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The History Classroom as Site for Imagining the Nation: An Investigation of U.S. and Canadian Teachers' Pedagogical Practices

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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THE HISTORY CLASSROOM AS SITE FOR IMAGINING THE NATION:

AN INVESTIGATION OF U.S. AND CANADIAN TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES

(Spine title: The History Classroom as Site for Imagining the Nation)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Lisa Y. Faden

Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
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**The History Classroom as Site for Imagining the Nation:
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ABSTRACT

This multiple case study compares the enacted history curricula in one U.S. and one Canadian school district in order to understand how high school teachers engage in the construction of national identities and the conceptualization of the "good" citizen. Following Anderson's (1991) concept of nations as "imagined communities," compulsory history classes are key sites for imagining the nation. In the context of contemporary processes of globalization, the study explores the process of imagining the nation within a global "social imaginary" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Data sources include interviews with seven teachers in the U.S. state of Maryland and six teachers in the Canadian province of Ontario; classroom observations of five of those teachers; classroom artefacts; and local, state, and provincial curriculum documents.

Existing empirical research has devoted little attention to the specific historical narratives that are used to tell the nation's story. Wertsch's (2002) concept of narrative dialogicality provides a useful framework for understanding how narratives act as cognitive tools to distribute collective memory throughout a social group. Classroom observations focused on the study of World War II in required high school history courses. In telling the story of the nation, teachers used historical narratives that ran counter to popular images of their respective nations. Despite Canada's image as a "peacekeeping" nation, triumphal military narratives dominated the Canadian classes. Conversely, in the United States, the world's dominant military power, political narratives dominated, with military narratives playing a supporting role.

In enacting the curriculum, teachers negotiated neoliberal policies of accountability in various ways. For the Maryland teachers, the level of surveillance was more intense due to

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locally developed standardized course examinations, resulting in very limited autonomy for curriculum development. The Ontario teachers also reported increased surveillance of their work, but they retained a high degree of professional autonomy. In keeping with previous research, there were notable differences between the curriculum experienced by students from high and low socioeconomic status communities.

Key Words: history education, United States, Canada, globalization, citizenship education, comparative education, national identity, curriculum studies, democratic education, history teachers, historical narratives, World War II

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CHAPTER 1
The History Classroom as a Site for Imagining the Nation

Introduction

Contemporary political, economic, and technological shifts, commonly referred to as "globalization," have profound implications for history education. The state-controlled curriculum has long been an important means by which modern nation-states create a loyal citizenry compliant with the goals of the state (Apple, 2000; Gellner, 1983). Historical narratives play an important role in the creation of the nation as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991), yet globalization has destabilized the taken-for-granted notions of the nation as sovereign, autonomous, and culturally cohesive. In the contemporary moment, when nationhood is in question, the history classroom serves as one site for constituting and/or contesting the nation as imagined community. This study investigated the processes by which a selected group of secondary school history teachers in Ontario, Canada, and Maryland, USA, employed historical narratives and pedagogical practices to engage students with the notion of the nation as imagined community and the student's role as citizen.

A number of recent case studies have examined history teachers' practices (e.g. Grant, 2003; Hartzler-Miller, 2001; Monte-Sano, 2008; van Hover & Yeager, 2007), but none have looked explicitly at how teachers imagine the nation and the role of the citizen within the context of the influence of globalization. By lifting barriers to the movement of people, capital, and information, global transformations have posed new challenges to the authority of nation-states. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) assert that, contrary to early predictions, these same transformations have reinvigorated many states because "national policy authority is indispensable in coordinating and controlling global mobility, interactions and institutions" (p. 29). And Kennedy (2010) suggests,

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> Not only is it necessary to accept that nation-states are the inevitable brokers of citizenship in the twenty-first century, but there is now evidence they are growing even stronger. It could well be argued that we are now witnessing a *neo-statism*, even in liberal democracies, where only the state can respond to the problems of our times. (p. 225, emphasis mine)

While history education in the modern nation-state has long been concerned with fostering the loyalty of its citizenry to the state, the nation-state must now incur loyal citizenship within a *global* imaginary. I refer to Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) globalized approach to education policy, which uses the concept of the "social imaginary" to describe how "policies direct or steer practice towards a particular normative state of affairs" (p. 8). Given that "a social imaginary is . . . carried in images, myths, parables, stories, legends, and other narratives" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 34), mandatory history classes are a venue in which social imaginaries are shaped.

The United States and Canada both benefit from tremendous wealth and privilege within the global order. The United States has been the dominant economic and military power in the world for more than half a century. Canada is a middle power that has played a key role in the development of internationalist institutions, such as the United Nations Human Rights Tribunal and the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces. These two nation-states retain a high degree of autonomy at a time when the growth of supranational organizations, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, challenges the sovereignty of many nation-states, especially in the global south. In other words, these two nation-states have considerably more agency than most in the creation and maintenance of the institutions that oversee globalization policies. Yet, in spite of their relatively secure positions, fears and insecurity are omnipresent in the policy debates of both nations (Larsen,

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2008). Threats posed by terrorist organizations, economic crisis, and looming environmental challenges are daily reminders that their wealth and privilege are far from secure.

Using a multiple case study approach, I sought to explore the ways in which the lived history curriculum envisions the nation and its citizens – in this case the United States or Canada – under the intensification of forces of globalization. I interviewed six teachers from one school board in Ontario and seven from one school district in Maryland. I observed five of those teachers as they taught the World War II unit of study in their mandatory high school history classes. Using the interview and observation data, as well as artefacts from the classroom and provincial/state curriculum documents, I asked, **"How do history teachers use historical narratives and pedagogical practices to imagine the nation and the 'good' citizen?"** The following questions examine the context and ramifications of teacher practices:

- How does the socioeconomic and policy context affect teachers' practices?
- To what extent are they teaching for democratic citizenship?
- How does the context of neoliberal expectations for accountability impact teachers' pedagogical practices?

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I will explain how this project emerged from my experience as a high school history teacher in the United States, and how the research questions evolved over the course of the project. Then I will outline the theoretical framework for the study.

Framing the Research Problem

> It is through our own narratives that we principally construct a version of ourselves in the world, and it is through its narrative that a culture provides models of identity and agency to its members. (Bruner, 1996, p. xiv)

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I was drawn to history teaching because I believe that history provides a "stock of stories" (MacIntyre, 1984, p. 216) that we use to make sense of the world. As Bruner asserted in the quotation above, history in the form of narratives provide the "models of identity and agency" that frame our understanding of ourselves and the collectives to which we belong. Critical engagement with those narratives offers an opportunity to critique and remake those narratives, as such engagement is a means to understanding "that all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are socially and historically constituted" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 304). However, my experience working as a history teacher from 1995 to 2005 taught me that there are a number of systemic obstacles to teaching students to become active, critical citizens. Teachers work with a curriculum and official texts that are generally conservative and contribute to social reproduction (Apple, 2004), even when their own ethical positions are at odds with this program. Thus, a fundamental part of the teacher's work is negotiating the contradictions that often arise in implementing the official curriculum as a result of tensions and difference in the priorities expressed by administrators, students, parents and the community, as well as the teachers' own values and vision of society (Grant, 2003; van Hover & Yeager, 2007; vanSledright, 1996). My intent in planning this project was to study how this dialectic plays out in history teachers' classroom practices and in their understanding of their subject matter. What vision of the nation do history teachers present or articulate through their pedagogical use of historical narratives? How do popular representations of the nation impact history teachers' pedagogical practices? These questions motivated my decision to pursue graduate study in history education.

My own understanding of narrative as an organizer of the social imaginary was transformed by the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. Like many teachers, I first learned

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of the September 11 attacks in the classroom. The first airplane hit the North Tower of the World Trade Center at 8:46 am, and the second hit the South Tower at 9:03 am. I learned of the first attack at approximately 9:00 am, when homeroom ended in my suburban Boston high school, and one of my former students stopped in to tell me that a plane had hit the World Trade Center. As the seniors trickled in for my next class, the news was only a faint rumor, but by 10:00, everyone knew that something major and unprecedented had happened. At about 10:45, our principal made an emotional announcement on the public address system to inform us that both towers had collapsed and that her brother-in-law, who worked on the 98th floor of one of the towers, was missing. In reconstructing this series of events, one thing that strikes me is how quickly I learned of these events, even though I was in a classroom with no television, radio or telephones. The news traveled to me in a matter of minutes, and within minutes I was called upon to respond through narrative. I immediately faced questions from students to which I had only limited answers, such as "What is happening?"; "Are we safe?"; and "Why do they hate us?" Of that dramatic period, Apple (2002) recalled,

> … By that night and throughout the days and nights that followed, the ruling pundits took charge of the public expression of what were the legitimate interpretations of the disaster. Given this media spin, I realized that the important question for educators at all levels of the educational system was how do we make meaning of these horrific acts and how do we create spaces within our classrooms to try to interpret this tragic event. (p. 1761)

I was acutely aware that my ability to answer student questions was limited by the narrowness of the discourse in the press and in political deliberations.

A historian by training, I expect that comprehensive interpretations of unexpected events require time and careful reflection to develop, and I was distrustful of the hastily

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drawn narrative accounts presented in the media. In point of fact, the answers to many of the most basic questions about the events of September 11 were not available until the publication of the *9/11 Commission Report* in July 2004. Many more answers are still not widely available, and thus my ability to make sense of these events was and is constrained. Yet my responsibilities as a teacher required me to respond using these imperfect resources. The September 11 terror attacks also required a response from me as a citizen, as the United States government debated a variety of domestic and foreign policy responses to the events. How were citizens prepared to participate in these deliberations, given the previously mentioned limitations on access to information and opportunities for meaning-making? The September 11 attacks threw into relief the fact that citizens in participatory democracies must form opinions and participate in political or social discourses with imperfect or limited information. Critical pedagogues argue that limitations on knowledge and discourse are largely imposed by power structures that have an interest in presenting only a partial picture of social realities (Giroux, 2005; McLaren, 2005). As Apple suggests in the excerpt above, one role of educators is to teach students how to engage productively and to challenge this imperfect system.

