comparative articles in JWH.

⁴² Marshall G.S. Hodgson, "Hemispheric Interregional History as an Approach to World History," in *The New World History*, ed. Ross E. Dunn (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1954/2000), 113.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Liu Xinru, "Silks and Religions in Eurasia, C. A.D. 600-1200," *Journal of World History* 6, no. 1 (1995): 26-7.

historians to look across nation-state boundaries when considering Inner Eurasia. Using political, geographic and ecological arguments, Christian built a case for considering the lands controlled by the former Soviet Union, Mongolia, and parts of China's western Xinjiang region, as one coherent interregional unit throughout history—a case he suggested is a bit weaker since the collapse of the Soviet Union.⁴⁵

In both of these monographs, Xinru and Christian expanded outside the traditional boundaries of the nation, state, or region, allowing the phenomena to shape their scope of their inquiry, rather than the geographic boundary. The interregional patterns which they identify are not static, but represent change over time.⁴⁶

Global patterns. Many historians push beyond interregional patterns to consider the entire world the object of historical inquiry. Beginning, in part, with the *Annales* School founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloc in 1929, this approach to world history challenges conventional historiography by broadening the boundaries of the field, and employing an interdisciplinary approach to history.⁴⁷ An example of this approach is found in Immanuel Wallerstein's world system model. According to this model, states and nations were inadequate units of analysis for the study of the modern world. Instead, Wallerstein argued, the early modern world was "united in a single process of comprehensive, systemic change, albeit one that produced drastically unequal relations of power and economic well-being."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ David Christian, "Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History," *Journal of World History* 11, no. 1 (1994).

⁴⁶ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that focus on interregional patterns.

⁴⁷ Fritz Stern, ed. *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

⁴⁸ Dunn, *The New World History*, 225.

Adam McKeown applied this approach in his analysis of global migrations in the pages of *JWH*.⁴⁹ McKeown wrote that between 1846 and 1940, the world experienced a significant relocation of peoples through mass migration to and from the Americas, Australia, Asia, and Africa. In situating these migrations within a historical context, and by not privileging the migrations to North America, McKeown was able to look across migrations to understand the growing world economy. This growth, McKeown argues, was spurred by more factors than European industrialization. Further, by expanding mass migrations from a transatlantic to a global scale, McKeown also asserted that the traditional periodization scheme for the end of mass migrations should shift from 1914 to 1940.

Dennis Owen Flynn and Arturo Giráldez provided another *JWH* example of history taken on a global rather than a regional scale. In analyzing two major cycles of world-wide silver trade through the mid-seventeenth century, the authors made connections between economic, environmental and demographic histories beginning in the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ These connections are not easily seen when selecting a narrower unit of analysis. The authors argued that historians ought to locate economic patterns on a global scale:

Our work in global monetary history, however, suggests that world trade history should be viewed as a component of a vast, complex, and organic world system. It is difficult to make sense of regional comparisons without first recognizing that global interconnections continue to alter the underlying characteristics of specific regions; simultaneously, global connections depend upon regional distinctiveness.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004).

⁵⁰ Dennis Owen Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 420.

Like the interregional patterns world historians use, global patterns focus on connecting events to larger patterns of change over time.

For example, in writing about littoral societies, Michael N. Pearson moved away from traditional boundaries to focus on bodies of water and their shorelines:

We can go around the shores of an ocean, or a sea, or indeed the whole world, and identify societies that have more in common with other littoral societies than they do with their inland neighbors...the shore folk have more in common with other shore folk thousands of kilometers away on some other shore of the ocean than they do with those in their immediate hinterland.⁵²

Pearson did not merely describe littoral peoples in different regions, but connected them to larger global patterns of change over time, including political, geographic, and economic changes. Looking for and at global patterns, while important, does not mean that world history scholars ignore regional or local distinctions. Rather, it signifies the need to understand the global in order to see clearly the regional or the local. World history, again, requires the world historian to work on multiple scales, from the global to the local, thus making the field a distinct form of history.⁵³

Incorporating Disciplinary Tools and Concepts Outside of History

In addition to multiple and shifting temporal, spatial and analytic schemes, world historians use a number of other disciplines to conduct their studies including, linguistics, ecology, geography, epidemiology, and anthropology. In making his case for “big” history that studies the entire scale of time from the Big Bang (13.7 billion years ago) to the present, Christian argued that history must “transgress the traditional boundaries between the discipline of history and other disciplines, such as prehistory, biology,

⁵² Michael N. Pearson, "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2006): 353-54.

⁵³ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that use the globe as the unit of analysis.

geology, and cosmology.”⁵⁴ Christian acknowledged the objections to world history of this scope, but adds that breaching these conventional boundaries “can only be healthy.”⁵⁵ Similarly, Jared Diamond contended that “successful methodologies for analyzing historical problems have been worked out in several fields,” such as epidemiology, climatology, and geology, and thus historians must use the tools needed to support their inquiry when studying the history of human society.⁵⁶

Of course, other fields of history have incorporated methods and theories from other disciplines, most notably political science, economics, sociology, psychology, and anthropology. World historians, it seems, have looked past the social sciences to life and physical sciences to understand the world in which they are working. Christian, for example, relied on physics and biological evolutions to make his historical arguments, whereas Diamond’s case was built, in part, on agronomy.

In a 1991 JWH article, Crosby used epidemiology to write about the migration of peoples to the Western hemisphere to establish relationships between patterns of infectious disease, migration patterns, and shifts in demography. Crosby’s version of the history of the peoples of the Atlantic basin focused more on deadly diseases than on mercantile or imperial policies:

Most of us who are now living in the Americas are doing so because our ancestors were either attracted or dragged across the Atlantic to fill vacancies opened up by disease. This is not a particularly ennobling story, and a lot of people believe history should ennoble or be forgotten.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ David Christian, "The Case for Big History," *Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (1991): 225.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 425.

⁵⁷ Alfred W. Crosby, "Infectious Disease and the Demography of the Atlantic Peoples," *Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (1991): 119.

In “Botany, Chemistry, and Tropical Development,” Daniel R. Headrick used both history of botany and chemistry to form an argument about the economic disparities throughout history between countries in the temperate zone and those located in the tropics. Headrick argued that:

In the nineteenth century, research in botany and agronomy by scientists from the industrial north transformed the tropics. Then, in the twentieth century, the industrial north invested heavily in chemical synthetics, thereby reducing the market for many tropical products.⁵⁸

In this and other JWH articles, the authors used research from disciplines outside of history to support their historical arguments. This method is certainly not exclusive to world history, but it appears that in reframing the context of even the most familiar historical stories (e.g., migrations to the “new” world), world historians turn outside the social sciences to incorporate modes of inquiry not traditionally included in historical work.⁵⁹

Distinctive Historiographic Issues in World History

World historians’ use of so many different temporal and spatial schemes, their employing different units of analysis, and incorporating scholarship from scientific disciplines has generated structural issues about the nature of world history. These issues are reflected in the historiographic debates of the field. A number of JWH articles focus exclusively on such historiographic questions – ranging from discussions of different methods of historical inquiry, to arguing for different periodization or spatial schemes in world history. In many ways, these debates provide corroborating support for the features I have identified as the structure of world history. However, the monographs do

⁵⁸ Daniel R. Headrick, “Botany, Chemistry, and Tropical Development,” *Journal of World History* 7, no. 1 (2005): 19.

⁵⁹ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that incorporated concepts from external disciplines.

not assert that the debates define the field itself. That is, though there are different positions among the authors about scales and units of analysis, these disputes take place *within* the pages of JWH, a journal that publishes each and every one of the historiographic positions. Therefore, the historiographic essays demonstrate the salience of my position, while suggesting that those in the midst of the field might not fully “see” the contours of the field.

For example John F. Richards took on the issues of spatial and temporal constructs in world history. Richards challenged traditional historiographic relationships between geographic and temporal boundaries in arguing that historians should include India as a “modern” region of the world during the Early Modern Period (1500-1800).⁶⁰ Specifically, Richards advocated enlarging the “space” of the early modern period in history to include what previous historians have referred to as the Mughal, late medieval, or late precolonial periods in Indian history. In presenting his argument, Richards called into question the spatial and temporal traditions of the field.

Frances Karttunen and Alfred W. Crosby also challenged the traditional methods and data of the field by calling for the addition of linguistics to the study of world history, arguing for language as a data set for world-wide history: “We need a new source of data and, probably, new techniques to use on that data. What about language?”⁶¹ Karttunen and Crosby explained that pidgin and creole languages of the formal European colonies might well provide a new lens for examining the histories of the “people without

⁶⁰ John F. Richards, “Early Modern India and World History,” *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997).

⁶¹ Frances Karttunen and Alfred W. Crosby, “Language Death, Language Genesis, and World History,” *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 158.

history.”⁶² Articles such as these reiterate the plurality of methods world historians use to conduct their work and bound their studies in space and time.

The emphasis world historians have long placed on teaching is also apparent in historiographic monographs in JWH.⁶³ For example, in a 1991 issue of JWH George Brooks wrote about world history teaching at the undergraduate level and Philip D. Curtin at the graduate level. By arguing for a particular course organization, authors of articles also made historiographic arguments about the structure of the field of world history. Curtin wrote that the key to understanding world history is not with world history survey courses, but with comparative history courses; he predicted:

In the twentieth-first century, many (perhaps most) academic historians will teach world history, but the *specialists* in world history will not be ‘worldists’ or ‘globalists’; they will be ‘comparatists.’⁶⁴

In arguing for comparative courses at the graduate level, Curtin may believe that comparison, not the globe or the universe, should be the primary unit of analysis for world history.⁶⁵

Toward a Scholarly and Pedagogical Structure of World History

In reading across eighteen years of writing by historians publishing within the issues of JWH, I have been able to identify common elements in world historians’ work, elements beyond the content of their arguments or their topics of focus. In many ways, it was not surprising that world historians use larger units of analysis than do national or regional historians. However, what was striking were the number of monographs with

⁶² Ibid., 169.

⁶³ JWH articles focus on teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels; thus far no JWH article has centered on secondary world history teaching.

⁶⁴ Philip D. Curtin, "Graduate Teaching in World History," *Journal of World History* 2, no. 1 (1991): 82. Emphasis in the original.

⁶⁵ See Appendix A for additional JWH articles that address world historiography.

multiple *linked* units of analysis, and multiple *nested* spatial and temporal schemes.

Monographs consistently used case studies, patterns of contact and exchange, comparison *and* inter-connected large global or interregional patterns, sometimes all in one article.

Moreover, the interregional and global patterns are not static or inert; historians use them to represent change over time. World history, David Northrup wrote recently in JWH, is about connections across both space and time:

World historians confront two huge conceptual tasks. One is horizontal integration: how to interconnect in each era the broad range of human experiences around the world. The other is vertical integration: how to indentify patterns in the long sweep of past time.⁶⁶

What makes the JWH articles world historical, then, is their focus on, or connections to, large interregional or global patterns of change over time.

My analysis of 202 articles in JWH identified what I think are the distinctive conceptual devices world historians use to conduct their studies and what I argue readers must use to navigate through the scholarship. The capacity to shift between and *connect* different objects of historical inquiry, to utilize and *link* multiple spatial schemes, to employ but *nest* multiple periodization schemes, and to incorporate multiple disciplines into their work was evident in the scholarship published in the JWH. Though world historians regularly engage in debates over which unit of analysis really *is* world history's unique unit of analysis or which is the best periodization scheme, I think that the salient features of these debates, that is, the distinctive capacities that enable world historical inquiry, understanding, and debate, serve to unite and create the field instead of dividing it.

⁶⁶ David Northrup, "Globalization and the Great Convergence: Rethinking World History in the Long Term," *Journal of World History* 16, no. 3 (2006): 249.

Deepened understanding likely comes when we ask *why* world historians use multiple periodization schemes, employ multiple units of analysis, and debate the relative merits of these devices. However, in looking beyond the surface of the topics that world historians study, it might be critical to recognize and then employ the plurality of structures world historians use to work within the domain. Understanding the plurality, seeing the connections, and moving easily among them seems to be vital in the process of knowledge formation and acquisition of world historians. What is distinctive about world history, then, is not only that there are multiple schemes, but that historians consistently move between these schemes – scales of time and space – from the global to the interregional to the local and back again. Moreover, world historians appear never to lose sight of large scales of time and space no matter how “small” the study. Indeed, it is the world historians’ use of interregional and global patterns that I found to be the most salient conceptual devices, with almost every study focusing on or linking to these patterns. Thus world historians use conceptual devices such as case studies, contact and exchange, and comparison in the service of larger interregional and global patterns, allowing them to transcend the nation-state and the civilization.

Being able to use these conceptual devices is important for meaningful learning.

As history educators Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton wrote,

Meaningful learning involves not just mastering the content of a subject (no matter how deeply), but understanding the nature and purpose of that subject – the diverse ways of thinking and acting mathematically, historically, or scientifically in our society. We use the term *disciplined inquiry* to refer to purposeful investigations that take place within a community that establishes the goals, standards, and procedures of study.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools*, 2nd ed. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 13. Emphasis in the original.

To engage students in disciplined inquiry of world history – a distinct field within the discipline of history – educators should understand the structure of the field and that structure should be made visible to students.⁶⁸ I argue that this is part of the pedagogical content knowledge teachers need to teach world history. The conceptual devices I identified in the pages of JWH represent both the substance and the syntax of the field of world history and may help to provide coherence for the school subject. But first we must further examine the current status of world history education. How do pedagogical tools and teachers represent and use these conceptual devices? How do they build coherence in world history? In the next chapter I engage in a content analysis of national and state world history standards to examine how they make sense of so much time, space, events, cultures, and people.

⁶⁸ Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowing"; Schwab, *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education*.

Chapter Four

Looking for Coherence in State and National Standards

The voluntary national standards movement promised to provide a coherent framework from which states could design their world history standards that would, in turn, directly affect what teachers taught, students were to learn, and what the state would assess. Many reformers and politicians held that such standards would, without creating a mandatory national curriculum, offer world class education across the United States. As I argued in Chapter Two, the political controversy surrounding the national history standards and the subsequent variation among the state documents suggests that the promise of national standards went unfulfilled, particularly in world history.

What if, however, individual standards documents provide clear and coherent representation of world history for instructional purposes? Might there be conceptual devices that create an underlying structure to the subject – ones that the political controversy obscured? How do the *National Standards for World History* or the curricular frameworks in Virginia and Michigan represent world history for instructional and assessment purposes?

This chapter takes up these questions by analyzing the content of the national standards and the state standards of Michigan and Virginia – three standards documents educators and historians created around the same time in the 1990s which remain in use today. In analyzing these documents, I sought to understand how each represented the history of the world, looking to see if the documents provide the content and connections

within the content to offer a meaningful and coherent picture of the subject. Too often discussions of standards, whether at the national or state level, center solely on the political or assessment issues. In venturing beyond the political debates, this chapter treats standards documents as tools that define and represent world history as an instructional goal or target. Do these world history standards reflect the conceptual devices and means of connecting these devices that I found in my close reading of the articles *Journal of World History* (JWH)? If not, are there distinctive devices used by the documents to represent world history for teaching, learning, and assessment?

As I argue in this chapter, my findings call into question the stand-alone value of these documents for teachers. While the national standards are certainly inclusive, they provide so much historical content that one could craft just about any type of history course out of them. The Virginia standards on the other hand seemed to select content more narrowly – reacting in part to the national standards inclusivity – to produce a more coherent guide for instruction. Yet, the Virginia standards privilege one part of the world over others, thus calling into question how world historical the document really is. Michigan’s social studies framework adopted the generic historical thinking skills of the national standards, but essentially ignored any history, except that of the United States. In the sections that follow, I discuss my methods of analysis and detailed findings for each of the three standards documents. I conclude by looking across cases to assess the value of extant standards as coherent tools for world history instruction.

Methods and Data

To engage in my analysis, I returned to the document that defined world history at the national level and the state standards of Virginia and Michigan: the *National*

Standards for World History, the *Virginia Standards of Learning for World History* and the *Michigan Standards and Benchmarks for Social Studies*.¹ As I engaged in this study, I was mindful that content standards are but one pedagogical tool teachers use to help plan for and guide instruction.² Moreover, the sample size of the study is small and not intended to be generalizable. However, this investigation of the first and only national standards document for world history and cases of two very different state documents can provide some insight into how world history is represented for instruction at the secondary level.

As I did with the scholarly articles, I engaged in a close reading of the standards, trying to look beyond the “what” of the content, to see if I could uncover “how” the content is represented. To help in the reading, I attempted to use the conceptual devices

¹ The 1996 national standards for world history are a part of the revised and combined version of the original 1994 standards. See, National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History: Basic Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), 28. Michigan’s standards for world history are included in Michigan Department of Education, “Michigan Curriculum Framework,” (1996), http://www.michigan.gov/documents/MichiganCurriculumFramework_8172_7.pdf. The Virginia 2001 world history standards are part of the *Virginia History and Social Science Standards of Learning* – a revised version of the 1995 standards document of the same name. See, Virginia Board of Education, *History and Social Science Standards of Learning* (Richmond, VA, 2001).

² Another worthy study would be a content analysis of widely-used world history textbooks. Although there have been some reviews of world history texts, (e.g., a 2003 review by the Fordham Foundation), there has been no reviews which use world history’s unique conceptual devices as points of analysis. For example in the Fordham review, the reviewers used the same criteria for U.S. and world history texts. See Diane Ravitch, *A Consumer’s Guide to High School History Textbooks* (Washington, D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, February, 2004). In a preliminary examination of three popular world history texts, I found that, like many standards documents, the texts focus mainly on the region or the civilization as the unit of analysis and rarely provide connections between or within regions or over periods of time. An example of this is the lack of references to previous or upcoming sections of the text. For example, a section on China in the first half of the twentieth century ends with the temporary halt of the Civil War as the Nationalists and Communists unite to fight the Japanese. Someone using the text would have to then go back to the table of contents or index to find out where to pick up the story after World War II when the Civil War resumes. Likewise, textbooks offer few places to make comparisons between regions, such as referring the reader back to the growth of industrialism in Europe when reading about the rise of industrialism during Japan’s Meiji Restoration. Although world history textbooks have increasingly included more and more stories of different regions of the world over the past forty years, the regional organization of the texts may not provide a coherent narrative of the world’s history for teachers or students. This is consistent with Ravitch’s findings that U.S. and world history texts lack a coherent narrative. A complete analysis of texts is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but I hope to return to an investigation of world history texts in future work.

and the tools I located by reading across the articles in JWH. I used these to help me see connections and possible relationships that might be difficult to see given the format of standards documents. Unlike monographs that typically define problems, present evidence, and reason toward a conclusion, standards documents consist of “lists” of content in the form of behavioral objects. As Robert B. Bain has argued, too often the format of standards documents removes the questions and the connections that made knowledge meaningful at the outset.³ I return to this point below in the presentation of my analysis.

In reading the standards, therefore, I used the devices described in the previous chapter to help code the national and state standards documents (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1
Coding Scheme for Content Analysis of Standards Documents: World History’s
Conceptual Devices

Code Name		Symbol
Multiple Temporal/Periodization Schemes		MP
Multiple Spatial/Geographic Schemes		MS
Units of Analysis	Case Study with Specific Interregional and/or Global Connections	CS
	Cross Regional or Cultural Contacts and Exchanges	EX
	Cross Regional or Cultural Comparisons	COM
	Interregional Patterns	IP
	Global Patterns	GP
Disciplinary Tools and Concepts Outside of History		ED
Historiographic Issues in World History		H

I looked for areas of coherence by coding each of the standards documents as a whole, paying particular attention to how the authors of the standards set the context for the

³ 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 in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2005).

standards, the organizational scheme, what historical content the standards contained, and how they connected historical events across time and space. In addition to this holistic analysis, I chose two time periods on which to primarily focus – the period of time just prior to 1492 and the period of time just prior to the twentieth century. In the national standards these are “Era 5: Intensified Hemispheric Interactions, 1000-1500 CE” and “Era 7: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914.” In the Virginia Standards these are “Era IV: Regional Interactions, 1000-1500 A.D.” and “Era VI: Age of Revolutions, 1650 to 1914 A.D.” Michigan does not divide world historical content by eras in their standards, so I looked for content related to the two time periods throughout the standards document.

These are important eras to examine, as they are very often included in secondary world history courses and represent two periods of time leading up to major global events that teachers and curriculum writers often treat as turning points in world history:

Columbus sailing to the Americas, and the First World War. Examining the period of time prior to 1492 allows us to see how standards present the history of the world before the Eastern and Western hemispheres had direct contact. On the other hand, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were times of global political and technological change; in particular, this period of time includes the Industrial Revolution – arguably one of the most significant events in human history. As Peter N. Stearns contends:

The industrial revolution constituted of one of these rare occasions in world history when the human species altered its framework of existence. Indeed, the only previous development comparable in terms of sheer magnitude was the Neolithic revolution – the conversion from hunting and gathering to agriculture as the basic form of production for survival.⁴

Because of its global causes and consequences, as well as its occurrence in different regions of the world at different times, the era that includes the Industrial Revolution

⁴ Peter N. Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 5.

provides an important lens through which to view the standards' treatment of a global phenomenon.

I first describe the structure of each document before turning an analysis of the content and the organizational of the standards, looking in particular for the ways standard use, for example, nested temporal and geographic scales or interconnected units of analysis.

The National Standards for World History

Before turning to an analysis of the content of the *National Standards for World History*, it is important to identify its system of organization and the choices the committee and its directors made to present historical content thus. The *National Standards for History Basic Edition* document consists of two sections: History (K-4), and U.S. and World History (5-12).⁵ The authors divided the grades five through twelve U.S. and world history standards into four chapters: an introduction describing the development of the standards, standards in historical thinking, standards for U.S. history, and standards for world history. After the introduction, the authors present historical thinking skills for both U.S. and world history in Chapter Two. Because both the world and U.S. history thinking skills are in the same chapter, there is no distinction made between the thinking required to understand a national history and that required to understand world history. Although the authors cite some of the challenges in doing world historical work in the introduction, there is nothing special, distinctive, or world historical about the thinking standards.

⁵ Although the K-4 standards do contain some world history, I focused my analysis on the 5-12 world history standards.

The fourth chapter of the standards presents the historical content for world history. The standards are divided into nine eras; each era contains between two to seven numbered standards; each standard has between two to six “understandings” (designated by letters). Under each understanding are lists of specific learning outcomes for students divided by grade levels called “elaborations.” There is an historical thinking skill (from the second chapter mentioned above) in parentheses after each elaboration. An example from Era 5 follows:

Standard 1: The maturing of an interregional system of communication, trade, and cultural exchange in an era of Chinese economic power and Islamic expansion.

1A: The student understands China’s extensive urbanization and commercial expansion between the 10th and 13th centuries.

Therefore, the student is able to:

7-12: Explain the major dynastic transitions in China and how Confucianism changed (Analyze cause-and-effect relationships).⁶

The example above is only part of Standard 1; in total, Standard 1 has four understandings, each with between four and six elaborations (see Appendix B for an extended example of the organizing structure of the national standards).

As the above description of the organizational scheme of the world history standards shows, the very structure of the standards appears to create a problem for developing coherence. Almost by definition, standards writing committees must disconnect connected historical content to create separate and discreet objectives for students that are measurable and discreet. As mentioned above, for each of the nine eras there is a list of standards, a list of understandings, a list of elaborations, and a list of thinking skills. While such listing might help set clear and discrete goals, I argue that such a representation forces teachers or students to add something to the mix to

⁶ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, 166. Emphasis in the original.

“reconnect” content that has been separated into lists. Given this problem inherent in the representation of knowledge of instruction in this format, how do (or do) the standards reconnect the now discrete pieces of knowledge? Do they use the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians?

Using Multiple but “Unnested” Temporal and Spatial Schemes

In my analysis I found that the national standards use many of the shifting temporal and spatial scales that I had found in my study of JWH. The standards document incorporates multiple periodization schemes and moves from the region to interregion to the global throughout and even within the individual standards. However, there is rarely explanation for these moves or connections or “nesting” between the various temporal and spatial schemes. Further, except for brief mention of the reasons for multiple periodization schemes in world history, the standards leave it up to the teacher to make meaning of all of the temporal and spatial schemes. I describe these findings in more detail below.

In the introductory section to the national standards, the authors acknowledge that there are different periodization schemes for civilizational, regional, and national histories, but write:

As teachers work toward a more integrated study of world history in their classrooms they will appreciate having a periodization scheme that encourages study of those broad developments that have involved large segments of the world’s population and that have lasting significance.⁷

To help, the authors of the national standards organized the world history standards into nine eras spanning from “beginnings” to present, thus giving a large and common

⁷ Ibid., 46.

overarching framework for the world's history – a periodization scheme intended to capture global changes and not those in just one region of the globe:

- Era 1: The Beginnings of Human Society
- Era 2: Early Civilizations and the Emergence of Pastoral Peoples, 4000-1000 BCE
- Era 3: Classical Traditions, Major Religions, and Giant Empires, 1000 BCE-300 CE
- Era 4: Expanding Zones of Exchange and Encounter, 300-1000 CE
- Era 5: Intensified Hemispheric Interactions, 1000-1500 CE
- Era 6: The Emergence of the First Global Age, 1450-1770
- Era 7: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914
- Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900-1945
- Era 9: The 20th Century since 1945: Promises and Paradoxes.⁸

Looking across the era titles, it appears that the standards focus on large interregional and global interactions; indeed, none of the era titles specify particular regions or civilizations. For example, Era 4 is “Expanding Zones of Exchange and Encounter,” suggesting that the standards will include discussion of large zones of trade and interaction. In Era 6 the standards focus on the “First Global Age.” As a whole, the standards encompass a great deal of time from “beginnings” to the 1990s. The amount of time in each era varies with some including up to 5000 years and others less than fifty. The authors include an introductory summary for the era that includes three or four “big stories” or patterns which “give shape to each era.”

Within each era, some of the standards focus on regional or civilizational topics, whereas others focus on interactions between regions. For example, the seven standards in Era 5 are:

- Standard 1: The maturing of an interregional system of communication, trade, and cultural exchange in an era of Chinese economic power and Islamic expansion
- Standard 2: The redefining of European society and culture, 1000-1300

⁸ Ibid.

Standard 3: The rise of the Mongol empire and its consequences for Eurasian peoples, 1200-1350

Standard 4: The growth of states, towns, and trade in Sub-Saharan Africa between the 11th and 15th centuries

Standard 5: Patterns of crisis and recovery in Afro-Eurasia, 1300-1450

Standard 6: The expansion of states and civilizations in the Americas, 1000-1500

Standard 7: Major global trends from 1000-1500.⁹

Standards 2, 4, and 6 center on the regions of Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Americas, whereas the use of the terms “interregional system of communication,” “consequences for Eurasian peoples,” and “patterns of crisis and recovery in Afro-Eurasia” in the remainder of the standards signifies an examination of large interregional patterns and interactions between regions and cultures.

The authors also reference temporal schemes when they write that they chose the secular designations BCE and CE in place of BC and AD, but this “in no way alters the conventional Gregorian calendar”¹⁰ – the main temporal scheme in the standards. As mentioned above, in the introduction to both the U.S. and world history standards, the authors included “Standards in Historical Thinking.” In one of these standards, the authors engage students in issues of periodization by having them compare alternative models for periodization and examine different calendars such as the Gregorian, Roman, and Muslim.¹¹

In Eras 5 and 7, as in all of the eras in the national standards, the standards shift temporal perspective depending on the region they discuss. For example, Standard 3 of Era 5 focuses on “rise of the Mongol empire and its consequences for Eurasian people, 1200-1350” whereas Standard 6 of the same era examines the “expansion of states and civilizations in the Americas, 1000-1500.” In doing this, the authors acknowledge a need

⁹ Ibid., 165.

¹⁰ Ibid., 133.

¹¹ Ibid., 63.

to shift our temporal lens as we move from region to region and look across multiple regions. Regardless of what periodization scheme the authors chose for the standards, by acknowledging the complexity of periodization in world history, and encouraging students to compare and evaluate various periodization schemes, the national standards represent the shifting temporal schemes in world history.

In addition, certain standards incorporate multiple periodization schemes. For example, Standard 5C represents time by both centuries and dynasties:

The student understands major political developments in Asia in the *aftermath of the collapse of Mongol rule* and the plague pandemic....

Analyze reasons for the collapse of Mongol rule in China and the reconstituting of the empire under the *Chinese Ming dynasty*....

Describe the Zheng He maritime expeditions of the early *15th century* and analyze why the Ming state initiated, then terminated, these voyages.¹²

To understand this passage, however, a reader would have to know the time period of the aftermath of the Mongol Empire, when the Mongol Empire collapsed, the time period of the Ming Dynasty and what years constitute the early fifteenth century. This one example is representative of many shifting temporal schemes in the national standards.

In addition to incorporating multiple temporal schemes, in an introductory “note on terminology” the authors of the standards reference the occurrence of multiple and shifting spatial schemes in world history and how they intend to use some of them in their standards:

Southwest Asia is used to designate the area commonly referred to as the Middle East, that is, the region extending from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to Afghanistan, including Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula. Middle East is used only in certain standards pertaining to the 20th century.¹³

¹² Ibid., 172. Emphasis is mine.

¹³ Ibid., 133.

In addition, the authors write that they use the term “Afro-Eurasia” to signify historical developments in Africa, Europe, and Asia. The acknowledgement of shifting geographical boundaries which are dependent on temporal context closely resembles what world historians do in their work. However, the standards do not explain *why* they shift between the spatial terms Southeast Asia and Middle East depending on the century. Nor do they explain specific spatial schemes within the standards themselves.

In Era 5, the standards move between several different spatial boundaries such as the interregion, Afro-Eurasia, Eurasia, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Americas, and the globe. These geographic boundaries shift depending on the object of inquiry of the standards, and in this reflect work in the field of world history. For example, Standard 3 focuses on the rise of the Mongol empire and its consequences for *Eurasian* peoples, whereas Standard 5 examines patterns of crisis and recovery in *Afro-Eurasia*. Because the scope of Standard 5 includes the Black Death, economic and demographic crises of the 14th century and the collapse of the Mongol empire, it needs a larger “space” than does Standard 3 which focuses on the Mongol empire and its consequences. Except for the introductory note on terminology mentioned above, the standards do not explain these spatial movements, but instead rely on the reader to be able to make these moves in every era of the standards.

The standards in Era 7 similarly shift geographical schemes depending on the historical content of the standard. For example, Standard 3 focuses on the “transformation of Eurasian societies in an era of global trade and rising European power.” Within this standard, teachers and students move from the space of Europe, to nineteenth century Russian expansion, to Qing China:

Standard 3: The transformation of Eurasian societies in an era of global trade and rising European power, 1750-1870

3A: The student understands how the Ottoman Empire attempted to meet the challenge of Western military, political, and economic power.

3B: The student understands Russian absolutism, reform, and imperial expansion in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

3C: The student understands the consequences of political and military encounters between Europeans and peoples of South and Southeast Asia.

3D: The student understands how China's Qing dynasty responded to economic and political crises in the late 18th and 19th centuries

3E: The student understands how Japan was transformed from feudal shogunate to modern nation-state in the 19th century.¹⁴

This example represents several spatial shifts that a reader would have to make to understand it – from continent to empire to nation-state to geographic region. In addition, although the authors describe what they meant by *Southwest* Asia in the introduction, there is no such description for South and *Southeast* Asia. In Standard 3C, the elaborations indicate that South and Southeast Asia includes India and Indonesia, but an elaboration under 3D using the term Southeast Asia leaves it up to the reader to decide to what geographic location they are referring: “Explain the growth of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia.”¹⁵ Because geographical boundaries shift depending on historical context, understanding how world historians use spatial boundaries is an essential cognitive skill for world history teachers. Although the authors of the national standards attempt to explain some geographic terminology, they stop short at explaining why this is important and alerting the reader to additional geographic definitions.

As mentioned above, the eras include standards at various geographic scales including nations, regions, civilizations, interregion, and the globe. However, there is no indication how these standards connect, or which standards might be nested within others. For example, in Era 6, Standard 2 focuses on Europe and Standard 4 on

¹⁴ Each of these understandings (3A-3E) includes specific elaborations; see *Ibid.*, 190-91.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

interactions between peoples of Africa, Europe, and the Americas; both standards reference the role of the European Catholic and Protestant religions. Whereas Standard 2 centers on the religions in Europe, Standard 4 focuses on the role of these religions in European colonies. However, nothing alerts readers to this connection, making it possible that teachers think that these needed to be taught separately and would miss opportunities to make these connections for their students.

Employing Multiple but Unconnected Units of Analysis

The national standards contain multiple units of analysis throughout the nine eras. In the introduction, the authors write that the standards advocate courses “that are genuinely global in scope.”¹⁶ The era titles themselves indicate a focus on large interregional and global patterns. For example, Era 1 is titled “The Beginnings of Human Society” indicating a large global unit of analysis. Era 5 includes an examination of interregional patterns with its title: “Intensified Hemispheric Interactions.” Within eras, the authors organize the standards by regions or civilizations in addition to including interregional and global standards. In Era 5, for example, the authors include separate standards for Africa, Europe, and the Americas along with standards related to interregional systems of trade, crisis and recovery in Afro-Eurasia, and a global standard.

At the end of the world history standards document, the authors have added a section entitled “World History Across the Eras” which includes one standard: “Long-term changes and recurring patterns in world history.”¹⁷ The content of this standard addresses patterns of change over time, such as the rise of trade, the building of cities, the ideals and institutions of freedom, and the development of nation-states over long periods

¹⁶ Ibid., 132.

¹⁷ Ibid., 136.

of time. The authors suggest that teachers and students “step way back from our spinning planet, as it were, to take in broad vistas and long spans of time.”¹⁸ With this section, the authors encourage teachers and students to examine world history through a global lens.

Unfortunately, the document does not indicate how or when teachers might use this final global standard, or how previous eras and standards are nested within it. For example, part of the standard asks students to “compare the economic and social importance of slavery and other forms of coerced labor in various societies from ancient times to the present.”¹⁹ The previous eras include many references to slavery and coerced labor, but locating them requires a search through each standard of each era. If there were some sort of cross-referencing system in the standards document, this task would be not only be easier for teachers, but would also would also show examples of *how* to connect regional events to larger global patterns and compare across large swaths of time and space.

A closer examination of Eras 5 and 7 reveals the use of multiple units of analysis within each of the eras: world historical case studies, comparison, contact and exchange, and interregional and global patterns. In Era 5, for example, the standards include students investigating cases of the Black Death; examining interregional contact and exchange in Eurasia and Africa, comparing the sources of wealth in Vietnam and Ankor; examining the interregional patterns of communication and exchange in an era of Chinese economic power; and studying the global significance of the Mongol empire.

However, the standards do not go as far as world historians do by connecting everything to larger interregional or global patterns. For example, part of Standard 6B

¹⁸ Ibid., 214.

¹⁹ Ibid.

has students “compare the government, economy, religion, and social organization of the Aztec and Inca empires” but does not link this standard to larger global patterns of empire building.

Era 7 also contains multiple units of analysis. For example Standard 3E states that “the student understands how Japan was transformed from a feudal shogunate to modern nation-state in the 19th century.”²⁰ The object of inquiry in this standard is the nation. In isolation this standard appears to address only a national or regional event. However, Era 7 also contains Standard 2 focusing on the causes and consequences of the Industrial Revolution, and Standard 6, which asks students to “compare industrialization and its social impact in Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Russia, Japan, or other countries;” both of these are connected the growth of Japan as a modern nation-state.²¹ In Standard 6 the object of inquiry is the point of comparison. The inclusion of this standard moves the approach to the history of industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from national to comparative, moving the standards closer to the field of world history. Yet, there is no indication in the documents that these standards are connected. Because Standard 3E mentions the Meiji Restoration but not industrialization specifically, teachers could miss the connection between the Meiji state, modernization, and industrialization. Thus, although the standards contain multiple units of analysis there is not always a clear indication of how they connect to one other.

There is also, I argue, a lost opportunity in the final standard of each era focusing on major global trends. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the National Center for History in Schools (NCHS) added these global standards after the Council for Basic Education

²⁰ Ibid., 191.

²¹ Ibid., 196.

(CBE) suggested that they would help students make connections across space and time and provide coherence to the standards:

A failure to engage students in constructing larger pictures can keep knowledge in pieces and facts fragmented. Unless such coherence is demanded, the historical thinking skills could be sacrificed to a coverage of isolated facts and events.²²

Although the CBE had suggested that the global standards appear in the *beginning* of each era, in the revised 1996 edition they appear at the end of each era. These standards focus on large interregional and global patterns. However, without an indication of which regional standards are nested beneath them, they seem more like an after-thought rather than a tool which could provide coherence for many standards. The standards may still represent “knowledge in pieces” and “facts fragmented.”²³

In Era 5, for example, part of the global standard asks students to “compare the Inca or Aztec empires with empires of Afro-Eurasia in relation to political institutions, warfare, social organizations, and cultural achievements.”²⁴ This relates to Era 5, Standard 6B mentioned above as well as parts of Standards 1A (China’s urbanization and commercial expansion); 1B (Japanese and Southeast Asian civilization), 2A (European feudalism and city-states), 3A (Mongol empire); 4A (imperial states in West Africa and Ethiopia); and others, including standards from previous eras. However, there is no suggestion in the global standard as to which standards are nested beneath it and

²² Council for Basic Education, *History in the Making: An Independent Review of the Voluntary National History Standards* (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1996), 28.

²³ In the original 1994 version of the world history standards there was a clear attempt to connect standards with the inclusion of graphic organizers for each era titled, “relationships among major developments, core standards, and related standards.” After reviewing the standards, the CBE committee did not mention the graphics in their report except to point out that “The designation of ‘core’ and ‘related’ should be deleted” because the labels were confusing and diminished the importance of some historical knowledge.” This comment by the CBE may account for why the NCHS removed the graphic organizers in the revised version of the standards. See National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994); Council for Basic Education, *An Independent Review of the Voluntary National History Standards*, 29.

²⁴ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, 173.

connected to it. Without a clear indication of which standards connect to the global standards, teachers may miss rich opportunities to engage their students in cross-temporal and cross-cultural comparison.

Using (but not Explaining) World History's Conceptual Devices

The national standards document incorporates historiographic issues in a section entitled, "Standards in Historical Thinking." However, as I have discussed, in this section the authors focus on historical thinking in general and do not distinguish cognitive skills distinctive to world history. This is surprising given the national standard's use of so many of world history's cognitive devices as explained above.

The historical thinking standards contain five dimensions which are the same for the U.S and World history as well as the K-4 history standards: chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research capabilities, and historical issues-analysis and decision-making.²⁵ In the historical analysis and interpretation standards, students evaluate major debates among historians. The inclusion of this standard indicates that the authors recognize the importance of engaging students in historiographic issues; however, the authors do not indicate which debates would be particularly valuable for world history students to evaluate. Within the eras themselves, the authors reference the thinking standards in parentheses after each of the era standards. Yet, because these are identical to the ones in the U.S. history standards, they do not indicate what the cognitive skills are specific to world history.

For example, Era 5, Standard 3A has students "assess the career of Chinggis Khan as a conqueror and military innovator in the context of Mongol society (Assess the

²⁵ Ibid., 59-60.

importance of the individual).”²⁶ The historical thinking skill in this example is assessing importance of the individual. Of course it is important to be able to assess the historical importance of an individual, but there may be different criteria for, say, assessing global versus national importance. This thinking standard does not reference how the meaning of “importance” might change as the unit of analysis shifts from the nation to the civilization to the globe. Given that Chinggis Khan is one of the few people mentioned in the world history standards, this distinction takes on even more meaning. By having the same historical thinking skills for U.S. and world history, the standards document appear to not make distinctions between the skills needed to understand the history of one nation with the skills needed to understand the histories of many nations, civilizations, and regions of the world, as well as the larger interregional and global stories.²⁷

The National Standards: Inclusivity over Coherence

As I have indicated in my analysis, as a whole the national standards incorporate many aspects of the structure of world history including engaging students in the issue of periodization, and the use of multiple spatial schemes and multiple units of analysis. As the first attempt to create national world history standards, this is an important step forward. On the other hand, the standards do not always include clear guidance for how teachers might use these conceptual devices, nor do they distinguish world history’s unique cognitive skills. Moreover, without clear explicit connections between standards

²⁶ Ibid., 169.

²⁷ Currently there are few curricular documents that make this distinction. An exception is the Advanced Placement World History’s “Habits of Mind.” See College Board, *AP World History Course Description* (Princeton, NJ: The College Board, 2007). See also Robert Bain, “AP World History Habits of Mind: Reflecting on World History’s Unique Challenge to Students’ Thinking,” in *AP World History: Teacher’s Guide*, ed. Joan Arno (Princeton, NJ: College Examination Board, 2000).

and areas of those standards that are nested within others, the eighty-three pages the NCHS devoted to world history in the standards may overwhelm many districts, schools, and teachers.

The authors write in the introduction that they did not intend for all of the world history standards to all be included in one course. Under each of the standards they indicate that some elaborations might be more appropriate for grades 5-12, 7-12, or 9-12. However, the authors stress that this does not mean that all the standards need to be taught in grades 9-12: “These standards assume that schools will devote...three years of study to World History sometime between grades 5 and 12.”²⁸ By designing standards for three years of study, the authors expect districts and teachers to choose only some standards to design their courses. But which standards should teachers include in courses?

To help teachers and districts pick and choose from the standards, the authors describe several approaches to teaching world history: comparative civilizations, civilizations in global context, interregional history, and thematic history.²⁹ The comparative civilizations approach, for example,

invites students to investigate the histories of major civilizations one after another. A single civilization may be studied over a relatively long period of time, and ideas and institutions of different civilizations may be compared.³⁰

On the other hand, the civilizations in global context approach emphasizes “developments resulting from interactions among societies.”³¹ In this global approach, students study contact between civilizations on a global scale. Taken together, these

²⁸ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 132.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

approaches to the history of the world represent the structure of the field of world history. On their own, however, some of the approaches are more “world historical” than others.

For instance, the standards suggest that a teacher could study a single civilization over a relatively long period of time. If a school or teacher decided to use this approach, the content pulled from the standards might cease to be world history and become regional or civilizational history. Moreover, the standards do not give guidance and criteria for how these various approaches can be used by teachers in ways that stay true to the structure of world history. Additionally, the authors do not indicate which standards would work with certain approaches, leaving even more variability in how states and schools might use the standards. The lack of connections between regional standards, interregional, and global standards could lead some teachers to move away from a global approach.