I originally designed my research project as an exploration of how teachers made sense of the nation in the Post-September 11 context. However, as I spoke with teachers, it appeared that teachers were not concerned with the War on Terror or the problem of explaining national identity in the Post-September 11 context, even when asked directly, "How do you address major current events, such as the September 11 attacks or a national election, in your classroom?" Furthermore, even though teachers were thoughtful when it came to selecting the narratives that they would focus on in the classroom, they did not reflect critically on the metanarratives that were implicit in their practices. For these reasons,

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I changed the research questions to focus on how teachers use historical narratives and pedagogy to imagine the nation and the "good" citizen.

Another unanticipated finding was the degree to which the practices of the teachers in Maryland were shaped by recently enacted neoliberal policies. Because the examinations required for graduation from high school in the state of Maryland do *not* include a history examination,[1] I wrongly assumed that teachers would have some freedom to use their professional judgment to enact the prescribed curriculum. For reasons I present in detail when I discuss the teachers' pedagogies in Chapter 5, this was not the case. The school district that was the Maryland site for this study had enacted policies to ensure that the curriculum was implemented with a high degree of standardization from one school or teacher to the next. These policies included a standardized exam written by the school district, which dictated the content of the course and put limits on the pedagogical practices that teachers could employ, with important implications for citizenship education.

Theoretical Framework: Citizenship Education in a Global Era

My project follows in the tradition of research that understands the curriculum as an ideological undertaking (Apple, 2000; Eisner, 2002) and is informed by empirical research in history education, social studies education, citizenship education, teacher professional knowledge, and the sociology of school knowledge.

Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) globalized approach to education policy provides the theoretical foundation for the study. According to Rizvi and Lingard, there are three sets of meanings for the term *globalization*: 1. the material processes of transformation (in

[1] For more information on state-mandated secondary testing in Maryland, see the Maryland State Department of Education's High School Assessment webpage: http://www.marylandpublicschools.org/MSDE/testing/hsa/

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communications, financial transactions, population migrations) that have increased the movement of people and resources around the world; 2. a neoliberal ideology that privileges free-market economics; 3. a social imaginary, which "affects the ways in which we both interpret and imagine the possibilities of our lives" (pp. 22-23). Globalization in all three of these senses has shaped discourses about the aims of education around the world, but the impact of globalization is not uniform and reflects regional and local conditions. As I noted in the introduction to this study, globalization processes have destabilized existing conceptions of nationhood. Nations are increasingly subject to the policies and scrutiny of supranational organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development. At the same time, the increased flow of people and information around the world has given rise to hybridized cultures as citizens understand themselves in terms of multiple identities and citizenships (Osler & Starkey, 2005). Rizvi and Lingard argue that in this context,

> curriculum reform has been linked to the reconstitution of education as a central arm of national economic policy, as well as being central to the imagined community the nation wishes to construct through schooling. Both are responses in their own ways to the perceived pressures of globalization. The former is concerned with the development of what are perceived to be the skills and dispositions thought necessary to the so-called knowledge economy and globalization; the latter is concerned with constructing the imagined community which is the nation in the context of the heightened flows of migrants and resulting multi-ethnic nature of national community. (p. 96)

In this process, the history classroom becomes a site for the development of students as human capital (Au, 2011), as well as a site for the education of loyal citizens through the

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promotion of mythical grand narratives of national unity (Francis, 1997; Loewen, 2007; Stanley, 2006; VanSledright, 2008). There is at this point ample evidence that the neoliberal policy imperative of education as economic development has the effect of narrowing the curriculum in general (Au, 2007; Lipman, 2004; McNeil, 2000). My task is to parse out how these global imperatives shape the lived history curriculum in one school district in Maryland and one in Ontario.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that globalization is more than an ideology; it is a way of seeing the world, which they call a "social imaginary":

> We use the notion of 'social imaginary' to suggest that policies are not only located within discourses, but also in imaginaries that shape thinking about how things might be 'otherwise' – different from the way they are now. It is in this way that policies direct or steer practice towards a particular normative state of affairs. (p. 8)

The dominant imaginary of globalization rests upon claims that globalization is "inevitable and irreversible" (p. 33) and embraces "a pervasive naturalization of market logics, justifying them on the grounds of efficiency and even 'fairness'" (p. 31). This social imaginary has profound implications for citizenship education. In embracing free-market capitalism as an end in itself, it casts a negative light on citizen activists who advocate for effective regulation of industries and corporations. It also subordinates the welfare of citizens to the promotion of macroeconomic growth, eroding support for public spending that promotes the quality of life of human beings. In the United States, this social imaginary has culminated in a legal doctrine that espouses that corporations are entitled to the same rights as persons, as exemplified in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (Liptak, 2010). As Rizvi and Lingard argue that social imaginaries "shape thinking about how things might be 'otherwise,'" it is imperative for educators to take up the question of how social imaginaries

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promoted in the history classroom shape students' and teachers' abilities to imagine and promote desirable social futures. In the following sections I will examine how historical narratives constitute conceptual resources that shape our senses of identity and agency, drawing upon the work of Anderson (1983) and Wertsch (2002). Then I will examine some of the different ways of conceptualizing democratic citizenship and the purposes of education in a participatory democracy.

The Role of Narratives in Imagining the Nation

When Anderson (1991) defined nations as "imagined communities," he opened the door for new avenues of interpretation of how nations are created and recreated. If in fact nations must be imagined before they are real, then it is the process of imagining that makes the nation real. Anderson presented the nation as a paradox in that nationalists present the nation as a totalizing phenomenon, yet the nation must be maintained through the production and use of discourses, texts, and narratives that stimulate the nationalist imagination. The idea of nationhood has great political power – indeed, many modern wars draw their popular support from the claim that they are necessary to secure the nation's sovereignty – but the very idea of the nation must be invented and constantly maintained. Anderson credited the invention of the printing press and the birth of what he termed "print-capitalism" with making the nation possible. The reproduction of texts creates images of the nation that are both uniform and totalizing.

The historical narratives used to maintain the nation require that we both remember and forget various historical facts. For example, Anderson observes that in the United States, "A vast pedagogical industry works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great 'civil' war between 'brothers' rather than between - as they briefly were - two sovereign nation-states" (p. 201). Historian David

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Blight (2001) took up Anderson's challenge here and examined how the social memory of the American Civil War was shaped over time to affirm the unity of the American nation in the popular imagination. Blight documents how, in the century following the war, a number of prominent Black voices, including W.E.B. DuBois, Alain Locke, and John Hope Franklin, urged Americans to remember that the Civil War was fought to end slavery and realize the American promise of liberty and equality. However, this version of the Civil War narrative was eclipsed in the popular imagination by the romanticized story of the war as a regrettable conflict between (White) "brothers." By romanticizing the war, the reunion of North and South could be presented as a sign of hope and survival, rather than the repudiation of equality and brotherhood between Black and White. In a similar vein, Canadian historian Romney (1999) argues that English Canadian historians have forgotten that the 1867 confederation agreement that is the basis for Canada's national government was founded on the premise of provincial autonomy. The English narrative of confederation "forgets" that the promise of autonomy for Quebec was one of the conditions under which the people of Quebec agreed to join Canada. Thus, it is the combination of remembering *and* forgetting that makes the construction of a unified national narrative possible. At the same time, it is through the omission of stories about the history of injustice, disenfranchisement, or marginalization that the myth of an enduring just social order in the nation-state is perpetuated.

History textbooks, which have long been the basis of history education in public schools (Apple, 2000; Cuban, 1993; Thornton, 2006), are both an artifact of the national imagination and a means of producing the nation. Titles include *Nation: Canada Since Confederation*; *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*; *Canada: A North American Nation*; *The American Nation;* and *American Pageant*; and the texts themselves almost invariably use the

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idea of nationhood as their central theme. In other words, they each claim to tell the story of the nation. Traditionally, textbooks do not present the nation's history or the nation itself as contested ground. Despite a rhetorical style that is frequently disjointed, dry, and generally uninspiring to read, history textbooks continue to provide an authoritative national narrative (Thornton, 2006). They provide a master narrative, which serves as the officially sanctioned history and an organizing framework for all of the nation's smaller narratives.

Wertsch's (2002, 2008a, 2008b) work on narratives as cultural tools is the source for many of the definitions that I use for key terms related to narratives. Building on seminal work from the field of collective memory by Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Ricour, Hayden White, and others, Wertsch argued that narratives provide a way of "grasping together" information by combining actors and events into a plot, or a series of events that are linked together (2002, p. 57). Because the act of selecting people and events to make a narrative involves selecting some pieces of information and leaving out others, narratives invest history with value judgments. In his research on Russian collective memory, Wertsch was particularly concerned with the protagonists, agents, and heroes of the narratives used in the classroom, and this was one focus of my data analysis as well. The placement of particular figures, institutions, or movements in the central role of a heroic narrative is one way in which narratives are inscribed with value judgments. White (1981) asserted, "Story forms not only permit us to judge the moral significance of human projects, they also provide the means by which to judge them, even while we pretend to be merely describing them" (p. 253, quoted in Wertsch, 2002, p. 124).

Central to Wertsch's (2002) understanding of narratives as cultural tools is the dialogical nature of narratives. He cited Bakhtin's contention that any speech act is the product of three "voices" coming together: (1) the actual speaker's intentions, (2) the

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language and stories that the speaker uses, and (3) the intended audience's expectations. Wertsch used his research on historical narratives from Soviet-era history classes and post-Soviet Russia to demonstrate ideological change and continuity reflecting political shifts from one era to another. Key to Wertsch's narrative dialogicality is the idea that narratives do not exist in isolation from each other. Within a given culture or a textual community, narratives speak to each other and exert force on one another. Wertsch argued:

> As such, the key to understanding the meaning and form of one narrative is how it provides a dialogic response to previous narratives or anticipates subsequent ones. And the nature of the response can range from hostile retort to friendly elaboration, from a studied attempt to ignore another narrative to its celebration. (p. 60)

When I examine historical narratives in use, I am concerned with understanding the ways that narratives speak to each other in the history classroom. For example, how does the use of certain narratives, such as one teacher's assertion, *"U.S. military intelligence estimated that an invasion of Japan in 1945 would have resulted in over 1 million Allied casualties,"* pave the way for other narratives, such as the claim, *"The use of atomic weapons on Japan saved American lives,"* and discourage the use of other narratives, such as stories that call into question Allied decisions to bomb civilian population centers in Japan and Germany? Clearly, the use of these narratives has important implications for the depiction of the nation and culpability of its citizens for the horrors of war.

Wertsch's (2002, 2008a, 2008b) significant contribution to the field of collective remembering is the development of the concept of the *schematic narrative template*, which is a basic story that is repeated frequently within a narrative tradition. Key characteristics of schematic narrative templates are that they belong to a specific cultural tradition and they are so commonly held that they are invisible to those who use them. Wertsch documented the

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uses of the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template in Russia to tell the story of Russia during the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II. He described the basic plot of this template in four steps:

> 1. An "initial situation" (Propp, 1968, p. 26) in which the Russian people are living in a peaceful setting where they are no threat to others is disrupted by:
> 2. The initiation of trouble or aggression by an alien force, or agent, which leads to:
> 3. A time of crisis and great suffering, which is:
> 4. Overcome by the triumph over the alien force by the Russian people, acting heroically and alone. (p. 93)

Wertsch used textbooks from different eras in Soviet and post-Soviet history to document how the officially sanctioned history of the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II changed from the 1940s to the 1990s. Throughout this period, however, the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template continued to shape the telling of Russian history, even as the reigning ideology changed. One purpose of my research is to document how schematic narrative templates exist in a dialogical relationship with specific historical narratives in the Canadian and U.S. history classes in my study.

As the foregoing discussion demonstrates, the stories that we tell about the nation reflect ideological or political agendas. The official versions of national history – by which I mean the narratives that appear in textbooks and curriculum frameworks – select whose stories we remember and whose stories we forget, in a process that glosses over histories of conflict and injustice. These grand narratives of the nation justify the concentration of power in the hands of the privileged. Wertsch (2002) demonstrates that there are underlying narrative templates that give shape to the stories that we tell. His work on narrative dialogicality suggests there are cognitive challenges to telling stories that contradict the

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dominant narratives of a cultural tradition (see also Enciso, 2007). In the following section, I will discuss how a social justice approach to teaching history creates space for challenging dominant narrative accounts of the nation.

Teaching History for Social Justice

In Giroux's (1988) essay, "Writing and Critical Thinking in Social Studies," he argues that history teaching is an important way to teach students to be critical citizens. In particular, he argues that students should learn to do the work of historians – writing their own historical accounts based on evidence – in order to understand the relationship between theory and fact, between values and knowledge: "How information is selected, arranged, and sequenced to construct a picture of contemporary or historical reality is more than a cognitive operation; it is also a process intimately connected to the beliefs and values that guide one's life" (p. 63). In other words, Giroux identifies history education as a powerful means of teaching students to critique truths disseminated within the culture at large. Giroux's advocacy of a critical approach to teaching history is intimately connected to his commitments to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. At the heart of these beliefs are the propositions that 1) cultural institutions, such as schools, perpetuate the power of the ruling class through the maintenance of "ideological hegemony" (Giroux, 1983, p. 23), and 2) sustained critique of cultural institutions and their practices offers the possibility of social transformation through the disruption of domination. For this reason, I sought to examine the ways in which teachers work as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988) by engaging students in the critique, disruption, or reconstruction of historical narratives. Segall's (1999) vision of "critical history" means

> Seeing history as a discursive construct invites teachers and students to question symbolic environments. It offers them opportunities to critically examine what tends

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> to be perceived as natural and neutral in the production, circulation, and legitimation of a past into history and, more importantly perhaps, to ask: 'Why?' Acknowledging that history is constructed not by (or for) itself but by someone for some (other) body opens it up to questions of its production: how is the 'real' produced and maintained? (p. 368)

In other words, this type of critically informed approach to history education has the potential to disrupt or expand the "social imaginary" – to return to Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) terminology – that dominates schooling and our understandings of our agency as citizens.

Once students understand that accounts of history are shaped by ideological concerns, they can play with the process of rewriting historical accounts to reflect their own ideologies. In doing so, they develop command of the cultural resources they need to disrupt taken-for-granted social truths. Citing Scott (2001), den Heyer and Abbott argue that narratives are more than a presentation of historical truth; they constitute our own sense of identity:

> a narrative enables us to imagine ourselves as the "they" in the past as we become co-actors sharing an orderly and intelligible plotline that links past and present. As we imagine ourselves partaking in the plot of a grand narrative, we become endowed with a particular political identity and sense of agency. (den Heyer & Abbott, 2011, p. 616)

Den Heyer and Abbott go on to describe an assignment in which they required preservice teachers to tell the story of Canada from different perspectives in order to expand the possibilities of identifying with imagined others. If we take Lewis, Enciso, and Moje's (2007) definition of agency as "the strategic making and remaking of selves within structures of power" (p. 4) together with Scott's assertion that narratives are identity resources, then

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engaging students with the rewriting of historical narratives positions them as agents in the creation of new cultural tools.

Through critiquing, interpreting, and rewriting historical narratives, students can expand their abilities to push back against dominant social imaginaries and envision new social futures. Thus, critical engagement with historical narratives is vital preparation for students to assume the responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic society.

Theoretical Approaches to Educating for Democracy

The role of history in public education has been a matter of fierce debate in the United States and Canada, as different constituencies engage in "history wars" to claim control of the story of the nation as it is told in public school classrooms (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 2000; Seixas, 2010). The intensity with which these wars are waged is predicated on the claims – laid by all parties – to be advocating the version of history education that best prepares the nation's youth for the role of citizen. Traditionalists (e.g., Granatstein, 1999; Hodgetts, 1968; Sewall 2010) advocate a celebratory approach to teaching the nation's history to instill patriotism and foster social cohesion. Their critics (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2004; VanSledright 2010) argue that history education should emphasize the contested or constructed nature of history and develop students' abilities to critique historical accounts and to construct their own historical accounts. The epistemological stances that teachers take towards the dominant historical narratives have implications for citizenship education, as they are in effect advocating a stance of compliance with state authority versus a critical engagement with truth claims (Foner, 2003). If all parties claim that their approach to history education constitutes the best preparation for democratic citizenship, then some clarification about the nature of democratic citizenship is warranted.

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The question of what constitutes democratic education is complicated by a lack of agreement over what the nature of democratic citizenship is or should be (Crick, 2007; Shapiro, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). As Westheimer and Kahne (2004) explain,

> At the level of rhetoric, most educators, policymakers, and citizens agree that developing students' capacities and commitments for effective and democratic citizenship is important. When we get specific about what democracy requires and about what kind of school curricula will best promote it, however, much of that consensus falls away. For some, a commitment to democracy is a promise to protect liberal notions of freedom, while for others democracy is primarily about equality or equality of opportunity. For some, civil society is the key, while for others, free markets are the great hope for a democratic society. For some, good citizens in a democracy volunteer, while for others they take active parts in political processes by voting, protesting, and working on political campaigns. (p. 241)

Westheimer and Kahne interrogated both the theoretical literature and teachers with the question, "What kind of citizen do we need to support an effective democratic society?" They found that the answers could be grouped into three types of citizens: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the justice oriented citizen. Each type of citizenship promotes a different vision of how a good citizen behaves. The personally responsible citizen follows rules and makes voluntary contributions to the public good, for example through contributing to charitable efforts. The participatory citizen "actively participate[s] in the civic affairs and the social life of the community at local, state, and national levels" (p. 241). Proponents of participatory citizenship emphasize the importance of preparing students to understand and effectively utilize civic and community institutions to address social problems. The justice oriented citizen focuses on promoting social change by

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addressing structural causes of inequality. Proponents of justice oriented citizenship emphasize the need to teach students to "critically assess social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes," as well as how to "effect systemic change" (p. 240). Westheimer and Kahne show that educators who claim to be enacting democratic education may in fact be working towards markedly dissimilar goals because the "good" citizen is a highly contested concept. Hence, my last task for laying the theoretical foundation for this project is to review the concept of democracy by introducing liberalism and civic republicanism, the two prevailing models of democratic citizenship, and then discussing their implications for citizenship education.

Liberal vs. civic republican democracy. Liberal democracy is centered primarily on the protection of the individual's interests and freedom from government interference and coercion. Individuals band together in "strategically acting collectivities trying to maintain or acquire positions of power. Success is measured by the citizens' approval, quantified as votes, of persons and programs. In their choices at the polls, voters give expression to their preferences" (Habermas, 1996, p. 23). This winner-takes-all model can best be compared to a sporting match in which one side will win and the other will lose. In this type of system, also referred to as "aggregative democracy," citizens' opinions are assumed to be formed before they enter the arena of politics (Shapiro, 2003). In a liberal democracy, the role of the government is primarily to protect individual liberties, ensure the equality of all individuals before the law, and maintain a faithful accounting of citizens' preferences (Heater, 1999).

Republican democracy, on the other hand, is centered around active engagement of its citizens in deliberations on the nature of the common good. In this model of democracy, it is assumed that citizens' preferences are formed through sincere public discussions with the goal of mutual understanding. Rather than a sporting match, the prevailing model is a

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dialogue, or even a respectful conversation between ethical and caring individuals (Habermas, 1996; Heater, 1999). In Barber's (1984) *Strong Democracy*, the author offers a comprehensive critique of what he identifies as modern governments' excesses of liberal democracy. He advocates for a conception of democracy in which individual rights, while important, are subordinate to the key conditions of citizen participation and public dialogue, sketching out a democratic society in which republican ideals are supported by a civil society strong in communitarian values and traditions. Barber argues that excessive liberalism should be challenged with "a kind of 'we' thinking that compels individuals to reformulate their interests, purposes, norms, and plans in a mutualistic language of public goods. 'I want X' must be reconceived as 'X would be good for the community to which I belong'" (Barber, 1984, p. 171; quoted in Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 32).