The national standards represent some features of the structure of world history by including multiple units of analysis, shifting temporal and spatial schemes, and events from all the regions of the world. However, they do not provide teachers with the tools to navigate all of this. Moreover the sheer size of the document and lack of connections between regional, interregional, and global standards may not provide a coherent narrative of world history for instructional purposes. By including some of the salient structures of the field of world history on one hand, but by opening up the content of the standards to multiple approaches on the other, the national world history standards do not represent a coherent pedagogical structure of the field of world history. Instead the standards are more like a smorgasbord from which people can design their own representations of the history of the world, some more world-historical than others. To

what extent, then, did the national standards influence state standards? In the next two sections I turn to cases of two states' standards for world history to examine how the content of their standards compares to the national standards and represents the structure of world history.

The Virginia Standards of Learning for History and Social Science

The authors of the Virginia standards for secondary world history divided the standards into sections which correspond to two year-long courses: "World History and Geography to 1500 A.D." and "World History and Geography from 1500 A.D. to the Present." The first section contains thirteen standards and the second contains fifteen standards. Both sets of standards begin with a short introduction and one standard relating to "historical understanding." The "1500 A.D. to the Present" section also contains a second introductory standard which reviews some of the content of the first half of the standards. The remaining standards contain eight chronological eras:

- Era I: Human Origins and Early Civilizations, Prehistory to 1000 B.C.
- Era II: Classical Civilizations and Rise of Religious Traditions, 1000 B.C. to 500 A.D.
- Era III: Postclassical Civilizations, 500 to 1000 A.D.
- Era IV: Regional Interactions, 1000 to 1500 A.D.
- Era V: Emergence of a Global Age, 1500 to 1650 A.D.
- Era VI: Age of Revolutions, 1650 to 1914 A.D.
- Era VII: Era of Global Wars, 1914 to 1945
- Era VIII: The Post War Period, 1945 to the Present.³²

Under each era are between two and four standards, each with a number of student outcomes.³³

The era titles are similar to those of the national standards, with two being almost identical: Emergence of a Global Age (Emergence of the First Global Age in the national

³² Virginia Board of Education, *History and Social Science Standards of Learning*.

³³ The Virginia does not give a name to these statements; I refer to them as student outcomes in this chapter.

standards) and Age of Revolutions (An Age of Revolutions in the national standards).

The years that begin and end the eras are not the same, however, except for the final era: 1945-the present. Like with the national standards, the Virginia standards include the period of time from “human origins” to “present,” and the eras themselves vary from encompassing thousands of years to less than fifty.

Within the eras, the standards are overwhelmingly centered in Europe. Of the twenty-eight standards spanning the two courses, six mention something about African history, eight refer to the Americas, eleven involve Asian history, and seventeen include European history. Moreover, of those seventeen standards, eight focus entirely on Europe, whereas there are only two standards that focus entirely on Asia, one on the Americas and none on Africa. Thus, despite the similarity of the era titles, the standards themselves are geared more toward European history than are the national standards.

Western Temporal and Spatial Schemes

By dividing the standards into chronological eras, the authors of the Virginia standards chose a periodization scheme for the standards. The document does not contain an explanation for why this particular periodization scheme or if the national standards influenced the scheme. For instance, the national standards’ Era 6: An Age of Revolutions begins in 1750, whereas Virginia’s Era VI: Age of Revolutions begins in 1650, possibly in order to include the Scientific Revolution and the Glorious Revolution.

For the most part, the authors of the standards use years and centuries to mark turning points within the standards themselves, but when they do use other temporal schemes they are overwhelmingly Western (e.g., the Age of Charlemagne, the European Age of Discovery, the Age of Absolutism). Unlike in the national standards, the Virginia

standards do not use Chinese Dynasties to indicate temporal shifts; indeed there is no mention of dynasties in the document.

As in the national standards, the Virginia standards use a variety of spatial schemes. An examination of Era V demonstrates this variation:

- WHII.5 The Student will demonstrate knowledge of the status and impact of global trade on regional civilizations of the world after 1500 by
- a) describing the location and development of the Ottoman Empire;
 - b) describing India, including the Mughal Empire and coastal trade;
 - c) describing East Asia, including China and the Japanese shogunate;
 - d) describing Africa and its increasing involvement in global trade;
 - e) describing the growth of European nations, including the Commercial Revolution and mercantilism.³⁴

In this example there are continents (Africa, Europe), nations (India, Japan), civilizations (Ottoman Empire, Mughal Empire), and regions (regional civilizations, East Asia).

However, unlike in the national standards, there is no explanation for how the authors are using these spatial schemes, such as what they mean by “East Asia,” or if “India” in this standard refers to the geographical area of the current nation or the extent of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century which spatially included the present day nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The most common spatial schemes in the Virginia standards are civilizations and nations. Few standards venture beyond these boundaries. For example, even though the above example has students look at the “status and impact of global trade,” in each of the student outcomes the object of inquiry is the “regional civilization.” Larger spatial areas such as the Eastern or Western hemispheres, for example, appear to be used more for categorization than for analysis purposes: “The student will demonstrate knowledge of

³⁴ Virginia Board of Education, *History and Social Science Standards of Learning*, 33.

civilizations and empires of the Eastern Hemisphere.”³⁵ It is the civilizations *within* the hemisphere which are spatially important in this example, not the hemisphere itself. In comparison, the national standards included more standards that specifically examined global and interregional patterns and exchanges between regions and civilizations. Moreover, as mentioned above, the Virginia standards overwhelmingly focus on Western civilizations and regions.

Employing Multiple but Unconnected Units of Analysis

The Virginia standards incorporate some of world history’s units of analysis, but to different degrees. For example, in every era the standards use case studies to provide examples for global or interregional patterns:

- WHII.13: The student will demonstrate knowledge of political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of independence movements and developments by
- a) describing the struggles for self-rule, including Gandhi’s leadership in India;
 - b) describing Africa’s achievement of independence, including Kenyatta’s leadership of Kenya;
 - c) describing the end of the mandate system and the creation of states in the Middle East.³⁶

In this example, student outcomes a, b, and c allow students to examine events in India, Africa, and the Middle East as cases of independence movements in the twentieth century. The cases, however, are independent from each other; the Virginia standards do not encourage comparison. I could only find one standard in the entire document which referenced comparison. Standard WHI.13 asks students to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of developments leading to the Renaissance in Europe in terms of its impact on Western Civilization by . . .
- d) comparing the Italian and the Northern Renaissance, and citing the contributions of writers.³⁷

³⁵ Ibid., 30.

³⁶ Ibid., 34.

³⁷ Ibid., 31.

This standard has students compare events close in time and within the same region – Europe. There are no examples of comparison in the standards that ask students to compare across eras, or between regions or cultures.

The primary units of analysis in the Virginia standards are civilizations, regions, and nations. Moreover, as mentioned above, the standards emphasize one region in particular. This is a self-conscious choice; the introduction to the first part of the standards reads: “These standards enable students to explore the historical developments of peoples, places, and patterns of life from the ancient times until 1500 A.D. in terms of *the impact that they had on Western Civilization.*”³⁸ The introduction to the second half of the standards reads: “These standards enable students to cover history and geography from 1500 A.D. to the present, *with emphasis on Western Europe.*”³⁹ These statements privilege Western Europe by making that region the primary object of inquiry in the standards, even though the era titles suggest more of a global approach to world history.

For example, Era VI: Age of Revolutions might signify perhaps a global, interregional or comparative look at political and economic revolutions. Yet, all four of the standards center on Europe. When other regions are mentioned, such as Latin America or Africa, it is to emphasize Europe’s impact *on* the region: “identifying the impact of the American and French Revolutions on Latin America”⁴⁰ Likewise, standards approach to the Industrial Revolution in this era is through a regional lens not an interregional, comparative or global one. For example, unlike the national standards, the Virginia standards do not include the global causes of the development of the

³⁸ Ibid., 28. Emphasis is mine.

³⁹ Ibid., 32. Emphasis is mine.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 33.

Industrial Revolution in England, nor do they compare industrialism in different regions of the world.

The emphasis on Western Europe and its impact on other cultures is apparent when examining the eras. For example, in Era V WHII.4 specifies that the “student will demonstrate knowledge of the European Age of Discovery and expansion into the Americas, Africa, and Asia”⁴¹ Whereas the Virginia standard focuses on *Europe’s* impact *on* other cultures, the national standards, in a similar time period, focus on global change *during* Europe’s domination and reactions to that change: “students understands transformations in South, Southeast, and East Asia in the era of the ‘new imperialism’”⁴²

Some of the Virginia standards do address civilizations outside of Europe, but without including the impact of those civilizations on Western civilization. This indicates that although the standards examine different regions of the world, they do not stress bilateral contacts and *exchanges* as a unit of analysis. For example, in Era IV: Regional Interactions, 1000-1500 AD, standard WHI.10 states:

The student will demonstrate knowledge of civilizations and empires of the Eastern Hemisphere and their interactions through regional trade patterns by

- a) locating major trade routes;
- b) identifying technological advances and transfers, networks of economic interdependence, and cultural interactions;
- c) describing Japan, with emphasis on the impact of Shinto and Buddhist traditions and the influence of Chinese culture;
- d) describing east African kingdoms of Axum and Zimbabwe and west African civilizations of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai in terms of geography, society, economy, and religion.⁴³

Even though the standard is entitled “Regional Interactions” and it does ask students to identify technological transfers, economic interdependence, and cultural interactions, and

⁴¹ Ibid., 33.

⁴² Era 7, Standard 5D. National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, 195.

⁴³ Virginia Board of Education, *History and Social Science Standards of Learning*, 28.

describe the influence of Chinese culture on Japan, the standard stops short of bringing kingdoms in Africa into a regional or global context. The standard indicates that the African kingdoms and civilizations should be described separately. In addition, the standard does not suggest that students should learn the impact of Eastern civilizations on Western civilization. From my analysis, this standard presents a regional or civilizational approach to history instead of a fully world historical approach.

Virginia Standards: Coherent but not Global

In my analysis of the Virginia standards for world history, I found that the standards do incorporate some of the conceptual devices of world history such as using a periodization scheme that focuses on interregional and global patterns and incorporating world historical cases. However, like the national standards, Virginia includes general “thinking skills” that apply to history in general. The introduction to the document states that:

The study of history rests on knowledge of dates, names, events and ideas. Historical understanding, however, requires students to engage in historical thinking, to raise questions and to marshal evidence in support of their answers.⁴⁴

As with the national standards, the “thinking skills” in the Virginia standards have students engage in historical analysis and interpretation, questioning, research and decision making, but do not specifically involve students in looking at the history of the world through different periodization or analytic schemes.

The standards appear to attempt to have students engage in shifting spatial schemes through time by having students identify and compare “political boundaries with the location of civilizations, empires and kingdoms” in a preliminary standards.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 28.

However, since this is a preliminary standard, and is not connected to specific time periods or historical events, teachers would not necessarily know when it would be appropriate to engage students in this skill. Additionally, nothing in the subsequent eras refers back to this skill by signaling at what points in history might be a good time for students to engage in such a comparison.

In sum, because the authors chose to center the standards on Western civilization, the standards fall short of presenting teachers and administrators with a global structure to the history of the world. On the other hand, perhaps because of this focus, the standards cohere in a way that the national standards do not appear to. The numbers of standards and student outcomes alone seems to be much more manageable in the Virginia standards. Whereas the Virginia standards are eight pages long and contain twenty-eight standards and 125 student outcomes within the standards, the national standards contain eight-three pages, forty-six standards, 121 understandings, and an additional 629 elaborations.

However, despite being more coherent history standards than the national standards, they are not necessarily coherent *world* history standards. In particular, the lack of comparison across the civilizations included in the standards, may lead to teachers treating each civilization or region in isolation. Moreover, the standards overwhelmingly focus on Europe's impact on other areas of the world, instead of investigations of bi- or multi-lateral contact and exchanges between societies. Because of this, the Virginia standards more closely resemble the "Western Civ" course described in Chapter Two instead of a coherent view of the history of the world.

The Michigan Standards and Benchmarks for Social Studies

The Michigan *Curriculum Framework for Social Studies* includes standards for all K-12 history and social science courses in one document. The authors divided the social studies standards into six strands: Historical Perspective; Geographic Perspective; Civic Perspective; Economic Perspective; Inquiry; and Citizen Involvement. Standards for world history courses are included in the Historical Perspective strand. Within that strand, there are four thematic standards: Time and Chronology; Comprehending the Past; Analyzing and Interpreting the Past; and Judging Decisions from the Past. Each of the standards includes a number of “draft benchmarks” under the headings early elementary, later elementary, middle school, and high school.⁴⁶ World history is definitively not a central focus of the Michigan standards. Of the fifty-three benchmarks in the historical perspective strand, topics or events outside of the U.S. are only mentioned in five, compared to sixteen for Michigan history and eighteen for U.S. history. Some of the benchmarks are more general and do not specify a particular region or period of time (e.g., “identify and explain how individuals in history demonstrated good character and virtue”).⁴⁷

An Absence of World Historical Temporal and Spatial Schemes and Units of Analysis

Although the Michigan standards include a periodization scheme for U.S. history, there is not one for world history.⁴⁸ Instead some history of the world is scattered

⁴⁶ These benchmarks have been in draft form since the publication of the document in 1996. Recently Michigan developed “Content Expectations” for world history that will go into effect in fall 2008 and supplement the social studies standards and benchmarks described in this chapter. I discuss this new document in Chapter Eight.

⁴⁷ See Michigan Department of Education, “Michigan Curriculum Framework.” In my analysis, I focus only on the middle and high school standards and benchmarks.

⁴⁸ Michigan’s used the U.S. history periodization scheme from the *National Standards for United States History*. See Ibid; National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*.

throughout different standards and benchmarks in the Historical Perspective Strand. In their explanation of the Time and Chronology Standards, the authors write:

Chronological thinking is at the very heart of historical reasoning. Without a clear sense of historical time we are bound to see events as one great tangled mess. Events must be sequenced in time in order to examine relationships among them or to explain cause and effect.⁴⁹

However, the authors do not explain why they decided to only include a chronological frame for U.S. and not world history, or why they chose not to sequence world historical events in time. Yet, the standards *are* intended for teaching world history, as Standard I.2 indicates: “All students will understand narratives about major eras of American and world history by identifying the people involved, describing the setting, and sequencing the events.”⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the benchmarks contained within this standard do not provide help for teachers and students in doing this.

Standard I.1 contains a benchmark with asks students to “identify some of the major eras in world history and describe their defining characteristics.”⁵¹ This indicates that the authors may have realized the importance of defining historical eras, but the benchmark does not give any guidance for how students or teachers might go about this task. Therefore, not only do the Michigan standards not use or discuss multiple periodization schemes, they do not use a world historical periodization scheme at all.

The few standards and benchmarks that reference world history use national or regional spatial schemes. The only geographic areas included in any of the standards are: the United States, Canada, Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe, and Latin America. There is also one benchmark that asks students to “select events and individuals from the past that

⁴⁹ Michigan Department of Education, "Michigan Curriculum Framework," 24.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

have had a global impact on the modern world and describe their impact.”⁵² This benchmark suggests that teachers and students should look beyond national and regional boundaries to focus on the globe as a unit of analysis. Yet, again, the standards do not provide guidance for how students might do this.

With so few standards and benchmarks dedicated to world history, it is not surprising that the Michigan standards do not use multiple units of analysis. There is no mention of comparison, contact and exchange, or world historical cases for students to examine. In fact, there are no specific events, concepts or topics related to world history in the standards. All of the standards are positioned at the most general of terms asking students, for example, to trace origins of a contemporary condition, identify major decisions, or compose historical narratives to contemporary problems, without providing examples of what some of those conditions, decisions or problems might be in world history.⁵³ Because of this, the standards are very far from incorporating world history’s distinct features.

A Lost Opportunity to Fully Integrate

Within the Historical Perspective strand, there is no mention of tools or concepts outside of history. However, looking at the social studies framework as a whole, one can see geographic, political science, and economic concepts. Indeed, the authors write in the introduction to the document that “social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences.”⁵⁴ Although there are representations of the different disciplines in the framework, without referencing each other, they do not appear to be “integrated.” For

⁵² Ibid., 33.

⁵³ An example of one of these benchmarks is “Select a contemporary condition in Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe and Latin America and trace some of the major historical origins of each.” See Ibid., 32.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 22.

example, the document does not cross-reference the history, geography, civics, and economics strands, let alone, indicate where these disciplines connect to world history.

For example, there are a few places in the economic standards (such as benchmarks having students compare and contrast a free market economic system with other systems, or trace the development of international trading) where important connections could be made to world history, but they are not highlighted. Indeed, the economic standards and benchmarks actually specify more world historical content than the history standards and benchmarks, but without some sort of reference to the connections, world history teachers would most likely not seek them out.

Michigan's Standards: Missing World History

As mentioned above, the Michigan standards are lacking many features that would make them representative of the structure of world history. There is no periodization scheme, no comparison, nor any examples of case studies of larger interregional or patterns. The historical thinking standards, while found throughout the social studies document, do not distinguish the skills needed to understand U.S. history from those needed for world history. Moreover, by including a periodization scheme for U.S. history, but not one for world history, the standards seems to emphasize the importance of U.S. history over world history, even though the curriculum framework is supposed to provide support for both courses.

As with the national and Virginia standards, the Michigan standards do not include a discussion of the historiographic issues unique to world history. There is, however, a great deal of attention paid to “historical thinking” skills in the historical perspective strand. Unlike with Virginia’s standards, these skills are not just presented at

the beginning of the document. Many of the standards and benchmarks themselves focus on skills such as comparing interpretations, creating narratives from evidence, and evaluating key decisions at critical turning points in history. Yet, by not including specific world historical content, teachers may not know at what point in history or how to engage students in these important skills.

The Michigan standards also have a strand devoted to “inquiry.” Although this strand indicates some of the skills that students need to understand topics in the social sciences and current events, the authors of the standards do not specify important historical thinking skills in this strand, or the capacities for world historical understanding. Instead they center on inquiry in the social sciences.

Without any sort of chronological scheme or specific historical content, or connections between historical events across time and space, the Michigan standards do not provide teachers a coherent guide for world history, leaving it up to districts, schools, and teachers to develop an organizing structure and choose content for their courses.

Looking for Coherence across the Standards

Analysis of the national standards and select state standards reveals common characteristics that challenge the construction of a coherent picture of the world’s history. What is notably missing in all three national and state standards documents is a discussion of the distinctive features of world history and how teachers might take up those features in practice. Writers included general “historical thinking skills” in the national and state standards documents, but the thinking involved to make meaning in *world* history is not specified. It seems as though distinctions have not yet been made between world history and other histories, such as national histories. Additionally all of

the documents lack references between eras or standards which would allow teachers to see how events across wide swaths of time and space are connected or nested. Rather, the standards appear to chain events together, with few, if any, connections between them. The onus is then on the teachers to make meaningful connections between the eras, standards, and student outcomes beneath the each standard.

The standards differ from each other in how they represent world history and provide coherence for teaching. The national standards include an examination of all the different regions of the world and often highlight large interregional and global patterns. However, the sheer size of the standards may make them unapproachable. The authors write that they did not intend for the standards to all be included in one course, but give little guidance for ways that states or schools could design coherent courses using the standards. Unfortunately, it appears that the national standards do not provide a useful guide for states to create their own standards, perhaps adding to the challenge states face in creating coherent world history standards.

Virginia's standards offer a coherent chronological history, but with their focus on Western Europe and its impact *on* the rest of the world, the standards more reflect a Western Civ course than a global world history course. In Michigan's standards, there is no attention paid to the distinctive features of world history; in fact, there is little attention paid to world history at all. Without a chronological approach to world history and specific historical content, Michigan's standards do not provide guidance for teaching world history.

For different reasons, none of the standards I examined in these case studies provide a coherent structure to world history. This is troubling because of the prominent

role standards documents play in districts and schools. In many ways, the response of these two states (and of others) reflects the “voluntary” feature of the national standards movement and the inclusivity of the world history standards. In short, given the federated system of educational governance, the national government established a structure whereby states could pick and choose from the standards to design courses. In exercising that option and using so broad a document as the world history national standards, states and schools might use the national world history standards, yet move away from world history completely.

Of course, the other great challenge is that even when documents call for using multiple scales, units of analysis, or comparison, they offer little in way of nesting, linking or connecting these. Without coherent standards to guide course design, then, world history teachers must bring their own systems of organization and structure to bear on the standards or take them up without much structure or organization.

Just how do teachers of world history conceptualize the subject they teach? How do prospective teachers approach the subject? I now turn to a study of how practicing and prospective world history teachers think about and organize world history both for themselves and for instructional purposes. In the next chapter I describe the study design and methods of analysis of interviews with ten participants.

Chapter Five

Examining Teachers' Thinking about World History and World History Instruction: Study Design and Methods

As I have argued in previous chapters, despite recent attempts to build coherence in world history education through standards movements, both the field of world history and the school subject remain in disarray. But what of the pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) of world history teachers? In this and the subsequent chapters I describe a study of the understandings of ten teachers. The study centers on the question: *How do secondary teachers think about world history and organize it for instruction?* To address this question, I conducted interviews with ten pre- and in-service teachers. In this chapter I describe my study design and methods of analysis.

Study Design

To examine how teachers build coherence for themselves and their students in world history, I needed to design a research study which would allow me to analyze their thinking. Researchers have used several methods of examining teachers' thinking, including clinical interviews and tasks such as "think-alouds," concept mapping, and card-sorting.¹ I selected the card-sort methodology as the primary task for data

¹ Christopher M. Clark, "Asking the Right Questions About Teacher Preparation: Contributions of Research on Teacher Thinking," *Educational Researcher* 17, no. 2 (1988). Dona M. Kagan, "Ways of Evaluating Teacher Cognition: Inferences Concerning the Goldilocks Principle," *Review of Educational Research* 60, no. 3 (1990).

collection, after several iterations of research designs.¹ This task allowed me to examine participants' thinking as they organized cards based on their understandings of world history and how they understand world history pedagogy.

The card-sorting methodology involves participants sorting through a stack of cards which may have pictures, concepts, terms, or sentences on them. In education research, card-sort studies primarily focus on asking participants to divide the cards into piles of pre-defined categories,² sequence the cards,³ or arrange the cards in a pattern that reflects what they understand about the terms.⁴ The methodology is often combined with participants constructing some sort of concept map by arranging cards in a pattern that reflects their understandings, labeling groupings of cards, and indicating connections between cards.

Researchers have also used the card-sort task to analyze the differences between how experts and novices organize knowledge and how that organization affects their

¹ An example of an earlier version of this study was a clinical interview where teachers would examine instructional materials (such as historical monographs and textbooks) and discuss how they would design a particular unit for a world history course. After members of my committee suggested that this type of study might involve an overabundance of data that may or may not be related to my research questions, I examined options for narrowing the focus of my study. I am grateful to Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar for suggesting the card-sort methodology.

² For example, Deborah Loewenberg Ball asked pre-service teachers to divide thirty-five cards with statements about mathematics and mathematics teaching and learning into three piles: "Agree," "disagree," and "not sure." See "Knowledge and Reasoning in Mathematical Pedagogy: Examining What Prospective Teachers Bring to Teacher Education" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1988). Cos Dabiri Fi asked participants to sort fifteen cards with statements about trigonometry into three piles: "Always true," "sometimes true," and "never true." See "Preservice Secondary School Mathematics Teachers' Knowledge of Trigonometry: Subject Matter Content Knowledge, Pedagogical Content Knowledge and Envisioned Pedagogy" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2003).

³ Fi had participants sequence mathematical terms in the order in which participants should teach them to students. See "Preservice Secondary School Mathematics Teachers' Knowledge of Trigonometry." In Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik's study, middle school students chose eight of the most significant events from a group of picture cards and sequenced them on a timeline. See "'It Wasn't a Good Part of History': National Identity and Students' Explanations of Historical Significance," *Teachers College Record* 99, no. 3 (1998).

⁴ For example, Patricia Hughes Klein asked expert and novice geography teachers to sort a set of card of geographical concepts into a pattern which "had meaning to them." See "Knowing and Teaching Geography: A Qualitative Study of Pedagogical Content Knowledge and Schemata in Expert and Novice Teachers" (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 1997), 34.

abilities to understand and represent problems.⁵ Social studies education studies employing this methodology have included participants sorting and organizing cards of historical events based on significance and organizing key geographic concepts.⁶ Such studies allow researchers to examine how students or teachers organize historical and social scientific knowledge.

In order to address the two problem areas of my dissertation – issues surrounding world history content and world history pedagogy – I decided to conduct two card-sorts: one in which participants would arrange twenty-two cards with historical concepts and events⁷ into a pattern that reflects what they understand about the terms, and a second in which they would sort the same set of cards specifically for instructional purposes. My goal was to examine the thinking of teachers with a range of experience in world history content and pedagogy as they engaged in tasks geared toward organizing world history content for themselves and for instructional purposes.

Participants

I recruited ten teachers ranging from a professor of history to pre-service history teachers. My goal was to conduct a modified expert-novice study. Initially centered in cognitive science, for the past twenty years education researchers have begun to study

⁵ John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking, eds., *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*, Expanded Edition ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000).

⁶ See for example, Barton and Levstik, "National Identity and Students' Explanations of Historical Significance"; Terrie Epstein, "Adolescents' Perspectives on Racial Diversity in U.S. History: Case Studies from an Urban Classroom," *American Educational Research Journal* 37, no. 1 (2000); Suzanne M. Wilson, "Understanding Historical Understanding: Subject Matter Knowledge and the Teaching of U.S. History" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1988).

⁷ I discuss more about the different types of historical events and concepts later in this chapter and in even more detail in Chapter Seven. In my discussions of the set of cards as a whole in this and the following chapters, I sometimes use the term "events" for the sake of brevity.

experts and novices to inform educational practices.⁸ These studies often contrast the knowledge of experts in a particular domain with that of novices. In their report *How People Learn*, John Bransford, Ann Brown, and Rodney Cocking contend that studying the differences between the cognition of experts and novices in a given discipline can be important for improving instruction. Expert knowledge, the authors write “is organized around core concepts or ‘big ideas’ that guide their thinking about domains.”⁹ Experts also notice patterns that novice do not. The authors describe these patterns as “conceptual chunks”:

‘Knowing more’ means having more conceptual chunks in memory, more relations or features defining each chunk, more interrelations among the chunks, and efficient methods for retrieving related chunks and procedures for applying these informational units in problem-solving contexts.¹⁰

The ability to make connections between the chunks of information, then, allows experts to use this knowledge by applying it to other contexts. Usable knowledge, Bransford et al. wrote “is not the same as a mere list of disconnected facts,” but patterns that support understanding and transfer to other contexts.¹¹

Having expertise in a discipline, however, does not necessarily involve knowing how to teach it. Bransford et al. describe a special type of pedagogical expertise:

⁸ See for example, Hilda Borko and Carol Livingston, "Cognition and Improvisation: Differences in Mathematics Instruction by Expert and Novice Teachers," *American Educational Research Journal* 26, no. 4 (1989); Howard E. Herl, Eva L. Baker, and David Niemi, "Construct Validation of an Approach to Modeling Cognitive Structure of U.S. History Knowledge," *The Journal of Educational Research* 89, no. 4 (1996); Gaea Leinhardt and James G. Greeno, "The Cognitive Skill of Teaching," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 78, no. 2 (1986), National Research Council, *Knowing What Students Know: The Science and Design of Educational Assessment*, ed. James W. Pellegrino, Naomi Chudowsky, and Robert Glaser (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2001).

⁹ Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, eds., *How People Learn*, 36.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

Expert teachers know the kinds of difficulties that students are likely to face, and they know how to tap into their students' existing knowledge in order to make new information meaningful plus assess their students' progress.¹²

The authors also write that “expert teachers have acquired pedagogical content knowledge and not just content knowledge.”¹³ There are several widely-cited studies in history education which employ the expert-novice methodology.¹⁴ The study I describe in this chapter represents a departure from previous history education expert-novice studies, however, in that I am not comparing a pre-defined set of experts with a set of novices, but instead examining the cognition of a group of pre- and in-service teachers with a range of experiences.¹⁵ Although previous studies in history education have defined expertise in content or pedagogy by degree alone, at the outset of the study I did not apply the “expert” labels to some participants and not others based solely on their educational background or number of years teaching.¹⁶ Instead, I recruited secondary teachers and people training to be secondary teachers with a range of experiences in world history content and pedagogy.

¹² Ibid., 39.

¹³ Ibid., 49-50.

¹⁴ See for example, Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy," *American Educational Research Journal* 28, no. 3 (1991); Elizabeth A. Yeager and O. L. Davis Jr., "Between Campus and Classroom: Secondary Student Teachers' Thinking About Historical Texts," *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 18 (1995).

¹⁵ I use “experience” instead of “expertise” or “expert” in discussing the participants in this study. Carl Bereiter and Marlene Scardamalia write that although understanding “expertise” in a particular domain is an important goal, it can be difficult to define the term and even to identify experts and expertise within a given field. Instead of establishing a concrete definition or list of attributes of an expert, they write that they prefer to think of expertise as a process of “surpassing ourselves.” See *Surpassing Ourselves: An Inquiry into the Nature and Implications of Expertise* (Chicago: Open Court, 1993).

¹⁶ For example, in a study of the historical understandings of U.S. teachers, Wilson classified experts in history content as having graduate training in history; those having developing content knowledge as having a bachelor's degree in American history. She classified novice content knowledge as a lack of a major or minor in history. On the other hand she defined expert pedagogical knowledge by degree, teaching experience, and recommendations by superiors. See "Understanding Historical Understanding." In Wineburg's study of the reading of historical texts, his experts either held doctorates or were doctoral candidates in history; novices were high school students. See "Notes on the Breach between School and Academy."

Although the experienced teachers in this study had varying amounts of years of teaching under their belts and experience with world history content, they came highly recommended either by school district curriculum supervisors or by School of Education faculty at a large mid-western university. None of the teachers in this study hold graduate degrees in world history (see Appendix C for participants' professional backgrounds). This may be because there are few graduate degree programs in world history in the United States. Indeed, most historians who refer to themselves as world historians received graduate degrees in European, African, Latin American or other regional histories.¹⁷ For example, one participant in this study earned a Ph.D. in Ancient Central Asian History; another holds an M.A. in Eastern Asian Studies (see Appendix C).¹⁸

Similarly, few participants reported taking a college level world history course (see Appendix D for participants' course-taking backgrounds). Until very recently, most colleges did not offer world history survey courses, much less require them for history teaching certification. Because of the unique status of world history, therefore, I did not feel that I could classify any one of my experienced teachers as "expert" in world history PCK at the outset of the study. Instead, I aimed to examine what would emerge from interviews with teachers with a wide-range of experiences in world history pedagogy. I therefore refer to the practicing teachers in this and subsequent chapters as "experienced"

¹⁷ For example, of the 8,000 history PhDs awarded from 1994-2004 in the United States, only seventeen were in world history. Patrick Manning, "The Past Is Another Planet: The Absence of Funding for Global Historical Research," *World History Connected* 1, no. 2 (2004), <http://historycooperative.press.uiuc.edu/journals/whc/1.2/manning.html>.

¹⁸ It is important to point out that, although I included someone with a doctorate in history in my study, I do not suggest that all world history teachers should possess the knowledge of historians, nor did I consider this participant *the* expert in the study. More, I was interested in how a historian who also teaches world history to college freshmen, thinks about world history and represents it for instructional purposes, and how that might compare to participants with other types of experiences.

or “in-service” instead of “expert”, and participants studying to be teachers as “prospective,” “pre-service” or “novice teachers.”

Pre-service teachers. At the time of recruitment, the pre-service teacher participants were undergraduate students in a secondary history/social studies teacher preparation program.¹⁹ I drew the pre-service participants from a first semester education course in a school of education at a large mid-western research university. All the pre-service teachers in the course were working toward certification in social studies and/or history teaching (see Table 5.1). According to the state’s certification requirements, each would be qualified to teach secondary world history (seventh through twelfth grades) under state law. I limited my pre-service sample size to four so I could conduct an in-depth study of pre-service teachers’ understandings about world history and world history education. Participation was entirely voluntary. Compensation for volunteering was a \$25.00 gift certificate to a bookstore. Since there were more than four volunteers, I chose randomly from the group of volunteers.

Table 5.1
Pre-Service Teachers’ Professional Backgrounds

Pre-service Teachers²⁰	Anticipated State Teaching Certification	Academic Major	Academic Minor
Barry	Social Studies History (minor)	Social Studies	History
Jake	History Social Studies	Double major: History and Social Studies	
Jessica	History	History	Political Science
Ophelia	History	History	English

¹⁹ Recruitment and interviews took place in the winter of 2008.

²⁰ All names in the study are pseudonyms.

In-service teachers. At the time of recruitment, the in-service participants were all history teachers either at the university or secondary level. In selecting participants, I looked at their scholarly backgrounds and current teaching positions. I wanted to include a range of academic and professional experience, including some participants who had extensive backgrounds in world history and world history teaching, and others who were recommended as “great” teachers, but did not have scholarly backgrounds in world history. I contacted possible in-service participants by email and asked if they would like to participate in the study. As with the pre-service teachers, participation was entirely voluntary and participants received a \$25 gift card from a bookstore.

The six in-service teacher participants consisted of a historian who teaches at a university, a secondary world history teacher with extensive background in world history and world history education, two high school world history teachers, one middle school world history teacher, and one high school U.S. history teacher who had not taught world history for many years (see Table 5.2).

Procedures

I conducted one semi-structured interview session with each participant. Participants took as much time as they needed to sort the cards and answer questions; interview length varied from forty to ninety minutes. Pre-service teacher interviews occurred at the university they attended; in-service teacher interviews took place at the teachers’ school, or at a location of their choosing. I tape recorded all interview sessions.

The interview session consisted of two card-sorting tasks and follow-up questions. I designed the semi-structured interview around methods used in previous

Table 5.2
In-service Teachers' Professional Backgrounds

In-service Participants	Years Teaching/ Teaching World History	State Teaching Certification	Major, Minor and Graduate Degree	Courses Taught 2007/08 (grade level)	World History Professional Development²¹
Amy	6/5	History (minor)	-Political Science major -History minor -MA in English	-World History (9) -AP World History (11-12)	Attended two AP World History Summer Institutes
Ben	16/12	Social Studies	-Dbl major: American Studies and Music -MA in Education	-World History (9-12) -AP World History (10-12)	-Attended & taught multiple AP World History PD sessions -AP World History Exam Reader
Charles	25/12	History	-Ancient History major -Education minor -PhD in Ancient Central Asian History	-Big History (college) -East Asian History -Ancient Eurasia -Europe Since WWII -World History Historiography	-Taught multiple World History PD sessions -AP World History Exam Reader
Jenny	8/8	Social Studies	-Secondary Social Studies Education major	-Gifted World History (7) -U.S. History (8)	None indicated
Simone	15/15	History and Social Studies	-History major -MA in International Education -MA in Eastern Asian Studies	-AP World History (11-12) -Honors World History (11-12)	-Attended & taught multiple World History PD sessions -Served on the AP World History test development committee
Terrence	16/4	History and Social Studies	-History major -Social Studies minor -MA in Social Foundations of Education	-AP U.S. History (12) -Honors U.S. History (11) -Geography/ Global Issues (11)	None indicated

²¹ Although all of the in-service participants reported involvement in different types of professional development throughout their careers, this data refers only to professional development sessions specifically geared toward world history content and/or teaching world history.

studies of teachers' cognition²² and I refined the interview protocol based on pilot studies I had conducted (see Appendix E for the interview protocol).²³ In addition, participants completed an information form about their teaching experiences and experience with world history content and pedagogy (such as course-work, professional development, etc., see Appendix F for the form). I used data from the information form to create a profile of respondents, and, at times, to illuminate interview responses.

For the first card-sort I asked participants to arrange a set of twenty-two historical cards on a large piece of paper "in a way which makes sense to you."²⁴ All of the terms can be found in the *National Standards for World History* and leading secondary world history textbooks:

- Atlantic Slave Trade
- Bantu Migrations
- Cold War
- Columbian Exchange
- Decline of the Han Empire
- Development of the Incan Road System
- Development of Written Language
- Development and Spread of Islam
- Development and Spread of Buddhism
- Feudalism
- The Haitian Revolution
- India gains Independence from Great Britain
- Industrial Revolution
- Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press
- Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali
- The Meiji Restoration
- The Mongol Empire
- The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)
- Neolithic Agricultural Revolution

²² See for example, Ball, "Knowledge and Reasoning in Mathematical Pedagogy"; Klein, "Knowing and Teaching Geography"; Wilson, "Understanding Historical Understanding".

²³ I conducted pilot studies in winter 2008 with a seventh grade world history teacher, two former secondary history teachers, one person with teaching experience (not in history), and one person without any teaching experience.

²⁴ This is a similar prompt to ones used in previous history education card-sort studies. See for example, Klein, "Knowing and Teaching Geography"; Peter Seixas, "Mapping the Terrain of Historical Significance," *Social Education* 61, no. 1 (1997).

The Renaissance
Silk Routes
World War I

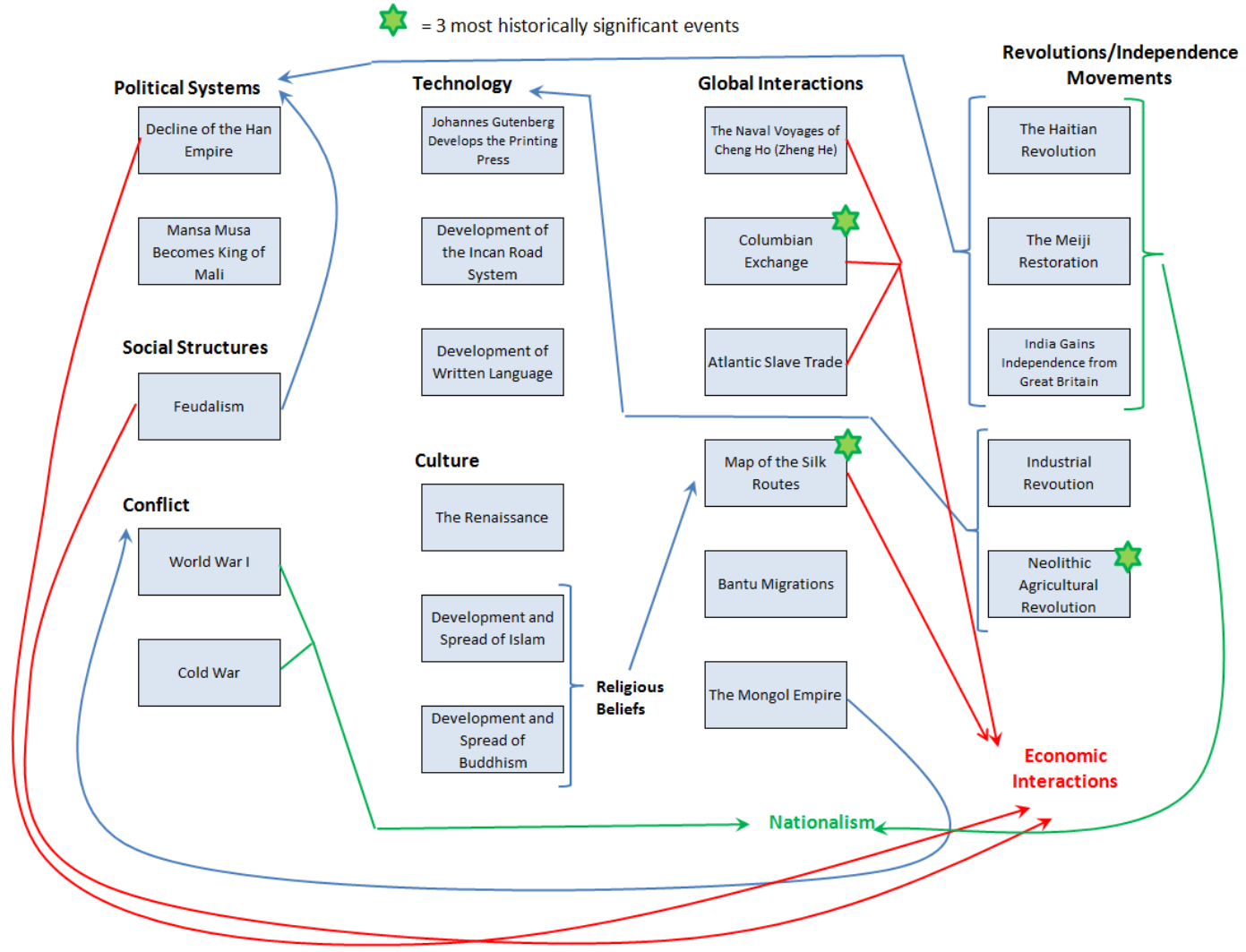
The cards differ along several dimensions including: time period; grain size (i.e., global events, inter-regional events, and regional events); and geographic location. Using any one or more of these dimensions it was possible to come up with a variety of grouping arrangements; for example, a participant could arrange the cards in chronological order or by geographic location. I purposely included some events that occurred simultaneously and some that spanned several time periods and regions so that participants could make a variety of groupings. For this first card-sort, I was interested in participants' own conceptual sense-making of the historical terms (see Figure 5.1 for an example of the first card-sort).²⁵

For the second card-sort I asked participants to think about how they would specifically organize the cards for instruction in a world history classroom, and with a duplicate set of cards, instructed them to repeat the above task.²⁶ With this second task, I was interested in how participants would organize world historical events for instruction, if there were differences from the first card-sort, and how (or if) participants' organizing schemes differed from each other. Whereas in the first sort the participant could have been thinking merely about world history content, the second card-sort focused on the pedagogy of the content. For the first sort I had asked the participants to sort the cards without necessarily thinking about instruction. Nevertheless, I did recognize that some practicing teachers might not be able to think about world historical content *without* thinking about instruction. Indeed, some experienced teachers mentioned that they had

²⁵ See Appendix J for all of the participants' card-sort maps.

²⁶ Although not all world history courses encompass the period of time that the cards cover (from the Agricultural Revolution to the Cold War), there are certainly many that do.