For the purposes of this project, I acknowledge that school must prepare students for both liberal and republican aspects of democratic citizenship, meaning that students should both understand the nature of their political rights *and* learn how to participate in public life. However, my conception of education for democracy leans more heavily towards civic republicanism. The first reason for this is that liberal democracy relegates the bulk of the citizenry to a fairly passive role. Education for liberal democracy educates students on their legal rights and responsibilities, but puts more emphasis on rights. Citizens in this type of democracy are primarily engaged in voting, obeying the law, and enjoying their liberties. Walzer (1994) calls this a "thin" conception of citizenship. Education for "thin" citizenship involves educating students as to their rights and responsibilities and teaching respect for existing laws and political institutions. "Thick" conceptions of citizenship, on the other hand, make higher demands of citizens in terms of their commitment to political and civic engagement. They are based on republican expectations that citizens deliberate and shape

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public notions of the common good. Education for this type of democracy demands the development of a more sophisticated skill set for engaging in critical analysis and intelligent debate. Another problem with liberal interpretations of democracy is that they have been used to undermine the very existence of social citizenship in the form of society's obligation to care for its citizenry and guarantee basic economic security in the form of, for example, housing, health care, and employment (Barber, 1984; Glendon, 1991; Heater, 1999). Barber (1984) notes that these trends towards excessive liberalism reject the imperatives of the republican tradition to use public institutions in support of the common good.

Democratic pedagogical practices. If we understand the aim of democratic schools to be educating students to assume active roles in political and civic life, then the next set of questions is, "What outcomes are desired, and what is the plan for reaching them? Put differently, what kind of citizens do we want schools to cultivate, and how might these organizations go about that work?" (Parker, 2008, p. 65). Parker (2003) argues that the challenge of democratic education is to help students develop the knowledge and skills required for wise and ethical participation in public life in a diverse society. Students must confront the difficult question, "How can we live together justly, in ways that are mutually satisfying, and which leave our differences, both individual and group, intact and our multiple identities recognized?" (Parker, 2003, p. 20). Democratic pedagogies articulated by Parker (1996, 2003, 2008; also Parker, Mueller, and Wendling, 1989), Newmann (1975, 1989; also Newmann & Associates, 1996), and Lingard, Hayes, Mills, & Christie (2003) translate the goals of democratic citizenship education into classroom practice. Key features of Parker's and Newmann's pedagogies focus on developing skills of public deliberation, the construction of knowledge as an open-ended process, and the importance of engaging with diverse perspectives.

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It is not surprising that democratic educators who embrace Barber's (1984) strong democracy model of citizenship would emphasize the importance of deliberation as both a pedagogical tool and an important outcome. Barber argues that public deliberation serves a number of democratic functions, including clarifying individual and group positions on issues; building consensus; resolving disputes; and building community, as the very process of deliberation increases citizens' sense of affiliation and commitment to the well-being of the collective. Discussion is at the heart of Parker's (2003, 2008) democratic teaching practice. He advocates using different types of discussion – seminar and deliberation – to develop students' capacities for "enlightened political engagement." Civic reasoning is distinct from simple logical problem-solving in that new information is often introduced in the middle of the discussion, and even the very definition of the problem or issue can shift under public scrutiny:

> Civic issues, then, are by nature controversial and fuzzy. . . . Reasoning on such issues is not so much problem-solving (at least not as the term is usually used in formal reasoning to imply a linear and orderly procession from hypothesis to conclusion), as it is model building. Because premises are not given, they must be constructed as the reasoner goes along. And, they may be revised or abandoned outright as the reasoner acquires new information, or devises or is exposed to different and somehow compelling logics. Moreover, alternative ways of construing the issue must be identified. There are often no formal or technical, rules by which this construction and revision can be managed nor by which general principles can be applied to the particulars of the issue at hand. The difficulties in this sort of reasoning, then, are not only the tasks of building up an adequate information base

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> and avoiding logical fallacies but, more demanding still, the task of constructing adequate models of the situation being reasoned about. (Parker et al., 1989, p. 10)

Parker et al. conclude that civic reasoning requires a dialectical approach to reasoning in which the reasoner is always testing and challenging their own thinking against opposing viewpoints. Similarly, Newmann (1989) calls for civic education that prepares students to "be engaged in deliberations of profound uncertainty, because of the need to accommodate conflicting interests, the lack of conclusive knowledge on most matters, and the fact that most public problems are never finally resolved" (p. 358). Newmann concludes that democratic education is incompatible with "the belief that the purpose of teaching is to transmit fixed knowledge to students" (p. 359). Newmann has advocated that "authentic pedagogy" requires that students engage in problem-solving and knowledge construction tasks that "are worthwhile, significant, and meaningful, such as those undertaken by successful adults" (Newmann & Associates, 1996, p. 23).

In addition, civic issues require the citizen to develop the sensitivity to understand an issue from a variety of perspectives that might be quite different from his/her own. Classrooms provide a useful setting for teaching students to engage with individuals of different cultures, communities, and values: "The presence of multiple perspectives increases the likelihood that dominant norms and practices will be subjected to observation and critique" (Parker, 2008, pp. 75-76). Barton and Levstik (2004) put the engagement with opposing points of view as an essential feature of democratic citizenship: "To take part in democratic deliberations, it is not enough to know that other people have different perspectives; we must be willing to entertain the possibility that those perspectives make sense and that they are not the result of ignorance, stupidity, or delusion" (p. 211). Lingard

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et al. (2003) synthesized much of the criteria for democratic education listed here into a framework they named "productive pedagogies."

From my survey of recent literature on educating for democracy, it is clear that democratic pedagogy is complex, critical, open-ended, engaged with diversity, and grounded in the search for understanding "how knowledge of the social world is constructed" (Thornton & Barton, 2010, p. 2491). Given the demands of teaching history for democratic citizenship, my project sought to discover how teachers engaged with this challenge. Specifically, I wanted to know how they selected narratives to represent the history of the nation, what models were put forward as "good" citizens, and how they used pedagogical practices to perform, critique, and/or reconstruct those narratives.

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced my project examining how the concepts of nationhood and citizenship are enacted in history classrooms in one school district in Maryland and one school board in Ontario. I have presented my theoretical framework for understanding the history classroom as a site for the construction of the nation and the normalization of the role of the citizen. By examining the narratives and pedagogical practices that teachers use in the high school history classroom, this project contributes to understanding how teachers engage with discourses of citizenship and the nation, as well as how the history classroom functions as a site for the production of the social imaginary.

In the following chapter, I present a review of the literature relevant to this project, focusing on concepts of national identity and citizenship in the U.S. and Canadian social studies curriculum materials and research examining history teachers' practices with regards to citizenship education. The third chapter is an overview of the methodological

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considerations of this project. In the fourth chapter, I examine the teacher participants' views of the nation and citizenship, and compare those beliefs with the ways that the nation and citizens are depicted in the narratives that they used in the classroom. In the fifth and sixth chapters, I turn my attention to the teachers' pedagogical practices. Chapter 5 presents the increasingly neoliberal policy context in which the Maryland teachers worked and documents how the teachers shaped their classroom practices within a regime of accountability. Chapter 6 presents the Ontario teachers' practices within their policy and socioeconomic context. In the final chapter I discuss the implications of this work for teacher education, curriculum development, and citizenship education.

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CHAPTER 2
Literature Review:
National Identity, Citizenship, and the Making of Curriculum

Introduction

In this chapter I review the literature in the field that addresses history teaching and citizenship education. This review reveals that international comparative studies of history education are rare, and furthermore that no comparative studies of the enacted history curriculum in Canada and the United States could be found. As I will discuss, few studies have examined the history classroom as a site for imagining the nation, and the research that does address questions of nationhood (Cornbleth, 1998; Hahn, 2002; Richardson, 2002), is confined to elucidating the significance of the "post-Cold War" context rather than reflecting questions about the influence of globalization. For these reasons, my study represents a significant contribution to understanding the implications of secondary history classes for citizenship education.

I situate my project within the fields of history and social studies education. This review focuses on research on secondary and intermediate history and social studies education in Canada and the United States. I begin with empirical research documenting how concepts of nationhood and citizenship are represented in U.S. and Canadian national discourses in history curricula. Then I review research that takes up Thornton's characterization of history teachers as "curricular-instructional gatekeepers" (1991, 2005). Finally, I discuss some recent relevant research on the high school history and social studies classroom as a site of citizenship education. For the purposes of this literature review, I examine research on social studies teaching alongside research on history teaching. Some researchers argue that history and social studies teaching are derived from separate and

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distinct disciplinary traditions, but Thornton and Barton (2010) argue compellingly that they draw from the same theoretical and disciplinary traditions. In both Maryland and Ontario, teachers of history courses are usually members of social studies departments, and many of the teachers in this study taught both history and other social studies courses.

National Identity and the U.S. History Curriculum

Seixas (2004) has called for more comparative studies of history education, noting "Comparison promotes the examination of unarticulated assumptions. … Comparison helps to challenge unfounded claims of uniqueness drawn from one national setting" (pp. 13–14). Unfounded claims of uniqueness are a central problem in the historiography of the United States. American exceptionalism is manifested in the belief that the United States has a unique claim to the principles of freedom and justice, due to the articulation of these principles in founding documents that include the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. Exceptionalism has been foundational for much of American history scholarship and has clouded scholars' ability to make claims about the meanings of U.S. nationhood (Bender, 2002; Rodgers, 1998). Popular notions of national identity argue that the United States is the world's standard bearer for freedom and rights for the individual citizen, as well as a leader in the development of tolerance for diversity. Some critics of American exceptionalism contend that the focus on individual rights to the exclusion of the collective good represents a flawed model of democracy (e.g., Barber, 1984; Glendon, 1991). Another problem with American exceptionalism is that it promotes the view that the United States stands apart from the global community of nations, and thus it operates outside the principles of international law and human rights. Thus, in examining the presentation of the

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nation in the U.S. history classroom, I sought to understand how teachers engaged with the discourse of exceptionalism.