Figure 5.1
Amy: 1st Card-Sort Map



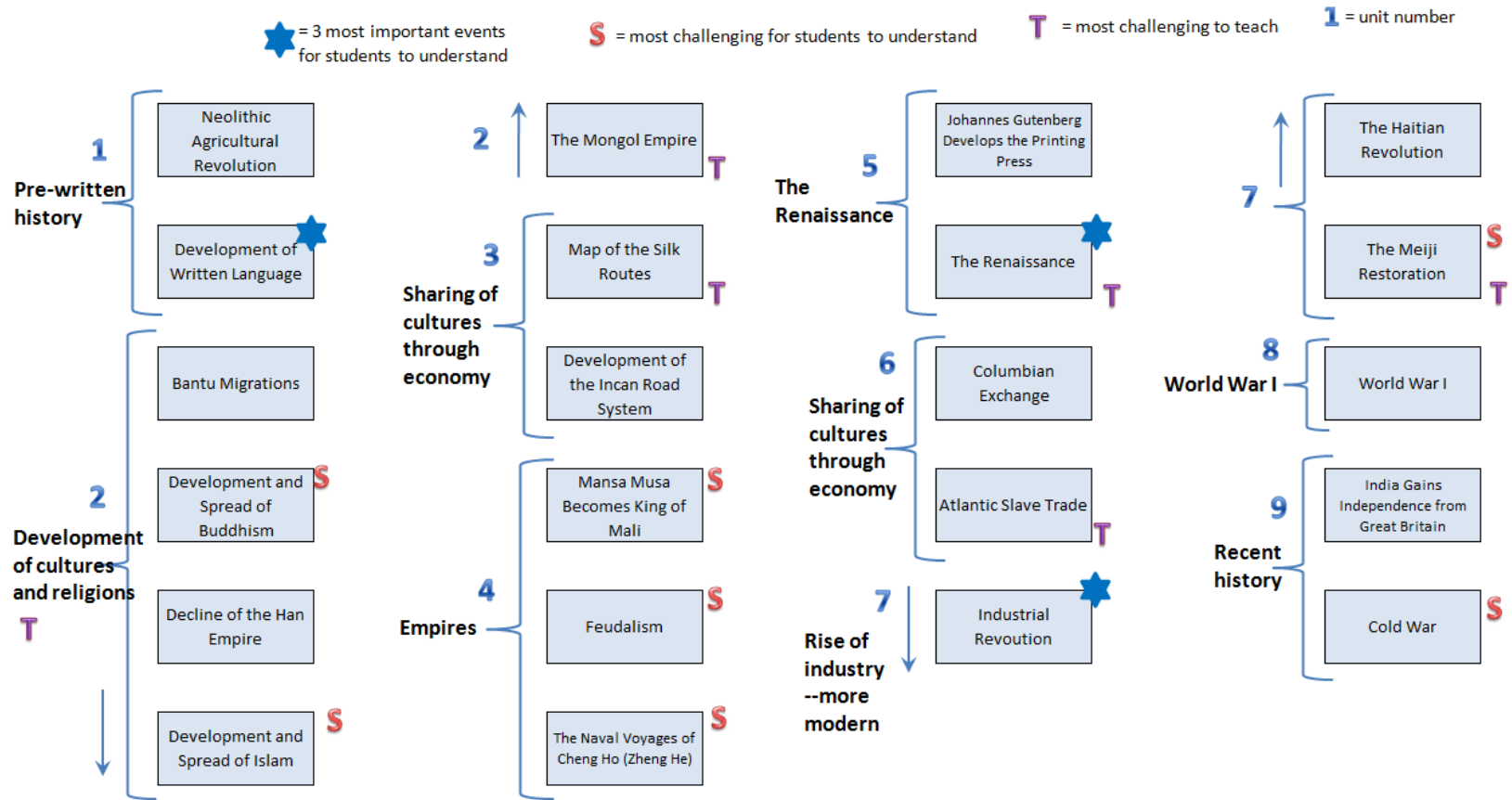
organized cards in the first sort according to how they would teach it. However, the second card-sort did allow participants to focus more specifically on instruction, and make decisions accordingly. For example, if participants had not already done so in their second card-sort, I prompted them to indicate on the paper how they would sequence the topics for instruction (i.e., in what order would they teach them), and how they would divide the cards into units of study (see Figure 5.2 for an example of the second card-sort).

For both sorts, I gave participants as much time as they needed to look through the cards and arrange them on a large piece of paper. After participants attached the cards, I asked them to discuss the relationships between the cards, draw arrows and connectors, and label groupings of cards. During both card-sorts, participants had access to a list of short descriptions of the card-sort terms (see Appendix G). Throughout my piloting of the interviews, I realized that some participants might feel uncomfortable with their lack of knowledge (or perceived lack of knowledge) of particular events in world history. Although I was to some degree interested in what events participants had less familiarity with, I did not want the focus of the card-sort to only be about how many of the events and the details of the events participants had committed to memory.

Therefore, I provided participants a brief description of each of the events. Participants had unlimited access to event descriptions during the interview session.¹ I consulted with a historian to ensure that the descriptions were as “neutral” as possible; in particular I

¹ During my pilot studies I tried different versions of allowing participants access to descriptions. Originally I would answer any questions a participant asked about a particular event, but I soon realized that my descriptions might change in scope during different interviews. Next, I created a definition list that I would read from when the participants asked me for descriptions. In debriefing sessions following these pilot interviews, participants noted that at times they felt embarrassed to ask me for descriptions. One of my pilot participants suggested that I allow interviewees unlimited access to the definition sheet.

Figure 5.2
Jessica: 2nd Card-Sort Map



wanted to ensure that descriptions did not emphasize the significance of some events over others. To develop the descriptions, I used a popular high school world history textbook and a world history encyclopedia for reference.¹

During each of the card-sorts, I asked participants to “think-aloud” or verbalize their thoughts and decisions. The think-aloud or “verbal thinking-aloud protocol”² has been an important methodology in studying teacher thinking.³ Christopher Clark writes:

To study teacher thinking, researchers must depend on teachers to think aloud, either while in the act of thinking and deciding, or retrospectively; one cannot observe directly.⁴

Researchers have also used the think-aloud method to study the planning habits of experts and novices, and students and teachers performing tasks such as solving a mathematical or scientific problems, and conducting orchestras.⁵ Daisy Martin and Samuel S. Wineburg write that the think-aloud technique “asks people to verbalize the *contents* of their thoughts” and can give us “insight into the intermediate processes of cognition – the way-stations that lead to discovery and the creation of a warranted interpretation.”⁶ My study was a modification of the think-aloud strategy researchers have used to examine historical understandings of historians, teachers, and students.

¹ Jackson S. Spielvogel, *World History* (New York: Glencoe/McGraw Hill 2008); Peter N. Stearns, ed. *The Encyclopedia of World History*, Sixth ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001).

² K. Anders Ericsson and Herbert A. Simon, *Protocol Analysis: Verbal Reports as Data* (Boston: The MIT Press, 1993).

³ See for example Penelope L. Peterson, Ronald W. Marx, and Christopher M. Clark, "Teacher Planning, Teacher Behavior, and Student Achievement," *American Educational Research Journal* 15, no. 3 (1978); Robert J. Yinger, "A Study of Teacher Planning," *The Elementary School Journal* 80, no. 3 (1980); Deborah Sardo Brown, "Descriptions of Two Novice Secondary Teachers' Planning," *Curriculum Inquiry* 23, no. 1 (1993).

⁴ Clark, "Contributions of Research on Teacher Thinking," 9.

⁵ For a science example see, Yuichiro Anzai and Tohru Yokoyama, "Internal Models in Physics Problem Solving," *Cognition and Instruction* 1, no. 4 (1984). For an example of the think-aloud methods used with conductors, see Martin J. Bergee, "An Exploratory Comparison of Novice, Intermediate, and Expert Orchestral Conductors," *International Journal Music Education* 23, no. 2 (2005).

⁶ Daisy Martin and Sam Wineburg, "Seeing Thinking on the Web," *The History Teacher* 41, no. 3 (2008): 307. Emphasis in the original.

For example, Sam Wineburg gave high school history students and historians primary sources and asked them to think aloud while reading them.⁷ Elizabeth A. Yeager and O.L. Davis used the same methodology and documents with social studies student teachers.⁸ In addition, Bruce A. VanSledright conducted think-alouds with fifth grade students as they read historical documents and viewed images on the Boston Massacre.⁹ The study I describe in this chapter differs from such think-aloud studies, however, in that I am interested in how teachers think about world historical events and how they would organize for world historical instruction, not in how they *read* historical sources.

Following both card-sort tasks, I asked the participants to explain why they made the choices that they did and to describe any differences between the two sorts. I also asked clarification questions if needed throughout the interviews. For example, often participants would point to a card and begin discussing it without mentioning the name of the event. To ensure that there would be no confusion on the transcript, I always asked the participant to which card they were referring. Other than clarification questions, I kept prompts to a minimum during the card-sort tasks so as not to interrupt the think-aloud process.

After the completion of the card-sorts, I asked the same four follow-up questions to each participant. Following the first card-sort I asked them to choose three events they would identify as the most significant in world history, mark them on the paper, and explain their choices. After the second card-sort I asked three additional questions:

⁷ Wineburg, "Notes on the Breach between School and Academy."

⁸ Elizabeth A. Yeager and O.L. Davis, "Classroom Teachers' Thinking About Historical Texts: An Exploratory Study," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 24, no. 2 (1996).

⁹ Bruce A. VanSledright, *In Search of America's Past: Learning to Read History in Elementary School* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

1. Which three of these events do you think are most important for students to learn?
2. Which of these do you think students would have the hardest time understanding?
3. Which of these do you think would be the most challenging to teach?

For each of the follow-up questions, participants labeled their answers on the big paper and explained their choices. Two of the questions asked teachers to identify significant events in world history – either in general or for their students. This focus on significance reflects work of history educators who have argued about the importance of the idea of significance in the history classroom.¹⁰ Asking teachers to identify what are the most significant events in world history is a variation of work Peter Seixas has conducted with Canadian children.¹¹ Significance, Seixas has argued, is a key tool of the historian:

Studying everything is impossible; significance is the valuing criterion through which the historian assesses which pieces of the entire possible corpus of the past can fit together into a meaningful and coherent story that is worthwhile.¹²

Teachers, like historians, must decide what makes something historically significant. However, teachers must also decide what makes something *instructionally significant* when deciding what to teach to their students. Even though teachers' beliefs about historical significance are not the only factors that determine classroom instruction, the selective aspect of determining what is significant for instruction is a representation of teachers' world historical understandings. Given the scope of world history, arguably the school subject with the most content from which teachers must choose, determining *world* historical significance may be most challenging.

¹⁰ Peter Seixas, "Students' Understanding of Historical Significance," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 22, no. 3 (1994); Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

¹¹ Seixas asked students to identify the three most important events and developments that have happened in the past 500 years. See Seixas, "Students' Understanding of Historical Significance."

¹² *Ibid.*, 281.

After completing the interviews, I had the tapes transcribed and I created digital versions – “maps” – of each of the card-sorts from what participants had created on the large paper. As soon as possible after each interview ended, I wrote field notes based on my observations of the interview session.¹³ I did not take any notes during the interview, so as not to distract the interviewee. These field notes would serve to triangulate data from the card-sorts and interview transcripts.

Methods of Analysis

Analysis consisted of examining interview transcripts and card-sort maps. I engaged in three rounds of analysis: (1) analyzing the visual features of the card-sort maps; (2) coding the transcripts with categories developed in Chapter Three; and (3) open coding of transcripts through a grounded theory approach.¹⁴

For my first round of analysis, I examined the visual features of the card-sort maps. A preliminary analysis of the maps revealed that participants used the conceptual devices I found in the work of world historians to draw different types of connections on their maps and created various sorts of labels. I developed codes which would distinguish the types of connections they made on their maps: (1) event to region, (2) event to event, (3) event to category, (4) category to category. I also compared how participants labeled their maps in response to the follow-up questions. I discuss these further in Chapters Six and Seven.

After my initial analysis of the card-sort maps, I engaged in a careful reading of all interview transcripts. I first coded the transcripts with the conceptual device

¹³ In all cases I was able to do this within a couple hours of the interview. For more on writing field notes see Robert M. Emerson, Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁴ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998).

categories I had developed from work in Chapter Three based on the work of world historians (see Table 5.3). I was interested in how and if participants used the structural features of world history that I had identified in that chapter.¹⁵ I conducted an inter-rater reliability check on this round of analysis with an independent researcher. With randomly selected data from several of the interviews, reliability reached ninety-one percent; we resolved initial disagreements through discussion.¹⁶ As I engaged in this round of analysis, I also kept a record of emergent codes which would inform my next round of analysis.¹⁷

Table 5.3
Codes for Analyzing Participant Usage of the Conceptual Devices of World History

Code Name		Symbol
Multiple Temporal/Periodization Schemes		MP
Multiple Spatial/Geographic Schemes		MS
Units of Analysis	Case Study with Specific Interregional and/or Global Connections	CS
	Cross Regional or Cultural Contacts and Exchanges	EX
	Cross Regional or Cultural Comparisons	COM
	Interregional Patterns	IP
	Global Patterns	GP
Disciplinary Tools and Concepts Outside of History		ED
Historiographic Issues in World History		H

¹⁵ After initial coding, I re-coded excerpts of the transcripts to check for internal consistency. I found that I needed to sharpen my definitions of the first two codes “multiple temporal/periodization schemes” and “multiple spatial/geographic schemes” to be more consistent with how I had used them in previous chapters. After re-coding with sharpened definitions, my internal consistency reached 93%. For a discussion of internal consistency see, Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 64.

¹⁶ I used Miles and Huberman’s “code-checking” method to determine inter-rater reliability rates. See Ibid.

¹⁷ Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research*.

In my final round of analysis, I engaged in open coding of transcripts through a grounded theory approach.¹⁸ Using what had emerged from initial analysis, I was able to identify categories that represented each participant's descriptions of their understandings about world history and organizing for world history instruction. Throughout this round I triangulated my analysis by looking back at previous coding schemes, my field notes, and the card-sort maps that the participants had created. I found that participants, in their explanations of how they organized the cards, were *doing* something with the conceptual devices, including using them to make and explain connections between cards, to construct historical narratives, and to posit theories about students.

Originally, seven coding keys emerged: (1) interregional connections; (2) intraregional connections; (3) intertemporal connections; (4) intratemporal connections; (5) participants' theories of students as learners of world history; (6) participants' construction of historical narratives; and (7) participants' stance toward history. Of these coding keys, three survived my preliminary analysis: (1) participants' theories of students as learners of world history; (2) participants' construction of historical narratives; and (3) participants' stance toward history.¹⁹ Inter-rater reliability on the remaining codes reached ninety percent; an independent researcher and I resolved all disagreements through discussion.

As I engaged in each round of coding, I developed descriptive summaries about each of the participants. These summaries included my analysis of interview transcripts and card-sorts as well as information about academic and professional backgrounds. My intention in writing summaries during data analysis was to step back from the coding

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ I eventually discarded the "connection" codes in this round of analysis because they were overly abstract. See Miles and Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 65.

process, refine and adjust codes as necessary, and begin to look across cases.²⁰ I then engaged in cross-case analysis. Drawing from my within-case analyses and participant summaries, I analyzed patterns of thinking and to what extent participant descriptions of their thinking about world history and world history instruction were similar or different.

Throughout my data collection and analysis, I increased reliability by sharing my transcripts, coding schemes, and analysis with peers. Participating in peer debriefing during my analysis allowed me to determine whether the categories and codes that I detected are visible to people less connected to the original data collection.²¹

Limitations

There are several limitations associated with this study. First, I did not design this study to produce generalizable findings about world history teachers, but instead to describe the range and diversity of what world history teachers bring to the teaching of world history. The results, therefore, are descriptive in nature and limited to this group of participants.

Second, I made certain choices in picking the historical events and concepts for the card-sort tasks. As mentioned above, my choices were purposeful in selecting events from different periods of time at different spatial scales. Additionally, in choosing certain events I necessarily left out other events. Thus, this study may have yielded slightly different results, had I chosen different events.

²⁰ Wilson used a similar strategy in her study of teachers' understandings of U.S. history; see Wilson, "Understanding Historical Understanding".

²¹ Mary E. Brenner, "Interviewing in Educational Research," in *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*, ed. Judith L. Green, Gregory Camilli, and Patricia B. Elmore (Washington D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 2006), 368.

There have been some critique of think-aloud methodology including those involving the reliability of self-reporting.²² Therefore, I limit my reporting to what participants *said about* their thinking, and not making claims about the *reasons behind* their thinking. In addition, I am mindful that asking clarification questions during the card-sorting tasks could be construed as leading the participant. I was aware of these limitations when I designed the interview protocol, and took measures to ask clarification questions during the card-sorting task only if absolutely necessary for recording purposes.

Since I did not engage in classroom observation, my interview data only includes what participants *say* they might do in a world history classroom. I cannot make claims about what they actually do in their classrooms. However, since I ground my work in the theoretical tradition that argues about the importance of teacher thinking and understanding, this type of research has an important place in educational research. Despite these limitations, the qualitative methodology I employed allowed me to study and compare teachers' understanding of world history content and pedagogy in depth, which promoted a deepened understanding of the range of thinking this group of teachers bring to world history instruction – something which no previous study has examined.

²² See for example Ericsson and Simon, *Protocol Analysis: Verbal Reports as Data*, Kagan, "Ways of Evaluating Teacher Cognition"; Bruce VanSledright, Timothy Kelly, and Kevin Meuwissen, "Oh, the Trouble We've Seen: Researching Historical Thinking and Understanding," in *Research Methods in Social Studies Education*, ed. Keith C. Barton (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2006).

Chapter Six

Teachers Engaging in World Historical Thinking

In the next two chapters I describe my findings from a study of ten teachers thinking about world history and world history instruction. I have divided my analysis of participant interviews and card-sort maps into two sections.¹ In this chapter I look at the participants as they worked to organize the cards as *adults* trying to figure out patterns and relationships among the events on the cards. In the next chapter, I analyze the ways the participants organized and discussed the cards as *teachers*, considering students and classrooms as they worked with the events on the cards. In short, in this chapter I have tried to capture how the participants were thinking like world historians and in the next like world history teachers.

Thinking like a historian and thinking like a history teacher are certainly connected, but, as Robert B. Bain writes in a study on his experiences as a historian and a history teacher, they are distinctive:

History teachers, of course, must have subject matter knowledge to teach history...However, teachers must go beyond merely knowing the subject. They also must consider how students typically learn history. How do students build meaning as they study the past? How can teachers move from surface or scholastic understanding to “deep” understanding?²

¹ I use the term “card-sort map” or “map” to refer to what participants created on a large piece of paper after they had sorted and arranged the cards. As I describe in Chapter Five, I created digital versions of these maps after the interview session. See Figure 6.1 for an example of a card-sort map.

² Robert B. Bain, “Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction,” in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 332. I am grateful to Robert Bain for suggesting the phrases “thinking like a historian” and “thinking like a history teacher.”

In this chapter I describe my findings specific to participants' thinking as they organized the cards of historical events, mapped relationships among events, restructured, and, most importantly, talked about, puzzled over, and explained what they were doing as they worked with the cards *without* necessarily considering their having to present or teach this content to students. In the next chapter, I explore the ways participants restructured or reorganized the cards with classrooms and students in mind. In each chapter, I seek to understand the ways participants organized the cards, their thinking as they did so, and the differences among participants' actions and explanations.

During the interview sessions, participants took discrete world historical events¹ and worked to organize these in ways that made sense to them (see Appendix G for card-sort terms). The events listed on the cards were not pre-sorted, but separate and shuffled in no particular order. Therefore, participants had to bring some order or structure to the stack of cards to create a map. What they "added" to the stack of cards became the central focus of my analysis. Throughout my analysis I asked, What did they do with the cards? How did they place them on the paper? What connections did they make? Did they draw lines between cards and, if so, where? Did they add categories or other events to make connections? Did they employ the conceptual devices I identified in Chapter Three as

¹ Although some of the cards such as "Naval Voyages of Zheng He" and "Mansa Musa becomes King of Mali" are clearly events, others such as the "Industrial Revolution" and the "Renaissance" are not necessarily events bounded in space and time. In other words, the Renaissance was not an event, but a construct historians have used to describe the historical context of many events during this time period. W.H. Walsh refers to this process as "colligation," and wrote that historians "explain an event by tracing its intrinsic relations to other events and locating it in its historical context." W.H. Walsh, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951), 59. Denis Shemilt uses Walsh's definition of colligation to distinguish between "what happened" (an event) and "what was going on" (a colligatory concept). Shemilt argues that colligatory concepts are more challenging for students of history than are events. See "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, Seixas Peter, and Wineburg Sam (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 95. See also Ola Halldén, "Conceptual Change and the Learning of History," *International Journal of Educational Research* 27, no. 3 (1997). I discuss these ideas more in the last section of this chapter.

they worked? How did they explain or support what they were doing? Over what did they puzzle or express concerns?

In watching and analyzing the ways participants engaged with sorting the cards, making connections, developing relationships, and mapping their understanding – first for themselves and then thinking specifically about their students and classrooms – I was interested in what meaning they were making of the events and of the *context* they used to locate and situate the events. In this activity, I was hoping to “see” more than ready-made concepts or categories at play. Rather, in watching and listening to how people built relationships among events, developed categories to hold different events, determined historical significance, and explained their organizing schemes, I was trying to uncover something of the processes of developing meaning – a syntax – within the field of world history and of world history teaching.

In this chapter, I first discuss the types of thinking I found reading across the ten interviews and card-sorts. Then I describe some of the differences in the thinking of the participants, some of whom were very experienced and knowledgeable world history teachers and others of whom were not (see Appendices C and D for participants’ backgrounds). Here I ask two questions: What patterns emerged as participants worked with the cards? Were there any differences in the ways that particular participants worked with the cards? Three themes emerged from my analysis, each of which I discuss below: using conceptual devices to make connections, determining historical significance, and using conceptual devices to tell stories.

Using Conceptual Devices to Make Connections

As I analyzed both participants' maps and their thinking aloud about the maps, I found that participants used the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians (e.g., using multiple temporal and spatial schemes and units of analysis such as case studies and global patterns) to explain how they connected events to each other and to larger categories. Below I first describe the types of connections that participants made, and then discuss the differences I found in participants' thinking.

Types of Connections

Making connections sits at the heart of meaning-making and the number and quality of connections might well define what makes something more or less meaningful to people. John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking write that knowing more involves being able to connect more "conceptual chunks" into usable patterns.² Developing such conceptual chunks and usable patterns resides at the center of the work of historians in general and world history in particular.³ According to world historian Patrick Manning, connections are at the center of world history because, "to put it simply, world history is the story of connections within the global human community."⁴ History educators and scholars of cognition look for the types and quality of connections in understanding meaning-making and thinking. For example, Gaea Leinhardt uses connections and "connection language" as a unit of analysis to assess growth in a student's historical writing:

² John D. Bransford, Ann L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking, eds., *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*, Expanded Edition ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), 38.

³ See for example R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, Revised Edition ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002); Walsh, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*.

⁴ Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3.

In examining still another part of the organizational features of Paul's last...essay of the semester – the specific use of connections – we can see that there was a great deal of growth since his first essay in October.”⁵

Building upon such work, I pursued the types of connections participants made and how they explained their choices. After each of the card-sort tasks, I asked them label the ways that they grouped the cards and to discuss the connections:

Interviewer: Now that you have attached the cards to the paper, please discuss and label the groupings and draw connectors between the cards – whatever makes sense to you. Please talk about what you are thinking while you do this (see Appendix E for the complete interview protocol).

This question sought to see how (or if) participants would connect events across space and time. During the card-sort tasks, participants formed categories, and made connections between cards and categories. What they did with the cards, then, can be seen as attempts to build coherence between the events on the cards. I found that in making connections or creating organizing categories, participants used conceptual devices such as multiple temporal and special scales, and units of analysis such as cases and cross-regional comparison. In thinking about the world historical events, participants seemed to make four different types of connections: (1) event to region, (2) event to event, (3) event to category, and (4) category to category. I describe each below.

Event to region connections. Not surprisingly, participants used regions of the world to make connections or to group individual historical events, using Europe, China, or Africa to situate events in space. For example, some participants grouped all things

⁵ Gaea Leinhardt, "Lessons on Teaching and Learning in History from Paul's Pen," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 238. In addition, Leinhardt uses several sub-categories of connections in her analysis: list, exemplar, equivalence, place-holder, causal, and qualifier.

that happened in Europe together, whereas Jessica,⁶ a pre-service teacher, gave every card a regional label in her first card-sort commenting, “Maybe I will color code them somehow. All the blue things can be things in Africa.”⁷ Some of Jessica’s cards had several color codes next to them, indicating that she recognized that the events did not all fit neatly into one regional categorization.

Jenny, a middle school world history teacher, tried to fit all fit all of the cards into regional categories using Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas as labels in her first card-sort. However, she ran into difficulties with some cards (see Figure 6.1):

Jenny: Well it’s hard because these are so—I mean, you’re looking at a global perspective but then you put them into areas where I have Africa and I have Europe....But then you have things like [the] Silk Road, which involves Asia, Africa, and Europe, so I would kind of piece that out on its own. And then, the Incas and the Haitians are in the same area, however, I wouldn’t necessarily—I mean, they don’t connect.⁸

Recognizing that some of the cards span *her* conceptions of regions, Jenny resolved her complication by including two interregional groupings: “All encompassing (E. Hemisphere)” and “All encompassing (E. & W. Hemisphere).” In doing so, she employed the interregional and global patterns conceptual devices that I describe in Chapter Three.

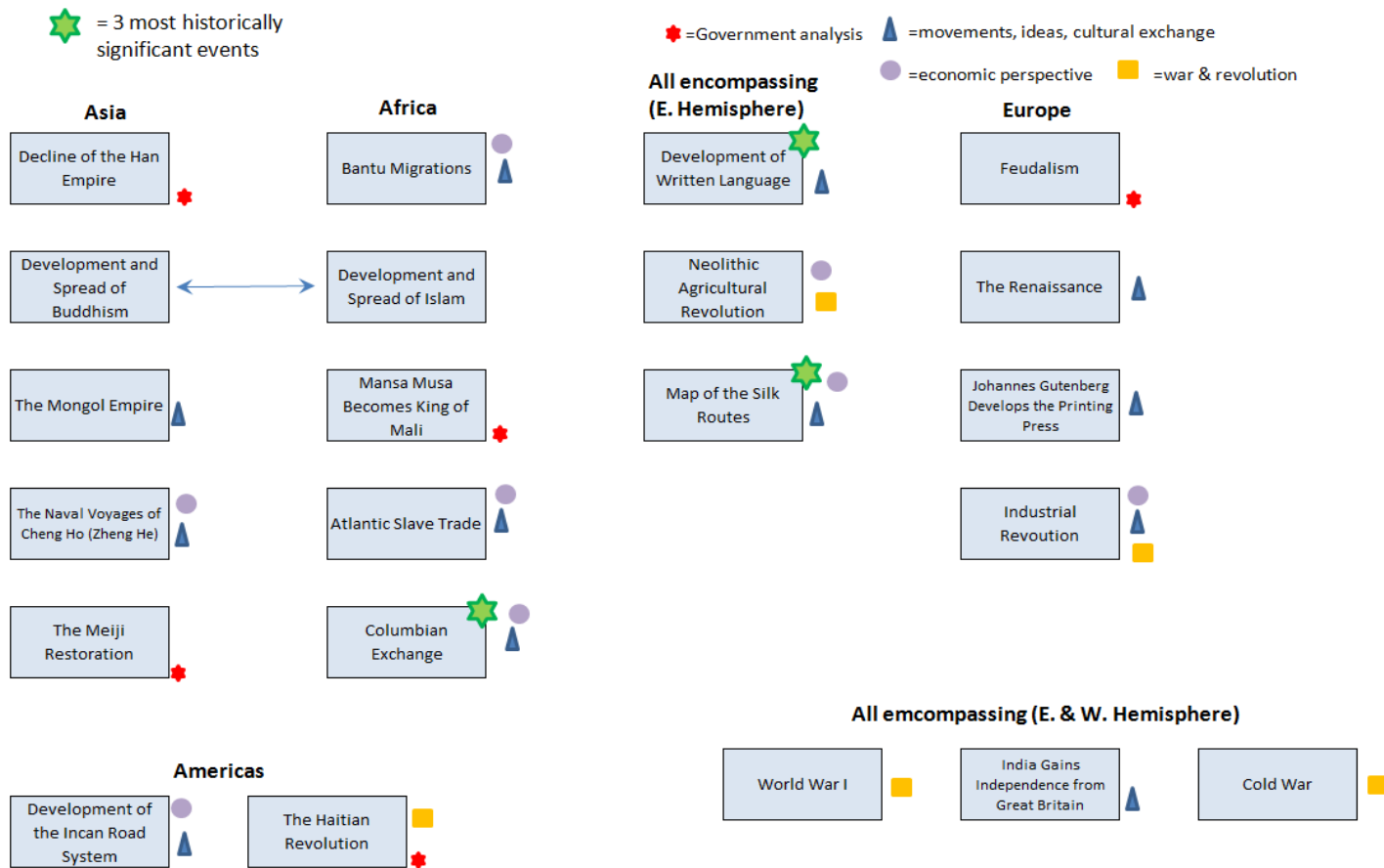
Jenny also acknowledged that regional categories may not always take into account historical context when she says: “And then, the Incas and the Haitians are in the same area, however...they don’t connect.” Here Jenny suggested that although both events happened in the Americas, she did not believe that they had much to do with each other. However, she left the Development of the Incan Revolution and the Haitian Revolution cards in the regional “Americas” category on her map. For Jenny, it seemed,

⁶ All names are pseudonyms.

⁷ Jessica Interview Transcript, 3.

⁸ Jenny Interview Transcript, 2.

Figure 6.1
Jenny: 1st Card-Sort Map



the geographic location of the event trumped the historical context of the event in this instance. Additionally, the fact that she used different types of spatial schemes to organize the events (e.g., interregional schemes such as Eastern hemisphere and regional schemes such as Europe) suggests that she is able to recognize different spatial levels.

Event to event connections. The event to event connections that some participants made often took into account the historical context of the events, and connected them across time and geographic space. In the first card-sort, for example, Ben, a high school world history teacher, explained his thinking as he drew connections on the paper:

Ben: We have two religions, both of which exist in Eurasia; Buddhism definitely spreads by the Silk Roads, Islam less so. Well naval Silk Roads, more so. Decline of the Han [Empire] is connected with the spread of Buddhism. Mongol Empire kind of has a lot to do with the Silk Roads in and of itself. I can draw little arrows, not just lines.¹

Ben made multiple connections grounded in historical change over time between two religions, a travel route, and an empire. To connect Buddhism with the Silk Roads, he had to know something about both the nature of the trade route and the nature of the religion during a particular period of time.

Barry, a pre-service teacher, also discussed event to event connections in his first card-sort as he explained the arrows he drew on his map:

Barry: So, the Columbian Exchange is often talked about in the same era as the Printing Press...because it's part of the beginning of the Renaissance, part of the European Exploration and that's when technology shifted.²

Barry linked the Columbian Exchange to the development of the printing press as two things that happened in the same temporal period. In doing so, he referenced the

¹ Ben Interview Transcript, 4.

² Barry Interview Transcript, 3.

Renaissance and European exploration. However, he did not indicate how or in what way technology shifted.

Charles, the college professor, made multiple event to event connections both on the map and when he explained his map (see Figure 6.2). In the following excerpt he describes some of his event to event connections:

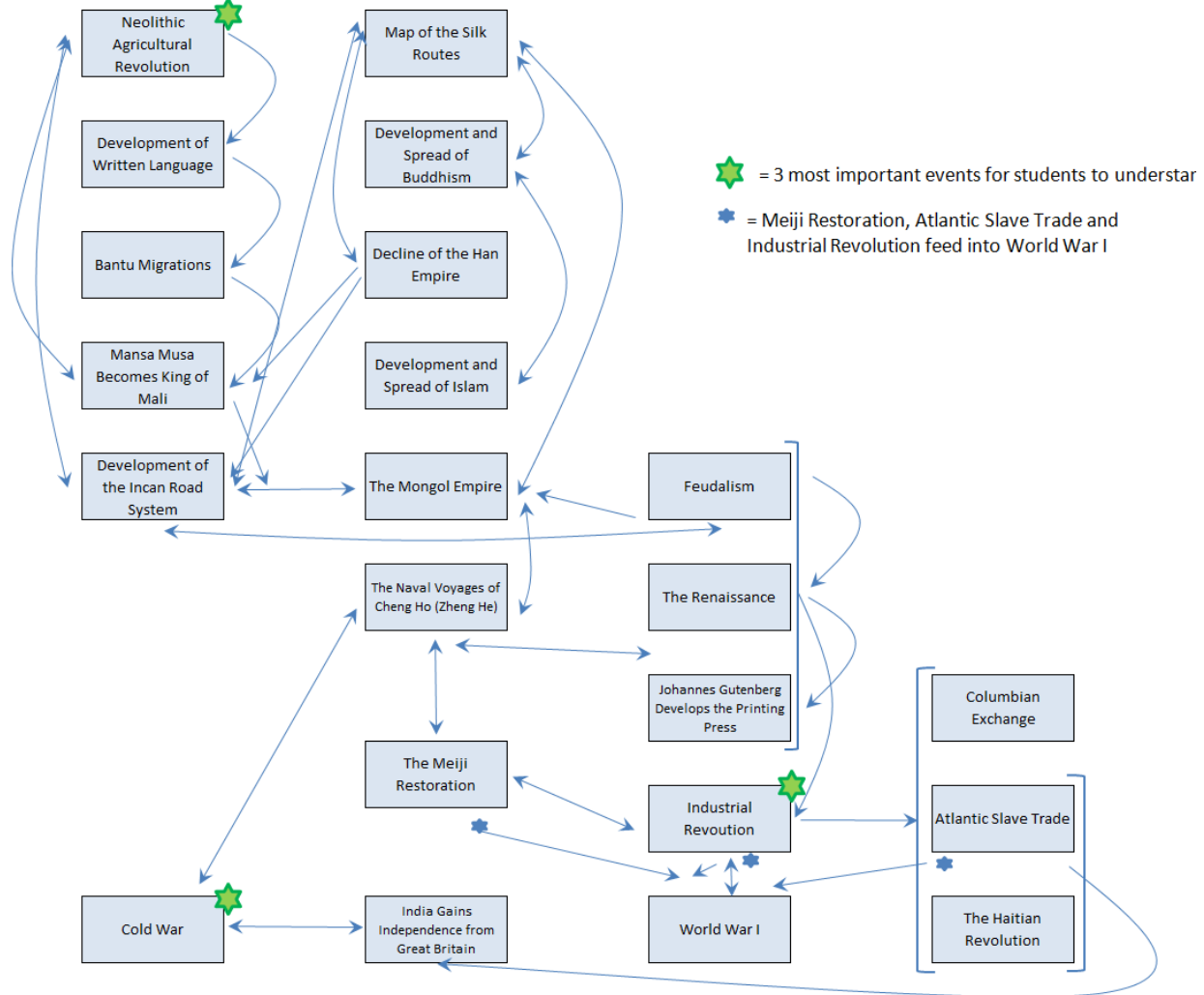
Charles: I'm trying to think of a link here between Zheng He³ [and the Chinese] withdrawing as Europe steps out on the world stage, and it's sort of here in this period—just after the Renaissance is the moment the Europeans start expanding, at the same moment—almost the same moment that China is withdrawing. The Industrial Revolution, then, reminds us that it wasn't just Europe; one other part of the world managed to industrialize, as well, and that was Japan. And there's a good comparison from what Japan did and what China didn't do....a nice comparison. And then this industrialization of Europe allows Europe to dominate, particularly the Atlantic World, Africa, the Americas, and so on. And the Columbian Exchange, Atlantic Slave Trade, Haitian Revolution are all products of that.... And then finally...all of these are linked; the Meiji Restoration, Industrialization, and Atlantic Slave Trade, these three all feed, for me, into World War I, which is also clearly a product of Industrialization.⁴

In the last sentence, for example, Charles made connections between four events that occurred in different regions and across time: Meiji Restoration, Industrialization, the Atlantic Slave Trade, and World War I. He referenced causal connections, such as linking the industrialization of Europe with the Haitian Revolution. He also made a comparative connection when he contrasts what Japan did in the Industrial Revolution with what China did not, which relates back to Zheng He and the Chinese withdrawing from global trade. In making these event to event connections, Charles and some of the other participants employed conceptual devices such as interregional patterns and cross-regional comparison as tools to explain their connections.

³ The most common translations of this explorer's name are "Cheng Ho" and "Zheng He." Although I noted both on the card-sort card, I use "Zheng He" throughout the dissertation.

⁴ Charles Interview Transcript, 27.

Figure 6.2
Charles: 2nd Card-Sort Map



Event to category connections. Participants also placed super-ordinate labels on their card-sort maps and then used these as categories to which the cards beneath them were connected. For example, Amy, a high school world history teacher, grouped the events in her first sort by the categories: political systems, social structures, conflict, technology, culture, religious beliefs, global interactions, revolutions/independence movements, economic interactions, and nationalism. In addition to grouping and labeling cards, she also made more than one categorical connection for some cards. For example, she connected feudalism to the “social structure” and “political system” categories; World War I and the Cold War to “conflict” and “nationalism”; and she indicated that the Mongol Empire was a global interaction and had something to do with conflict when she commented,

Amy: And then there is [the category of] conflict, down here at the bottom. Although that’s another one where a lot of these could sort of fit in more than one category. The Mongol Empire, for example, could also fit under that sort of Conflict characteristic....World War I and the Cold War are in that Conflict category.¹

As is shown in the above example, there were also different types of categories participants created, with some more historical – bounded in time – than others. For example, Amy’s category of “conflict” is not necessarily bounded in time (something that happened 1000 years ago in Japan might be placed in it, as well as something that happened yesterday in the United States.). However, her category of nationalism holds historical meaning – historians use it to describe specific types of sentiments and movements starting in the 1700s (although historians debate exactly when nationalism began).²

¹ Amy Interview Transcript, 3.

² See for example Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

High school world history teacher Simone added an historical aspect to the categories she created for her first sort: agricultural systems & effects; technology & effects; trade & effects; political structures & effects of their interactions. By adding “and effects” to each of her categories, Simone located the categories more in time. However, just looking at the categories without the cards grouped under them, it is not necessarily apparent to which historical time periods Simone is referring. The events within the categories, then, become important because they make Simone’s categories more historically meaningful (see Figure 6.3).

Category to category connections. Two participants made connections between the categories themselves. For example, pre-service teacher Ophelia connected the categories of “transportation of goods/people,” “cultural movements/economic change,” and “events shaping both physical and cultural boundaries of nations,” to each other on her card-sort map (see Figure 6.4). In doing so, she moved away from discussing the specific historical events on the cards:

Interviewer: Are there any connections that you want to draw?...

Ophelia: Well, I feel like these two are pretty similar [pointing to the paper]—

Interviewer: The Meiji Restoration and—

Ophelia: No, the groups themselves.... Yeah. Just because they are major events that you can point out in periods of time. And I guess these are, too [pointing to the categories of “transportation of goods/people” and “cultural movements/economic change”]

Interviewer: Those categories?

Ophelia: Yeah, I had them all in one big group at the beginning, so that’s probably why.... But they’re all pretty general events that shaped history.³

³ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 5.