This American mythology has been at the heart of ongoing battles over the teaching of history (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 2000; Schlesinger, 1992; Symcox, 2002). Different national narratives are used to promote different versions of national identity. On the one hand, the traditional approach to telling the story of the nation in the U.S. is the story of powerful men with an emphasis on political nation-building, economic growth, and military conquest (VanSledright, 2008). This version of history is a story of continual progress, leaving little room for critique of the nation. Traditional history is well represented in textbooks and in state curriculum frameworks. On the other hand, alternative (sometimes called "revisionist") approaches to American history focus on "ordinary people," telling stories of middle and working classes, nonwhites, and women. Alternative versions of the nation's history include critiques of powerful figures and institutions. The past several decades have seen the growth of histories that question the monolithic narrative of the nation, and while these histories are marginalized in high school textbooks, they are widely available in popular books, such as Howard Zinn's (1980) *A People's History of the United States* and James Loewen's (2007) *Lies My Teacher Told Me*.

Historical narratives have political implications, as they are used in the classroom to develop students' understanding of the nation and its history. Thornton and Barton (2010) trace the alignment of traditional approaches to the U.S. national narrative with a nationalist and politically conservative agenda from the 1920s to the present: "Political conservatives make it clear that the chief criteria for selecting historical content should be patriotism, unity, and national pride" (p. 2488). Political and social conservatives assert that critical depictions of the nation's history undermine public education's mandate to foster pride in democratic

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institutions and gratitude for those who have sacrificed in the name of democracy (e.g., Schlesinger, 1992; Sewall, 2010). Critics with a more progressive agenda critique traditional presentations of national history for their elitism and for failing to tell the story of most people: women, the working (and often the middle) classes, and ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities (Au, 2009; VanSledright, 2008, 2010).

Existing empirical research suggests that the focus of history education in the United States is to transmit the traditional narrative of national development and progress, but that students and teachers alike demonstrate discomfort with this narrative. Cornbleth (1998) and Hahn (2002) documented ambivalence towards the triumphal national narrative on the part of history teachers. Cornbleth found that there were multiple, fragmented depictions of the U.S. in the classrooms that she observed, but the most frequent was America as the "imperfect but best" country characterized with a "mix of acceptance and dissent" (p. 641). Hahn (2002) noted, "There seems to be a mixed amount of criticism or skepticism with respect to national leaders. On the one hand, students are told that leaders are not infallible or above criticism; on the other, there seems to be little critical assessment of contemporary leaders and issues" (p. 79). When asked to tell the story of their nation, American college students tend to offer a story of ever-expanding freedoms, which Wertsch and O'Connor (1994) identified as the "quest for freedom" narrative. Wertsch and O'Connor documented the different rhetorical strategies that students used to resolve (or gloss over) contradictions imposed by the presence of indigenous peoples and enslaved peoples. In a project examining attitudes towards U.S. history among students in grades 5, 8, and 11, Epstein (2009) documented the counternarratives of injustice and discrimination in U.S. history that are prevalent within the African-American community. She argued that African-American students subscribe to an alternate metanarrative of U.S. history, a story of the enduring racism and injustice of U.S.

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institutions. Epstein found that the school history curriculum, with its emphasis on nationalism and the overarching march towards freedom, had little impact on African-American students' conceptions of national identity and national history.

Research on the image of the United States presented in high school history classrooms demonstrates that there is a struggle for the control of the nation's story. On the one hand, there is the traditional approach to presenting the nation with a unified story of freedom and progress, focusing on the achievements of elites. On the other hand, there are revisionist calls for a critical story that emphasizes the deep roots of contemporary injustices. My project, then, is to examine how teachers took up these opposing narrative traditions in the classroom.

National Identity and the Canadian History Curriculum

Canada's rhetoric of nationhood provides an interesting counterpoint to the United States. Whereas U.S. nationhood is generally regarded as strong and self-evident, Canadian nationhood is often presented as contested and in flux, especially in comparison with its neighbor to the south (Lorenz, 2004). Because they share the world's longest undefended border with the world's wealthiest and most powerful nation, Canadians tend to use the United States as a reference society. Lipset (1990, 1996) traced distinctions between the two nations to Canada's enduring loyalty to Britain after the United States fought for its independence. Lipset has termed Canada "a nation of counterrevolution," essentially conservative. Others have drawn from Canada's colonial past the lesson that Canadians are less militaristic than their neighbors to the south and more prone to conciliation. Rather than fight a bloody revolution, Canada gained its independence from Britain gradually and peacefully over the course of a century of diplomacy. Advocates of the "peaceful Canada"

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narrative invoke the role of Canadian Lester B. Pearson in developing the United Nations peacekeeping forces and the role of prominent Canadians such as Romeo Dallaire in leading those forces. Reviewing the comparative literature of Canadian and U.S. national identity, Hardwick, Marcus, and Isaak (2010) compiled a list of five commonly held English-Canadian values:

1. Commitment to multiculturalism
2. Support for global peacekeeping and global citizenship
3. Stronger affiliation with regional and provincial identity than national identity
4. Support for the social safety net
5. "Collaboration, consensus building and overall communitarianism . . . viewed as preferable to celebrating the rights of the individual in Canada" (p. 258)[1]

In a comparative history of Canadian and U.S. political culture, Kaufman (2009) traced Canadian tendencies to embrace communitarianism and consensus and eschew conflict to the country's distinct legal and political traditions. Morton (2000) claimed that the great legacy of Canadian history is that it is a "'user's manual' for . . . accommodation and compromise" (p. 55). Saul (1997, 2008) argued that because Canadian nationhood rests upon an uneasy union among English, French, and indigenous societies, it is best characterized by complexity and postmodern uncertainty.

Yet the postmodern uncertainty of Canadian national identity has proved to be as much a source of unease as one of pride in Canadian public discourse. Handwringing over the uncertain status of Canadian national identity may be found every day on the state-funded

[1] Hardwick et. al. (2010) identified three commonly held American values: (1) an assimilationist approach to multiculturalism, (2) the primacy of national identity over regional or local identity, and (3) individual rights valued over the rights of the group. "Being an American means valuing individual property ownership, taking care of one's own health care needs and clinging to individual rights due in part to the lingering impacts of America's long-held 'Jeffersonian tradition' and 'frontier mentality'" (p. 259).

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Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio and television programming. Sumara, Davis, and Laidlaw (2001) noted:

> The issue of 'who we are' receives a good deal of air play in Canada. Despite the endless discussion there seems to be only one point of real consensus. . . . To state it concisely, discussions around Canadian identity tend to cluster around claims that Canadians are not overbearing, not totalizing, not monolithic, not unified, not static: or, put more bluntly, Canadians are not Americans. (p. 147)

Collective unease over "that seemingly ever damsel-in-distress, Canadian national identity" (Morra, 2009, n.p.) has provided fertile ground for Canada's own history wars. Supported by the work of the Historica-Dominion Institute and the publication of Granatstein's (1998) *Who Killed Canadian History?*, traditionalists argue that movements to emphasize themes of multiculturalism and social justice in Canadian history have obscured the important role of British culture in the development of Canadian institutions. Particular concern has focused on the declining prominence of Canadian military history (Sarty, 2007). Progressive history educators, on the other hand, have argued for history curricula that are inclusive of Canada's diverse communities and present historical narratives as cultural artifacts that are open to critique.[2]

Empirical research of history and social studies education in Canada supports the view of Canadian national identity as ambiguous and regionally oriented. Létourneau and Moisan's (2004) study of young people's knowledge of Quebec history is frequently cited to demonstrate the sharp divide between Francophone and Anglophone versions of national identity. Létourneau and Moisan found that 403 Quebec secondary, college, and university

[2] Seixas (2010) offered a succinct account of recent public debate over Canadian history curricula.

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students asked to write a short essay on the history of Quebec produced a narrative marked by "a melancholy, nostalgic awareness centring [sic] on the idea, the concept, of a conquered, reclusive people, abused by others and always fearful of reclaiming their destiny" (p. 117). Peck (2010) investigated ethnically diverse students' application of the concept of historical significance to develop a model demonstrating how ethnic identity is utilized to construct Canada's national narrative. One notable aspect of Peck's study was the detailed biographical information that she collected in order to ascribe to students ethnic identities "in a way that made sense to them" (p. 584). This data allowed Peck to look at the complex interplay between ethnic identity and the construction of a comprehensive story of the nation. Peck classified students' historical accounts as belonging to one of three narrative templates: 1) the "Founding of the Nation" narrative, 2) the "Diverse and Harmonious Canada" narrative, and 3) the "Diverse but Conflicted Canada" narrative:

> The students profiled here had explicit ideas about the "kind" of story of Canada they wanted to tell and in all cases their ideas were tied to their ethnic identities. In addition, the students' ethnic identities also impacted which events they ascribed as historically significant as well as the criteria they employed to explain them. In some cases, students suppressed their own ethnic identities in favor of creating a narrative of Canadian history that would appeal to a more "general" population. In other cases, students selected events for their timeline (either consciously or not) that reflected their ethnic identity and/or their perceptions of their "place" in Canadian history (p. 611).

Peck offers insight into the ways in which students appropriate historical narratives in light of their sense of their identity and membership status within the nation.

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Research by Lévesque (2003), Richardson (2002), and den Heyer and Abbott (2011) captures the inadequacy of existing readily available historical narratives for reflecting students' and teachers' understanding of Canadian national identity. Lévesque conducted a comparative study of high school students' notions of citizenship in Québec and British Columbia and found – somewhat contrary to Peck's findings – that the students saw little place for history in their construction of Canadian national identity. He concluded,

> These students have adopted more inclusive and democratic collective identities, which no longer refer to a backward nostalgia to be carried over or to a moral obligation to old allegiances and Canadian historical figures. These past 'heroes' have no clear impact on their collective identity and, as such, are not perceived as necessary for the links they make between the past, their present, and their future (p. 119).

In an action research study, Richardson (2002) worked with five social studies teachers in Alberta to pose the question, "How is the question of national identity constructed in plural societies?" Richardson's study captured the disjuncture between the modernist assumptions about Canadian national identity in the provincial curriculum guidelines and the lived experience of Canadian national identity for teachers. Den Heyer and Abbott (2011) wrote about a project in which pre-service social studies teaching candidates were asked to research and produce narrative accounts of Canadian history from two different perspectives and reflect upon the process of engaging with the same events from different vantage points. The authors found that the assignment represented an "encounter with the delicate position of teachers as receivers, interpreters and transmitters of 'official knowledge'" (p. 624). Den Heyer and Abbott offer both a richly theorized approach to history teacher education and a method for disrupting dominant metanarratives.

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The sum of this research suggests that there is a fair degree of consensus about Canadian values, emphasizing commitment to multiculturalism and human rights. However, this view of Canada, in the words of Peck, Thompson, Chareka, Joshee, and Sears (2010), "has largely been an iconic rather than a deep pluralism" (p. 67). Bickmore (2006) examined the social studies curricula of the Canadian provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia for their treatment of conflict and conflict resolution, finding,

> The over-all message was often about not making waves and getting along. The conflict resolution content (theme 3) nearly always focused on interpersonal disputes, and emphasized dominant-culture ways of avoiding disruption and restoring harmony. The relatively infrequent attention to international interdependence and global diversity (theme 6) also emphasized non-confrontation and harmony. Thus many elements of these curricula could marginalize conflict and dissenters. This containment of disruption would tend to protect the status quo, and thus be anti-democratic in its citizenship implications. (p. 365)

She concluded, "These curricula seemed to advocate social cohesion more through grand intentions than through close encounters with uncomfortable knowledge" (p. 374). One question going forward, then, is to what degree are teachers critical of Canadian platitudes about respect for diversity and commitment to human rights? And do the historical narratives presented in history classrooms promote a critical engagement with the pervasive "happy talk" (Bell & Hartmann, 2007) approach to national identity? Seixas (2010) optimistically asserts that the "history wars" have largely been settled within Canada, but I suspect that the avoidance of conflict masks a lack of consensus over how the history of Canada should be taught.

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Teachers Enacting the History Curriculum

My project proceeds from decades of research examining the history or social studies teacher as the central agent in the production of the classroom curriculum. Thornton (1991) argues that history teachers are "curricular-instructional gatekeepers" and identified three components of gatekeeping: "(1) beliefs concerning the meaning of social studies, (2) decisions concerning planning, and (3) decisions concerning instructional strategy" (pp. 237-238). Thornton reviewed existing research, noting that the three components of gatekeeping could pull teachers in separate directions. When this happens, Thornton concludes, the teachers' beliefs often take a subordinate role to the official curriculum, as teachers tend to defer to textbooks to "cover" state- or district-mandated curriculum content**.** This conclusion complicates Thornton's contention that history teachers are instructional gatekeepers, as he ultimately concluded that teachers do not understand themselves to be in control of the curriculum. Thornton is not alone in reaching this conclusion; several studies have found that factors external to the teacher, such as school culture, community expectations, curriculum guidelines, and state-mandated standardized testing, trump the individual teacher's philosophy of teaching and subject matter when the two come into conflict. Romanowski (1996) explored the influence of community values and expectations on restricting the teacher's presentation of U.S. history. VanSledright (1996) studied a high school history teacher who had recently earned a Ph.D. in history and found that the demands of the curriculum precluded her from incorporating her scholarly understanding of history in her U.S. history classes. Richardson (2002) describes the contradiction thusly:

> In itself, then, social studies curricula present teachers with an inherently absurdist dilemma as they find themselves trapped between the restrictive conditions imposed on them by society, a society of which they are inevitably a part, and their own,

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> frequently contradictory, aspirations. It is, in effect, a double dilemma. The tension between the philosophical intents of social studies curricula that remain tentatively rooted in the social reconstructionist tradition of participatory democracy and its results-oriented demands that very much reflect current neoliberal economic theory is not easily reconciled (p. 41).

Similar studies by Hartzler-Miller (2001) and van Hover and Yeager (2007) examined new teachers who demonstrated competence in historical thinking – or teaching history as inquiry and interpretation – in their preservice courses and found that they did not utilize this pedagogical content knowledge as beginning teachers, due to their lack of commitment to a disciplinary approach. Grant's (2003) book-length comparative study of two history teachers working in the same upstate New York high school illustrates in rich detail how these teachers enacted different beliefs about the nature of history as a discipline and the purposes of learning history. This body of research implies that teachers are indeed important agents in the enactment of history curricula, but their practice is shaped by both their personal beliefs and the context in which they work, which Grant (1996) argues often work as "cross-currents." Therefore, in order to understand the production of the enacted history curriculum[3], it is important to examine the teacher's practices, the teacher's understanding of their practices, and the context in which they work, as I will do when I present the findings of my research.

Following Thornton's charge to use case study methods to study curricular-instructional gatekeeping, several researchers have sought to examine the practices of individual history teachers. Many of these studies are motivated by the belief that

[3] "Enacted curriculum" refers to the curriculum that students and teachers experience in the classroom (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992).

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"outstanding cases of gatekeeping . . . serve as images of the possible" (Thornton, 1991, p. 247). Accordingly, several case studies of history teachers seek to fulfill Shulman's (1987) imperative to use detailed portraits of exemplary teachers to show "what is possible." In the course of this literature, many researchers have rejected the concept of "best practices" in favour of models of practice that foreground the importance of teachers' use of professional judgment guided by their knowledge of their students and subject matter, often labeled "wise practice" or "ambitious teaching" (Cunningham, 2007; Grant, 2005; Monte-Sano, 2008; Yeager & Davis, 2005). Indeed, the need to provide richly textured portraits of history teacher practice is demonstrable. Levstik (2008) argues that little is known about what teaching practices dominate in history classrooms today. On the one hand, according to Levstik, outdated studies are frequently cited to support contentions that lecture-based, transmission-model teaching is dominant in history classrooms, while, on the other hand, case studies reveal portraits of wise practice and ambitious teaching in diverse environments. The research base does not allow me to make generalizations about what practices are most typical or widespread in history classrooms. It does, however, provide a knowledge base that documents and critiques various practices used to teach history in order to establish what constitutes desirable history teaching practices, as well which practices are undesirable.

Much of the recent U.S. case study research in history education has focused on the impact of high-stakes testing on history teaching. Two edited volumes by Grant (2006) and Yeager and Davis (2005) collected case study accounts of teachers' practices in the context of high-stakes history testing. Au (2009) reviewed this literature and argued that it paints a mixed picture of the impact of standardized testing on history education because the tests themselves vary in form and consequences. He concluded,

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> Social Studies teachers are shifting pedagogy, content, and assessment towards alignment with high-stakes social studies tests, particularly if these tests consist of multiple-choice, historical fact memorization (p. 52).

Au critiques researchers in the field of history and social studies education for minimizing the impact of "hegemonic norms of high-stakes testing" (p. 43), thereby providing "a defense of high-stakes testing generally and an attack on critics of high-stakes testing" (p. 52).

Research on Narrative and Text in History Classrooms

How teachers engage students with narratives, textbooks, and texts reflects an orientation towards knowledge and learning that has implications for citizenship education, as discussed in the previous chapter. Few studies have examined in detail how teachers and students use texts and narratives[4] in the classroom. Thornton (2006) writes, "Detailed studies of the use of textbooks in actual classrooms are relatively rare" (p. 21), and Levstik (2008) similarly notes, "Despite their apparent ubiquitousness in K-12 classrooms, however, surprisingly few . . . studies focus on how teachers use texts" (p.56). While there is a substantial literature critiquing history textbooks and the textbook production process (e.g., Altbach, Kelly, Petrie, & Weis, 1991; Crawford & Foster 2008; Nicholls 2006; VanSledright 2008), what teachers and students do with textbooks in the classroom remains something of a mystery. When characterizing history education as teacher-centered and textbook-driven, researchers often cite studies that are decades old (i.e., Cuban, 1991; Goodlad, 1984; Ravitch & Finn, 1987).

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[4] Barton and Levstik (2004) complain, "Literary theorists talk about the topic, and they talk around the topic, but they don't often stop to say just what they mean by the term *narrative*. Often they appear to mean 'anything and everything' or 'whatever I happen to be talking about at the moment.'" Barton and Levstik go on to define narrative as "a chain of events in cause-effect relationship occurring in time and space" (p. 130). My use of *narrative* is consistent with this definition.

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Nokes (2010) places his observational study of eight high school history teachers' literacy practices in the context of "the paucity of observational research in twenty-first century history classrooms" (p. 517). Using a standardized observation guide, Nokes documented the types of texts teachers used, the types of activities students engaged in, and the nature of literacy instruction and use of texts in the classrooms. He analyzed the data for its implications for teachers' "attitudes toward the purposes of history instruction" (p. 535). Nokes concluded that there was considerable variability among the 8 teachers, but that overall they tended to teach history as a unified historical narrative. His discussion concludes that while the teachers used multiple types of texts, they did so in a way that did not encourage students to think critically or to develop their own interpretations of history:

> Although there were many different uses of the textbook, there was never sanctioned criticism or questioning of the textbook . . . . None of the observed classrooms maintained a consistent critical stance, and in only two classrooms were there brief forays into critical historical reasoning (pp. 535-36).

Nokes' work offers a framework for understanding the history classroom as a site of instruction in both broad and discipline-specific literacy practices. His work does not explicitly address the implications of these practices for the development of national identity or citizenship education, however.

History teachers' uses of narratives have been the focus of even less research than have textbooks. Hawkey (2007) surmises that this reflects the low status of narrative in the disciplinary approach to history: "Traditionally, in the school context, this view of narrative [as the presentation of a story or sequence of events] has been denigrated as a low-order skill, associated with academically weaker students, and often counterposed to the (supposedly) higher-order skill of analysis" (pp. 263-264). Interviews revealed that history teachers lacked

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confidence in using narratives in class due to "the concern that narratives would simply be reproduced in an uncritical fashion" (p. 270). Hawkey examined the use of narrative in five British schools, concluding that the use of narrative in one school – the school with the most "academic" philosophy – was complex and detailed. In the other four schools, narratives used in history classes were characterized as lacking in detail and historical accuracy. The simplicity of the narratives presented to students in some schools suggested "differing assumptions were made as to the students' capacity to assimilate information as well as underlying assumptions about the purposes of studying history" (p. 271). Hawkey's research provides a concrete look at the pedagogical uses of narratives in history classrooms, but the content of the narratives remains incidental to her study.