Figure 6.3
Simone: 1st Card-Sort Map

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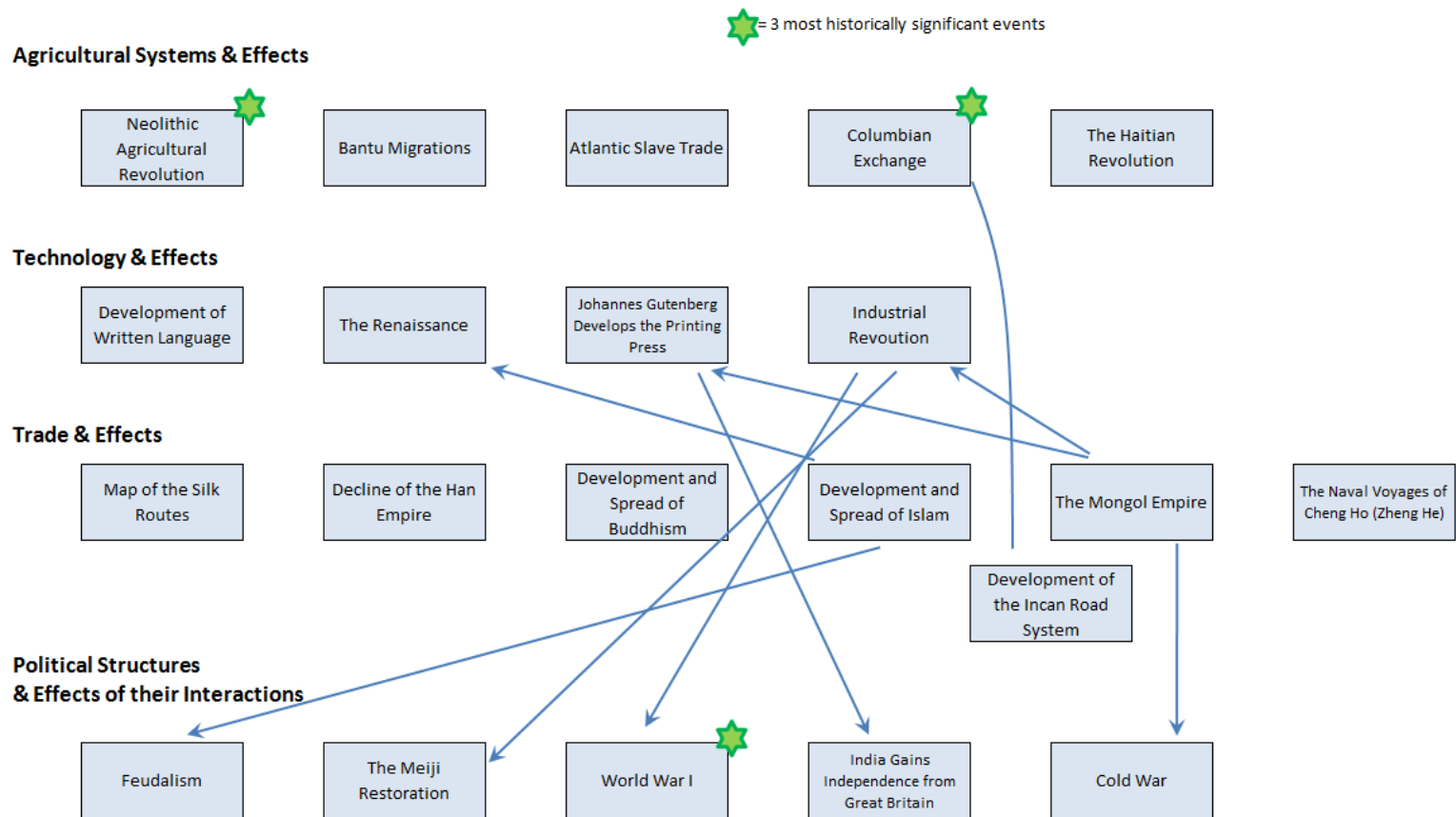
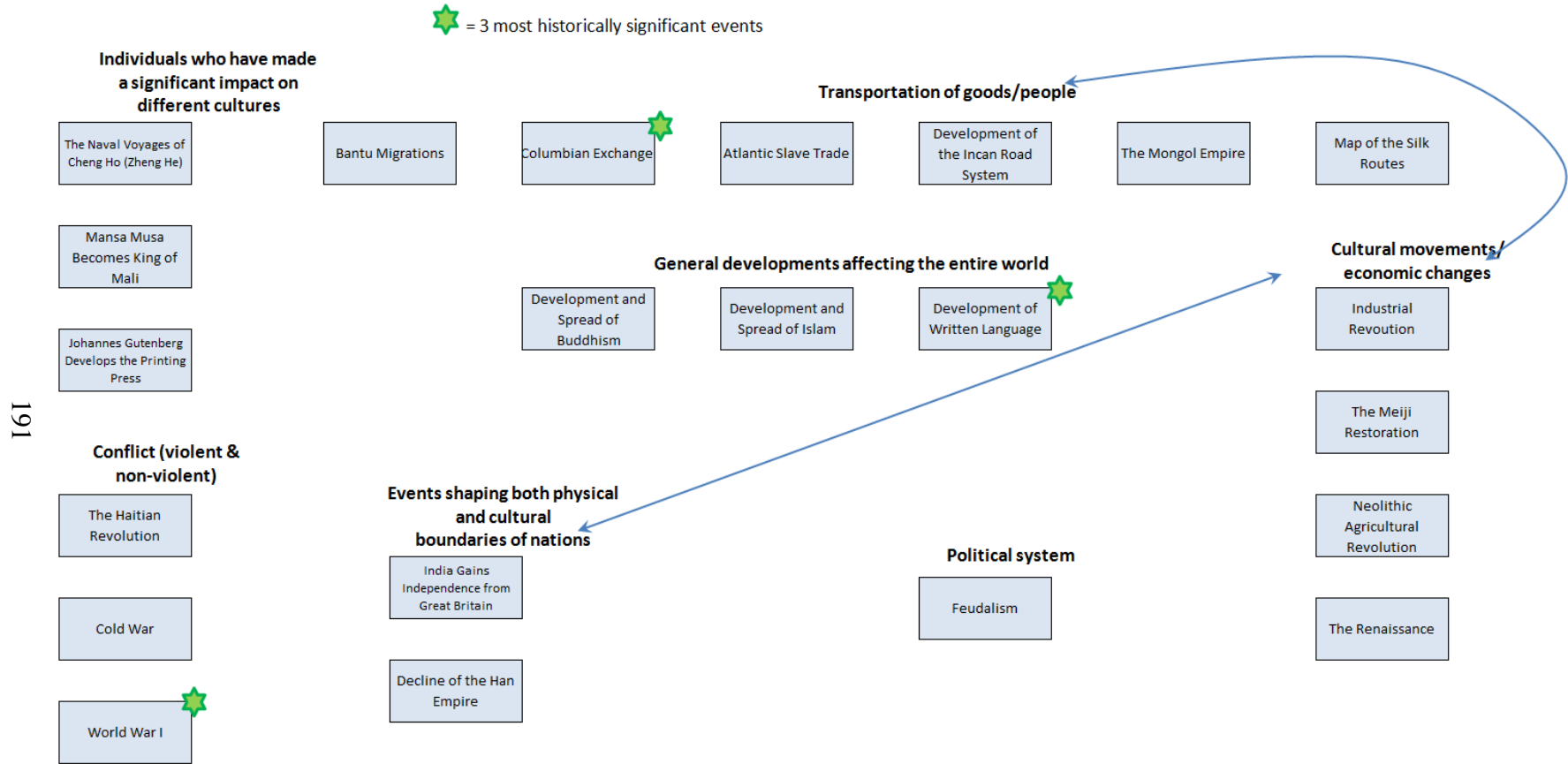


Figure 6.4
Ophelia: 1st Card-Sort Map



Although Ophelia labeled her categories on the map “transportation of goods/people,” “cultural movements/economic changes, and “events shaping both physical and cultural boundaries of nations,” in this example she is not relating any of the historical events to these categories. Instead she related the categories to each other. By doing so, she has distanced herself from discussing the historical events on the cards.

As I discussed above, many of the categories participants created were sociological, social or thematic, essentially transcending time and space. For example, grouping events under the label “transportation of goods/people” is a thematic category that applies to many times and many places. At times, such categories appeared to ignore context or change, but rather served as containers to hold events that fit similar criteria. For example, pre-service teacher Ophelia did not appear able to pinpoint or explain the connections between the categories, and attributed the connections to the fact that at the beginning of the card-sorting process she had many cards in a larger category which she eventually broke apart. Similarly, high school world history teacher Amy made a couple category to category connections on her second card-sort by connecting “revolutions” to “interactions” and “revolutions” to “empires vs. civilization/political systems.” These participants made connections in these examples, but not necessarily ones that are grounded in the historical context.

Differences between Participants Making Connections

After I had found differences in the types of connections that participants made, I noticed patterns in the ways that particular participants represented their thinking about these connections. With one exception, the in-service teachers made more connections on their card-sort maps than did the pre-service teachers. For example, Barry, a pre-service

teacher, made thirty-three connections on his two maps, whereas Amy, an in-service teacher, made eighty-nine. There were also differences in the types of connections made, with experienced world history teachers such as Ben and Charles, for example, making many more event to event connections than other participants (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1
Frequency of Connections on Card-Sort Maps

Participants		1 st Card-sort				2 nd Card-sort				Totals for both sorts
		Category to category	Event to Region	Event to category	Event to event	Category to category	Event to Region	Event to category	Event to event	
Pre-service Teachers	Barry				11		20	2		33
	Jake		16	6	3		11	10		46
	Jessica		34	26				22		82
	Ophelia	2		22				22		46
In-service Teachers	Amy			42	2	2		39		85
	Ben		8	8	18		4	26	15	79
	Charles			17	11				31	59
	Jenny		16	36	1		22			75
	Simone			22	9			22		53
	Terrence		33		2			34		69

Additionally, I found differences in the *quality* of connections that participants made. Compare how Barry, a pre-service teacher, made event to event connections with how Simone, an experienced world history teacher, did. Barry discussed how he would connect the Naval Voyages of Zheng He to the printing press:

Barry: I guess the Naval Voyages [of Zheng He] is kind of connected to the Printing Press because the Printing Press has more of an origin in China as well, although Gutenberg lived in Germany. So there's kind of a little Chinese connection there that you get to tease out.¹

Barry loosely connected the naval voyages of Zheng He to the printing press by noting that printing technology originally came from China, and Zheng He was a Chinese explorer. For Barry, then, even though he is connecting an event (Gutenberg develops the printing press) to another event (the naval voyages of Zheng He), the connection is

¹ Barry Interview Transcript, 3.

geographic. It is not the actual events that connect, but that they both have ties to China.

Compare that example with Simone's discussion of Gutenberg's press:

Simone: Definitely the expansion of the Muslim world is—could be one of the causes of the Renaissance. And to some extent the trade system that was expanded by the Mongols leads to ideas of technology that some historians think may have – very indirectly but may have – influenced the development of the moveable type that Gutenberg used.... Some of the culture that developed in trade and feudal Europe is definitely connected to Muslim traditions. I'm thinking like Islamic Spain and the troubadours that developed in France out of [the] Spanish, or Andalusian, system.²

Simone discussed several event to event connections in this example. Moreover, she gave forth a theory by historians about Mongol expansion as an explanation for connecting the moveable type to Asia. She also further explicated the connections between Islam and feudalism by using troubadours as a case of larger patterns. By connecting events in Europe and Asia, Simone also linked them to larger interregional patterns, such as the influence of the Mongol Empire and Muslim traditions. Both Barry and Simone made event to event connections, but there appeared to be a difference in the quality of these connections, with Simone's employing more conceptual devices such as using cases and linking to interregional patterns to connect two events over time and in different regions.

Overall, I found that experienced world history teachers Ben, Charles, and Simone appeared to employ more conceptual devices by making connections that were both grounded in time and space, and included links to larger interregional and global patterns. Amy, a high school world history teacher, and Jenny, a middle school world history teacher, as well as pre-service teachers Barry and Jake made many connections, but they did not appear to be as grounded in the historical context or connect to larger

² Simone Interview Transcript, 6.

interregional or global patterns. U.S. history teacher Terrence and pre-service teachers Jessica and Ophelia often appeared uncertain during the interviews about how some historical events could be connected to other things, although they did categorize the cards and draw some connections on their maps. For example, Terrence made mostly event to region connections on his first map:

Terrence: Well certainly there's going to be connections here—between Europe, well Eastern Hemisphere and Western Hemisphere there's going to be the same sort of connections through those trade routes between Europe and Asia—through South Asia and into Southwest Asia and there'll be the same sort of connections being made.³

In describing the regional connections, Terrence appeared to focus less on any particular historical event, and more on trade routes that connected different geographic regions. Similarly, as pre-service teacher Jessica discussed her event to category connections, it seemed that she was not quite clear how the historical events connect to her categories, which she refers to as “general trends”:

Jessica: You could do just general trends, like Buddhism and Islam are both religious sorts of things. So, I'll put an “R” next to those.

Interviewer: “R” for Religion? Okay.

Jessica: For Religion, yeah. They are trends. And then general cultural movements, I guess. You could put “C” for different culture things. You can't really necessarily link all of them very well, but they are general cultural trends. So, empires would be included and other migrations.⁴

The use of language “sorts of things” and “I guess” indicated, that, although Jessica appears to want to make connections between several events, she was unclear how to link some of the events to larger categories.

³ Terrence Interview Transcript, 3.

⁴ Jessica Interview Transcript, 5.

In sum, as participants sorted through the cards, they all created categories and made connections. Some participants created categories grounded in historical time such as “Early Modern” or space such as “Africa,” whereas others transcended time and space with categories such as “economics,” “revolutions,” or “conflict.” As I describe above, I also saw differences in the types and quality of connections participants created. These differences support what Bransford, Brown, and Cocking write about how experts notice patterns – conceptual chunks – that novices do not.⁵ Experienced world history teachers Bill, Charles, and Simone made connections that were grounded in time and space and that seemed to use more of the conceptual devices of world history such as making comparative connections and connecting them to larger interregional and global patterns.

Determining World Historical Significance

Types of Significance

After the first card-sorting task, I asked participants to discuss three events that they felt were most historically significant. As seen in Table 6.2, the most popular choices were the Columbian Exchange, the Neolithic Agricultural Revolution, and the Development of Written Language. There were also several interregional and regional events that were *not* chosen by any participant such as the Mongol Empire, the Haitian Revolution, and the Decline of the Han Empire. What was most interesting in examining participant responses was not necessarily what events participants chose but how they thought about historical significance. As when they made connections between cards, some participants also used conceptual devices to explain their thinking about significance. Determining significance is an important historical process. As Peter

⁵ Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, eds., *How People Learn*.

Table 6.2
Historically Significant Events

Events	Most significant event (1st card-sort)
Columbian Exchange	70%
Neolithic Agricultural Revolution	50%
Development of Written Language	40%
Industrial Revolution	30%
Silk Routes	30%
World War I	30%
Development and Spread of Islam	20%
Atlantic Slave Trade	10%
Bantu Migrations	10%
Cold War	10%
Decline of the Han Empire	0
Development of the Incan Road System	0
Development and Spread of Buddhism	0
Feudalism	0
The Haitian Revolution	0
India gains Independence from Great Britain	0
Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press	0
Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali	0
The Meiji Restoration	0
The Mongol Empire	0
The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)	0
The Renaissance	0

Seixas writes, “In order to write meaningful history, historians work implicitly with the criteria of historical significance.”⁶

Looking across the interviews I saw patterns in how participants judged the significance of some events over others. For some it was the global effect of the event; this often included events that spanned a great deal of time and space. For other participants the event was necessary for future events to occur. Finally, for at least one participant, significance was more of a personal choice. I discuss each of these patterns below before turning to the differences between participants.

Global significance. The global impact of an event was the reason most often offered by the participants. For example, pre-service teacher Jessica remarked that the global impact of the development of written language over a long period of time as a reason for its historical significance:

Jessica: Sure. I would probably choose—whoa. That’s so hard. I would for sure choose the Development of Written Language.

Interviewer: Why would you choose that one?

Jessica: Because that led to so many things being able to be written down and passed on from generation—that’s the beginning of when you can really track history. So I would definitely start...with that, I think.⁷

Similarly, Barry, a pre-service teacher, considered choosing the Columbian Exchange as a significant event because it transcends time and “you could argue that the Columbian Exchange is still happening.”⁸

⁶ Peter Seixas, "Students' Understanding of Historical Significance," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 22, no. 3 (1994): 281. Recently several other history educators have studied students' understandings of historical significance. For example see Bain, "Into the Breach"; Terrie Epstein, "Adolescents' Perspectives on Racial Diversity in U.S. History: Case Studies from an Urban Classroom," *American Educational Research Journal* 37, no. 1 (2000); Linda S. Levstik, "Articulating the Silences: Teachers' and Adolescents' Conceptions of Historical Significance," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

⁷ Jessica Interview Transcript, 5.

Participants also identified major turning points as reasons for significance. In this example, high school world history teacher Ben listed reasons for choosing three events as most significant:

Ben: Neolithic [Revolution] because it's the first domino and it starts the development of the urbanization, collect property ownership, politics....Industrial Revolution because of the change in societies, social patterns, legal systems, all of the political....And Columbian Exchange, just because I think once the Americas are integrated into the world system that that's a huge turning point.⁹

It seems that significance for Ben is based on large patterns of change and large temporal turning points. He lists several major changes that each of the events incurred, and describes the Neolithic Revolution as a “domino” and the Columbian exchange as a “major turning point.” Just as turning points in time was a determinant of significance to some participants, so was spatial influence:

Barry: I'll put the Spread of Islam as one of the most important.

Interviewer: And why's that?

Barry: Because [of] its relations with other religions in the region. It's that and that it influenced the Middle Ages tremendously from Europe and Asia and then Africa, so it was a good chunk of the known world.¹⁰

Pre-service teacher Barry seemed to consider the spread of Islam to be significant because of its influence over a large geographic area. By doing so, he appeared to connect spatial influence with historical significance.

Events as necessary. When explaining the reasons for their choices, some participants went beyond mentioning the global impact that a particular event had, to connecting it to events later in time:

⁸ Barry Interview Transcript, 7.

⁹ Ben Interview Transcript, 6.

¹⁰ Barry Interview Transcript, 5.

Simone: Clearly without the Agricultural Revolution none of the rest of this would have happened. So I think I definitely have to put that down as one of the big events. Secondly, I would pick the Columbian Exchange because it—I'm assuming that also means the actual voyage of Columbus bringing the people of the—on two continents, two hemispheres, so it's not just the foods and some of the technologies. So we wouldn't have the global system...without that happening. And I think a lot of these other events are actually related to it....And then I think the modern world is really, totally dependent on what happened after World War I. So, I'm going to—it's not the war itself but, how the British and French tried to reorder the world after World War I...this totally shapes what is, what has happened since, both the positive developments but also a lot of the conflicts as well.¹¹

Simone, a high school world history teacher, pointed to large global patterns when she explained why she chose certain events as most significant, such as the Agricultural Revolution, Columbian Exchange, and World War I allowing many other events to occur. College professor Charles similarly chose the Agricultural Revolution because of the impact it had on the events that followed it:

Charles: I'd start with the Neolithic Revolution, because if we hadn't—if some humans hadn't found themselves trapped into a farming lifeway, there'd be no sedentism, there'd be no increase in populations, there'd be no denser populations, either, and nothing would have changed.¹²

What Simone and Charles' examples also have in common is that they mention what *would not have* happened had a particular historical event not occurred – in this case the Neolithic Agricultural Revolution. Peter J. Lee refers to this as “causes as necessary conditions” and writes that “historians tend to select necessary conditions of events from the wider (sufficient) set. If these necessary conditions had not been present, the event

¹¹ Simone Interview Transcript, 7.

¹² Charles Interview Transcript, 14.

we are explaining would not have happened.”¹³ Pre-service teacher Jake appeared to use the same technique to determine significance:

Jake: And then, I’m stuck between Development of Written Language and Gutenberg’s [Printing] Press because they’re intimately connected, as should be obvious, I think. But, I mean, what’s more important? What separates our society, what characterizes our society more—the fact that we have written language, or how we’ve used it since? But the fact that, without the Development of Written Language, we couldn’t have the printing press makes me think that the Development of Written Language is more significant than the Printing Press—not that I want to downplay Mr. Gutenberg’s contribution to history.¹⁴

In this think-aloud excerpt, we can see Jake deliberating over what was more significant: the development of written language or Johannes Gutenberg’s development of the printing press. Ultimately he decided on written language because of what would not have happened without it.

Personal significance. For some participants, significance seemed to have something to do with their own familiarity or interest in the event. For example, U.S. history teacher Terrence chose the Columbian Exchange, Atlantic Slave Trade and the Cold War as the most significant events:

Terrence: There are all sorts of reasons why I might—I’m going to pick the Cold War as one....And much of my answer’s going to come from my own areas of comfort and expertise. And some of this is ethnocentric because if I were to say the Columbia Exchange, I don’t know that this is necessarily more influential or significant in a broader, or grander scheme of things than, let’s say, the Silk Road Route....I’m currently listening to a book about slavery, so I’m picking the Atlantic Slave Trade....So let’s just do, comfort level, areas of expertise.¹⁵

Terrence noted that there may be many reasons why someone would designate significance, but he decided to use his own “comfort level” as his meter. He commented

¹³ Peter J. Lee, "Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History," in *How Students Learn History in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005), 52.

¹⁴ Jake Interview Transcript, 4.

¹⁵ Terrence Interview Transcript, 4.

that he was unsure if the Columbian Exchange is necessarily more significant than the Silk Roads, but he sticks with that choice nonetheless. He also indicated that part of his reasoning for choosing those events is because of book he is currently reading. All of these events involve North America or the United States in some capacity, which is not surprising given Terrence's familiarity with teaching U.S. history. Other participants, such as high school world history teacher Amy and pre-service teacher Jessica, contemplated choosing events because of personal interest:

Amy: I guess off of the top of my head, the two that jump out at me the most are the Industrial Revolution and the Columbian Exchange....My initial reaction would be to include those two, because...my interest level is more in the sort of modern history, that would sort of start with 1500: Imperialism, and Industrial Revolution, and things like that.

Jessica: I would also probably talk about the Industrial Revolution, but I also really like the Renaissance."¹⁶

In the end, however, most participants decided against making the choice solely based on personal interest.

Differences between Participants' Explanations of Significance

Interestingly, I found no discernable differences between the *types* of events pre- and in-service teachers chose as most significant. Most participants chose events that had large global impact (see Appendix H for the events individual participants chose).

Additionally, most pre- and in-service teachers seemed to identify global impact or major turning points in global history as reasons for significance. Thus, there seemed to be a shared sense of world historical significance among in- and pre-service participants.

Although some participants contemplated choosing events for reasons of personal interest, with the exception of U.S. history teacher Terrence, they all eventually changed

¹⁶ Jessica Interview Transcript, 6.

their answers. There were, however, some differences in *how* participants explained the events that they chose. Some of the pre-service teachers mentioned that particular events had a large impact on other things, but did not go much detail as to how or why. For example, pre-service teacher Jessica explained why she chose World War I as one of the most significant events:

Jessica: I would talk about World War I, because that was such a huge influence on so many things, culturally speaking—people were moving around and seeing and experiencing other things, and economically speaking, it was affecting countries in all sorts of ways. And it's the first time, really, that so many countries and continents are interacting with each other, the way that it affected Africa, and the way that it affected Europe.¹⁷

Jessica indicated that World War I is important economically and culturally, but did not discuss how the war influenced other events such as the effect of reparations on Germany's economy or World War I's connection with World War II. Ophelia, another pre-service teacher, similarly chose World War I, and, like Jessica, appeared to have a hard time describing why she considered the war to be significant:

Ophelia: Okay. That's hard. I would probably pick World War I, though, as one of them.

Interviewer: Why would you pick World War I?

Ophelia: Just because it was the first major conflict that a lot of different areas of the world were involved in, and the warfare itself. Just kind of the brutality of it. I don't know. It just is a really significant war to me. That's what stands out to me.¹⁸

Ophelia appeared to have an idea of the global nature of the war, and possibly the new technologies that changed the nature of warfare, but mentioned these things only in the broadest of terms. Both of these responses suggest that Jessica and Ophelia not only

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 6.

might not have much knowledge of the event, but might also lack knowledge of the larger global context in which the event took place.

On the other hand, experienced world history teachers Ben, Simone, and Charles, seemed to be much more confident in their choices. For example, Charles created a global context for significance when he described why he chose the Industrial Revolution:

Charles: I have to star the Industrial Revolution as well, because if the Industrial Revolution had happened somewhere else, such as Han China, we'd be speaking Mandarin right now, or probably Cantonese. So the fact that Europe industrializes first means that Europe has dominated the world ever since.¹⁹

In determining significance in this instance, Charles seemed to not only consider what might not have happed without the event, but also what would have happened had the Industrial Revolution started in a different geographic region.

Although there was a great deal of agreement between pre- and in-service teachers about the most historically significant events for world history, some of the less experienced world history teachers did not seem as able to detail *why* they chose particular events. It appeared that these participants did not know much about the events and also were not able to connect the events to larger interregional or global patterns.

Using Conceptual Devices to Tell Stories

The card-sorting task required participants to take a stack of cards containing historical events and organize them. The way in which they put them together tells us something about how they might construct historical meaning from discrete events. In analyzing the interviews I found that participants differed in the ways they were able to employ conceptual devices to build coherence. For example, all of the participants

¹⁹ Charles Interview Transcript, 14.

appeared to take historical time into consideration during the card-sorting tasks. For some participants, however, this meant merely placing events in chronological order. Thus they “chained” events together, connecting them only by the date in which they occurred. I found that other participants used more meaningful chunks of time as an organizing tool, with some even creating periodization schemes. However, these participants did not use these temporal schemes in isolation, but used them in conjunction with some of the conceptual devices of world history, such as using different scales of time and space and multiple units of analysis, to build more connections between the events. Moreover, some of the more experienced world history teachers appeared to be able to tell coherent stories about the historical events and concepts.

Although I did not prompt participants to tell stories with the cards, in looking across transcripts I found that their explanations often seemed to be in narrative form. However, there were differences in the degree to which these stories were grounded in historical context. In what follows I first describe the types of story construction that I found, including challenges participants cited, and then I describe differences between participants’ thinking.

Types of Story Construction

Chaining events. Although all participants made connections between events, categories, and geographic regions as explained above, there were certain instances where participants chained events together without explanation of the connections between them. In other words, these participants created a chronicle of events.²⁰

For example, U.S. history teacher Terrence organized his second card-sort into time categories, but instead of creating meaningful temporal categories, the events were

²⁰ See for example Walsh, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*.

chained together simply by the year in which they occurred (see Figure 6.5). In the following excerpt, Terrence described how he divided the events by time:

Interviewer: Can you talk a little about the eras that you developed here? Are there particular reasons for where you started and stopped them?

Terrence: Only one. The others were just large chunks of time, 1491 being a Columbus date – the year before Columbus comes to the Americas....It’s just a logical one. The others—there’s no single event that came to mind. I was just looking at big chunks of time.

Aside from 1491, it appeared that Terrence randomly chose the other dates. Terrence did divide time into chunks, but they were not historically meaningful. In other words, his time divisions were not dependent on the historical events that they encompass.

Similarly, in-service teacher Barry made a connection between two historical events because of the time period in which they occurred when he commented: “The Naval Voyages of Zheng He I put before Columbian Exchange because, well they were chronologically first. I think this was [the] 1430’s.”²¹

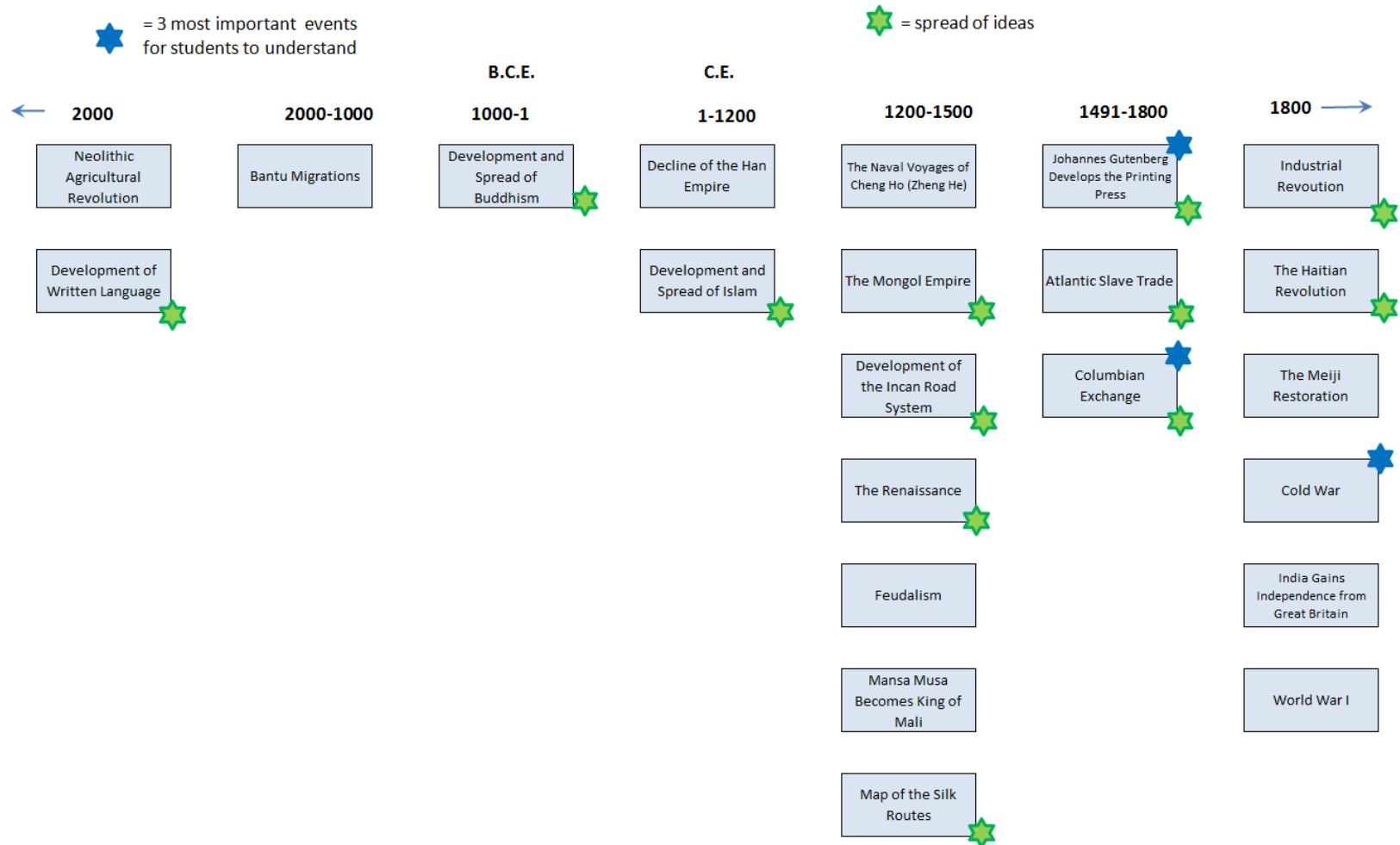
Some participants indicated that they were unable to connect events into their organizational schemes. Three participants referred to events as “outliers,” and one called the Mongol Empire an “odd-ball.” For example, Barry tried to make connections between several events in the following example, but was not able to:

Barry: Written Language—I don’t know this, but I would guess that it was helped the Spread of Buddhism. Although it didn’t have to [be]. I don’t know if [Buddhism] was spread by text. India Gains Independence – that seems like an outlier. I wouldn’t draw a connection there.

Another pre-service teacher, Jake, also referred to both the Incan Road System and the Cold War as outliers during the interview. In addition, high school world history teacher

²¹ Barry Interview Transcript, 3.

Figure 6.5
Terrence: 2nd Card-Sort Map



Ben described to the Incan Road system as an outlier, and did not include it with the other cards on his second card-sort map.

Some participants said that they found particular events or concepts more challenging to fit into organizational schemes. In particular, concepts such as feudalism, the Renaissance, and the Industrial Revolution seemed to give participants the most difficulty. These might have been more challenging because they span large expanses of space and time, but are not necessarily events bound in time and space. C. Behan McCullagh referred to these as “colligatory terms” and wrote that historians use them to “identify the processes of historical change by which individual events are colligated.”¹ Similarly, Denis Shemilt referred to concepts such as these as “colligatory concepts,” ones which represent “what was going on,” compared to events which represent “what happened.”² These terms or concepts, then, represent the historical processes of a time period instead a particular event. For the most part it was the pre-service teachers who verbalized challenges they had with these particular cards.

For example, novice teacher Barry commented that the Industrial Revolution is challenging because there are “very few facts related to it. It’s always taught as just the change in economy or something, and we have very few statistics that go with it – at least that I’ve seen.”³ Similarly pre-service teacher Ophelia said that she “wasn’t a big fan of learning about the Industrial Revolution....I was more interested in learning about

¹ C. Behan McCullagh, "Colligation and Classification in History," *History and Theory* 17, no. 3 (1978).

² In his study of adolescent history students, Shemilt writes, “Indeed, it is only when pupils are able to relate historical contents of present concern to preexistent but ever-developing narrative frameworks that we can begin to explain that such colligatory concepts as the Industrial Revolution or the General Crises of the Seventeenth Century are not events, nor even categories of events.” See “The Currency of Narrative Frameworks in History Teaching,” 95.

³ Barry Interview Transcript, 8.

specific events, like battles or revolts.”⁴ Jake, also a pre-service teacher, noted that certain events, such as the Bantu Migrations, are not “easy, cut-and-dry” history. It seemed that these participants differentiated between fact-based events as “easy history” and other types of history. Not knowing what to do with historical concepts such as these may have impeded some participants’ abilities to construct coherent narratives.

Building coherence by moving beyond the sum of the parts. Some participants went beyond chaining together events to using events and the connections between them to tell a story. In distinguishing between historical chronicle and coherent narrative W.H. Walsh wrote:

The historical ideal is always to get away from the stage of chronicle and attain that of history itself. What every historian seeks for is not a bare recital of unconnected facts, but a smooth narrative in which every event falls as it were into its natural place and belongs to an intelligible whole.⁵

In analyzing interview data, I found that some participants wove the events together to tell stories. In telling these stories, participants used conceptual devices such as moving through scales of time and space and employing multiple units of analysis. For example, college professor Charles told a story as he explains his first card-sort:

Charles: And then finally, the Mongol Empire—almost the last chapter of trans-Eurasian unification, if you like, and clearly an event of inter-regional, if not global significance. And then the Voyages of Zheng He stemming out of that—stemming out of Ming response to the Mongols, and they finally kicked them out. What you haven’t got here, of course, is the Song dynasty almost staging an Industrial Revolution in Southern China, which might have had profound impact as well if it had continued. But then, there is this moment when Zheng He’s voyages are finished and Asia does, to a certain extent, actively withdraw back into itself, and tries to shut out the West. The other link with the West here would be that a lot of the ideas that do spread along the Mongol Roads are, of course, Chinese inventions. Some of them spread by land, such as gunpowder, and so on. Some of them relate to maritime trade, as you know, the compass and the rudder, and so on. And these things slowly trickled to the West. And then at the very

⁴ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 13.

⁵ Walsh, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, 34.

moment that China puts up the shutters, as it were, the West begins to use and develop these Chinese inventions. And, of course, one of the great ironies of history is that they'll come around knocking at the door of East Asia later with gunboats, using gunpowder and rudders and compasses invented by the Chinese, forcing the Chinese to accept opium and other drugs. A great irony of history.⁶

Charles did several things in telling this story. He described interregional patterns such as the trade and rule of the Mongol Empire. He made causal connections between the naval voyages of Zheng He and the Ming Dynasty's response to the Mongols. He discussed the contact and exchanges of goods between China and the West. He mentioned a historical event that almost happened, but did not – a Chinese Industrial Revolution. He made cross-regional connections between what was going on in China during this time period and what was going on in the West. Additionally he constructed a cross-temporal connection between Chinese inventions adopted by the West and Western Imperialism. Although he is telling a story across time, he does not merely chain events together based on dates. In fact, not a single date is mentioned in this passage. Rather, Charles located the events in time by using periods such as “the last chapter of trans-Eurasian unification” and the “Song Dynasty.” Moreover, Charles did not simply list all of the historical facts that he knew (although clearly he knows many), but he connected them in a way that tells a coherent story.

Middle school world history teacher Jenny also provided an example of building coherence with the historical events as she discussed her organizational scheme:

Jenny: Then I would look at the exchange of ideas and within that we would look at Asia. You would look at Atlantic Slave Trade, which again—[with the] Atlantic Slave Trade you can start with Mansa Musa, but if I'm looking at the ideas of—movement, of goods and ideas and cultural exchange, I would probably put Atlantic Slave Trade and Columbian Exchange more together. And then Renaissance and Gutenberg together. I would put the Incan Road System at that point—because I think, you know again, that's the development of an

⁶ Charles Interview Transcript, 6.

infrastructure which a lot of this is, with exploration and slave trade—that’s what would fit in. And then I would look at the idea of revolution in conflict and that revolution could be a development of ideas or it could be a change in the government or infrastructure of a country. So therefore I would put the Haitian Revolution and Industrial Revolution, [which] really starts earlier but it goes on for a long period of time. And that would lead us, as you start with the revolution [and] go into war, a World War. And then we would look at India getting independence and this would be looking at the aftermath of the wars and the impact—and along with India’s independence you would also be looking at like maybe the Great Depression and everything that’s going on in global perspective and then how things go wrong, tension builds, we don’t trust our neighbors, you get into the Cold War.⁷

Like Charles, Jenny told a story that spanned several centuries and geographic regions of the world. Although Jenny did not describe the historical context to the extent that Charles did, she was able weave together multiple events. She connected large patterns of political and industrial revolutions, war, and independence movements over time.

High school world history teacher Simone moved between multiple periodization schemes and units of analysis as she described how she connected several historical events, demonstrating the application of conceptual devices to the task:

Simone: And then the long nineteenth century would start with the Industrial Revolution and technological changes, and then go on to the political changes like the Haitian Revolution and the other political revolutions. The Meiji Restoration is a good example of both imperialism and response to imperialism. And then the twentieth century begins with World War I, goes to decolonization – India being a great example – and then the Cold War being most of the second half of the twentieth century.⁸

In this short excerpt we can see Simone did several things. She created a periodization scheme by referring to the “long nineteenth century” and stating how the twentieth century began with World War I. In doing so she shifted away from the conventional definitions of centuries. Simone used India’s independence movement as a case of decolonization in the twentieth century. She also discussed cause and effect by noting

⁷ Jenny Interview Transcript, 10-11.

⁸ Simone Interview Transcript, 10.

that the Meiji Restoration is both an imperialist venture and a response to Western imperialism. Finally, she referenced the global patterns of the Industrial Revolution, political revolutions, and the Cold War.

The three previous examples demonstrate participants building coherence between the discrete events on the cards. In doing so, they go beyond chronologically chaining events or merely lumping them by geographic regions. Instead, these examples show connections between events over time and space in ways that use world history's conceptual devices.

Differences in Participants Using Conceptual Devices to Tell Stories

I noticed differences between participants in how they used the conceptual devices to tell stories. As I discussed in the first section of the chapter, all of the participants used the devices to make connections during the card-sorting task. I also found that all of the participants used multiple spatial schemes in explaining their card-sorts. Similarly, most of the participants used some sort of periodization scheme in their discussions (I discuss this further in Chapter Seven), although only experienced world history teachers Simone, Charles, Ben, and Amy used multiple schemes. There were very few instances of participants discussing historiographic issues related to world history in their interviews, with only Simone, Ben, and Charles mentioning such issues. In addition, perhaps because of the scope of the interview or the nature of the task, I did not find that participants discussed disciplinary tools or concepts outside of history.

However, as Table 6.3 shows, I found that all of the participants employed world history's units of analysis, such as comparison or linking case studies to larger global patterns – at one time or another during the interviews. For the most part, in-service

teachers used more units of analysis than did pre-service teachers. The most common units of analysis were interregional patterns and global patterns.

Table 6.3
Frequency of Participants' Use of Conceptual Devices: Units of Analysis

Participants		Case Study	Comparison	Two-way Contact and Exchange	Inter-regional Patterns	Global Patterns	Totals
Pre-service Teachers	Barry		1	1	1		3
	Jake	1		1	2	7	11
	Jessica		3		1	5	9
	Ophelia	2	2	2		4	10
In-service Teachers	Amy	3	2	5	1	6	17
	Ben		4		4	3	11
	Charles	12	6	11	18	23	70
	Jenny	1		2	4	5	9
	Simone	2		1	4	9	16
	Terrence				5	5	10
<i>Totals</i>		<i>24</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>67</i>	

In addition to the quantitative differences in the use of conceptual devices, I also found differences in participants' patterns of thinking that went beyond counting how many times a particular participant made a cross-regional comparison, or discussed global patterns. What I typically found with pre-service teachers Barry, Jessica, Jake, and Ophelia and U.S. history teacher Terrence was either a chaining together of events, or, if they tried to make more meaningful connections, not seeming to always know how to do so. Lack of knowledge or misconceptions of historical content might have prevented these participants from being able to organize the cards in a way that would tell a coherent historical story. For as Lee notes about periodization, "knowing historical periods and being able to use them depends on knowing some of the history from which they are constructed."⁹ Prospective teachers Jessica and Ophelia both commented more than once that they did not know much about Asian history. The pre-service teachers

⁹ Lee, "Understanding History," 42.

also seemed to have more difficulty fitting colligatory concepts or terms such as the Industrial Revolution into their organizing schemes, with several discussing how they found these concepts more difficult than “easy, fact-based” history.

In comparison, experienced world history teachers Charles, Ben, and Simone used different scales of space and time, and different units of analysis to connect the historical concepts and events and tell coherent stories. Experienced world history teachers Amy and Jenny also used world history’s distinct features to tell coherent stories, but often did not ground their explanations in as much historical context as Charles, Ben, and Simone appeared to be able to do.

The Role of Experience in Engaging in World Historical Thinking

As I have described in this chapter, several themes emerged as I analyzed how participants organized the cards for themselves in the first sort: participants made different types of connections between events, regions, and categories; they discussed world historical significance; and some of them told coherent stories as they organized the cards. I also found differences in the degrees to which participant used the conceptual devices I identified in Chapter Three to explain their organizational schemes, with experienced world history teachers Simone, Ben, Charles grounding their connections in rich historical contexts, using comparison, moving through various temporal and spatial schemes, and connecting events to larger interregional and global patterns. Although in-service teachers Amy and Jenny did not employ as many of the conceptual devices or ground their discussions in as much historical context, they did appear have knowledge of many of the events and were able to connect events to each other and to larger interregional and global patterns.

The novice teachers and U.S. history teacher Terrence, on the other hand, appeared to lack knowledge about some of the events. More importantly, however, they also expressed uncertainty about how to manage what historians call colligatory concepts – those such as the Industrial Revolution that span large amounts of time and space. Additionally, at times they seemed unable to connect events to larger global patterns. So, given these findings, what explains the differences between the groups?

Certainly content knowledge was a major factor. Some of the novice teachers admitted to not having knowledge about large parts of the globe including Asia and Africa. Additionally, not knowing how certain events fit into the larger context of the interregion or the globe or make causal or comparative connections also appeared to make a difference in the task. However, these differences cannot be attributed to educational degree, number of courses taken in particular regions of the world, or years of teaching alone. For, although it is not surprising that Charles, with a Ph.D. in ancient history, did very well at the task, Ben, an undergraduate American Studies and Music major, listed no history courses outside of the U.S. history on his information form (see Appendix C and D for participants' backgrounds).

As I did not design this study to make causal claims either about course work or years teaching, I can only speculate about the differences between participants. Ben, Simone, Jenny, Amy, and Charles are all world history teachers, and have all taught the subject for at least five years. Moreover, with the exception of Jenny, all of the experienced world history teachers have either participated in or taught Advanced Placement (AP) world professional development sessions specifically geared toward preparing teachers to teach world history on a global scale. As I have mentioned in

previous chapters and will take up again in Chapter Eight, the AP course materials also distinguish between “habits of mind” for history in general (such as assessing issues of change and continuity over time), and those specifically for world history including seeing global patterns over time and space, and comparing societies’ reactions to global processes.¹⁰ I hypothesize, therefore, that participation in professional training *specific* to world history on a global scale and experience teaching a global world history course may have allowed these participants to more readily use the tools world historians employ to make meaning of discrete events – tools that I term conceptual devices.

In the next chapter I move from this discussion of how participants engaged in world historical thinking to how they thought like world history *teachers* during the interviews. In doing so, I analyze how participants organized the cards specifically with classrooms and students in mind. I focus on their theories of students as learners of world history, their explanations for instructional significance, and their use of conceptual devices to organize world history for instructional purposes.

¹⁰ See for example *AP World History Course Description: May 2008, May 2009*. (Princeton, NJ: College Board, 2007).

Chapter Seven

Thinking like World History Teachers

For teachers, knowledge and understanding of world history might be a necessary condition for teaching, but it hardly sufficient. As Lee S. Shulman and others have long argued, teachers must transform content knowledge to make it “learnable” by creating, as Shulman described it, pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). In addition to having subject matter knowledge, Suzanne K. Wilson, Shulman, and Anna Richert contend that teachers must

hold knowledge about how learners learn the subject (what are subject-specific difficulties in learning, what are the developmental capabilities of students for acquiring concepts, what are common misconceptions).¹

The second set of card-sorts and interview data enabled me to “see” how the teachers thought about world history in relationship to their students and classrooms, or, in the case of pre-service teachers, their imagined students and classrooms. In reading across interview data, I identified places where the participants talked about learners, about the context in which they worked as teachers, and challenges they face in trying to make world history “teachable.”

This chapter is divided into three sections. I start with a discussion of the theories about student learning that participants posited as they sorted through the cards. Next I discuss shifts participants made in discussing historical significance in general in the first

¹ Suzanne M. Wilson, Lee Shulman, and Anna Richert, *150 Different Ways of Knowing: Representations of Knowledge in Teaching*, ed. J. Calderhead, Exploring Teachers' Thinking (London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1987), 51.

card-sort to discussing instructional significance in the second. In the third section I focus on how participants used the conceptual devices I identified in Chapter Three to discuss organizing for instruction in a world history classroom. Because my analysis for this chapter centers on *pedagogical* content knowledge, not surprisingly I found sharper distinctions than I did in the preceding chapter between the participants who had experience teaching and those who did not. However, I also found that different types of experience appeared to matter in how the in-service teachers represented world historical content to relation to the learner and how they discussed organizing for instruction in a world history classroom. Thus, in the following sections I discuss differences in how experienced and novice teachers hold ideas or theories of students as learners of world history, of what makes something “instructionally significant,” and of instructional schemes and ways of presenting historical events for instruction considering both their students and the instructional calendar.

Theories of Students as World History Learners

Throughout the card-sort interviews, participants discussed students and student understandings. In looking across interview data, I found that there were two main categories of theories that participants appeared to have about students as learners of world history and that these appeared to coincide with teaching experience. The novice teachers discussed what world history content would be easy or more challenging based on their theories of what students would find more interesting or what would be more familiar to them. These theories often seemed to be based on the novices’ personal experience, not as teachers, but as learners. On the other hand, some of the more experienced world history teachers appeared to have theories of students as “meaning-

makers” when they commented on the prior knowledge students bring to the classroom, misconceptions they hold about world history, and deep versus surface understandings of particular events and concepts. I discuss each of these below.

Novice Teachers: Personal Ideas of Interest and Familiarity

When the pre-service participants discussed what they thought might be difficult to teach or learn in world history, it seemed that they had theories of what students might interest students (or not) and what world history content would be familiar to students. However, instead of being based on classroom observation, teaching experience, or grounded in scholarship, these theories appeared to be based almost entirely on what the pre-service teachers themselves found interesting or familiar in world history. For example, pre-service teacher Jessica mentioned a lack of familiarity as a reason why learning about Asia or Africa would be more challenging than learning about Europe:

Jessica: Africa could be hard, only because of the names. I took two African history courses last year, and it was just hard to keep straight....When you’re around European history, the names are names that you are used to saying, and the places are things you’re familiar with. So when you get to African history and you can’t pronounce anything, or you can’t get the spellings straight, that can be really challenging. So for students, it’s probably really hard, too. And I suppose the same things could go for Asian cultures, because again, spelling names—it’s just hard to keep everybody straight from each other.¹

For Jessica, unfamiliar names and alphabets might make certain cultures’ or regions’ histories more challenging for students than others. She cited the challenges she faced as a student in African history courses and commented that it would probably be the same for students. Like Jessica, pre-service teacher Jake indicated that European events would be easier for students to understand than those in other regions of the world:

Jake: So, I think that all of Europe is easy, because I think we, as a country, feel a connection to Europe—we spring from them. So, I don’t know, it seems that—

¹ Jessica Interview Transcript, 11.

and also, where there's more of a focus on them, so like, Feudalism, I mean, Knights of the Round Table, castles, that's easy. Renaissance, Printing Press—I think all of Europe is easy. So I think the African ones are going to be very different.²

Instead of focusing on names as Jessica did, Jake instead discussed a connection that “we, as a country” feel toward Europe. Both Jake and Jessica appeared to think that European events and concepts would be more familiar to students and thereby less challenging for them to learn. In both cases Jessica and Jake relied on their own backgrounds in history classes or their own ideas of familiarity that appear to be grounded in the Western Civ “story,” especially events such as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In particular, Jake’s description of the U.S.’s connection to Europe as “we spring from them” excluded those in the United States who are not of European descent, including many school-aged children.

Interest, or lack thereof, was also given as a reason why some world historical events would be more challenging than others. Ophelia, a pre-service teacher, mentioned her own lack of interest in a topic as something students might also find “boring:”

Ophelia: Well, I actually don’t know if there’d be anything that a student would find difficult to understand. Maybe boring, but I wouldn’t say difficult. They probably wouldn’t be excited about some of these things, but—

Interviewer: Which ones do you think they wouldn’t be excited about?

Ophelia: Well, I know from my experience in middle school, I hated learning about economic changes, and political—I guess, not so much political, but I don’t know.³

Although Ophelia did not identify any particular events as boring, she seems to think students would find some of the events or concepts less interesting than others. She drew upon her own experiences as a middle school student to describe the reasoning behind her

² Jake Interview Transcript, 11.

³ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 13.

theory, but then hesitated at the end, suggesting she is not sure why she found certain events less interesting than others.

Jake also mentioned a lack of “interest” and a lack of “caring” as two factors that might make one event or concept more difficult than another:

Jake: I’m tempted to say Development and Spread of Buddhism, for the same reason: just a lack of understanding. But I don’t know. I think that [it’s] a lack of caring rather. That Buddhism is like—it seems easy to understand why; no, it’s not. It’s like—all development of religious issues is very complicated. And, without a level of interest, I’m going to say the Development and Spread of Buddhism will be difficult to understand. And as to why I said Buddhism and not Islam, I think that we care more with Islam, because of its relation to current affairs, and beyond that—I don’t know. The Koran is, you know, they have a text, they have a man. I mean, there’s obviously the Buddha, but he isn’t idolized – well, not idolized – deified to the degree Mohammed is. And Buddhism is kind of an acephalous religion, it seems. And it seems much harder to grasp, even for me, so it should follow, at least in my head, that it is for the students as well.⁴

Jake appeared to be unsure why he thinks studying Buddhism would be harder for students than studying Islam. Moreover, he seemed confused by the contours of the religions and, at times, misrepresented the content. He commented that he himself finds Buddhism harder to grasp than Islam, and therefore he assumed students would as well.

Compare, for example, how experienced world history teacher Amy discussed challenges students have with religious topics.

Amy: I think sometimes I have a tendency as a teacher to make the assumption that kids have a certain background in *a* religious practice or belief system, and so, if they don’t have their own belief system or religious practice, it’s hard to explain what that is in the first place. So, that’s one side of it; the kids who don’t really have religious experience, belief, or a fundamental belief system. On the other side of it are the kids who have a very strong belief system and believe that their way is the only way. And so, to teach about a culture and a political system, especially in the case of Islam, that is different from their belief system, and where their fundamental values – the fundamental values are the same. That’s

⁴ Jake Interview Transcript, 11-12.

judgment call on my part. But, where the fundamental beliefs may be different is hard for those kids to accept, also.⁵

Amy, like Jake, discussed why some students have a more difficult time with particular religions, but it is more than a hypothesis. She drew on her own experiences as a teacher to differentiate between students without belief systems and those with very strong belief systems, noting that it is challenging to teach about the history of religion to both groups. Additionally, she reflected on her own assumptions as a teacher, and insinuated that to teach religions in world history she not only has to recognize the challenges her students might face, but also her own assumptions about her students' religious backgrounds.

Of course, being pre-service teachers, it is not surprising that the novice teachers in this study were not able to use classroom teaching experience to back up their claims of what world historical events would be familiar, easy, or interesting to secondary students. However, the generalizations and assumptions they made about their own backgrounds and experiences as learners somehow representing all students suggests that they do not recognize the range of backgrounds and the cognitive challenges students have with the content and organization of world history. Moreover, the pre-service teachers all mentioned a lack of familiarity they have with certain cultures or geographic locations, suggesting that they might face challenges in helping students to transcend more familiar nation-states or regions to look at global patterns.

Experienced Teachers: Students as Meaning-Makers

In discussing students, several of the experienced teachers brought up aspects of students' capabilities to make meaning of the content of world history. These comments included discussing misconceptions students hold about world history, considering

⁵ Amy Interview Transcript, 12.

surface versus deep understandings of students, and focusing on students' prior knowledge or lack thereof. Some in-service teachers specifically referenced misconceptions students hold in world history, and appeared to make connections between the complexity of the historical event and the complexity of the learner. This relationship between the learner and the content is important, for as Magdalene Lampert writes,

The work of teaching is done in simultaneous relationships with students, with content, and with the student-content connection, while students do the complementary work of making a relationship with the content to learn it.⁶

This acknowledgement of the importance of the student-content connection is not new; writing over 100 years ago, for example, John Dewey advised:

Abandon the notion of the subject-matter as something fixed and ready-made outside the child's experience; cease thinking of the child's experience as also something hard and fast; see it as something fluent, embryonic, vital; and we realize that the child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process.⁷

I found evidence that some of the in-service teachers seemed to be able to make these types of connections between their students and history in general, with the more experienced world history teachers making connections *specifically* to world historical content.

Some participants mentioned a lack of prior knowledge as an impediment to student learning. As U.S. history teacher Terrence commented, all of world history would be challenging for his students:

Terrence: You know I really can't say that anyone would be more or less challenging, because it's all going to be very challenging. The students are

⁶ Magdalene Lampert, *Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching* (New London, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 423.

⁷ John Dewey, "The Child and the Curriculum," in *Dewey on Education: Selections*, ed. Martin S. Dworkin (New York: Teachers College Press, 1902/1959), 97.

generally disengaged in a working class—poor kids who struggle to see benefit of school in the first place. So they're not particularly engaged in what goes on in school, so it's all difficult. They don't come to it—come in my classroom with a lot of background knowledge. So it's all hard, always.⁸

For some participants, finding ways to connect historical topics to students' lives provides enormous challenges. Speaking generally about history, middle school world history teacher Jenny noted,

Jenny: I think that one of the hardest things that they have to grasp with any topic that we discuss is understanding, really, the cause of why things happen and being able to connect it to today. They have a very limited perspective of the world and how it impacts them.⁹

Ben, a high school world history teacher, seemed know how his students connect (or are disconnected) to many particular aspects of world history. He discussed several misconceptions about world history that his students bring into the classroom:

Ben: In my experience, I think that the current political climate in the U.S. makes the development of Islam difficult, not insurmountable, but difficult for the students to get because of just all the stereotypes about Islam and the war on terror that we have now....

And then I'm going to say Indian Independence because students tend to anthropomorphize—they tend to project U.S. independence as the only way you get independence and they don't understand— they think: well, India was a colony, they must have gone through the same thing we did...it's a very different animal....

Okay, the students hear Cold War and they get the basics, but they think everything about the Cold War is just U.S. and U.S.S.R. They don't get the proxy states, they don't get ideological—they keep saying, “why can't you either be for us or against us” and they try to over simplify it.¹⁰

Two of the misconceptions Ben cited – Indian Independence and the Cold War – suggest that his students might enter his class with more knowledge of U.S. history than of world history. Additionally, the first and third examples suggest that his students have a hard

⁸ Terrence Interview Transcript, 8.

⁹ Jenny Interview Transcript, 12.

¹⁰ Ben Interview Transcript, 12.

time removing themselves from the current political climate to examine historical antecedents. In these examples, Ben made connections between his students and issues specific to world history content, particularly students applying a nationalist history framework to world history and common misconceptions they hold. It seems that Ben himself can transcend the nation-state to look at events such as the Cold War, but he recognizes that his students might not enter his class being able to do so.

As I have argued in previous chapters, part of the unique challenge to teaching and learning world history is managing large amounts of time and space. Some of the experienced world history teachers discussed how they help their students manage this challenge. For example, in describing how she would divide world history content into instructional units, high school world history teacher Simone remarked:

Simone: Then I go back and reprise or review what we learned in the first two units by focusing then on the Americas, because I have found that when I try to include [the Americas] in what's going on in the Eastern hemisphere, the students—because the time periods don't synchronize—they get confused, especially [with] the Incas and Aztecs... So, again, even though this is a little bit out of chronological order, I save it [the Americas] until we talk about Columbus.¹¹

Simone indicated that her students have a hard time connecting events across the Eastern and Western hemispheres at particular points in history. For this reason, she said she adjusts how she introduces topics such as the Aztec and Incan Empires. It seems that Simone takes her students' world historical understandings into consideration in designing her courses, and in some instances, coherence trumps chronology. Moreover, Simone pointed out the challenges that her students have with the unique cognitive skills of world history, including navigating and understanding large swaths of time and space.

¹¹ Simone Interview Transcript, 9.

During the interview, Simone also highlighted particular historical events that, while important during a particular time period, would become even more important later in the course:

Simone: So I'm trying to get the students to see there is an early modern world of people and places that is linked together—that was not linked with these Ming Voyages....These developments [points to the Renaissance and the Printing Press cards]...I feel like are more looking forward to—the reason why we're interested in them is because they're looking forward to this more linked and global world, not because, at least the way that I teach world history, not because that they're so important.¹²

Simone commented that, in her class, the Renaissance and printing press are less important in the time period in which they happened than they are for helping students gain understandings about events that happen later. Simone also spoke about the complexity of teaching religion in the world history classroom:

Simone: I think that, for example, understanding the development and spread of a religion is quite complex and not as—it's not just marking stuff on a map but that how a religion continues to change over time....So it's not just like one event, you know, or even like a trade system – that's easy.¹³

Unlike some of the earlier discussions of the difficulty of students learning about religion because they are unfamiliar with them, Simone attributed the difficulty to how religions change over time. She differentiated between simply marking the growth of religions on a map, with gaining a deeper understanding of change over time. Like Simone, practicing teacher Amy appeared to differentiate between surface and deeper understandings:

Amy: You know I have to say—I guess the events in general are not usually that difficult for the kids to understand. You can read about what the Meiji Restoration was, and the kids can answer a multiple choice question on it. What they have a harder time with in general, I think, are the connections between the different events, and how one event impacts another, or what the implications are of those events. A kid could tell you that Bantus migrated all throughout Africa, and

¹² Ibid., 10.

¹³ Ibid., 13.

then—but not be able to make that next step, about the impact that that has on the spread of culture throughout Africa.¹⁴

Amy noted that it is the impact of events and the connections between events which are the most difficult for students to understand, not necessarily the events themselves. To both Simone and Amy, it seems, deeper understanding comes with knowing the causal connections between events, and understanding change over time. Charles, a college professor, also discussed different types of understanding when he differentiates between grasping a concept, and grasping the significance of a concept:

Charles: So let me think which ones students find the most difficult to really grasp as a concept. Or maybe, to grasp the significance of them. I don't really ever have a trouble teaching the Agricultural Revolution, and particularly if you've led into this with the lifeways humans had before that. The difficulty, of course, is scholars still struggle to explain why this happened. Why did some groups of humans abandon a very successful foraging lifeway, and adopt agriculture? So there I'd use a number of contemporary theories.¹⁵

Charles mentioned that there could be differences in how (or if) students grasp the significance of a particular event or why something happened at a particular time in history. He noted that the Agricultural Revolution might be one such instance where students have a harder time understanding, because historians themselves still debate why it happened.

Although I did not prompt participants to give examples of questions – or problems – they might pose to students during instruction, several experienced world history teachers discussed historical problems throughout the interviews. Asking compelling questions and researching the answers is important for every historian. In addition, Robert B. Bain contended, “creating and asking good question is as crucial for

¹⁴ Amy Interview Transcript, 12.

¹⁵ Charles Interview Transcript, 28.

the teacher as it is for the researcher.”¹⁶ For example, in talking about how she would teach particular units of study, high school world history teacher Amy discussed several questions she might pose to students:

Amy: So, we’ve talked about the Industrial Revolution, we’ve looked at what the characteristics of it are. What are the impacts, in terms of—how has this technology changed our world, and global warming, and things like that? And are the economic gains that we made because of the Industrial Revolution worth the environmental impact?¹⁷

Charles also cited several historical problems throughout his interview. In discussing how he would begin his world history course, he noted:

Charles: Well, certainly, the introduction would have to be the Neolithic Agricultural Revolution, and I would probably precede that with a brief discussion of human evolution, generally, of the long Paleolithic Era, and why this is such a significant change. And also, you could raise the question here again, why do some groups not adopt it? And another huge question, why do so many human communities in different parts of the world that are completely isolated from each other go through the same process? What does that say about the inevitability of these huge global changes, if the people in the Americas who could have no contact whatsoever with Afro-Eurasia go through almost the exact same process? So what does that say about human autonomy, the role of human will, the role of individuals in shaping human history? Are we just trapped into these huge cultural changes, cultural revolutions, through climate change and environment? And driven by them? And whether any individual humans lived or not would have made no difference at all. We’d still be where we are today.¹⁸

The questions Charles posed are on a large scale such as, why do so many human communities in different parts of the world that are completely isolated from each other go through the same process [of the Neolithic Revolution]? To answer this question, students would have to bring forward evidence from many different parts of the globe, and compare societies to larger global patterns. Posing problems such as these might be

¹⁶ 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 in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2005), 181.

¹⁷ Amy Interview Transcript, 10.

¹⁸ Charles Interview Transcript, 17.

one way Charles and some of the other participants manage world history content and engage their students in that content.

As the above examples demonstrate, discussing their theories of student learning was an area where I saw the most separation in how in- and pre-service teachers represented their thinking about world history. In the case of in-service teacher participants, their theories were grounded in actual experience with students as learners. For example, Terrence a U.S. history teacher at an urban school with a high percentage of second-language learners, drew upon his own teaching experiences when asked what might be challenging for students to learn:

Terrence: I think this is going to be exceedingly difficult to teach—to help kids understand those connections. [For] my students it's hard. I don't want to belittle them at all, but in many ways—well, they're at an intellectually—developmentally they're at a pretty low level. My son in the fourth grade has a broader sense of geography and connections to the outside world than a lot of my students do....They don't see much beyond their immediate neighborhood and it's always difficult to make those broader connections.¹⁹

Being experienced teachers, it is not surprising that all of the in-service teachers had theories of how their students learn. Terrence and Jenny, a middle school teacher, both brought up challenges students have in the history classroom making connections to the past. Experienced world history teachers Amy, Bill, Simone, and Charles went even further by making specific connections between their students and particular world historical events. They suggested world historical problems they might pose to students, discussed misconceptions about specific events, and noted places in the curriculum where they might teach something in order to foreshadow its connection to later global patterns. These examples indicate that some these teachers have knowledge not only of their

¹⁹ Terrence Interview Transcript, 9.

students and not only of world history content, but of the world historical content in relation to their students.

Determining Instructional Significance

Closely related to participants' theories about students as learners of world history were their ideas about instructional significance. After participants had completed the second card-sort, I asked them to explain which three events they believed were most important for students to learn. This question once again asked for participants to discuss significance, but this time to focus on what is most significant for students. Additionally, this question asked participants to specifically discuss students in relation to world historical content. In Chapter Six I discussed what events participants found to be most historically significant. The Columbian Exchange, Neolithic Revolution, and Development of Written Language were most often chosen by the participants. Participants appeared to have a shared sense of global significance, although, as I argued in the last chapter, they differed in how they explained their reasoning. With the instructional significance question, however, participants' answers shifted somewhat to: the Columbian Exchange, Industrial Revolution, and the Cold War (see Table 7.1). Although the Columbian Exchange remained the most popular choice, it seems for the other events, historical and instructional significance did not coincide (see Appendix I for a full comparison of both questions).

What was apparent was an overall trend to shift to events closer in both time and space to where students currently are (twenty-first century United States). For example, the Neolithic Revolution fell from fifty percent of the participants choosing it in the first sort, to only twenty percent in the second, whereas the Cold War moved from ten percent

Table 7.1
Instructionally Significant Events

Events	Most important for students to learn (2nd Card-sort)
Columbian Exchange	40%
Industrial Revolution	40%
Cold War	30%
Development of Written Language	20%
Development and Spread of Islam	20%
The Haitian Revolution	20%
Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press	20%
Neolithic Agricultural Revolution	20%
The Renaissance	20%
Silk Routes	20%
World War I	20%
Atlantic Slave Trade	10%
The Mongol Empire	10%
The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)	10%
Bantu Migrations	0
Decline of the Han Empire	0
Development of the Incan Road System	0
Development and Spread of Buddhism	0
Feudalism	0
India gains Independence from Great Britain	0
Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali	0
The Meiji Restoration	0

in the first sort, to forty percent in the second. As with the historical significance question, some participants cited global impact as a reason for determining instructional significance. However, in thinking about what is most important for students to learn, participants also introduced new reasons for significance: relevancy and the background of the students. For the most part, novice teachers appeared to have vague notions of what world historical content is relevant for secondary students. Indeed, they often had a hard time explaining why one event would be more relevant than another.

For example, in response to the first question about historical significance, pre-service teacher Barry chose: Bantu Migrations, Development and Spread of Islam, and the Columbian Exchange. In response to the question about what is most important for students to learn, he changed his answers to Development and Spread of Islam, the Renaissance, and the Cold War (see Appendix H for participants' answers to both questions). In the following excerpt, Barry elaborates on his choices:

Barry: I would talk about the Renaissance because you're getting a lot of our modern, political and social ideas from the Renaissance. And I think if we're going to teach a history class to ninth graders you want to get into what's going on—you've got to make it relevant. You've got to lean towards relevancy more than what is straight up most important I think.

Interviewer: How would the Renaissance be—

Barry: —just because so many of the modern ideas come from that. Yeah, modernism was born I guess. I'm trying to pull out specific ideas. I guess—maybe not, maybe I'd go with Industrial Revolution then. [In the] 1800's you're getting ideas about—more ideas about democracy and stuff. . . I'm not sure. I'm not positive. . . I'll say the Spread of Islam again. Yeah, just all with the relevance with the world today.²⁰

Barry tried to explain his reasoning behind why he thinks that the Renaissance is one of the most important events for students to learn, but he does not appear to be able to

²⁰ Barry Interview Transcript, 7-8.

substantiate his claim. He implied that “relevancy” is more important than historical significance when he says, “you’ve got to lean towards relevancy more than what is straight up most important I think.”²¹ Barry then discussed the Industrial Revolution as a possibility, but, again, was not able to explain his reasoning. Finally, he chose the Islam card, indicating that it might be the most relevant for students because of current events. Barry’s theory of what is most important for students to learn in world history appeared to rest on his idea of relevance. He specifically mentioned ninth graders, perhaps thinking that relevant topics are more important for younger high school students.

Like Barry, pre-service teacher Jake separated events that are historically significant from those important for secondary students to learn:

Jake: And you know I don’t actually care as much whether my students understand the specifics of the Agricultural Revolution, because, again, I kind of want our students to understand the world in which they live in, and obviously... they wouldn’t be there without the Agricultural Revolution. But that’s not where I would want to really—that’s not the battle I would want to fight.²²

By mentioning “the world in which they live,” Jake seemed to imply that, for students, what can be related to current events might be more important, although he did not specify at what temporal point history becomes important for students in understanding the world. Additionally, by mentioning that he would not want to “fight the battle” with the Agricultural Revolution, Jake indicated that he thinks that the event is either more challenging or less interesting for students than more recent events.

U.S. history teacher Terrence spoke specifically about the backgrounds of his student population to explain why he chose the Columbian Exchange and not the Development of Islam as most important for students to learn:

²¹ Ibid.

²² Jake Interview Transcript, 10-11.

Terrence: For example, in the communities I'm teaching in now there's not significant conflict between the students in my classroom and the Muslim community. Although in a previous school it was something that was often brought up; so I'd make a point of teaching about Islam. Many of my students where I'm at now are Mexican; their families have been impacted by the globalized economy; they are highly transient; and they see how contact with other countries and other nations have impacted their lives. So maybe that wouldn't be the biggest thing depending on what group I was working with. If I were in an Asian community I might deal more with Asian histories. And so it just depends.²³

For Terrence the regional origin of the students might determine what would be most important for students to learn. If he taught another group of students, he suggested, his answer might change.

There was only one participant who did not change her answers from the first question about historical significance to the second about instructional significance. In answer to the question about what would be most important for students to learn, middle school teacher Jenny commented,

Jenny: I would look at maybe the things that impact their lives the most. Again, I think it's the, looking at the exchange of ideas and the development of ideas. There's a lot of things like you could look at—the Cold War and have the kids look at why when there's a lack of communication there are problems. I think I'd have to go with the same, I really do feel that Written Language and the Columbian Exchange—There are a lot of good things that come from the Cold War that you can teach them about today's current situation. However, I feel it's an isolated event so where there's just still more of a spread of ideas with this one, the Silk Roads.²⁴

Jenny cited large patterns of exchange and development of ideas as being most important for students to learn. She considered changing her response to the Cold War, but decided against it in favor of events that involved more of the spread of ideas. Jenny emphasized interregional impact and contact and exchange as reasons for both historical and instructional significance.

²³ Terrence Interview Transcript, 8.

²⁴ Jenny Interview Transcript, p. 11.

Barry, a pre-service teacher, implied that current events are the most relevant for students when he discussed why he considers the Cold War to be one of the most important events for students:

Barry: I'm going to say a big chunk of it for students is going to be current events. So [the] Cold War is going to bring us to the most recent of all of the events. I would think... I said the Cold War is one of the most important because you can bring it right to the present almost.²⁵

Barry stated that he chose the Cold War because it is the most recent of all of the events on the cards. Although he did not explain why “current events” are more important for students, Barry indicated that events closer in time to the present would be more significant for the students. To Barry, relevance seems to be in part based on geographic and temporal proximity to U.S. students in the twentieth-first century. In other words, what is closest in time and space is most relevant. Compare Barry's response with how Charles, a college professor, described why he thinks the Cold War is one of the most important events for students:

Charles: See, now if I'm trying to think about creating the modern world, and trying to leave lessons with younger students, I'd probably leave the Silk Roads out, and look at something more recent. See, the Cold War as a symbol—well, the Cold War as the end of colonization, as the ramping up of industrial technologies to a terrifying level in terms of weaponry, and as an example of the rise of the United States, which I think, for American students, is very important—that they understand how that came about—and then linking that, and then using that as a symbol about what's happened since, over the last few decades....If the job is to teach young American students about the impact of global history on where we are right now, at this moment, then maybe I'd use that.²⁶

At first glance Charles appears to follow the same reasoning as Barry. However, he did not appear to choose the Cold War solely because it is the most recent event, but more

²⁵ Barry Interview Transcript, 7.

²⁶ Charles Interview Transcript, 28.

because of what it symbolizes, its global significance, and what that might mean for American students to understand the impact of a global event.

In sum, by looking at how participants shifted from the first card-sort to the second and how they discussed instructional significance, I found some differences between the prospective teachers and the experienced teachers. In examining the question about instructional significance, what is critical is that participants tapped into ideas that they have about what is important for students, and for many this was different from what they indicated was important for a wider audience. There was an overall trend for participants to shift their answers away from older events such as the Agricultural Revolution to more recent events such as the Cold War. However, the reasons behind these changes differed. Some of the pre-service teachers such as Barry and Jake mentioned “relevance” as an important factor for determining instructional significance. This idea of relevance appeared to be based on a notion of that which is closest in time and space is most relevant. Similarly, several pre-service teachers discussed connections to current events as important for students to make without explaining why that might be the case, or defining what they mean by “current.”

On the other hand, experienced teachers Jenny, Charles, Amy, Ben, and Simone appeared to keep global significance in mind and consider what their students need to know in order to understand the world around them. For example, Simone chose the Mongol Empire as most important for students to learn about in her world history classroom because they most likely would not learn about it anywhere else.

Like determining what makes something significant for world historical study, determining what makes something significant for world history teaching is no easy task.

However, being able to differentiate between national significance and global significance and justify why a particular event is included in a world history course instead of another is important for teachers to be able to do.²⁷ Very few instructional tools help teachers do this in world history, with the Advanced Placement (AP) world history curriculum being one of the only exceptions.²⁸ My findings suggest that most participants in this study differentiated between what is significant generally and what is significant for students. However, the novice teachers appeared to have a harder time justifying their choices, often backing up their claims with vague notions of relevancy and the importance of current events.

Using Conceptual Devices for Instructional Organization

As they engaged in the second card-sort, participants used conceptual devices, including temporal and spatial organization schemes and units of analysis, to discuss how they would organize for world history instruction in the classroom. What participants did in the second sort differs from what they had done in the first, in that they had to think about both historical time and the instructional time of a year or a semester. Thus, they employed some of the tools of world historians, but in this case for instructional purposes. In particular, periodization, cross-regional or cultural comparison, and case studies seemed to be important to participants in thinking about instruction in a world history classroom. In this section, I first discuss the patterns of thinking in these areas that I saw looking across card-sort and interview data. I then discuss difference between the

²⁷ Robert Bain, "AP World History Habits of Mind: Reflecting on World History's Unique Challenge to Students' Thinking," in *AP World History: Teacher's Guide*, ed. Joan Arno (Princeton, NJ: College Examination Board, 2000).

²⁸ For example, the AP curriculum provides examples of types of information students are expected to know with those they are not expected to know, for example: "Crusading movement and its impact, but not specific crusades." See *AP World History Course Description: May 2008, May 2009*. (Princeton, NJ: College Board, 2007).

participants, focusing in particular on differences between experienced and novice teachers.


Patterns of Thinking


All of the participants except for high school history teacher Amy had some sort of temporal organization scheme on their second card-sort map (see Appendix J for card-sort maps).²⁹ They either formed categories around clumps of time, or arranged the events in chronological order within groupings. For some participants, organizing for instruction in the second sort generated a periodization scheme. If participants made changes to the organization of their cards from the first sort to the second, most often it was to ground the events and categories more in time. This is not surprising because of the importance of time in both history and teaching history. In organizing for instruction, teachers take the time of the school year and divide it into units and lessons. In history teaching this often involves dividing the historical time period of study into units and lessons. In other words, teachers often periodize history by dividing historical time into instructional units.

For example, on her second card-sort map, high school teacher Simone created the units: foundations to classical empires; post-classical empires; early modern; 19th century; and 20th century (see Figure 7.1). Some of these units are based on centuries, but with the others, Simone created her own periodization scheme. As I discussed in Chapter Six, creating historical periods instead of just dividing time by years, allows us to add meaning to those periods. Simone's designations of "foundations to classical empires,"

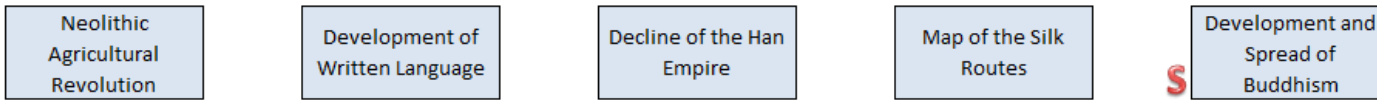
²⁹ During the interview Amy remarked that she was in the midst of transforming the organizational scheme for her world history courses from chronological to thematic: "And we're in the process of potentially re-thinking it based on themes, instead of based on chronology.... And that will probably very much determine how I end up doing this, because I just, sort of, went through this process." Amy, Interview Transcript, 1.

Figure 7.1
Simone: 2nd Card-Sort Map

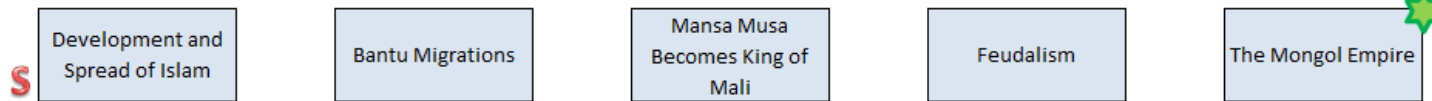
 = 3 most important events for students to understand

 = most challenging for students to understand

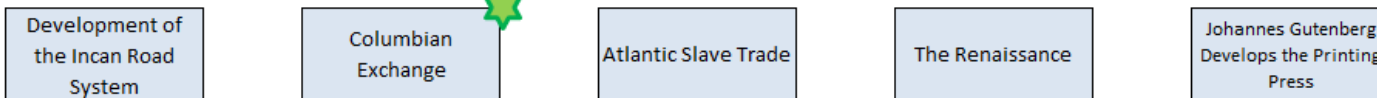
Foundations → Classical Empires



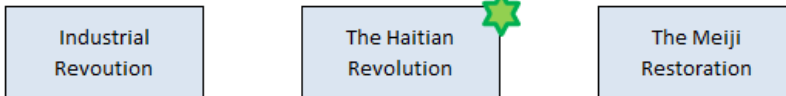
Post-Classical Empires



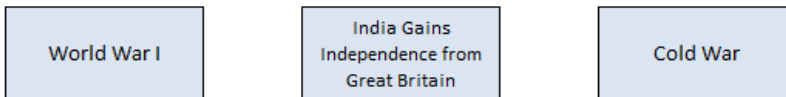
Early Modern



19th C



20th C



“post-classical empires,” and “early modern” give meaning to the events she located within those periods.

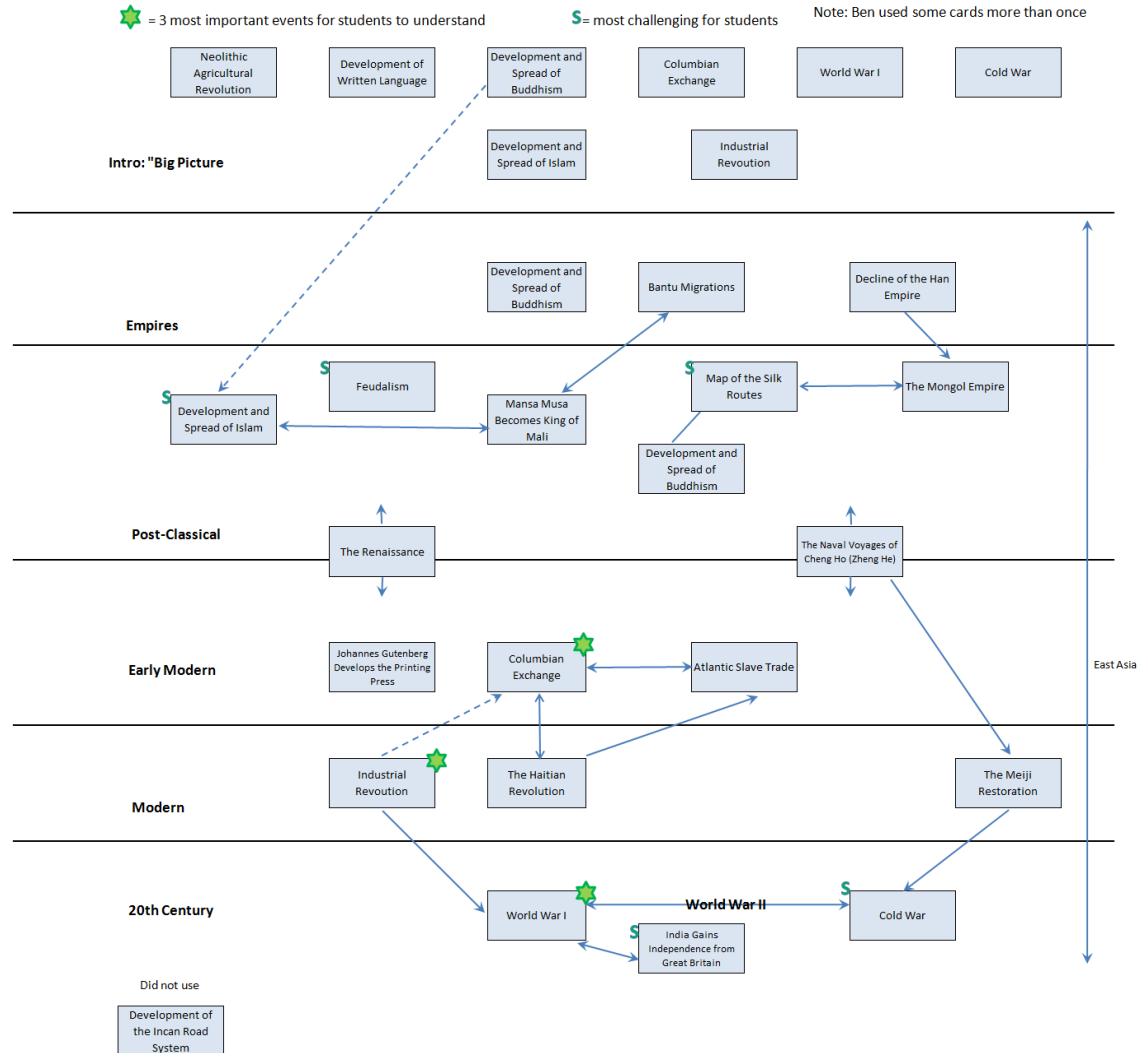
Other participants combined temporal organization with other types of organizational schemes such as geographic or thematic ones. For example, in his second sort pre-service teacher Jake labeled his instructional units: pre-history; maps; religion; non-European empires/civilizations; Europe; European involvement with other civilizations; and the Cold War. The categories “pre-history” and “the Cold War” are examples of periods, whereas others, such as “religion” and “Europe,” are not necessarily related to a specific time period.

In experienced world history teacher Ben’s second card-sort he designed an organizational scheme which would give students the global story or “big picture” at the beginning of the course (see Figure 7.2). Ben was the only participant to use cards twice in one sort, and he did so in order to introduce topics such as the development of Islam, the Columbian Exchange, the Industrial Revolution, and World War I as an overview at the beginning of the year, and then return to them later in the year. He refers to this first instructional unit as “the intro/big picture unit, the best of, and highlights of, what’s to come.”¹

Ben provided an example of acknowledging the existence of multiple periodization schemes when he discussed how he would divide his course into instructional units:

¹ Ben Interview Transcript, 11.

Figure 7.2
Ben: 2nd Card-Sort Map



Ben: The Industrial Revolution becomes the first thing to mention in the early Mod—that’s—no, Revolution. I’m such a prisoner of my own AP periodization, but okay: early Modern. I’m going to draw a little up and down arrows on Zheng He and European Renaissance because they bridge the postclassical and early modern and then we get into modern with Industrial Revolution. Meiji, India, and then we get into 20th century. These are macro units I would actually break them up into sub-units of instruction. But these are the big picture things.¹

Ben deliberated over whether to refer to a particular era as “early modern” or “revolution” and then settled on a periodization scheme with which he is familiar. He referenced the AP periodization scheme, suggesting that he is influenced by how that curriculum is divided into instructional eras. The very fact that he is mentioned that historical time can be organized in different schemes, however, suggests some awareness of multiple temporal schemes.

In addition to discussing periodizing world history for instructional purposes, some participants discussed world history’s other conceptual devices such as connecting cases to larger global patterns, and introducing students to contact and exchange in world history. Some of the pre-service teachers seemed less sure how to use some of these devices in the classroom. For example, in discussing how she would teach certain events, pre-service teacher Ophelia recognized one of the events as a case of the larger social, economic and political pattern of feudalism, but expressed uncertainty as to how she would teach it:

Ophelia: I would kind of say what Feudalism is, and use this [points to card] as an example.

Interviewer: The Meiji Restoration as an example?

Ophelia: Yes. But I don’t know how I’d do that.²

¹ Ibid.

² Ophelia Interview Transcript, 11.

Ophelia appeared to recognize that the Meiji Restoration had something to do with feudalism, and that it might be beneficial to use it as a case to teach feudalism more generally, but is unclear how she would go about doing that in a classroom.

Consider, on the other hand, how history professor Charles used the Meiji Restoration as a case of larger global patterns:

Charles: And finally, the Meiji Restoration, which I've put over here somewhere between Industrial Revolution and the First World War, because the Japanese – guided by the way, by a very important historian who's advising the government – are able to realize that if they follow down the path of the Ming [Dynasty] and try to shut out the West, they're doomed. But they decide to attempt to Westernize, and they do so in enough time, and so rapidly, that they become a global industrial power by the outbreak of the First World War...Japan goes on to become a major global power. And you can almost tie this into the Cold War, as well, because Japan loses quite a bit in the Second World War, and receives so much American aid that it is able to become, well, the second wealthiest, most powerful state on this planet. And because of the Cold War—because of the fact that America needs to have its allies with it. So, the Meiji Restoration is just emblematic of so many themes that we talked about here.³

Charles referred to the Meiji Restoration as an “emblem” of Japan’s rise to power in the twentieth century. In doing so, he connected this one event to the Industrial Revolution, World War I, World War II and the Cold War, historically contextualizing the Meiji Restoration. Later in the interview he discussed the event in relationship to students:

“We have to remind our students that the Meiji Restoration is an example of attempts by one small part of East Asia...to catch up with what’s going on in the rest of the world.”⁴

Although Charles did not necessarily discuss specific instructional strategies as to how he would engage students in the Meiji Restoration, he clearly recognized that it is important for students to be aware of how this part of Japanese history connects to larger patterns.

³ Charles Interview transcript, 11.

⁴ Ibid., 22.

In doing so, Charles built coherence between the Meiji Restoration, other events, and larger patterns.

Some pre-service teachers appeared to recognize the importance of using comparison in world history, but did not seem to know quite how they would use this in instruction:

Ophelia: So, I would kind of group those [points to India Gaining Independence from Great Britain and the Haitian Revolution cards]. If it was younger kids, I would do major independence movements, and maybe compare the two? Because also, they [the Haitians] were breaking away from the French, right?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Ophelia: The French, or the British?

Interviewer: The French.

Ophelia: The French. So, okay. Yeah. So, they're both breaking away—they're both kind of smaller, independent civilizations breaking away from the major empires.⁵

Although she is unsure of the historical details, Ophelia seemed to think that using comparison would be a helpful tool for teaching “younger students.” However, the uncertainty in her speech suggests that she is not sure whether or not this would be a good strategy. Similarly pre-service teacher Jessica appeared to see comparison as an important tool, but is unsure of how she would teach it:

Jessica: And then the Silk Routes and the Incan Road System...that could be its own unit, in terms of transportation of goods. And you could include other things within this unit, too. You could talk about—you could talk about other things. I don't know, off the top of my head, but—and the way that affects the spread of culture and other economic things.⁶

By putting the Silk Routes and the Incan Road system in one unit, Jessica implied that this might be a good place for comparison. In addition, she seemed to want to connect

⁵ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 11.

⁶ Jessica Interview Transcript, 8.

both of the events to larger global patterns, but appeared to be unclear about how to do so. On the other hand, experienced world history teacher Amy seemed to have a clearer idea of how she would use comparison in her classroom:

Amy: I would probably end up starting with talking about the Han Empire, then Rome and Greece as my first comparison, and then probably make the connection to the modern day and talk about the British Empire and Imperialism, the very beginnings of Imperialism.⁷

Amy connected her comparison of Roman, Greek and Han Empires to larger patterns of empire building, and drew connections across time to nineteenth century Imperialism.