Examining the History Classroom as a Site for Citizenship Education

As my theoretical framework in the previous chapter makes clear, history education is a political undertaking with significant implications for citizenship education. Yet empirical research rarely focuses on the political nature of history teaching. Au (2009) suggests that when it comes to researching the impact of standardized testing, "Some of these researchers have taken up a highly political position, but have hidden it under the guise of neutral, or value-free social studies research" (pp. 52-53). This statement might be applied to a broader selection of history and social studies research. In the remainder of this chapter, I would like to review some recent studies that have seriously taken up the subject of history or social studies teacher as citizenship educator.

There is, at least in the U.S. context, a prevailing attitude that history teachers should not promote their political viewpoints in the classroom. Niemi and Niemi (2007) note,

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> Teachers of high school history and government courses are expected to provide an understanding of democracy, often including teaching about contemporary political issues (CIRCLE 2003, p. 31; Hess & Posselt, 2002, pp. 284-286). In doing so, they are often urged to keep their own political opinions out of the discussion (or at least feel that they must do so in order to avoid criticism and even litigation). Teachers' personal political silence in the classroom is intended to buy students the space to discover and create their own political beliefs. (p. 36)

After observing six 11th and 12th grade history and government classes in New York state for one semester, however, Niemi and Niemi concluded that teachers regularly made cynical or derogatory remarks about political figures and political parties in general while maintaining an erroneous belief that they expressed no political views in the classroom. When it came to engaging deeply with political topics, they wrote,

> we find that school boards and parents need not be so concerned with teachers' proselytizing about controversial subjects; the teachers in our study *simply did not discuss any really controversial subjects* about which parents, as portrayed in mainstream media, seem to be worried. Nonetheless, that teachers convey strong, substantive opinions in multiple ways, with no context for students' understanding of these opinions, is very troubling. We wonder, in fact whether teachers would be more aware of what they were saying if they were to openly discuss controversial issues. (p. 54, emphasis mine)

In short, Niemi and Niemi's study suggests that the avoidance of controversial topics is an abdication of teachers' responsibility to educate students for democracy. Hess (2009) has spent over a decade researching how teachers facilitate students' engagement with controversial topics in secondary history and social studies classrooms, guided by the belief

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that "there is an intrinsic and crucial connection between the discussion of controversial political issues, especially among people with disparate views, and the health of a democracy" (p. 12). When Hess surveyed students before and after discussions of controversial topics, she found that students were not influenced by their teacher's occasional disclosure of political views when they were in a class in which they felt free to disagree with the teacher. On the contrary, through occasional and judicious disclosure of their views and their political reasoning, the teachers provided a model of democratic engagement.

One study that examines the uses of narrative in a history curriculum for their implications for citizenship education is Schweber's (2006) ethnographic study of one eighth grade classroom in a fundamentalist Christian school on September 11, 2001, and in the weeks that followed. Because the author was present in the school collecting data for an ongoing project, she was able to observe "how religious master narratives and 'American' master narratives interacted" in the process of forming a collective memory of this event (p. 395). Schweber documented how

> Mrs. Barrett skillfully wove the rupturing events of 9/11 into the everyday fabric of fundamentalist Christian schooling. While the ritual act of praying itself tamed the events through its routinizing aspects, the content of Mrs. Barrett's prayer subsumed the attacks into the reassuring narrative of fundamentalist belief. The meta-narrative governing all of history within a fundamentalist worldview adheres to two principles: (1) that all events are under God's control, and (2) that because God is good, all events occur for a greater good that the human mind may not be able to fathom initially. "True Christians," therefore, accept all events as part of God's plan. Indeed, that is the meaning of faith. The events of the day were in God's hands, Mrs. Barrett professed, and both the attackers and the attacked were to be prayed for (p. 399).

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Schweber concludes that the master narrative of history as God's plan may pose a challenge for citizenship education, as it suggests that humans are powerless to change the course of history. Schweber notes that this Christian master narrative has a secular counterpart in which history is the story of continual progress and expanding freedoms. However, Schweber identifies a key difference between these two master narratives. While the fundamentalist Christian narrative explicitly strips human beings of their agency, the secular narrative of progress merely conveys a diminished sense of individual agency.

Publications by Tupper and Cappello (2008) and Tupper, Cappello, and Sevigny (2010) explore the connections between students' social locations and the citizenship education curriculum in Saskatchewan, Canada. In an action research study involving six middle and high school social studies teachers, Tupper and Cappello (2008) investigated the effects of a curriculum resource kit that was developed to teach about the history of treaties between First Nations peoples and representatives of white communities in Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan is a province that is composed entirely of land ceded by First Nations people, and the researchers sought to use the treaties that ceded First Nations land to white representatives as a lens for understanding the historical nature of racism in the students' own communities. The authors theorized that the treaties are "(un)usual narratives" in that they are excluded from dominant historical accounts, but at the same time they are essential to understanding the pervasive experiences of racism. Using pre-test and post-test surveys and focus group discussions, Tupper and Cappello documented the ways in which "(un)usual narratives" or "counter stories" disrupted the curricular commonsense:

> The (un)usual narrative of treaties produced a recognition for many students that the curricular stories they had learned about Canada pre- to post-Confederation were incomplete. It also helped them to better understand the contemporary realities of

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> First Nations people and how they continue to be produced by dominant culture. (p. 572)

Building on the work on "(un)usual narratives", Tupper et al. (2010) conducted a comparative case study of citizenship education in one affluent high school and one working-class high school in Saskatchewan to examine how the curricular discourse of "universal citizenship" was lived by students from different socioeconomic locations:

> We argue that for students attending [the middle-class school], exposure to narratives of good citizenship in and through curriculum influence their perceptions of themselves as citizens and their own engagement in positive ways. Conversely, at [the working class school], it becomes difficult for the students to see themselves as citizens the way the curriculum invites them. Our focus group conversations with these students revealed a degree of ambivalence about and a disconnection from the very political and civic spaces integral to the discourse of universal citizenship. We suggest that either an alignment or misalignment of these formal narratives with the lived experiences of students occupying these social locations may account for the differences between students' understandings and experiences of citizenship in the two research sites. (pp. 348-49)

The authors concluded, "We believe it is necessary to offer students (un)usual narratives of citizenship which subvert false universalism and draw attention to the differential formation of subjects" (p. 358). The broader implications are that these findings raise questions about the viability of a universal approach to citizenship at a time when the dominant discourse of citizenship education is, according to Sears (2011), one based on active participation in civic life. Sears admonishes,

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> It is important to note that what citizens are being included in, then, is not citizenship in the ethnic or sociological sense of belonging to a community; rather, they are being included in the community of those who participate, who join in a process" (p. 353).

Like the work by Tupper et al., my study was located in communities in possession of different levels of economic, social and cultural capital, in order to understand how the social location of the students acted to mediate the reception of the history curriculum.

Summary

As this literature review makes clear, there is room in the research literature on history education for a new examination of the ways that Canada and the U.S. are represented in their respective history classrooms. There has been little attention to the content of national history narratives constructed in history classrooms and to the ways in which teachers and students take up these narratives. Furthermore, there have been no studies published to date that explicitly compare history teaching in the U.S. and Canada, a comparison that I believe can yield valuable insights into the discourses of nationhood and citizenship in each country.

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CHAPTER 3
Research Methods and Methodology

Multiple Case Study Design

As this multiple case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2005) examines the political implications of history teachers' practices, it is an examination of the complex relations among teachers' beliefs, curriculum guidelines, and instruction. A case study design is well-suited for this project's focus on the relationships between teachers' practices and widely disseminated cultural messages about citizenship and the nation. Patton (2002) writes of the necessity of organizing fieldwork "around nested and layered case studies, which means that some form of nested case sampling must occur" (p. 297). The school sites and teacher participants in this research represent those nested and layered cases. This research project was conceived as a multiple case study design in order to focus on each teacher as "a specific, unique, bounded system" (Stake, 2005, p. 445). In identifying each teacher as a case, or analytical unit, I am recognizing the body of research conceptualizing a teacher's practice as a complex system consisting of bodies of knowledge, beliefs, and instructional practices (e.g., Clandinin, 1986; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Elbaz, 1981, 1983; Magliaro & Shambaugh, 2005; Shulman, 1987). The choice of case study allowed me to focus on each teacher's complex system of beliefs, knowledges and practices. Through the examination of four teachers, I studied the larger phenomenon of imagining the nation as it is practiced in history classrooms today. Case study design's capacity for capturing each case in its unique context makes it an appropriate tool for examining the citizenship education practices implicit in the enacted history curriculum. Nisbet and Watt (1984) argue that case study "is concerned essentially with the *interaction* of factors and events" and that such interactions may only be identifiable through the close

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examination of a case (p. 73). One widely acknowledged strength of case study research is its sensitivity to context and ability to render complex social interactions, such as teaching and learning, as they happen in a natural setting. In this sense, Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1984) describe case study as "strong in reality" and "a step into action" (p. 101).

It is case study's capacity for representing "the complexity and 'embeddedness' of social truths" (Adelman et al., 1984, p. 101) that make it compatible with the critical pedagogy concerns of my project. Giroux (1988) has long written about schools as sites of struggle over power and ideology:

> Schools serve to introduce and legitimate particular forms of social life. Rather than being objective institutions removed from the dynamics of politics and power, schools actually are contested spheres that embody and express a struggle over what forms of authority, types of knowledge, forms of moral regulation and versions of the past and future should be legitimated and transmitted to students. (p. 126)

A critical conception of school views the work of teachers "in terms of the ideological and political interests that structure the nature of the discourse, classroom social relations, and values that they legitimate in their teaching" (Giroux, 1988, p. 127). As this study examines the political implications of teachers' use of historical narratives within the contemporary context of globalization, it is an examination of the web of relations among teachers' beliefs, curricula, and instruction. Case study research that draws on teacher interviews, classroom observations, curriculum documents and samples of student work allows the researcher to explore these relationships as they play out in the work of teachers. Thus, this project takes up Masemann's (2003) charge to use ethnographic methods from a critical perspective "to delineate the connections between the microlevel of the local school experience and the macrolevel of structural forces at the global level that are shaping the 'delivery' and the

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experience of education" (p. 155). Furthermore, Masemann's position as a researcher in the field of comparative and international education underscores the importance of comparative studies, such as this one, in exploring the connections between structural forces and local pedagogical practices. Anyon (2009) suggests that research that is both empirical and grounded in critical theory can "make links between educational 'inside' and 'outside,' between past, present, and future, and between research design and larger social meanings" (p. 3).