Differences in Participants Organizing World History for Instruction

What I found in looking at how prospective and experienced teachers organized the cards for instructional purposes was that all of them appeared to know something about periodization, comparison, or using case studies as examples of larger patterns. Additionally, the participants referenced these devices as organizing tools either for the entire course or for particular lessons. However, they had a wide range of how they said they would use these conceptual devices for instructional purposes, with some of the participants expressing uncertainty as to how to use the devices.

Looking at how one experienced world history teacher shifted from talking about an event for his own sense-making in the first card-sort, to how he talked about it for instructional purposes in the second provides us with an example of how some of the more experienced participants were able to employ conceptual devices in relationship to their students. In discussing his first card-sort experienced world history teacher Charles spoke of the Columbian Exchange:

Charles: And for me, I think the Columbian Exchange would have to come on a line here following the Incan Road System, because it just reminds us that at the

⁷ Amy Interview Transcript, 7.

moment—that's the other thing, of course; the timing—at the very moment the Aztec and Incan empires hit their peak, the Europeans arrive. The very moment. They've got no time to really establish anything more. And then Alfred Crosby's wonderful phrase of the Columbian Exchange, reminding us of the conquest of the temperate zones of the world was due just as much to European plants, animals, and disease germs, as it was to weapons. So that would have to go there, for me. And also, this is something of a link to what was going on in Europe at the same time, as well, that's put Europeans in a position to be able to dominate the Americas like this. Sort of a by-product of the Columbian Exchange.⁸

In describing his thinking behind connecting the Incan road system to the Columbian Exchange, Charles made a connection between the Columbian Exchange and the domination of the Americas by the Europeans. He also discussed what about the exchange allowed the Europeans to dominate: plants, animals, germ, and weapons. Moreover, he referenced the historian who coined the term. However, when Charles discussed the Columbian Exchange in reference to his students during the second sort, he did something slightly different:

Charles: The Columbian Exchange is interesting. Sometimes students struggle to see this as a two-way exchange. And also, Crosby's argument about the colonization of the world by European animals and grasses and plants is just something that just never hit them before. Wow! It's amazing, you know!⁹

Here, Charles focused on the two-way exchange and how his students sometime struggle to see it. By doing so he alluded to a misconception his students may hold about the influence of one culture *on* the other. He again brought up Crosby, but this time instead of doing so to explain origin of the term Columbian Exchange, he appeared to use Crosby's argument as a way to engage students in this topic. In his last two enthusiastic phrases he suggested that there is a shift once students begin to see this as a two-way exchange. What Charles seemed to be doing in the second example, as compared to the first, is thinking not only about the content – what the Columbian Exchange means – but

⁸ Charles Interview Transcript, 7.

⁹ Ibid., 29.

also what it means (or will mean) for his students. He did this by focusing on a conceptual device of world history: two-way contact and exchange.

As mentioned previously, as participants discussed organizing for world history instruction, they employed other tools of world history such periodization, comparison, and case studies. In organizing the cards for instruction in the second sort, for example, experienced world history teachers Ben and Simone created periodization schemes with their instructional units. Although there was some evidence of pre-service teachers considering meaningful chunks of time as an organizing tool, none of them created a full periodization scheme or discussed multiple periodization schemes during the interviews.

As I discussed in Chapter Six, all participant used world history's units of analysis in one form or another during the interviews. Although pre-service teachers Barry, Jake, Jessica, and Ophelia at times referenced units of analysis representing the structure of world history, they appeared to be hesitant as to how they would bring some of these things into the classroom. For example, Jessica seemed to not be able to escape a regional framework and consider teaching at a global or comparative scale when she commented: "that would be hard – to include so many different cultures within one unit."¹⁰

The Role of Experience in Thinking like World History Teachers

Several themes emerged from my analysis of pre- and in-service teachers organizing cards for instructional purposes. I found sharp distinctions between how practicing and prospective teachers represented their theories of students as world history learners. Experienced teachers took into account students' backgrounds and prior knowledge – some even discussed issues specific to world history content – whereas

¹⁰ Jessica, Interview Transcript, 8.

novices relied on their own experiences as learners to speculate about all students. Although I did not find distinct differences in the events or types of events participants chose as instructionally significant, there were differences in how participants justified their claims, with novice teachers appearing to rely on vague notions of relevancy and the importance of current events. Finally, I found that all of the participants used the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians in some capacity across the two card-sorts. Moreover, many of them, including the prospective teachers, appeared to recognize the importance of, for example, using comparison or case studies in the world history classroom.

Thus, the conceptual devices I identified in Chapter Three are also what participants said they might use as *pedagogical* devices as they organized the cards for instructional purposes. Nevertheless, there was a range in how they said they would use these tools for instructional purposes, with many of the pre-service teachers appearing to be unsure how they would, for example, use cases studies in a world history classroom. Clearly, experience mattered in this task – experience both in world teaching and history content. But, as I argued in Chapter Six, it does not appear to be simply the number of years teaching or the number of history courses taken that distinguishes experienced and novice world history teachers. I speculate that it is experience with teaching and training *specific* to the unique features of world history on a global scale that explains the differences I found in this study between, for example, experienced world history teachers Simone and Ben on one hand, and U.S. history teacher Terrence and pre-service teacher Jake on the other (see Appendix C and D for participants' backgrounds).

This gap between the experienced and novice world history teachers has implications for teacher education as well as the design of educational resources. In the next chapter I summarize the findings from this and the previous chapter, as well as the dissertation as a whole. I conclude with implications of this dissertation for curriculum development and teacher education, and offer suggestions for future lines of research.

Chapter Eight

Discussion

World history as a school subject continues to grow. Every state now offers it in one form or another. Over the past decade, the number of students enrolling in world history courses has increased faster than any other segment of the school curriculum, with the unprecedented growth in the Advanced Placement (AP) World History exams as but one indicator. And, with the National Assessment Governing Board adding world history to the “nation’s report card” in 2012, it will not be long before we have indicators of how much world history American students know. If performance on past history tests offer any guide,¹ I anticipate a new concern over the quality of world history instruction we are providing for our students. In short, the need for teachers who understand world history and can teach it effectively has never been greater and should only increase in coming years.

The challenges associated with the growth of world history, however, cannot be met by simply assigning more generally trained social studies teachers to teach world history courses. Additionally, the “world history” label conceals variation in content and approaches to the subject among states and school districts. Such differences and the political and pedagogical disputes they generate may, in part, explain recent reservations

¹ There has been a long tradition of dissatisfaction with American students’ results on U.S. history exams. See for example 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: Harper & Row, 1987); Sam Wineburg, “Crazy for History,” *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 4 (2004).

about this growth, often coming from former supporters of world history. For example, Diane Ravitch recommended recently that

states should consider options to current requirements to world history. In particular, states should encourage teachers and schools to give students opportunities to spend a semester or year engaged in the study of single cultures, regions, or civilizations.²

The numerous approaches to world history also help to explain the decision by the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) to delay creating a national assessment in world history.³ Originally slated for a first administration in 2005, NAGB voted in 2003 to push back the first test and only recently started the process of creating a testing framework for world history.⁴ Over ten years after the publication of national standards in world history, then, it seems the subject is not yet ready for national assessment.

There are also very serious concerns about the preparation of world history teachers. First, the growth of world history courses at the secondary level has been much faster than that at the college level. Many teachers are forced to use separate and disconnected regional history courses (e.g., History of China, Europe in the Middle Ages) to “count” for their world history training. Does studying a few parts of the world

² Diane Ravitch, *A Consumer's Guide to High School History Textbooks* (Washington, D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, February, 2004). This sentiment is not only a pedagogical concern about how world history is structured, but also a political concern about the loss of the Western story in the “multiculturalism” of global world history textbooks. Although she still favors students learning about the world, Ravitch wants to ensure that the stories of the West are not obscured. In 2003 Ravitch wrote, “The once traditional emphasis in textbooks on the growth of democratic institutions has nearly vanished.... Students who learn about the world from these texts are unlikely to understand why some civilizations flourished and others languished, or why people vote with their feet to leave some places and go to others.... Nor will they perceive the critical importance of freedom, democracy, and human rights in the successful functioning of multiethnic, multireligious societies. Nor will they have any insight into the historical struggle to protect religious freedom and to separate religion from the state.” Diane Ravitch, *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn* (New York: Knopf, 2003).

³ Robert B. Bain and Tamara L. Shreiner, "Issues and Options in Creating a National Assessment in World History," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005).

⁴ "NAEP World History Assessment," National Center for Education Statistics, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/worldhistory/>. See also Bain and Shreiner, "Issues and Options."

create an understanding of the whole? Though no one would suggest that a teacher who had only taken state-level histories (e.g., histories of Michigan, California, and Maine) would be prepared to teach a history of the United States, such is essentially what we do when we ask teachers who have only studied a region or two of the world to teach world history. Additionally, professional development geared specifically toward world history is rare, with most of it provided by College Board to help familiarize teachers with the AP course. The lion's share of federal money goes toward the teaching of U.S. history through the Teaching American History grant program. Even if one rejects the argument I make in this dissertation about the distinctive cognitive challenges when shifting from national or regional history to global history, the number of opportunities for teachers to become familiar just with the *content* of world history should be some cause for concern.

Despite the absence of consensus around what constitutes the scope and sequence of scholastic world history and the issues in teacher preparation, states and school systems continue to value it by offering more world history courses in both middle and high schools, and, increasingly, requiring them for graduation.⁵ For example, within the past two years Georgia and Michigan have added world history as a high school graduation requirement. However, unlike with more familiar courses with agreed upon structures, such as U.S. history or "Western Civ," the relative youth of the *global* world history course poses challenges for schools and teachers.

Of course all teachers of history have faced challenges in developing coherent instruction to help their students manage and raise critical questions about all the events, dates, documents, people, and places they encounter in studying the past. However, the

⁵ In 2005 Bain and Shreiner reported that at least twenty-two states required world history for graduation. Bain and Shreiner, "Issues and Options."

intellectual, pedagogical, and pragmatic demands are greatest, I think, for teachers of world history who must develop coherent instruction across the widest ranges of time and space. Further, world history teachers take up these challenges in a contemporary context where there is little agreement about the scope of study and little training in how to do so.

In asking how world historians and world history teachers make sense of events, people, objects, and cultures in the history of the world and looking to understand the tools they employ in doing so, this dissertation attempted to uncover both the cognitive and pedagogical challenges of and the possibilities for developing coherent instruction in world history. By investigating the historical context of the school subject and scholarly field, studying the work of world historians, and examining standards documents and the thinking of world history teachers, I sought to go beyond the debates in the field and confusion in the school subject to illuminate the issues world history teachers must confront while also locating meaning-making tools specific to world history – tools that might help guide their course organization and pedagogy.

The value of this work, then, rests in both making visible some of the challenges teachers face when trying to organize and structure world historical events and in characterizing some of the tools historians and teachers use to manage the complexity. In this chapter, I begin by summarizing these findings before discussing implications they might hold for curriculum development and teacher education. I conclude by suggesting lines of future research.

Summary of Findings

Standards Documents as Everything and Anything

My analysis of the national world history standards and those in Virginia and Michigan revealed tremendous variation both within and among these documents, a variation that, I argue, does not provide the coherence needed for organizing world history for instruction. This is not to minimize the importance of these documents, particularly the national standards. The decision to create national standards in world history in the early 1990s gave legitimacy to the subject and marked an unprecedented convergence of world historians, professional organizations, and educators with the goal of creating set of coherent standards that would in turn guide states in creating their own standards.

However, pursuing consensus among all stakeholders appears to have compromised the coherence of the national standards. In many ways, the *National Standards for World History* reflected – rather than resolved – almost a century of historical debate concerning the scope and structure of the field. The standards incorporated features of regional, national, and global history, without offering much help in linking, connecting, or establishing interactions among the histories represented at different temporal-spatial scales. This lack of coherence might be a byproduct of the need for standards to formulate behavioral objectives, representing historical understanding as discrete and measurable chunks of knowledge. Or it might be that the political process of creating voluntary national standards required including such diversity of approaches. Possibly the demand that the national standards be voluntary led to a “smorgasbord” document from which states and teachers could pick and choose.

Regardless, from that vast and seemingly all-inclusive document, states and schools could design global history courses or comparative regional courses, or even regional studies courses, such as Western Civilization. I am afraid that the national world history standards did not go far enough to resolve the issues that standards documents should help resolve.

This is not to say that the national standards were insignificant. As I argued in Chapters Two and Four, they made important contributions to school world history. The standards offered a new *global* periodization scheme, an inclusive range of content, and a set of global standards that framed a picture of the era-by-era changes in humankind. In addition, the standards employed conceptual devices widely used by world historians, devices I uncovered in my study of the *Journal of World History* (JWH) including comparative studies, multiple periodization schemes, and shifting temporal-spatial schemes. All these did offer a global perspective – though, as I argue, the global perspective was simply one among many within the pages of the national standards. The sheer size of the document and the lack of connections between eras, standards, “statements of understandings” and “elaborations” limited the usefulness of the document in helping states and teachers develop a coherent world historical framework. Without making explicit such connections, teachers and states were left to fend for themselves in *nesting* case studies within larger global or interregional patterns, *linking* patterns of contact and exchange in one part of the world with those in another, or *structuring* comparisons between cultures and regions.

Though recognizing the need to make connections across scales of time and space, the national standards offered little guidance for how world history teachers and

their students would do so. The standards made no mention of the thinking required to move along diverse temporal-spatial scales and no acknowledgement within the thinking skills chapter that such intellectual work was a component in doing world history. Indeed, the “historical thinking skills” in the world history document were identical to those in U.S. history standards.⁶

With so much to choose from within the voluntary world history standards, we probably should not be surprised by the fact that there is great variation among state world history frameworks. In following the standards story from the national to the state level, I pointed to some of the ways that the political, structural, and institutional procedures in Michigan and Virginia generated very different pictures of world history. The Virginia process created a more coherent and rich framework than did Michigan’s. My analysis revealed that Virginia’s framework gave significantly more attention to Western civilization than it did to interregional and global patterns, comparison, or contact and exchange between different regions of the world. Coherent? Yes, I argued, but hardly global or sufficiently “world” enough to move much beyond the standard course in Western civilization.

Michigan, on the other hand, in deciding to build its history framework around content-neutral habits of mind, and populating the content almost exclusively with events and people from U.S. history, offered very little world history content or guidance as to how schools and teachers should design world history courses. Additionally, the decision

⁶ The year following the completion of the national standards, the authors of the AP World History framework recognized this limitation, and created two sets of historical “habits of mind” – those that apply to all types of history (e.g., reading documents) and those that seem to be uniquely or critically applicable to world history (e.g., moving among and connecting global to local temporal-spatial scales). I discuss these further in the implications section of this chapter.

not to assess world history at the state level may have understated the importance of world history instruction in districts and schools.

Standards documents should help schools and teachers design coherent instruction by offering clear and connected targets for student learning. My examination of the *National Standards for World History* and those in Michigan and Virginia found that they failed to offer such guidance.

Conceptual Devices for Studying and Representing World History

A central finding in this dissertation rests with the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians. This dissertation argued that world historians use particular devices to both study and add meaning to events ranging across huge expanses of time and space. Explicitly and implicitly, world historians argue for and use multiple but nested or linked units of analysis (comparison, case studies, contact and exchange, interregional patterns, global patterns), and different temporal and spatial schemes (e.g., utilizing varying periodization schemes, moving up and down spatial scales from the local to the regional to the global). While others have treated these debates as divisive and harmful to the field, I argue that the familiarity with and use of these competing views of time, space, and units of study constitute the structure of world history, giving it an intellectual coherence and distinguishing it from other national or regional histories.

Understanding the plurality of, seeing the connections between, and moving easily among these devices is vital in the process of knowledge formation and acquisition of world history. What is distinctive about world history, then, is these devices and the ways world historians employ them to consistently move between and connect global, interregional, and regional scales of time and space. Moreover, I found the use of

interregional and global patterns to be most salient feature of world historical accounts, with almost every JWH monograph focusing on or linking to interregional or global patterns. Thus, to transcend the nation-state and the region, world historians use devices such as cases studies, contact and exchange, and comparison in the service of larger interregional and global patterns. The widespread use of these conceptual devices across so many manuscripts over two decades made me wonder if these devices would be valuable tools for teachers, perhaps as a framework or organizing scheme for the school subject of world history.

Teachers as World Historical and Pedagogical Thinkers

Since world history standards typically arrive at the teachers' door in the form of lists of disconnected events, teachers must add something to make connections. What do they add? How do they do add it? Are there differences in the ways teachers build meaning among world historical events? Are there organizing frameworks that they use? In the final section of my dissertation, I focused on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) in world history – specifically what instrumentality the scholarly field might hold for teachers. By examining the understandings of both experienced and novice world history teachers, I aimed to provide a comparison of the categories and tools they use in thinking about world history and organizing for world history instruction.

In my empirical study of teachers thinking about world history content, I found that all of the participants at some point or another during the interviews employed the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians. However, there were discernable differences in how experienced and novice world history teachers used these

devices to build meaningful connections between events, construct coherent historical narratives, relate world historical content to student understandings, and use the devices as pedagogical tools for organizing world history instruction.

My analysis of card-sorting maps of pre- and in-service teachers revealed that as participants sorted the cards they used world historical conceptual devices of world history to make four different types of connections: (1) event to region, (2) event to event, (3) event to category, and (4) category to category. Experienced world history teachers not only made more connections overall, but, in explaining their thinking, they were more likely to connect their explanations to larger global and interregional patterns.

These teachers did not merely have more knowledge about the world historical events, but were able to use that knowledge to make arguments, build cases, and make connections between events. On the other hand, novice teachers made connections between events and categories or regions, but often did not offer much detail to explain links or why they grouped certain events together. Some expressed hesitation, halting as they discussed relationships among historical events, concepts, or categories. In such cases, novice world history teachers were more likely to chain events together – developing a chronicle of events by using dates to establish the connections rather than other means. Beyond factual knowledge of events, it seemed that experienced world history teachers made more connections by drawing upon prior understandings of temporal-spatial relationships or thinking and speculating such relationships in action. Thus, experienced teachers were able to weave together events into coherent stories that included cross-regional comparisons and connections to global patterns.

As these findings indicate, participants appeared to be aided in the card-sorting tasks if they had knowledge of the events and if they understood how to make cross-cultural comparisons or causal connections over hundreds or even thousands of years. Certainly historical content knowledge mattered, but it was not sufficient in creating meaning across diverse events. The experienced teachers also understood the processes of making connections across events and using historical categories or build interconnections.

In this study, the teachers with the most experience with both world history content and pedagogy were best suited to build such connections. However, it did not seem to be simply the number of years teaching or courses taken that made the difference. It seemed to me that participation in a curriculum and professional development specifically focused on teaching and learning world history on a global scale and identifying the cognitive skills needed to do these things may have better prepared these experienced world history teachers to create coherent organizational schemes both for themselves and for instructional purposes. Those without this experience may have approached the task from within a more familiar national or civilizational frame, thus facing challenges in organizing the cards.

What is heartening, however, is that *every* participant engaged in some aspect of such thinking, suggesting that, even for the novice teachers who seemed to know less about world history and use fewer of the tools of world history, there is something upon which to build. For example, all of the participants seemed to share a sense of significance that transcended the local or regional. The events that they chose as most historically significant (e.g., Columbian Exchange, Neolithic Agricultural Revolution,

and Development of Written Language) all have broad, global implications. Although I found no discernable differences in the types of events experienced and novice world history teachers chose, once again I saw differences in how they explained their reasoning behind choosing particular events as most significant. Some of the more experienced world history teachers made reference to the way certain events were necessary for others to occur, thus adding specifics, context, and connections between the past and the future.

As participants discussed what might be most significant for *students* to learn, they shifted their choices to events closer in time to the present (for example, the Cold War was a top choice). Although many participants kept global impact as a justification for instructional significance in a world history class, some of the novice teachers talked about the relevancy of certain events to students' lives. These notions of relevance often appeared to be tied simply to spatial and temporal proximity to the students. In other words, what was closest in time and geographic space seemed to be most important. The novice teachers also employed similar theories when they discussed what would be familiar or interesting to students. For example, several prospective teachers claimed European events would be easier, more familiar, and more connected to the students. It seemed that pre-service teachers *themselves* felt connected to or interested in European history. Therefore assumed their future students would as well. These theories mostly appeared to be based on the prospective teachers' own experiences as learners of world history and not on any particular group of students or knowledge of adolescent cognition.

Not surprisingly, the in-service teachers had theories of students as learners that were grounded in actual teaching experiences. Yet, there were differences between the

experienced teachers. Some talked in great detail about their students, but only in general terms about world historical content; others made explicit connections between their students and the world history content. Some of the more experienced world history teachers seemed to have knowledge both about the subject of world history (the factual and conceptual content as well as the historical processes) and how learners learn the subject, including such things as likely misconceptions, points of interest, and challenges specific to learning world history. In doing the card-sorts, these teachers also offered examples of engaging world historical problems or approaches they might use (or have used) for teaching, including some that would allow students to connect between multiple temporal and spatial scales.

In sum, my study of teachers' thinking showed that the most experienced world history teachers – ones who had participated in training specific to world historical content and pedagogy – were able to utilize frameworks similar to the conceptual devices I identified in the work of world historians. These devices appeared to help organize world historical events in coherent ways both for the experienced world history teachers and for their students. Therefore, I argue that PCK for world history teachers involves transcending the boundaries of the nation-state and the region in order to tell a global story, connecting events to larger interregional and global patterns, representing world history's conceptual devices for instruction, and recognizing students' misconceptions and challenges in moving beyond more familiar national and regional histories. These findings and the gap between the experienced and novice world history teachers in this study have implications for teacher education and curriculum design.

Implications

There are several implications in this work, particularly for people designing curriculum and standards and those working with practicing and prospective teachers of world history.

Representing Global, Cross-regional, and Comparative Connections

A first implication might be a reconsideration of the ways we represent world history for instructional and assessment purposes. As I have argued in this dissertation, the extant standards that I analyzed are not adequate for presenting a coherent framework for world history courses. This is not a new criticism of the national standards. For example, Council for Basic Education (CBE) report critiqued the national standards:

The collective standards lack a coherent narrative. Better coordination in the standards will help students place the pieces of history into a larger framework. This will help students place the pieces of history into a larger framework. This will further enhance their ability to analyze themes, trends, ideas, and other aspects of historical study through time and across regions and cultures.⁷

However, my analysis revealed that even after the CBE's recommendations, the revised version of the national standards lacked the connections between global, interregional, regional, and local events that would have created more of a coherent narrative. The standards continue to present the history of the world as a series of lists. How, then, might authors of standards and other curricular tools use world history's distinct features to create coherent narratives and frameworks for world history? Currently there is some work in progress in these areas which may offer promise as models of pedagogical tools for teachers to use in designing courses and units of study for world history.

⁷ Council for Basic Education, *History in the Making: An Independent Review of the Voluntary National History Standards* (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1996), 15.

The AP World History course curriculum provides an example of curricular materials using world history's distinct features in the design of the course. As mentioned above, the course guide distinguishes between habits of mind addressed by any history course and those addressed by a world history course.⁸ Additionally, the course guide indicates places where cross-regional or cross-cultural comparisons are appropriate, as well as case studies of larger global patterns. As I have described in this dissertation, this course has grown rapidly since 2002, and its growth suggests not only the popularity of world history, but also the importance of course materials that showcase world history's distinct features. However, AP courses serve only one section of secondary students, and, in many states, world history is required of *all* students to graduate. Therefore, state standards, textbooks, and other curricula should include not only the content for teaching the global history of the world, but also descriptions of the cognitive skills of world history and guidance for how teachers can represent world history for their students.

Another example of a pedagogical tool that intends to help teachers use the cognitive features and conceptual devices of world history is the curriculum project World History for Us All (WHFUA) directed by world historian Ross E. Dunn.⁹ This web-based curriculum consists of instructional units at three spatial levels: "panorama,"

⁸ The AP curriculum includes habits of mind "addressed by any rigorous history course" and those addressed by a world history course. An example of the former is "constructing and evaluating arguments: using evidence to make plausible arguments;" and example of the latter is "developing the ability to compare within and among societies, including comparing societies' reactions to global processes." Joan Arno, ed. *AP World History: Teacher's Guide* (Princeton, NJ: College Examination Board, 2000), 235-36. See also Robert Bain, "AP World History Habits of Mind: Reflecting on World History's Unique Challenge to Students' Thinking," in *AP World History: Teacher's Guide*, ed. Joan Arno (Princeton, NJ: College Examination Board, 2000).

⁹ Dunn was also a coordinator for the World History Curriculum Task Force that wrote the *National Standards for World History*.

“landscape,” and “close-up.”¹⁰ Panorama units address large-scale developments in world history such as “farming and the emergence of complex societies, 10,000-1000 BCE.” Landscape units encompass topics such as “Nationalism and Religion, 1850-1914.” Close-up units use a much smaller lens, such as comparing connections between Marxism and gender in three regions of the world. The WHFUA curriculum is the only one of its kind to explicitly offer units and lessons at these different levels, allowing teachers to choose the spatial lens they wish to use to engage students in world history. Teachers can also use the curriculum to show the same events at different scales. For example, teachers might use a panorama lesson to provide students with a global picture of a particular era in history and then use landscape and close-up lessons and units to scale down to look at nested regional, national, or even local events.

Since my work began on this dissertation, Michigan added world history as a graduation requirement and developed “Content Expectations” (CEs) for world history to supplement the social studies and benchmarks.¹¹ The content expectation project for social studies was led by historian and history education researcher Robert B. Bain, and the world history and geography committee included world historians, geographers, and world history teachers. I was fortunate to be involved in the process of writing the CEs, and the reciprocal work of this dissertation and my work on the committee has been very valuable.

¹⁰ I have been involved with this WHFUA project since 2005 as a curriculum consultant. See “World History for Us All,” San Diego State University and the National Center for History in the Schools, <http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/>.

¹¹ World history is included in the “World History and Geography Content Expectations” that will come into effect in fall, 2008. I was involved in the writing of the high school world history content expectations in 2007. See Michigan Department of Education, “Social Studies High School Content Expectations,”(2007), http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/SS_HSCE_210739_7.pdf. There is also world history content in the sixth and seventh grade social studies courses. See Michigan Department of Education, “Social Studies Grade Level Content Expectations, K-8,”(2007), http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/SSGLCE_218368_7.pdf.

The stated goal of the new Michigan world history CEs was to provide a global, multi-scaled approach to world history. In part, the expectations encourage students to:

- Investigate global patterns and developments over time while connecting more local patterns to larger interregional and global patterns.
- Employ different analytical schemes, including global, regional, national, and local to understand developments over time.
- Compare within and among regions and societies, and across time.¹²

From this description, one can see several of the features of world history that I found in the work of world historians, and have argued for throughout this dissertation: the use of multiple, linked units of analysis, comparison, and connections to large global and interregional patterns.

A challenge of the writing committee, however, was to provide teachers with some of the tools needed to engage students in this work *within* the expectations themselves. Building upon research on the shortcomings of previous standards in world history,¹³ the committee wanted to create an organizational scheme for the CEs that would show: (1) world history at different temporal and spatial scales; (2) the connections between historical events, and (3) how certain events were nested within others. These challenges were met in part by creating three frames – or lenses – for the expectations within each historical era: Cross-temporal or global, interregional or comparative, and regional. These three levels, much like the WHFUA levels of instructional units, allow teachers to see how they might use different scales to look at different events and points in history. For example, looking at world-wide migrations and pollution changes in the nineteenth century requires a global lens, whereas studying

¹² Michigan Department of Education, "Social Studies High School Content Expectations." 14.

¹³ See for example Robert B. Bain and Tamara L. Shreiner, "Issues and Options in Creating a National Assessment in World History," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005); Walter Russell Mead, *The State of State World History Standards* (Washington D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 2006).

the Boxer Rebellion may be more manageable with an interregional or regional lens. However, the committee also wanted to be sure that the CEs made visible the connections between events, how some events are nested within others, and how regional events connect to larger interregional and global patterns. Therefore, the new CEs have a system of cross-referencing between expectations to alert the teacher to such connections. The following excerpt from the CEs shows some of the connections in Era 6: An Age of Global Revolutions:

Global or cross-temporal expectations

6.1.1 Global Revolutions—Analyze the causes and global consequences of major political and industrial revolutions... (see 6.2.1; 6.2.3; 6.3.1; 6.3.2)

Interregional or comparative expectations

6.2.1 Political Revolutions—Analyze the Age of Revolutions by comparing and contrasting the political, economic, and social causes of at least three political and/or nationalistic revolutions...

6.2.3 Industrialization—Analyze the origins, characteristics and consequences of industrialism across the world by...

Regional content expectations

6.3.1 Europe...

6.3.2 East Asia...¹⁴

The parentheses after the global expectation indicate connections to interregional and regional expectations. Although the CEs still represent a set of student actions that teachers need to organize for instruction (i.e., it is not a curriculum), they make visible more of the connections and the different scales of world history that teachers need to use for instructional purposes.

Of course, representing connections does not mean that people will see or made sense of these. Thus, I am not making claims about how teachers read standards, but asserting that for such documents to be more considerate for its range of readers there needs to be more explicit use of showing cross-temporal and spatial links, and places

¹⁴ Ibid., 26-7.

where standards are nested within or connect to other standards. As the above examples demonstrate, there are some current models of pedagogical tools that represent more of the structure of world history than standards documents I have described in this dissertation. Future standards, curriculum, and textbook projects will benefit from including examples of cross-regional and cultural comparisons, indications of how events across time and space connect to and nest within each other, and guidance for teachers in how to use these world historical tools.

Preparing Teachers to Take Up World history

Regardless of how explicit the pedagogical guides become, teachers will need to use and bring forward their content knowledge and systems for developing relationships among the multiple units of analysis and scales of time and space they encounter in world history. When designing courses, it seems to be necessary that teachers can first “see” scales of historical study beyond the nation or the region and then develop the capacity to identify large global or interregional patterns at various periods in history. Developing compelling world historical problems, such as some of the ones posed by participants in this study, may encourage teachers to pursue questions at scales of time and space outside those typically defined by national or regional studies. Though not exactly calling for some grand global meta-narrative, I do think it important for teachers to have a picture of significant changes in human interactions with each other and the environment within which they might place, even by way of counter example, events at regional and national levels.¹⁵

¹⁵ An example of a resource that teachers I have worked with have found useful for explaining large global patterns in world history is, David Christian, *This Fleeting World: A Short History of Humanity* (Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group, 2008).

This work for teachers will be greatly aided, then, if teacher education – both pre- and in-service – begins to include explicitly what I argue are the conceptual devices historians implicitly or explicitly use to organize world history (e.g., use of multiple schemes of time and space, cross-regional comparisons linked to global patterns). In particular, the education of world history teachers should include the historical knowledge of and skills for seeing global patterns, recognizing significant global turning points, and considering historical events at different levels of analysis.

Further, teacher educators should help pre- and in-service teachers investigate the challenges students face in doing world history, such as making connections between regions or cultures and recognizing large global patterns. Currently few professional development programs or history or social studies “methods” courses distinguish between the cognitive skills needed to understand national histories such as U.S. history, and those needed for world history. The move outside the boundaries of the familiar national stories presents a unique set of challenges for those seeking to learn and/or teach world history. Helping teachers take up these ideas is complicated by the fact that college-level courses in world history have not kept pace with the high school growth and that there are few resources for teachers or teacher educators that discuss the distinct features of world history and how to apply them to instruction.¹⁶

My findings in this study, as well as my work with both practicing and prospective teachers, suggest that world history teachers need *explicit practice* organizing

¹⁶ For example, Frederick D. Drake and Lynn R. Nelson’s latest edition of *Engagement in Teaching History* devotes only a few of its pages to issues specific to world history and teaching world history. See Frederick D. Drake and Lynn R. Nelson, *Engagement in Teaching History: Theory and Practices for Middle and Secondary Teachers*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 2009). The most recent edition of a popular social studies secondary methods textbook does not even list “world history” in its index. See Candy Beal, Cheryl Mason Bolick, and Peter H. Martorella, *Teaching Social Studies in Secondary and Middle Schools*, Fifth ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, Inc., 2009).

large expanses of time and space in a coherent way and engaging students in making cross-cultural or cross-regional comparisons, investigating bi-lateral contact and exchanges, and connecting case studies to larger global and interregional patterns. For as prospective teacher in this study commented while discussing how she might teach particular historical events, “I would say what feudalism is, and use the [Meiji Restoration] as an example. But I don’t know how I’d do that.”¹⁷

Of course, as I described in Chapter Six, world historical content knowledge is essential to teaching world history. However, studying the histories of regions without examining the connections between them may not provide teachers with the global framework needed to teach world history. Collaboration between departments of history and schools of education, particularly around world history survey courses, would be a step toward helping prospective teachers to not only think about the history of the world at multiple scales and levels, but to think about ways to build coherence for themselves and their students from so much time, space, events, and people.

Future Work

Although this study and its findings are encouraging, there are many areas for future research in world history education.¹⁸ For example, since my study of JWH did not focus on change over time in the collection of monographs, an important follow-up would be to return to my analysis to ask if there have been any shifts in how authors structured their articles from the first issue until the present. Such analysis would, in

¹⁷ Ophelia Interview Transcript, 11.

¹⁸ I am also mindful of some of the limitations in this study – ones that I have discussed in previous chapters. In particular, I want to again acknowledge the problem of attempting to generalize from the work here. First, sample sizes of all three of the sections of my dissertation – a content analysis of the JWH, analysis of three standards documents, and analysis of the thinking of ten teachers – are small and not intended to be generalizable. Though I tried to be clear about it and explain my choices, there is, therefore, unavoidable selection bias in the journal, standards documents, and teachers selected for this study.

effect, help to historicize the field of world history and perhaps allow for a further comparison with the school subject. Additionally, as I discussed in Chapter Three, although I analyzed every article in the eighteen-year run of JWH, it is but one representation of the scholarly work of world historians. Moreover, JWH is based in the United States, and, although authors from around the world are featured in the journal, monographs by Americans and other Western nations make up most of the articles. How, then, do people in other nations and regions conceptualize and engage in world history? Are there differences, for example, between American world history, German world history, and Korean world history? These are important questions, and would be interesting to pursue with content analyses of journals and other examples of the work of world historians from different regions of the world. For example, a content analysis of the new *Journal of Global History* (first issue March 2006) based in London, the *Journal of Social History*, or the *American Historical Review* might aid in comparing or corroborating the findings in this study and comparing conceptualizations of world history in different parts of the world.

Similarly, examining additional instructional tools would expand the findings in this work. As mentioned previously, examining how (or if) world history textbooks present a coherent look at the history of the world would be a good future study. Although there have been studies of world history texts, none have considered world history's distinct features in their analyses.¹⁹ Seeing how texts use comparison over time and space, how they connect local or national events to larger global patterns, and how they incorporate the cognitive skills needed to understand world history would be an important undertaking. Examining additional curricular materials teachers use to plan for

¹⁹ See for example Ravitch, *A Consumer's Guide to High School History Textbooks*.

and teach world history would also be appropriate. Furthermore, studying how students take up world history with the use of materials such as textbooks or other primary and secondary sources would help teachers and teacher educators think about how we might best utilize these resources.

Transcending the nation-state in curricular materials and textbooks requires a similar move in assessment materials. There have been very few studies that examine the construction or use of assessments for world history at the state, district, or school levels. As more states require world history courses and assessments, research is needed on how states and schools assess students' knowledge of large interregional and global patterns, world historical case studies, and cross-regional and cultural comparisons. What is the difference between assessing historical events on a national or global scale? What types of details are needed for assessments at these different levels? As this study argues, the difference between world and national histories goes beyond the notion that there are simply more national stories in world history. Thus, research is needed on how assessments can reflect the distinguishing features of world history. Additionally, more research on students' performance on world history assessments would provide much needed information about the challenges that students may face in learning world history.

A broader sample size for the study of teachers thinking about world history and world history instruction would provide more insight into what teachers bring to world history teaching. Replicating the card-sorting interviews with teachers from a variety of backgrounds and with a range of experiences would certainly add to this work. Future studies of world history teachers' PCK that involve classroom observations of how teachers present world history to their students and engage their students in, for example,

cross-cultural or cross-regional comparison, connecting local events to larger global patterns, or discussing shifting scales of time and space would provide a more extended picture of how teachers conceptualize world history and world history pedagogy. Additionally, a longitudinal examination of world history teachers moving from courses taught by history departments to teacher education programs and then into the classroom would give us a clearer picture of the process of learning how to engage in world historical thinking and to think like a world history teacher.

Last, although researchers have conducted some studies of students' historical thinking in world history classrooms,²⁰ there have been few that have looked at how students make sense of so much time and space, what challenges they face with world history, or how (or if) they understand or even construct world historical narratives. Studies such as these are vital for teachers and teacher educators in understanding the connections between students of all ages and the subject matter of world history, and ultimately in working to improve students' understanding of the past and present world – a worthy goal to be sure.

As more states add world history requirements and on the eve of a national assessment in world history, the time has come to turn more focused attention to not only the content of world history courses but the cognitive skills necessary for all teachers to represent world history for their students to learn. By uncovering conceptual devices that

²⁰ See for example, Robert B. Bain, "Rounding up Unusual Suspects: Facing Authority Hidden in the Social Studies Classroom," *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 10 (2006), <http://www.tcrecord.org>; Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14," in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Peter Seixas, "Mapping the Terrain of Historical Significance," *Social Education* 61, no. 1 (1997); 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: New York University Press, 2000).

make world history coherent for world historians and describing how experienced and novice world history teachers thought about applying those features to their pedagogy, this dissertation has implications for how teacher educators can use those features in designing instructional tools and preparing teachers to teach coherent, global world history courses.

Over the past century, many have argued that transcending the nation-state or the civilization to focus on history at a global scale in scholarship and pedagogy is an impossible venture. However, the success of the AP course, the growth of World History Association, the coherence I found in two decades worth of world historical monographs, and my findings on the understandings of experienced world history teachers indicates that it is indeed possible. Preeminent world historian William H. McNeill's description of the importance and the challenges of pursuing history at a global scale may offer fitting counsel for the road ahead:

Such an agenda for world historians is perhaps daunting. Yet anything less is plainly inadequate to the complexities of the human condition as we now understand it. Nor does it strike me as impossible – however ambitious.²¹

As world history teachers and teacher educators we too should have an agenda to help students understand the global story of our world. It may be ambitious, and perhaps daunting, but anything less is inadequate for our twenty-first century world.

²¹ William H. McNeill, "The Rise of the West after Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 20.

Appendices

Appendix A: Articles Analyzed in the *Journal of World History*

Coding Scheme

Code Name		Symbol
Multiple Temporal/Periodization Schemes		MP
Multiple Spatial/Geographic Schemes		MS
Units of Analysis	Case Study with Specific Interregional and/or Global Connections	CS
	Cross Regional or Cultural Contacts and Exchanges	EX
	Cross Regional or Cultural Comparisons	COM
	Interregional Patterns	IP
	Global Patterns	GP
Disciplinary Tools and Concepts Outside of History		ED
Historiographic Issues in World History		H

- Adas, Michael. "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology." *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 31-63. [CS, EX, GP, H].
- Alden, Dauril. "Changing Jesuit Perceptions of the Brasis During the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of World History* 3, no. 2 (1992): 205-18. [CS, IP].
- Allardyce, Gilbert. "Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of the World History Course." *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 23-76. [H].
- Anderson, J.L. "Piracy and World History: An Economic Perspective on Maritime Predation." *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 175-99. [CS, GP, ED].
- Andrade, Tonio. "The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662." *Journal of World History* 15, no. 4 (2004): 415-44. [MP, EX, IP].
- . "The Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan, 1624-1662: Cooperative Colonization and the Statist Model of European Expansion." *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2006): 429-50. [MP, CS, EX, GP, H].
- Arasaratnam, S. "Recent Trends in the Historiography of the Indian Ocean, 1500 to 1800." *Journal of World History* 1, no. 2 (1990): 225-48. [MP, MS, IP, H].
- Atwell, William S. "Another Look at Silver Imports into China, Ca. 1635-1644." *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (2005): 467-89. [IP, H].
- . "Volcanism and Short-Term Climatic Change in East Asian and World History, C. 1200-1699." *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 29-98. [MP, MS, GP, ED, H].
- Baer, Marc. "Globalization, Cosmopolitanism, and the Donme in Ottoman Salonica and Turkish Istanbul." *Journal of World History* 18, no. 2 (2007): 141-70. [CS, COM, GP].
- Bagchi, Kaushik. "An Orientalist in the Orient: Richard Garbe's Indian Journey, 1885-86." *Journal of World History* 14, no. 3 (2003): 281-325. [CS, COM, IP].
- Balabanlilar, Lisa. "Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent." *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007): 1-39. [MS, IP, GP, H].
- Barendse, R. J. "The Feudal Mutation: Military and Economic Transformations of the Ethnosphere in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries." *Journal of World History* 14, no. 4 (2003): 503-29. [IP, H].
- . "Trade and State in the Arabian Seas: A Survey from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of World History* 11, no. 2 (2000): 173-225. [MP, MS, GP, ED, H].
- Bartholomew, James R. "Modern Science in Japan: Comparative Perspectives." *Journal of World History* 4, no. 1 (1993): 101-16. [MP, CS, COM, GP].

- Baud, Michiel, and Willem van Schendel. "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands." *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 211-42. [MP, MS, COM, EX, GP].
- Beaujard, Philippe. "The Indian Ocean in Eurasian and African World-Systems before the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (2005): 411-65. [MP, MS, IP, GP].
- Bentley, Jerry H. "Hemispheric Integration, 500-1500 C.E." *Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (1998): 237-54. [MP, MS, EX, IP, H].
- . "Myths, Wagers, and Some Moral Implications of World History." *Journal of World History* 16, no. 1 (2005): 51-82. [H].
- . "A New Forum for Global History." *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): iii-v. [H].
- Benton, Lauren A. "From the World-Systems Perspective to Institutional World History: Culture and Economy in Global Theory." *Journal of World History* 7, no. 2 (1996): 261-95. [GP, H].
- . "The Legal Regime of the South Atlantic World, 1400-1750: Jurisdictional Complexity as Institutional Order." *Journal of World History* 11, no. 1 (2000): 27-56. [MS, COM, IP, GP, ED].
- Bjork, Katharine. "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571-1815." *Journal of World History* 9, no. 1 (1998): 25-50. [CS, GP, H].
- Blue, Gregory. "Gobineau on China: Race Theory, The 'Yellow Peril,' And the Critique of Modernity." *Journal of World History* 10, no. 1 (1999): 93-139. [CS, GP, H].
- Bradley, Mark. "Becoming Van Minh : Civilizational Discourse and Visions of the Self in Twentieth-Century Vietnam." *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 65-83. [CS, GP, H].
- Brooks, George E. "An Undergraduate World History Curriculum for the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of World History* 2, no. 1 (1991): 65-79. [MP, H].
- Burke III, Edmund. "G.S. Hodgson and the Hemispheric Interregional Approach to World History." *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 237-50. [IP, H].
- Burstein, Stanley M. "When Greek Was an African Language: The Role of Greek Culture in Ancient and Medieval Nubia." *Journal of World History* 19, no. 1 (2008): 41-61. [EX, IP, H].
- Cambell, I.C. "The Lateen Sail in World History." *The Journal of World History* 6, no. 1 (1995): 1-23. [CS, GP, H].
- Campbell, I. C. "Culture Contact and Polynesian Identity in the European Age." *Journal of World History* 8, no. 1 (1997): 29-55. [EX, COM, H].
- . "The Culture of Culture Contact: Refractions from Polynesia." *Journal of World History* 14, no. 1 (2003): 63-86. [EX, COM, GP, H].
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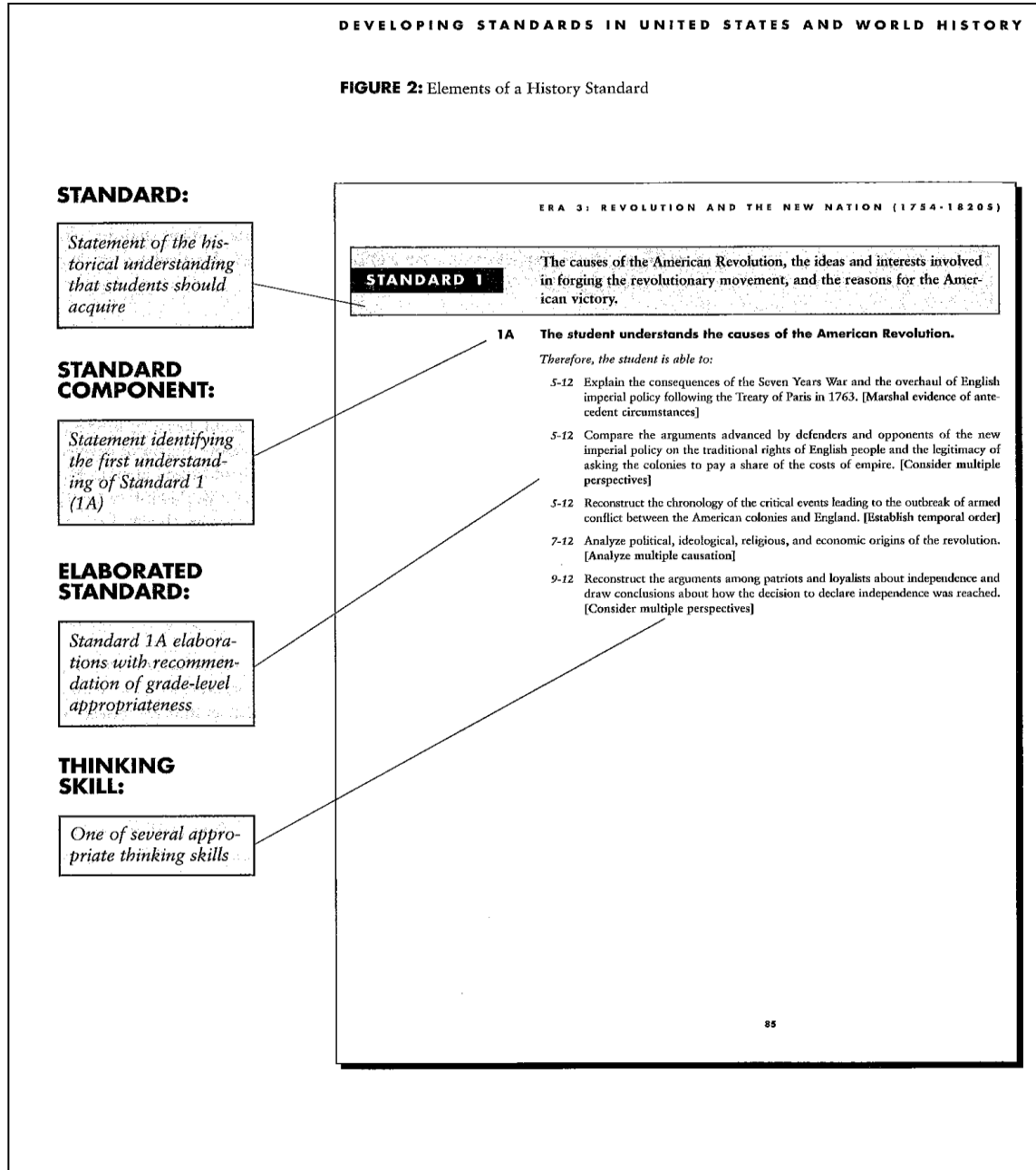
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Appendix B: Organizing Structure of the *National Standards for World History*

From: National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History: Basic Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), 53.



Appendix C: Participants' Professional Backgrounds

Participants		Years teaching	Years teaching history	Years teaching world history	Certification (will receive)	Major/Minor	Courses Taught 2007/08	World History PD
Pre-service Teachers	Barry	0	0	0	-Social Studies -History Minor	-Social Studies major -History minor	N/A	N/A
	Jake	0	0	0	-History major -Social Studies	Dbl. major: History and Social Studies	N/A	N/A
	Jessica	0	0	0	History major	-History major -Political Science minor	N/A	N/A
	Ophelia	0	0	0	History major	-History major -English minor	N/A	N/A

Participants		Years teaching	Years teaching history	Years teaching world history	Certification	Major/Minor and Graduate Degree	Courses Taught 2007/08 (grade level)	World History PD*
In-service Teachers	Amy	6	5	5	History Minor	-Political Science major -History minor -MA English	World History (9) AP World History (11-12)	-Attended two AP World History Summer Institutes
	Ben	16	16	12	Social Studies	-Dbl major: American Studies and Music -MA Education	World History (9-12) AP World History (10-12)	-Attended & taught multiple AP World History Summer Institutes -AP World History Exam Reader

Participants		Years teaching	Years teaching history	Years teaching world history	Certification	Major/Minor and Graduate Degree	Courses Taught 2007/08 (grade level)	World History PD*
In-service Teachers	Charles	25	12	12	History Major	-Ancient History major -Education minor -Ph.D. Ancient Central Asian History	-Big History** -East Asian History** -Ancient Eurasia** -Europe Since WW II** -World History Historiography**	-Taught multiple World History PD sessions -AP World History Exam Reader
	Jenny	8	8	8	Social Studies	Secondary Social Studies Education major	Gifted World History (7) U.S. History (8)	None indicated
	Simone	15	15	15	History major Social Studies	-History major MA International Education -MA Eastern Asian Studies	AP World History (11-12) Honors World History (11-12)	-Attended & taught multiple World History PD sessions -Served on the AP World History test development committee
	Terrence	16	16	4	History major Social Studies	-History major -Social Studies minor -MA Social Foundations of Education	AP U.S. History (12) Honors U.S. History (11) Geography/Global Issues (11)	None indicated

*Although all of the in-service participants reported involvement in different types of professional development throughout their careers, this data refers only to professional development sessions specifically geared toward world history content and/or teaching world history.

**Courses are college level.

Appendix D: History Courses Taken by Participants

Participants	U.S. History	Historiography	World History	African History	Asian History	American History (non-U.S.)	European History	Middle Eastern History
<i>Pre-service Teachers</i>								
Barry	2					2	1	1
Jake	4	1		2			4	1
Jessica	6			2		1	5	1
Ophelia	2				1	3	2	
<i>In-service Teachers</i>								
Amy	3		1	2	1	2		
Ben	8							
Charles		3 4-G	2 1-G		2 2-G		8 4-G	4 3-G
Jenny	2		1	2			1	
Simone	3		1-G		3 2-G		2	
Terrence	4	1	1	2	1-G	1 1-G	1 1-G	1-G

Note: graduate level courses are designated with a "G"

Appendix E: Interview Protocol

Say: Thank you very much for meeting with me today. During this interview, I am going to ask you to complete two card-sorting tasks and answer questions about them. Card-sorting tasks can show how people organize information. This is part of a larger study where I am investigating how world history teachers in various points in their careers think about and organize world history for instructional purposes.

The cards I'm going to give you have world historical terms on them.

For the first card-sort will give you the cards and ask you to organize them in a way that makes sense to you; not necessarily thinking about teaching them. After you have sorted through them, you will attach them to the chart paper with tape. Then you can use the markers to label your groupings and draw arrows between them – whatever makes sense to you.

Now, I am not expecting to know what all of these terms are, so please feel to look at the list of descriptions to clarify questions you have about terms. You do not have to use all the cards. Take your time and as you do this – there is no hurry. As you are sorting, please talk about what you are thinking and the choices that you are making.

Do you have any questions?

Do: Wait for questions. Respond to any clarification questions or concerns.

Do: Put the chart paper on the table. Hand the participant the set of cards, the Term Descriptions handout, and markers.

Do: During the card-sort, prompt the participant to talk-aloud about what they are thinking (if needed). If the participant points to a card without naming it, be sure to say the name of the card for tape recording purposes.

Do: Once the participant has sorted the cards, prompt him or her to attach the cards to the chart paper with tape (or attach them yourself).

Say: Now that you have attached the cards to the paper, please discuss and label the groupings and draw connectors between the cards – whatever makes sense to you. Please talk about what you are thinking while you do this.

After the participant has completed attaching the cards, labeling the paper, and drawing connections, ask the participant to explain how they sorted the cards if s/he has not already done so. Ask clarification questions as necessary.

Say: I would like you to pretend that you are asked to consult on a show on *The History Channel* called *The Most Significant Events in World History*.²² They have asked you to

²² During my pilot study I asked this question more broadly: “which of these do you think are the most significant events?” I soon realized that practicing teachers almost always deferred to their students when answering this question. Since I wanted to see if there was any difference between this and the second

choose the three most significant events from this group of events; which ones would you choose and why? Please explain which events you would choose and mark them on the paper with a star.

Do: After the participant has completed explaining the three most significant events and labeling the paper, remove the paper and hand the participant a second set of identical cards. Have the first card-sort available if the participant asks to see it.

Say: I would like you to repeat the card-sort task with the same set of cards, but this time I would like you to sort them specifically for instruction in a world history class. Take your time and as you do this, please talk about what you are thinking and the choices that you are making.

Do: Once the participant has sorted the cards, prompt him or her to attach the cards to the chart paper with tape (or attach them yourself).

Say: Now that you have attached the cards to the paper, please discuss and label the groupings and draw connectors between the cards – whatever makes sense to you. Please talk about what you are thinking while you do this.

After the participant has completed attaching the cards, labeling the paper, and drawing connections, ask the participant to explain how they sorted the cards if s/he has not already done so. Ask clarification questions as necessary.

If they have not already, ask participants to label and discuss how they would organize instructional units and in what the sequence of the units would be. Have them label accordingly.

Say: I'd like to ask you a couple more questions about the cards. Ask:

- Which three of these events do you think are most important for students to learn; why? Please label these with a star.
- Which of these do you think students would have the hardest time understanding; why? Please mark those with a "S"
- Which of these do you think would be the most challenging to teach; why? Please mark those with a "T".

Say: Well I think that just about does it; do you have any questions or comments about either card-sort before we end the interview? I would like to thank you very much, again, for participating in this interview.

Do: At the end of the session, ask the participant to fill out the "Participant Information Form."

question about instructional significance, I decided to use the *History Channel* scenario to encourage participants to think beyond their classroom in answering the question. I chose to limit the responses to three, as I found that in the pilot study participants discussed almost every card as being "most significant" and didn't necessarily differentiate between degrees of significance.

Appendix F: Participant Information Form

Name _____ School _____

1. Years teaching _____ Years teaching **history** _____ Years teaching **world history** _____

(If you are not yet teaching, please skip to question # 3)

2. Please indicate the name, grade level (e.g., 9th, 12th, College Freshmen) and academic level if applicable (e.g., non-AP, AP, “gifted”) for each of the courses you are teaching this year:

Course: _____ Grade _____ Academic Level _____

Course: _____ Grade _____ Academic Level _____

Course: _____ Grade _____ Academic Level _____

Course: _____ Grade _____ Academic Level _____

Course: _____ Grade _____ Academic Level _____

3. Please circle the type of teaching certificate you have or will receive:

a. history major b. history minor c. social studies

d. other (please explain):

4. What was your college major?

Undergraduate Major _____ Minor _____

Graduate School Major _____ Degree _____

5. Please list or estimate the number of undergraduate (U) and/or graduate (G) courses you have taken in the following areas:

a. U.S. History U _____ G _____

b. Historiography U _____ G _____

c. History Teaching U _____ G _____

d. Courses specifically
 labeled “world history” U _____ G _____

Regional History

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| f. Africa | U_____G_____ |
| g. Asia | U_____G_____ |
| h. Americas | U_____G_____ |
| i. Europe | U_____G_____ |
| j. Middle East | U_____G_____ |
| k. Other (please list) | U_____G_____ |

6. Please list and describe any other non-credit history courses you have taken and/or history professional development workshops you have attended or taught:

Thank you. This information will be held in strict confidence and at no time will your name or school be used in any context.

Appendix G: Card-Sort Term Descriptions

Atlantic Slave Trade

The movement and trade of African peoples from Africa to European colonies in the Americas from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

Bantu Migrations

The movement of people who spoke Bantu languages from west central Africa throughout east and southern Africa from about 2000 B.C.E to about 1000 C.E.

Cold War

The ideological, political, and economic conflict and rivalry between the United States and its allies on one side and the Soviet Union and its supporters on the other side from the mid-1940s to the early 1990s.

Columbian Exchange

The trans-oceanic movements of plants, animal, microorganisms, and people that followed the establishment of regular contact between Europe and the Americans in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Decline of the Han Empire

After the last Han emperor in 220 C.E., China was divided into several smaller kingdoms for more than three centuries.

Development of the Incan Road System

From its capital at Cuzco the Incans built an extensive road and bridge system stretching north from present-day Columbia and south to present-day Chile between 1250 and 1536.

Development of Written Language

The development of the first written language (as opposed to pictographs) was by Sumerians in Southern Mesopotamia around 3500 B.C.E.

Development and Spread of Islam

Begun on the Arabian Peninsula in approximately 610 C.E., Islam spreads over the next 900 years throughout Africa, much of Asia, and parts of Europe.

Development and Spread of Buddhism

Developed in India around 534 B.C.E., Buddhism spread to China and other parts of Asia starting in the first century C.E.

Feudalism

Feudalism is a political system in which a landlord grants land in exchange for military protection or other services.

The Haitian Revolution

Led by a former slave, the French Colony of Haiti declared its independence in 1804.

India gains Independence from Great Britain

In 1947 the British colony of India gained independence and the nations of India and Pakistan were born.

Industrial Revolution

Starting the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution represented a shift from economies based on agricultural production to economies based mostly on industrial production.

Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press

Gutenberg is credited with the invention of printing using movable metal type in 1456.

Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali

The West African empire of Mali reached its height in wealth, power, and influence under Mansa Musa who ruled from around 1312-1322.

The Meiji Restoration

A series of Japanese reforms in the 1860s that abolished the feudal system and began the process of industrialization.

The Mongol Empire

Beginning in the mid-1200s, the nomadic Mongols spread their empire from China to Eastern Europe.

The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)

Admiral Cheng Ho led seven Chinese sailing expeditions to Southeast Asia, India, Arabia, and east Africa in the early 1400s.

Neolithic Agricultural Revolution

The Neolithic Revolution represented a shift from food gathering to food producing occurring independently in several regions of the world from around 8000 to 5000 B.C.E.

The Renaissance

The period of “rebirth” of European art and learning beginning in the 1300s, marked by an interest in Greek and Latin literature and art, individualism, and scientific activity.

Silk Routes

4,000 mile-long complex of trade routes that ran generally east and west across Inner Eurasia and that carried goods, people, technologies, and ideas.

World War I

A military conflict involving many countries which took place mostly in Europe between 1914 and 1918.

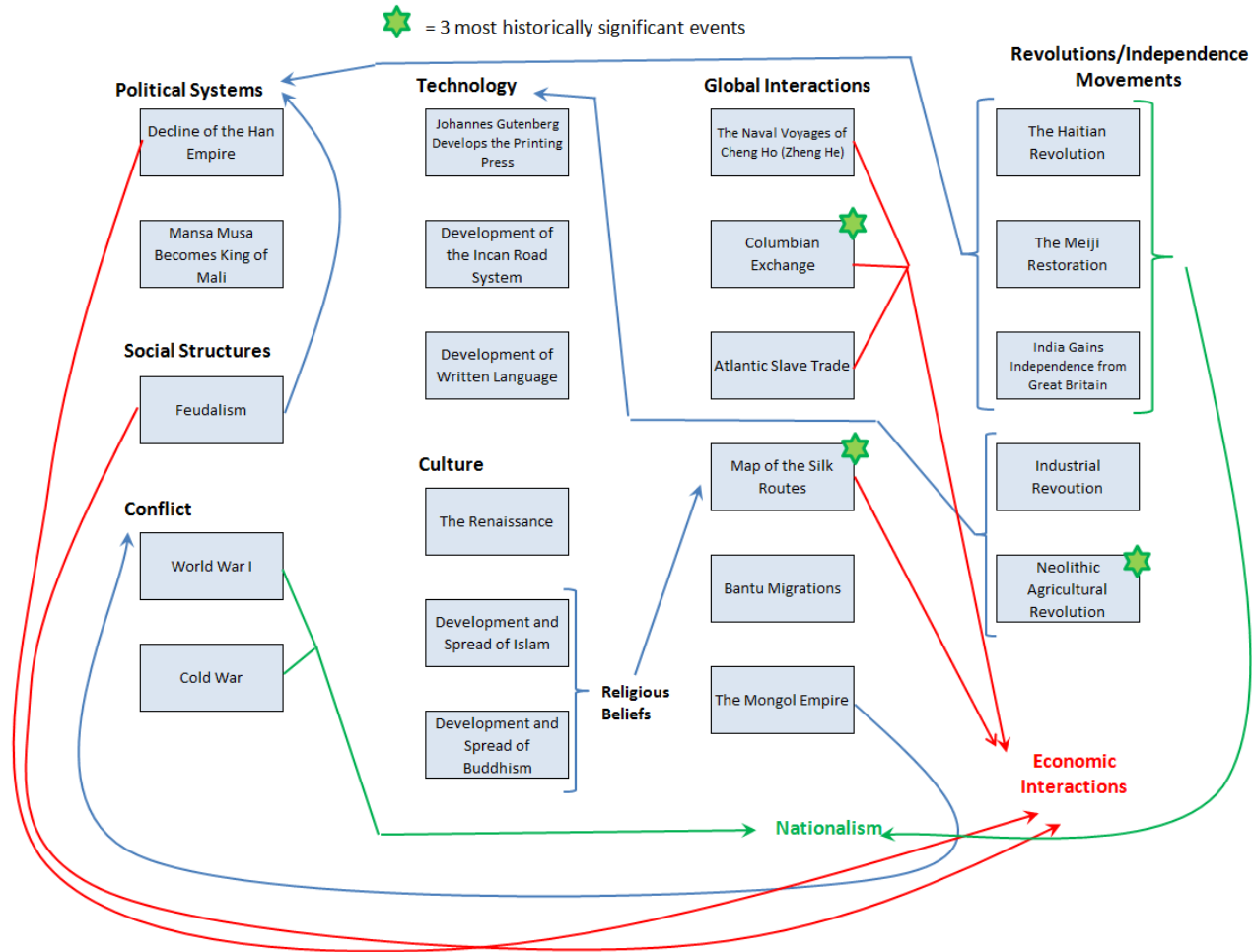
Appendix H: Participants' Answers to Follow-up Questions (as marked on their card-sort maps)

Participant		Three most significant events (1st card-sort)	Three most important events for students to understand (2nd card-sort)	Most challenging for students to understand (2nd card-sort)	Most challenging to teach (2nd card-sort)
Pre-service Teachers	Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bantu Migrations • Development and Spread of Islam • Columbian Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and Spread of Islam • The Renaissance • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • Development and Spread of Buddhism • Industrial Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrial Revolution
	Jake	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Development of Written Language • Industrial Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and Spread of Islam • Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press • The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bantu Migrations • Development and Spread of Buddhism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bantu Migrations • Development and Spread of Buddhism
	Jessica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • Columbian Exchange • World War I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • The Renaissance • Industrial Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and Spread of Buddhism • Development and Spread of Islam • Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali • Feudalism • Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho • Meiji Restoration • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silk Routes • Mongol Empire • Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho • The Renaissance • Atlantic Slave Trade • Meiji Restoration
	Ophelia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • Columbian Exchange • World War I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atlantic Slave Trade • Haitian Revolution • Industrial Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decline of the Han Empire • Mongol Empire • Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho

Participant		Three most significant events (1st card-sort)	Three most important events for students to understand (2nd card-sort)	Most challenging for students to understand (2nd card-sort)	Most challenging to teach (2nd card-sort)
In-service Teachers	Amy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Silk Routes • Development and Spread of Islam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Silk Routes • Columbian Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and Spread of Buddhism • Development and Spread of Islam • World War I • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India Gains Independence from Great Britain
	Ben	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Industrial Revolution • Columbian Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Columbian Exchange • Industrial Revolution • World War I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silk Routes • Development and Spread of Islam • Feudalism • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated
	Charles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Silk Routes • Industrial Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Industrial Revolution • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated
	Jenny	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • Silk Routes • Columbian Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Written Language • Silk Routes • Columbian Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated
	Simone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic Agricultural Revolution • Columbian Exchange • World War I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mongol Empire • Columbian Exchange • Haitian Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and Spread of Buddhism • Development and Spread of Islam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated
	Terrence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Columbian Exchange • Atlantic Slave Trade • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press • Columbian Exchange • Cold War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None indicated

Appendix I: Frequency of Answers to Follow-up Questions (as marked on participants' card-sort maps)

Events	Most significant event (1st card-sort)	Most important for students to learn (2nd Card-sort)	Most challenging for students to understand (2nd Card-sort)	Most challenging to teach (2nd Card-sort)
Atlantic Slave Trade	10%	10%	0	10%
Bantu Migrations	10%	0	10%	10%
Cold War	10%	30%	40%	0
Columbian Exchange	70%	40%	0	0
Decline of the Han Empire	0	0	0	10%
Development of the Incan Road System	0	0	0	0
Development of Written Language	40%	20%	10%	0
Development and Spread of Buddhism	0	0	50%	10%
Development and Spread of Islam	20%	20%	40%	0
Feudalism	0	0	20%	0
The Haitian Revolution	0	20%	0	0
India gains Independence from Great Britain	0	0	0	10%
Industrial Revolution	30%	40%	10%	10%
Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press	0	20%	0	0
Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali	0	0	10%	0
The Meiji Restoration	0	0	10%	10%
The Mongol Empire	0	10%	0	20%
The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)	0	10%	10%	20%
Neolithic Agricultural Revolution	50%	20%	0	0
The Renaissance	0	20%	0	10%
Silk Routes	30%	20%	0	0
World War I	30%	20%	10%	0



Amy: 1st Card Sort

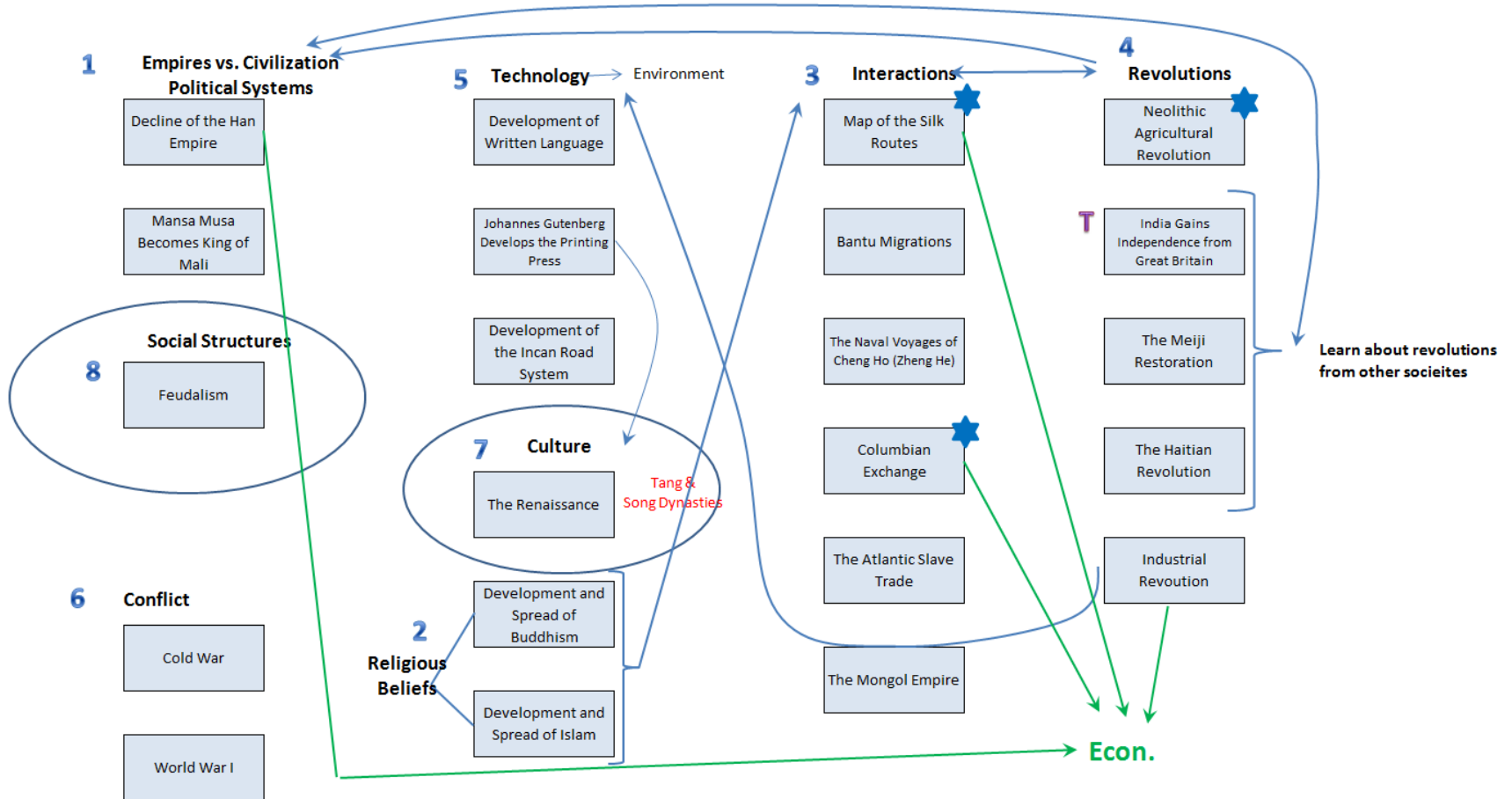
★ = 3 most important events for students to understand

T = more challenging to teach

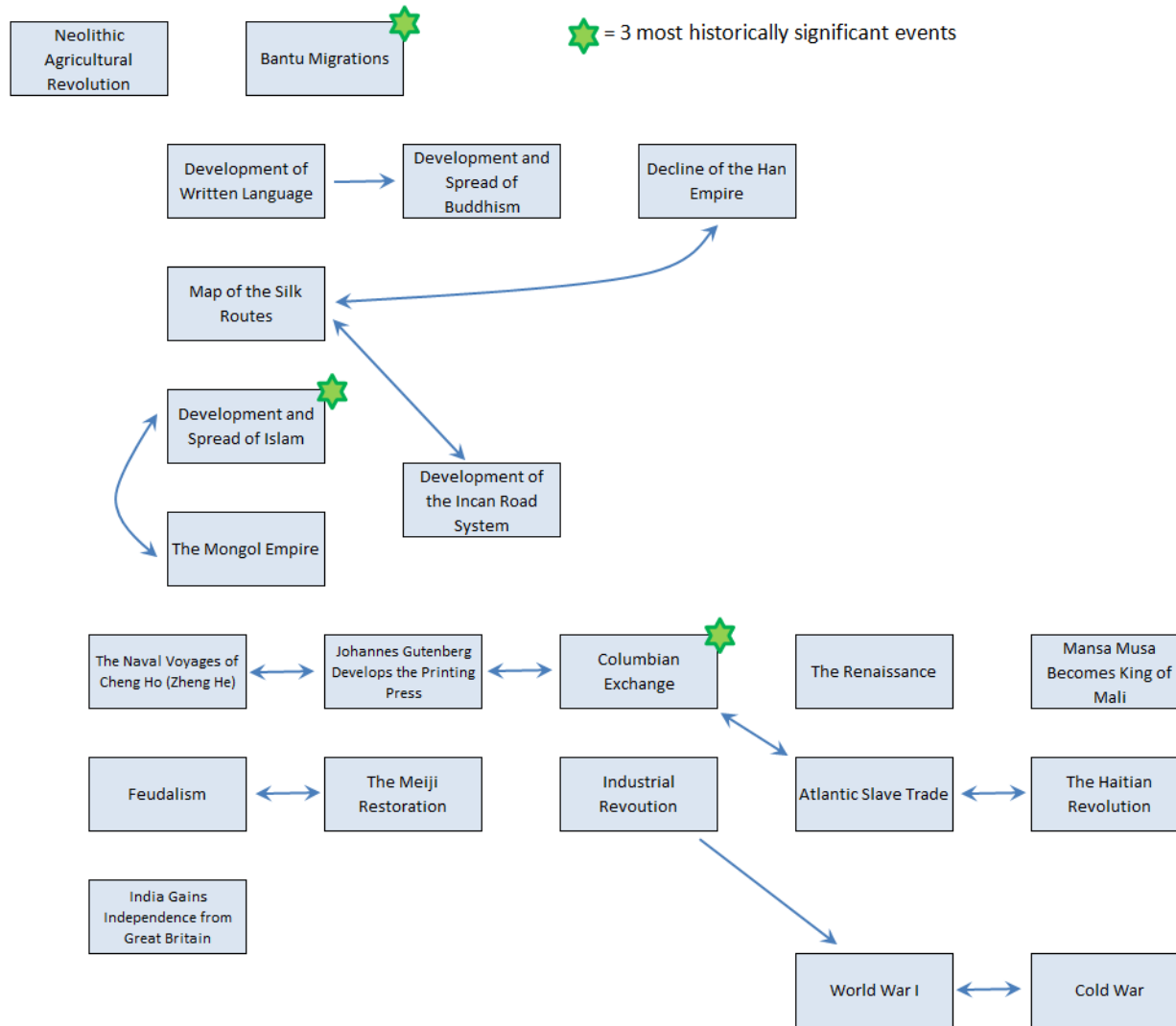
S = most challenging for students to understand

1 = unit number

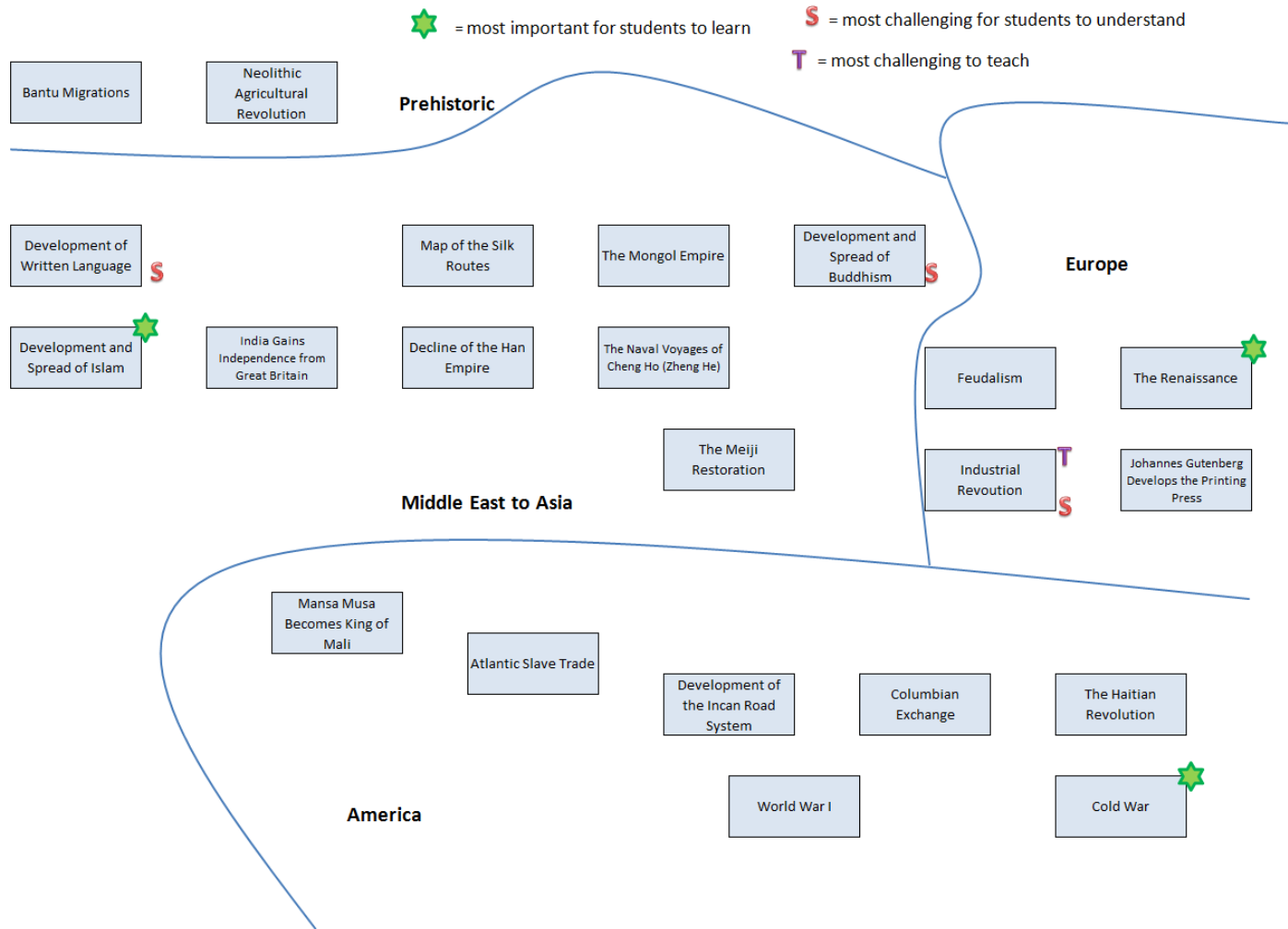
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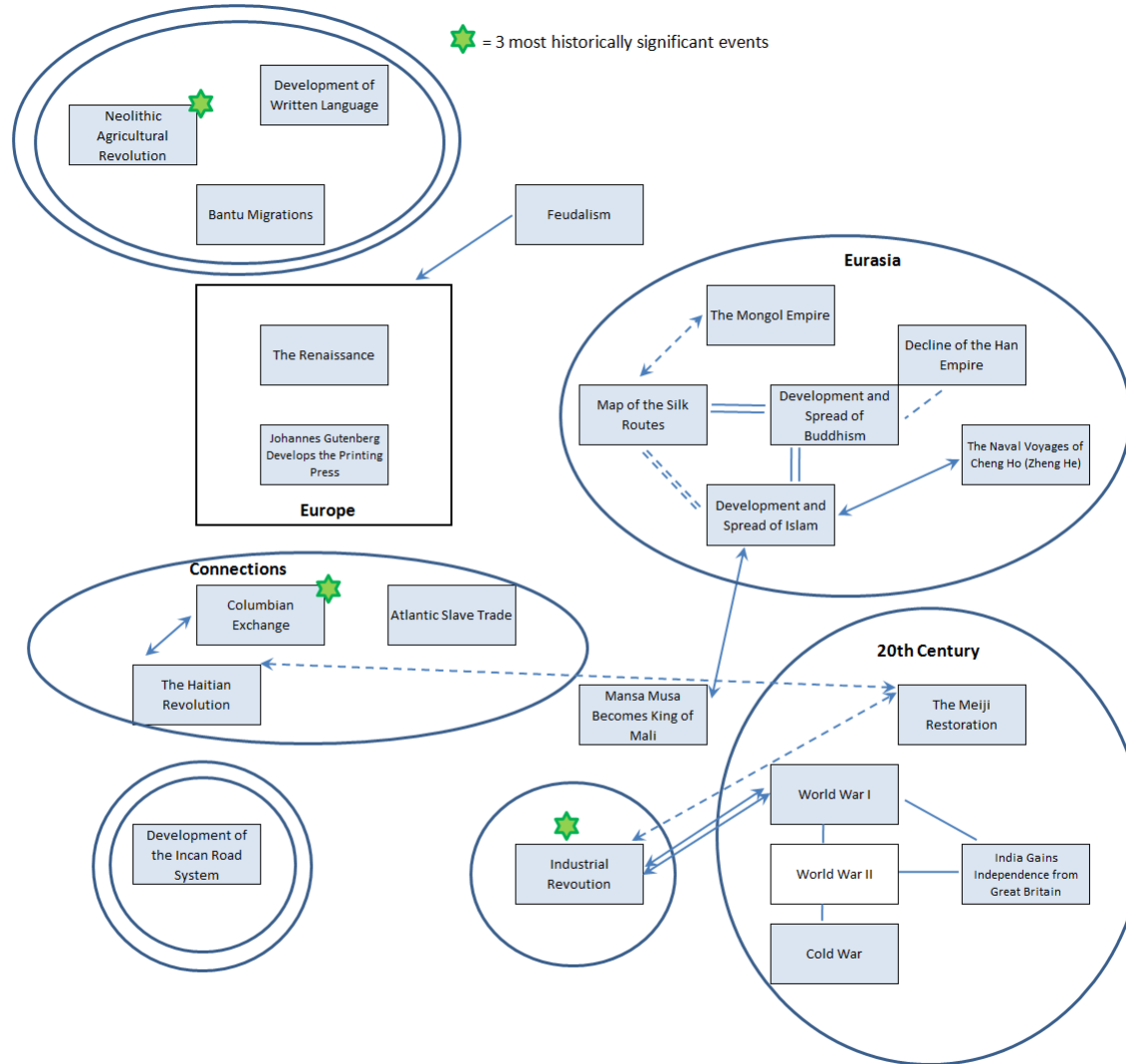
Amy: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)



Barry: 1st Card Sort



Barry: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)

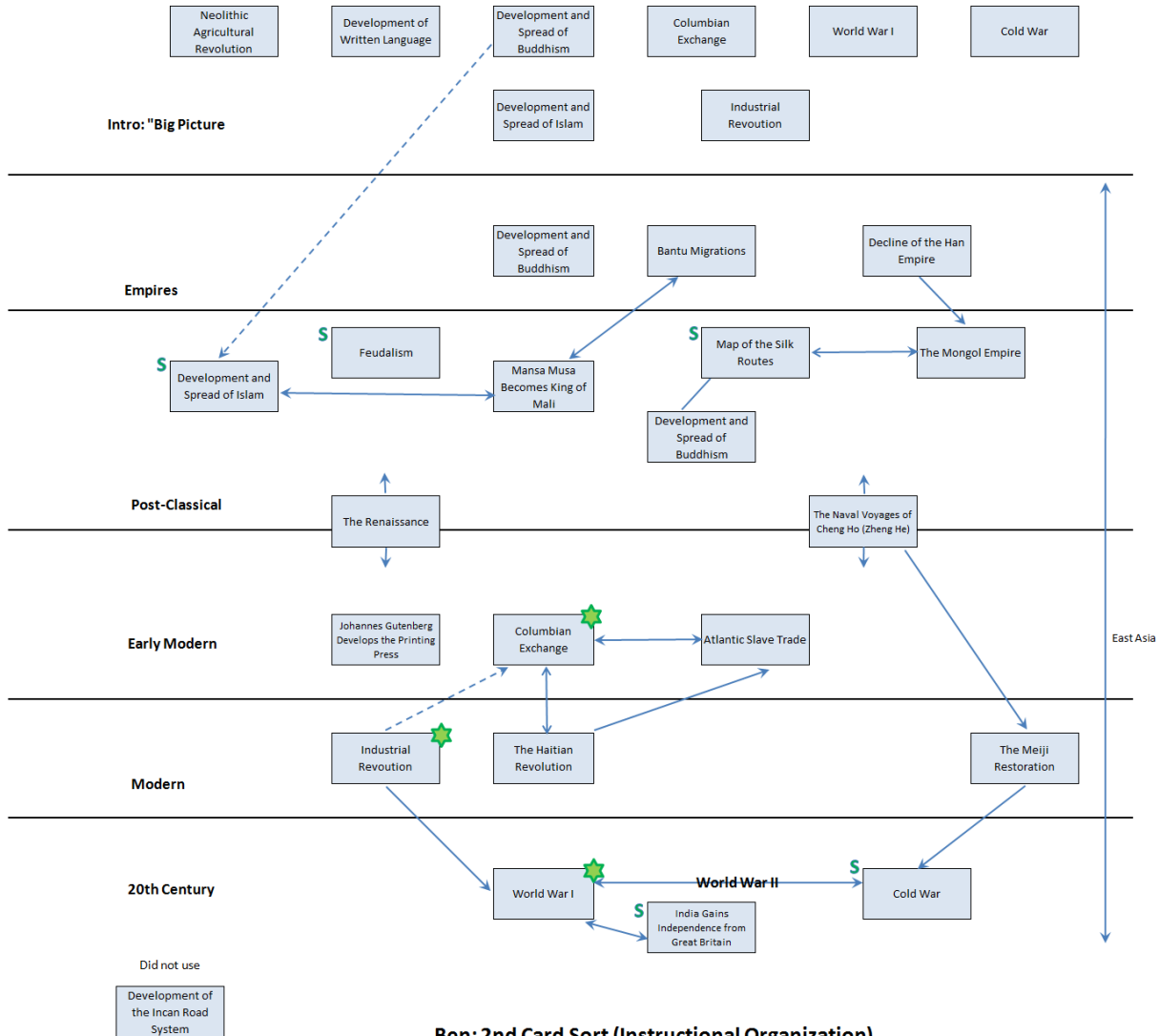


Ben: 1st Card Sort

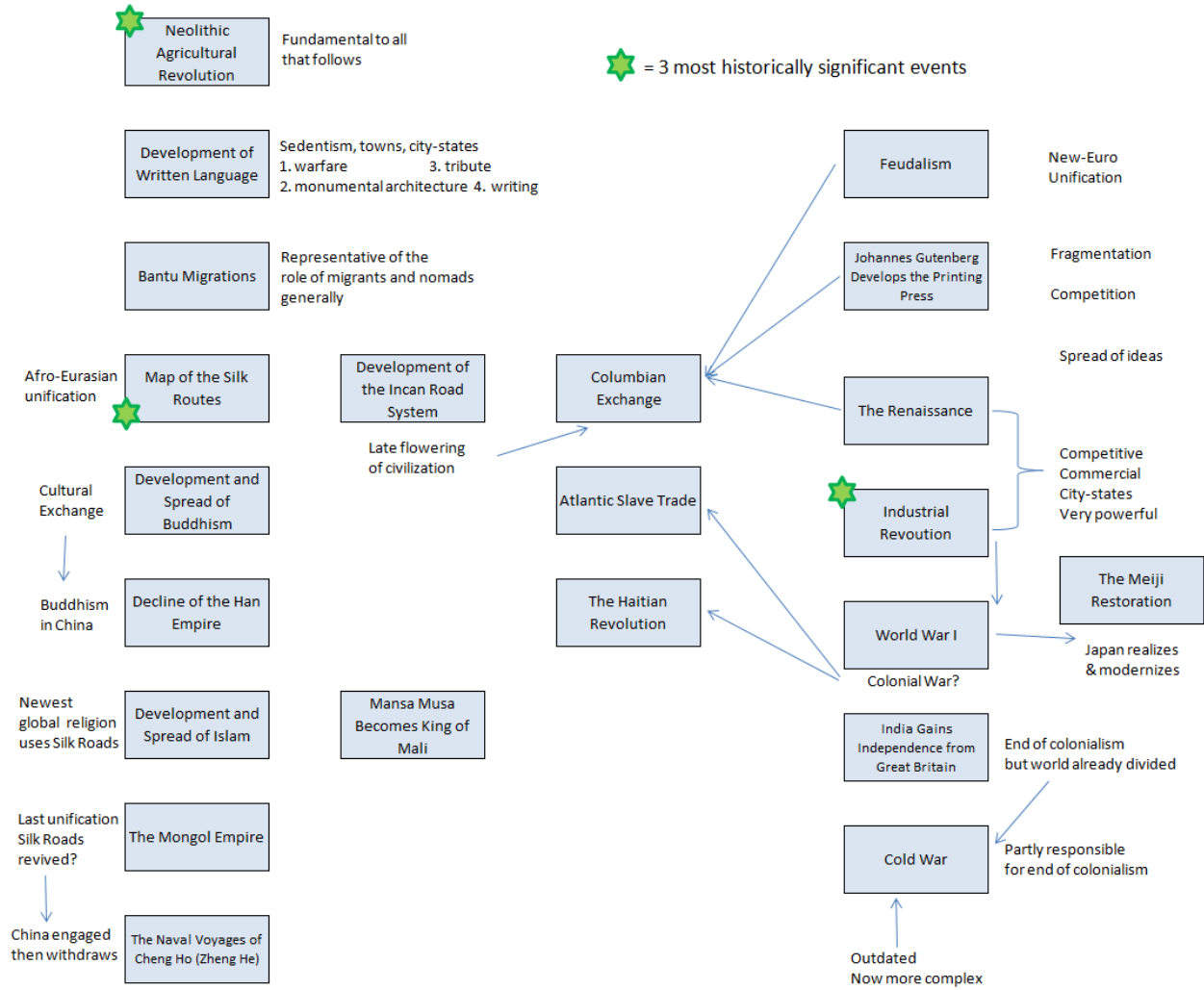
★ = 3 most important events for students to understand

S = most challenging for students

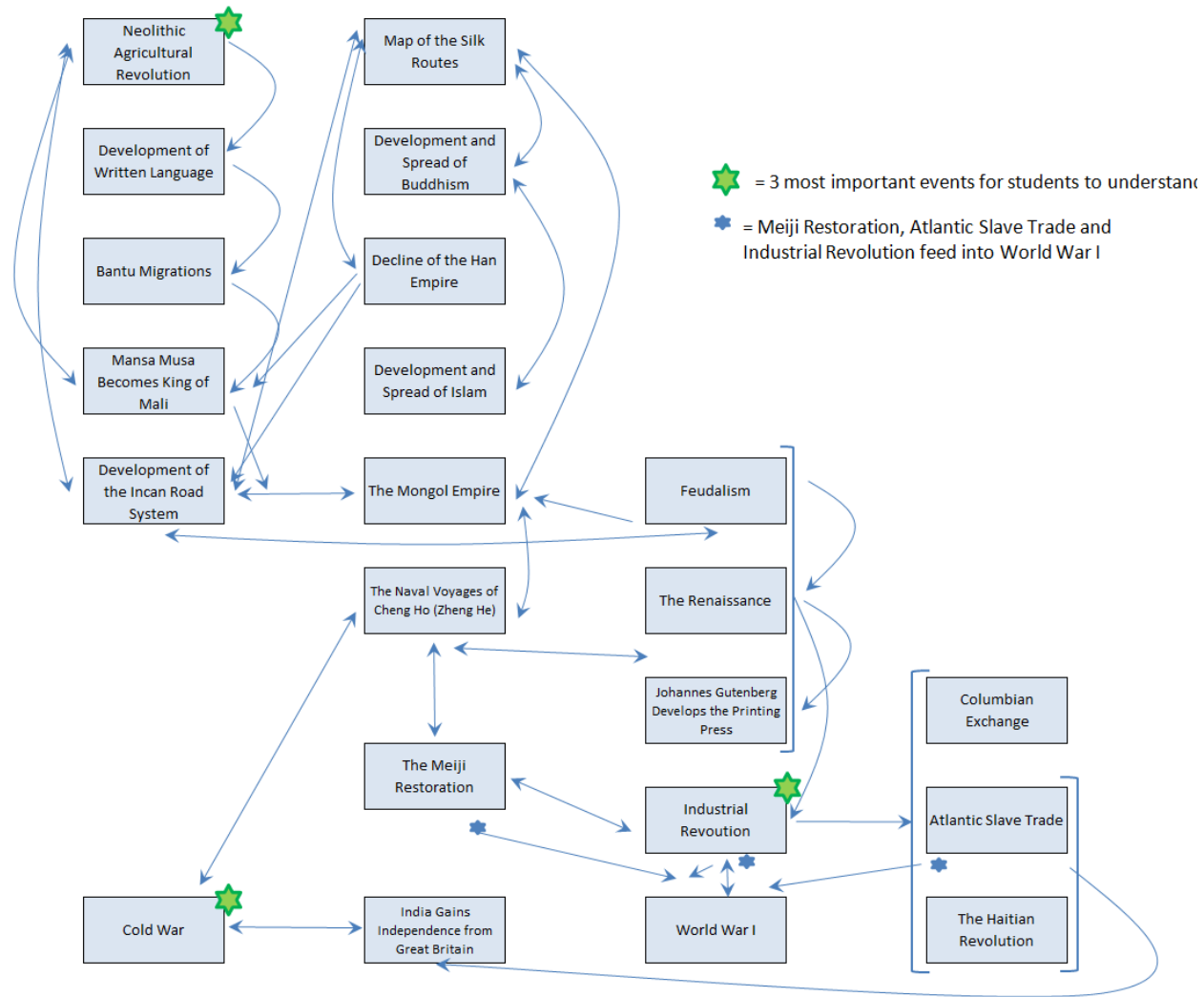
Note: Ben used some cards more than once



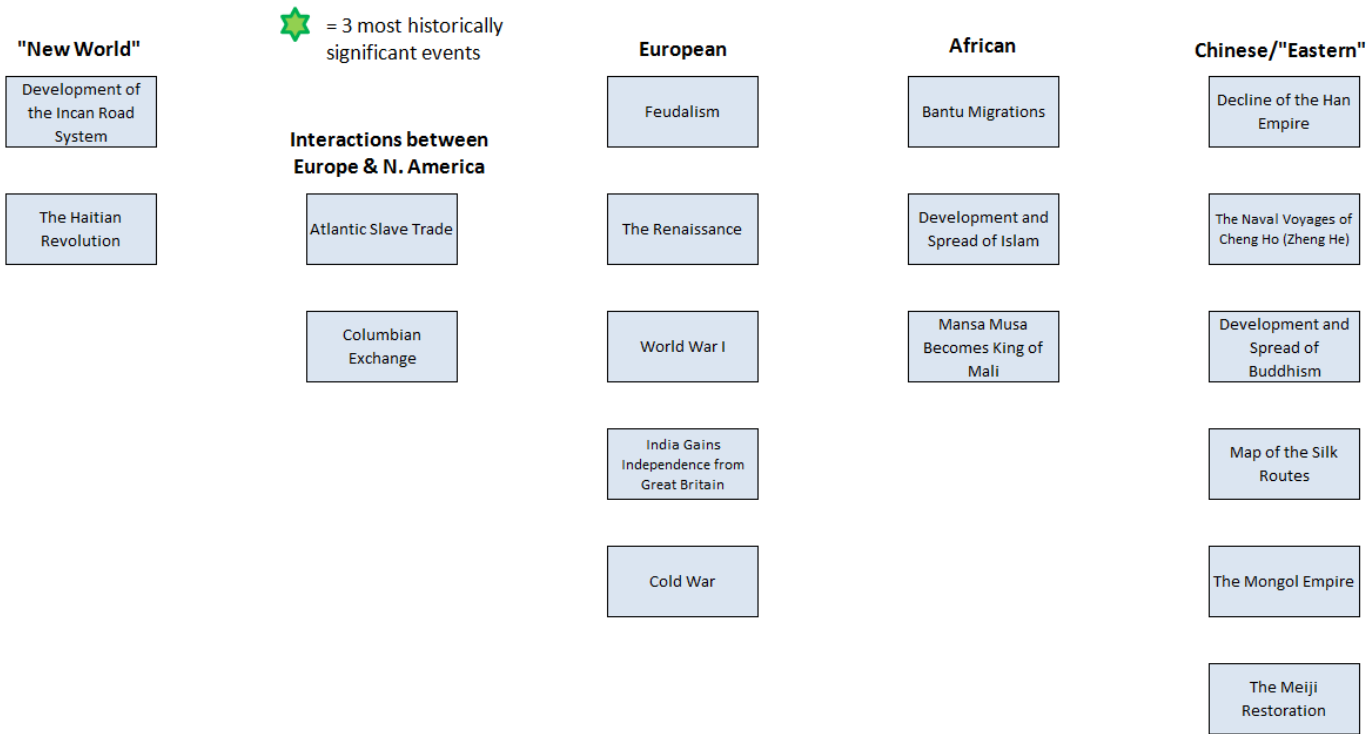
Ben: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)



Charles: 1st Card Sort



Charles: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)



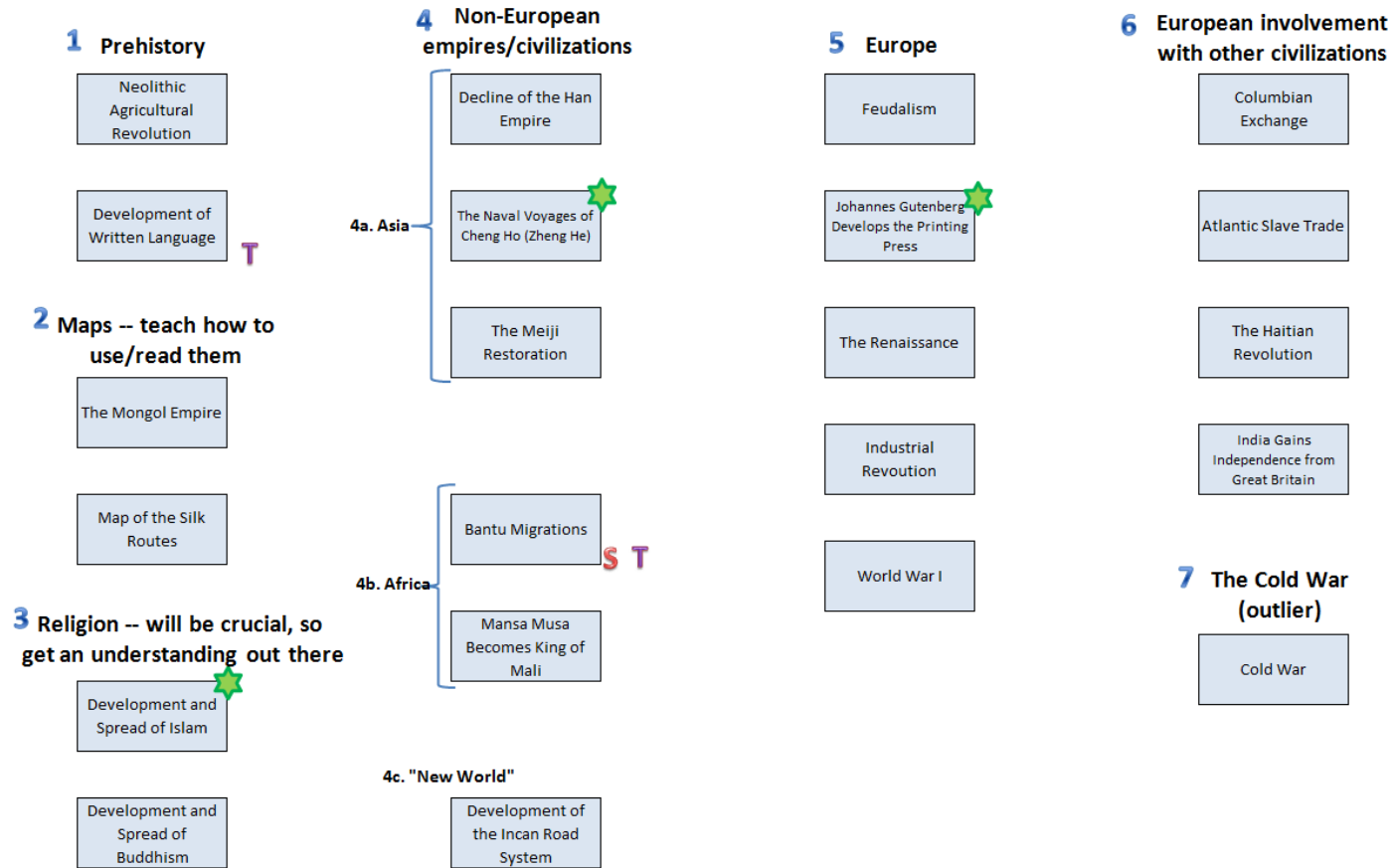
Jake: 1st Card Sort

★ = 3 most important events for students to learn

T = most challenging to teach

1 = unit number

S = most challenging for students to understand



Jake: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)

★ = 3 most historically significant events

★ = Government analysis

▲ = movements, ideas, cultural exchange

● = economic perspective

■ = war & revolution

Asia

Decline of the Han Empire ★

Development and Spread of Buddhism

The Mongol Empire ▲

The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He) ● ▲

The Meiji Restoration ★

Africa

Bantu Migrations ▲ ●

Development and Spread of Islam

Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali ★

Atlantic Slave Trade ▲ ●

Columbian Exchange ★ ● ▲

All encompassing (E. Hemisphere)

Development of Written Language ★ ▲

Neolithic Agricultural Revolution ● ■

Map of the Silk Routes ★ ● ▲

Europe

Feudalism ★

The Renaissance ▲

Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press ▲

Industrial Revoution ▲ ● ■

Americas

Development of the Incan Road System ● ▲

The Haitian Revolution ■ ★

All encompassing (E. & W. Hemisphere)

World War I ■

India Gains Independence from Great Britain ▲

Cold War ■

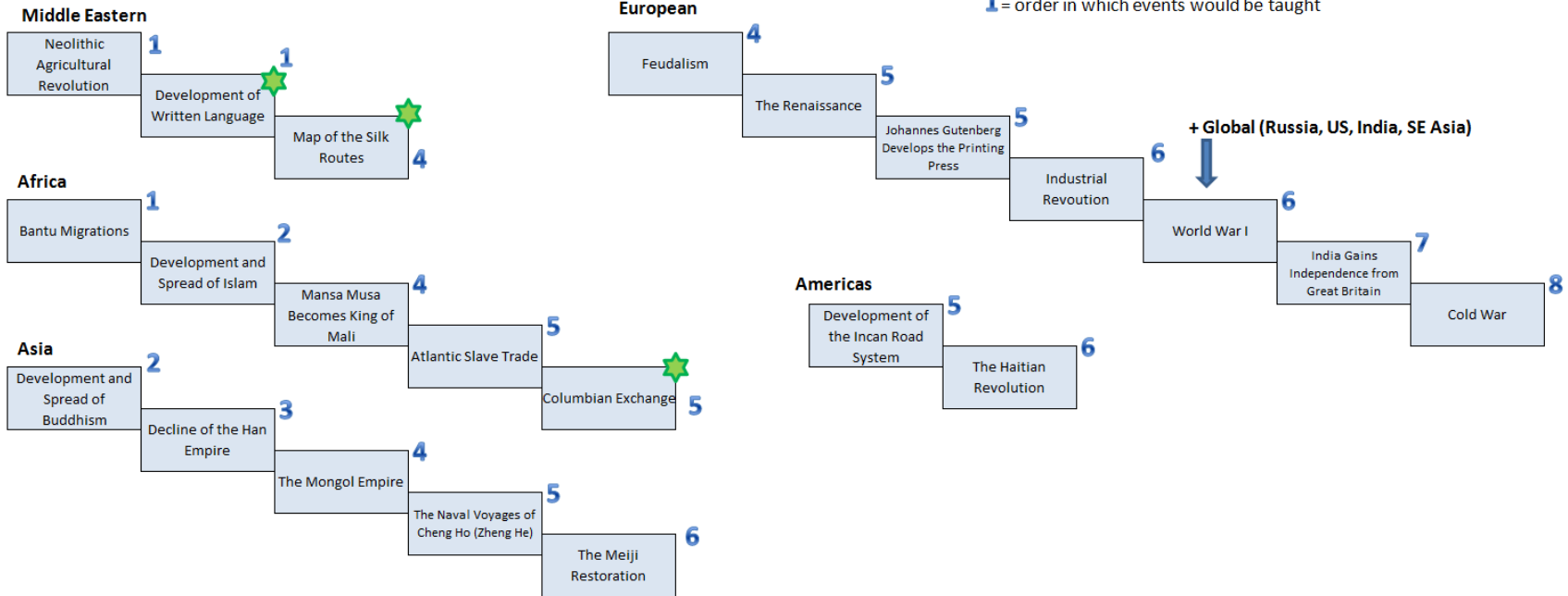
Jenny: 1st Card Sort

★ = most important for students to learn

S = 3 most challenging events for students to understand

1 = order in which events would be taught

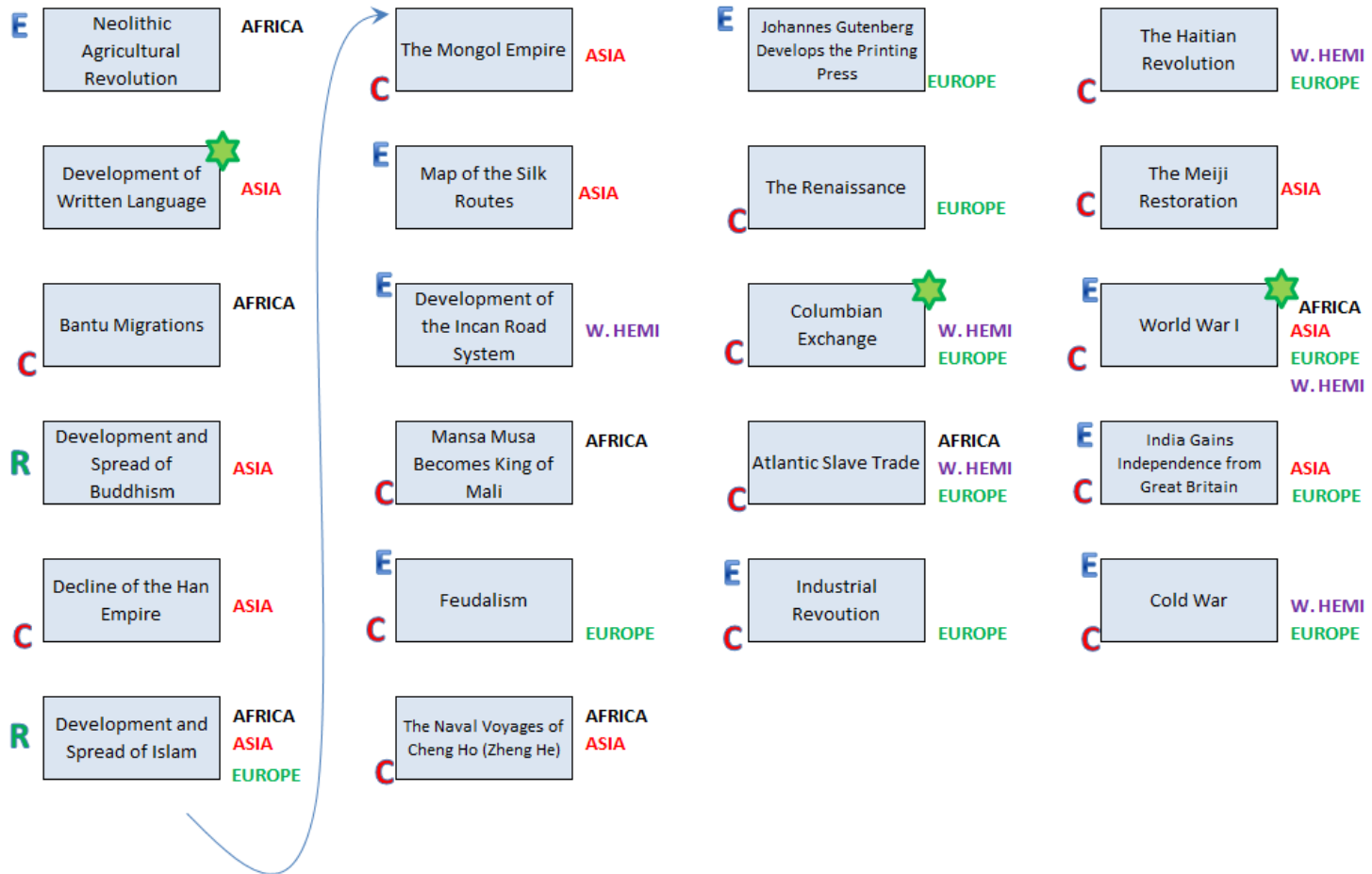
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Jenny: 2nd card sort (Instructional Organization)

★ = 3 most historically significant events

E = Economics C = Culture R = Religion



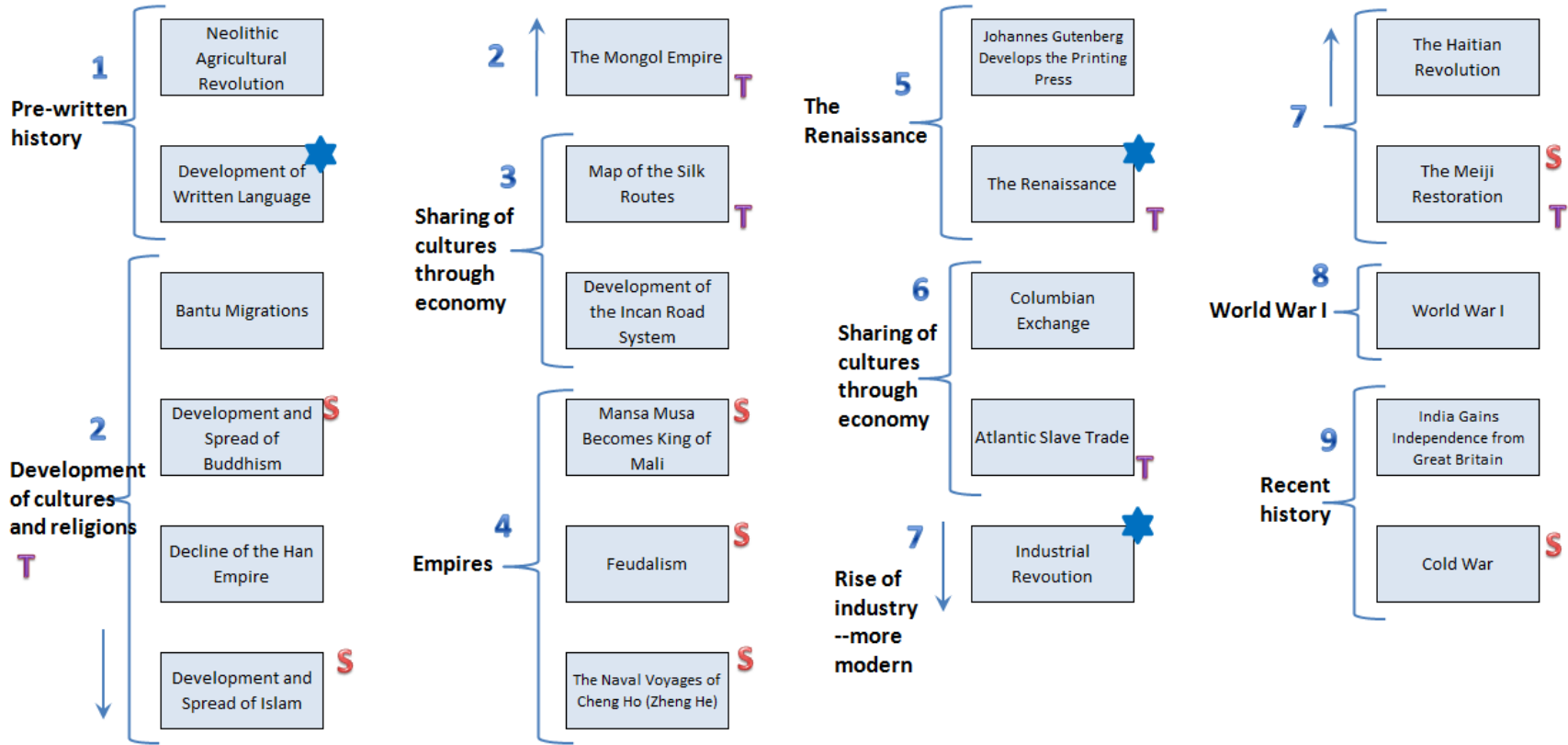
Jessica: 1st Card Sort

★ = 3 most important events for students to understand

S = most challenging for students to understand

T = most challenging to teach

1 = unit number



Jessica: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)

★ = 3 most historically significant events

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Individuals who have made a significant impact on different cultures

The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)

Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali

Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press

Conflict (violent & non-violent)

The Haitian Revolution

Cold War

World War I ★

Bantu Migrations

Columbian Exchange ★

Atlantic Slave Trade

Development of the Incan Road System

The Mongol Empire

Map of the Silk Routes

Transportation of goods/people

General developments affecting the entire world

Development and Spread of Buddhism

Development and Spread of Islam

Development of Written Language ★

Cultural movements/ economic changes

Industrial Revolution

The Meiji Restoration

Neolithic Agricultural Revolution

The Renaissance

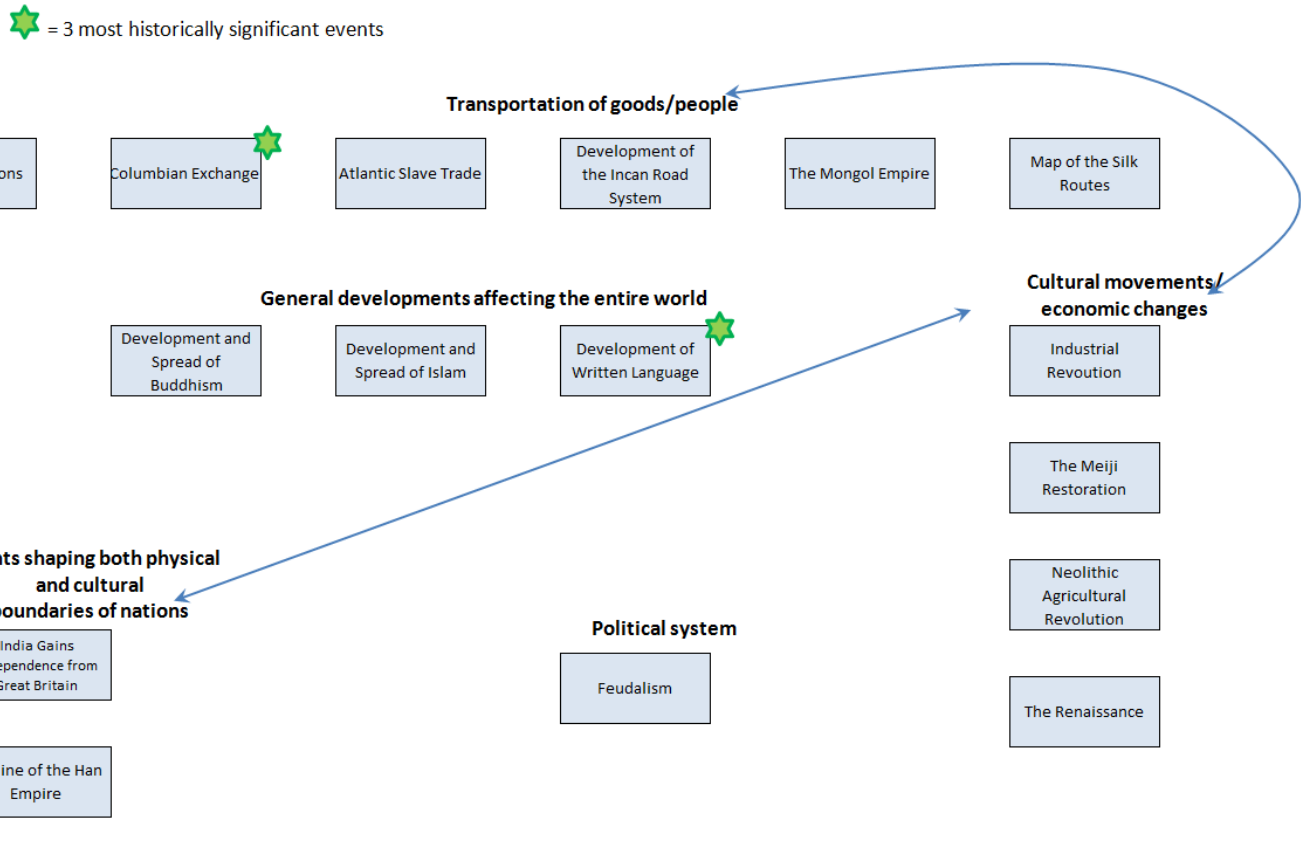
Events shaping both physical and cultural boundaries of nations

India Gains Independence from Great Britain

Decline of the Han Empire

Political system

Feudalism



Ophelia: 1st Card Sort

★ = 3 most important events for students to understand

1 = unit number

T = more challenging to teach

7 Major Independence Movements

The Haitian Revolution ★

India Gains Independence from Great Britain

4 African Movement/Changes

Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali

Development and Spread of Islam

Atlantic Slave Trade ★

Bantu Migrations

3 Civilizations/Movements in East Asia

T Decline of the Han Empire

Development and Spread of Buddhism

T The Naval Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He)

2 First Civilizations in S. America

Development of the Incan Road System

Development of Written Language

1 Early Migrations/ Beginning of Civilization

T The Mongol Empire

Neolithic Agricultural Revolution

Map of the Silk Routes

Columbian Exchange

6 Industrialization Movements & Changes

Feudalism

Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press

The Meiji Restoration

Industrial Revolution ★

9 Industrial Competition with USSR

Cold War

8 First Major War Affecting a Wide Variety of Major Nations

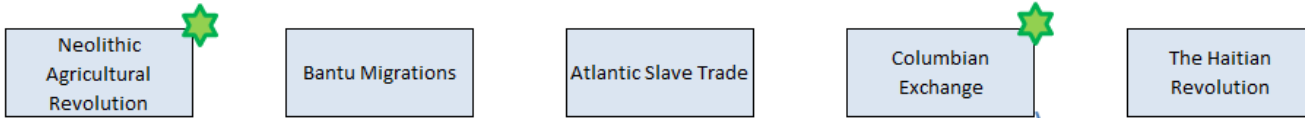
World War I

5 European Cultural Developments/Changes

The Renaissance

★ = 3 most historically significant events

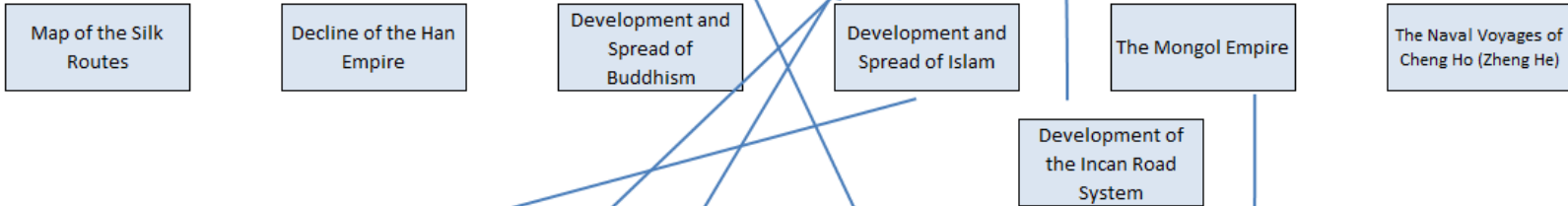
Agricultural Systems & Effects



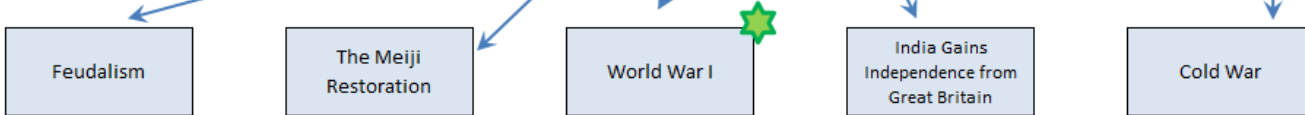
Technology & Effects



Trade & Effects



Political Structures & Effects of their Interactions



Simone: 1st Card Sort

★ = 3 most important events for students to understand

S = most challenging for students to understand

Foundations → Classical Empires

Neolithic Agricultural Revolution	Development of Written Language	Decline of the Han Empire	Map of the Silk Routes	S Development and Spread of Buddhism
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Post-Classical Empires

S Development and Spread of Islam	Bantu Migrations	Mansa Musa Becomes King of Mali	Feudalism	★ The Mongol Empire
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Early Modern

Development of the Incan Road System	★ Columbian Exchange	Atlantic Slave Trade	The Renaissance	Johannes Gutenberg Develops the Printing Press
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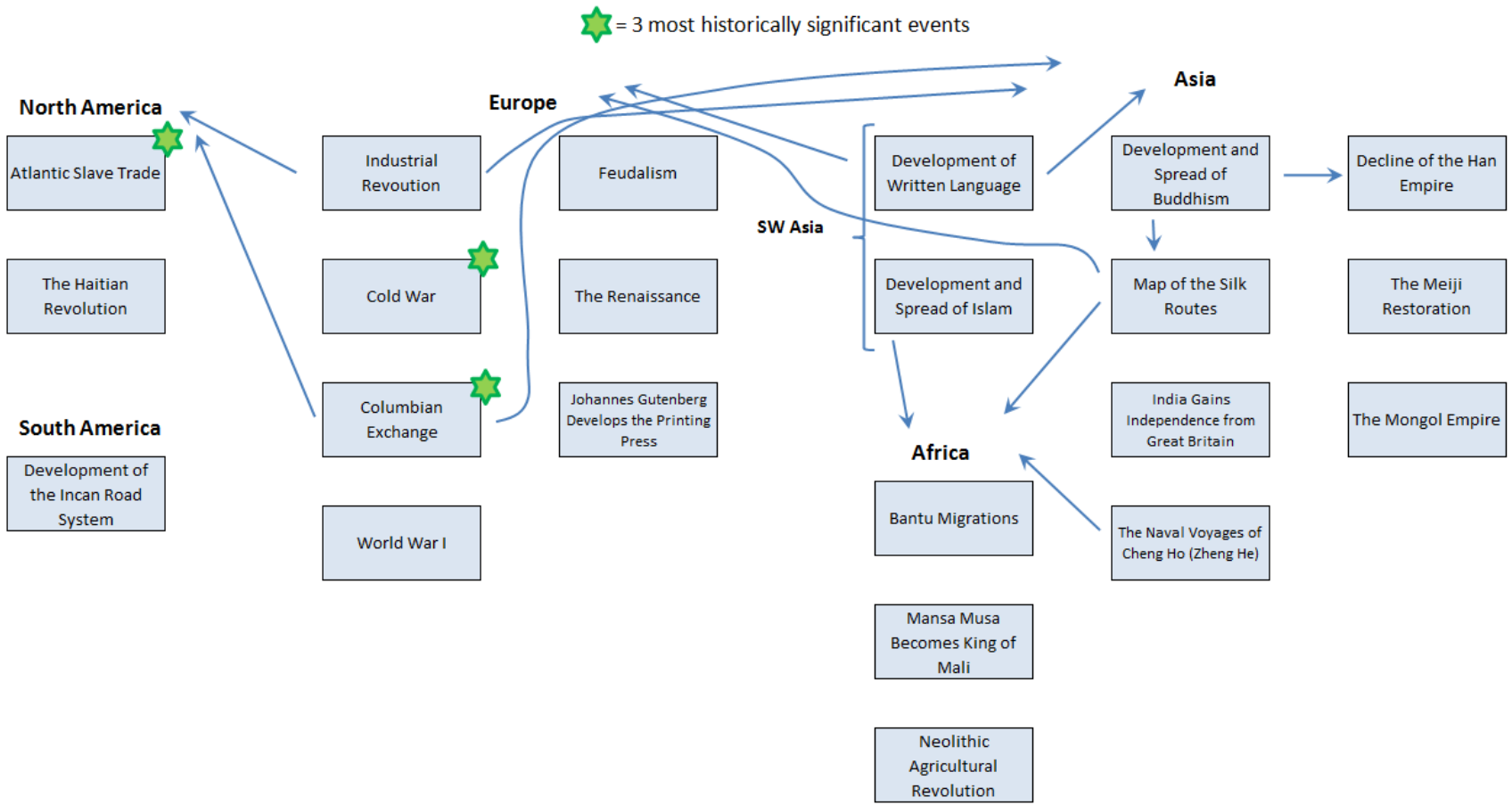
19th C

Industrial Revolution	★ The Haitian Revolution	The Meiji Restoration
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20th C


World War I	India Gains Independence from Great Britain	Cold War
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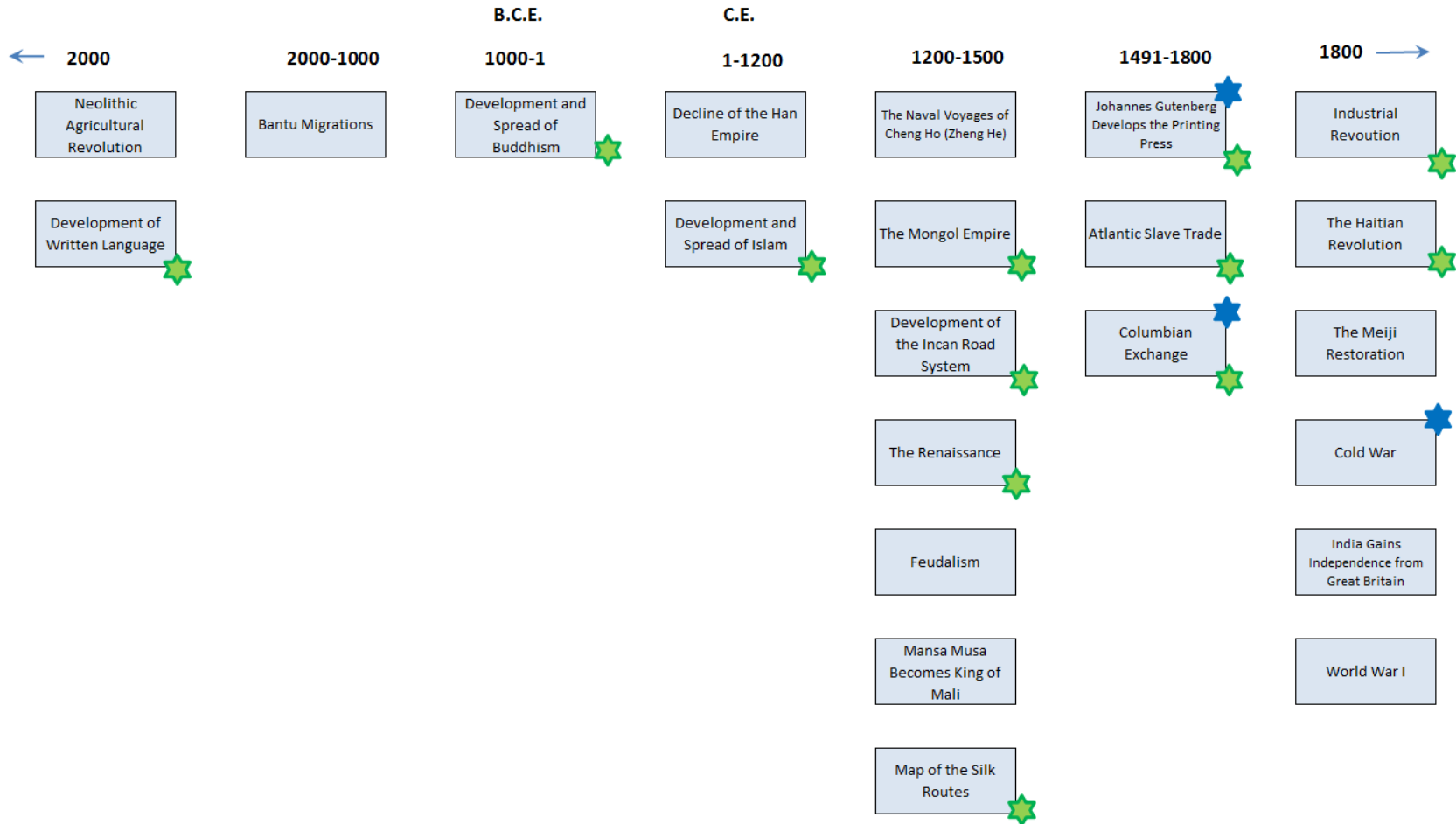
Simone: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)



Terrence: 1st Card Sort

 = 3 most important events for students to understand

 = spread of ideas



Terrence: 2nd Card Sort (Instructional Organization)

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Note: please see Appendix A for additional Journal of World History articles

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