Methodology

Qualitative Research Informed by Critical Theories

The methodology supporting my case study research demonstrates the characteristics that Merriam (1998) ascribes to basic qualitative study:

1. Meaning is embedded in people's experiences, and this meaning is mediated by the researcher's observations.
2. The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis.
3. Field work is usually required.
4. Analysis is primarily inductive.
5. Rich description will be included in the reporting of research. (Merriam, 1998, pp. 6-8)

Merriam characterizes case studies as "particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic" (p. 30). Merriam's presentation of basic qualitative research is consistent with the naturalistic conditions and principles in my research design. I sought to capture the work of teachers as they practice it and their understanding of history and citizenship as it manifests in their work. By employing ethnographic methods to examine teachers' practices, I am able to draw

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conclusions about the cultural messages that are transmitted both overtly and covertly in the classroom (Masemann, 2003, p. 119).

To elaborate on the ontological and epistemological assumptions in this project, the research paradigm is constructionist and based in critical theories (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). Guba and Lincoln (2005) associate the critical theory paradigm of research with a historical realist ontology and a transactional/subjectivist epistemology:

> Critical theorists, constructivists, and participatory/cooperative inquirers take their primary field of interest to be precisely that subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and the active construction and cocreation of such knowledge by human agents that is produced by human consciousness. (p. 203)

My research design locates history teachers' practice as a site of construction of knowledge about the nation and the role of the citizen. I also believe that knowledge is co-created in the process of communication among teacher and students, and so the study examined engagement with historical narratives in the classroom, in addition to teacher attitudes and behaviors. The intersubjective nature of social knowledge supports the case study design of the research because case study research is focused on studying processes – a phenomenon in action – and my interest is in the process of creating knowledge about the discourses of the nation in the context of globalization.

In embracing critical theories as a paradigm, I recognize that social truths are intersubjective, meaning that they are created within the context of human interaction. In this paradigm, knowledge creation takes place within a framework of power relations, and the awareness of power relations provides the lens through which the research is conducted. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) write of critical theory's concern

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> with the need to understand the various and complex ways that power operates to dominate and shape consciousness. Power, critical theorists have learned, is an extremely ambiguous topic that demands detailed study and analysis. A consensus seems to be emerging among criticalists that power is a basic constituent of human existence that works to shape the oppressive and productive nature of the human tradition (p. 309).

Central to critical pedagogy, Giroux (1988) writes, is the need to "make the pedagogical more political." In other words, the aim of critical pedagogy is to examine the ways that "schooling represents both a struggle to define meaning and a struggle over power relations" (p. 127). In this study, I sought to explore the ways that the stories of the nation told in history classrooms suggests normative messages about who is the good citizen. In challenging the limits of these normative messages, I am taking part in the tradition of critical social theory that "examin[es] prevailing social relations in terms of the radical possibilities that inhered in capitalist democracies" (Anyon, 2009, p. 2).

Comparative Research

Because my research looks to complicate and problematize the treatment of the nation in history education, I have utilized a comparative approach for the project. I have chosen these two locations for their similarities, mindful of Skocpol and Somers' (1980) claim that the comparison of two similar cases draws attention to the ways in which the two cases diverge by accentuating contrasting features. Bloch (1967) argues that studies of neighboring nations offer special insights, especially when the nations have similar cultural origins and exercise influence over each other throughout their histories. Canada and the U.S. are both multicultural participatory democracies (or aspiring democracies) which have developed in close proximity to one another, yet each country has its own concepts of

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national identity and the nature of democratic citizenship. While Canadian and U.S. educational systems are similar in many respects, the two societies make very different demands on concepts of history and national identity. Canada and the United States both possess decentralized curricula with provincial or state authorities invested with the power to prescribe content, particularly in the area of social studies. While each country has been the site of vigorous national debate over the nature of citizenship and the purpose and content of social studies education, any close analysis of curriculum must focus on the context of the province or state. Ontario and Maryland have a number of demographic and cultural similarities. Both have an ethnically diverse population; are comprised of urban, suburban, and rural communities; are in close proximity to the nation's capital, giving both Ontario and Maryland a sense of centrality in the politics of the nation; and voters in each location span the political spectrum but overall tend to be left of centre in national political debate – a salient feature in research examining constructions of national identity and citizenship.

There are also personal reasons for my choice of locations. I have lived in southern Ontario for over six years, and I lived in Maryland for more than 15 years. I attended Maryland public schools and still spend significant time in the area visiting family. My personal connections to both of these locations both provided me with useful background knowledge of the culture and norms in each locale, as well as some initial contacts for recruiting participants.

The Two Case Studies

My project is a comparative case study of secondary history education in one school board in Canada's province of Ontario, and one school district in the U.S. state of Maryland. The two systems are large, operating more than 100 schools in communities that are urban, suburban, and rural. The diagram below represents the two case studies and visualizes the

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teacher-participants as embedded cases (Scholz & Tietje, 2002) within the two main cases. Treating each teacher as an analytical unit within the case study allowed me to examine the complex processes through which the individual teacher enacted the history curriculum, while also understanding each school system as a comprehensive entity for the production of the history curriculum and discourses of citizenship and national identity. All names in this study, including those of the school systems, schools, and teachers, are pseudonyms. In describing the contexts of this study, I provide approximate numerical values in order to protect the confidentiality of the schools and school systems. My characterizations of the schools draw upon both hard data provided by the schools, school systems, and state or provincial agencies; as well as information about the schools obtained from informal communications with teachers, students, and community members.[1]

[1] Ball and Vincent (1998) describe this type of knowledge about schools that circulates through the local and regional "grapevine" as "hot knowledge."

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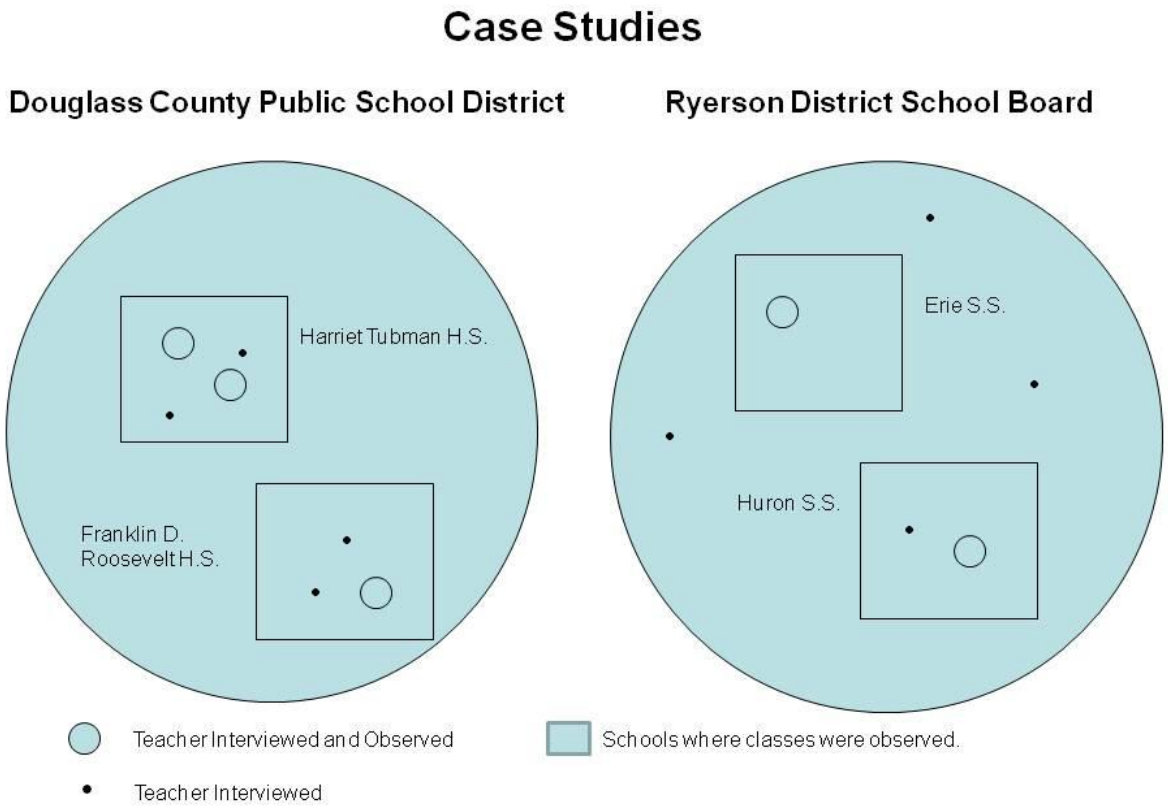

Figure 1: Case Studies

Douglass County Public School District (DCPSD) is a large school system in Maryland with a culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse student population. In the United States, school systems are required to collect and publicly report data on the demographics of their student populations. According to Douglass County's website, the student population is approximately 25% African American, 15% Asian, 25% Hispanic, 30% White, and less than 1% Native American. The proportion of students receiving free and reduced-price meals services (FARMS), which is a common measure of poverty or economic stress, is over 30%. Students in the district come from over 100 different countries, and more than 10% of students receive English Language Learner (ELL) services. Douglass County serves predominantly suburban communities that include the highly affluent, the very poor,

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and every point in between. Within the last decade, the number of economically disadvantaged, new immigrant and non-English speaking students has increased markedly in Douglass County, consistent with national trends for growing diversity and poverty in suburban areas (Murphy, 2007). In order to examine the role of culture and socioeconomic location in the enactment of the history curriculum and the implications for citizenship education, I conducted my research at one school located in a highly affluent community, Franklin D. Roosevelt High School, and one school serving a racially and socioeconomically diverse population, Harriet Tubman High School. Each school enrolled between 1500 and 2000 students, which is typical for high schools in Douglass County. All of the teacher participants taught at either Roosevelt H.S. or Tubman H.S.

Ryerson District School Board (RDSB) is a sprawling board operating more than 150 elementary and high schools located in urban, suburban, and rural communities. The cultural and linguistic diversity of the board reflects the broad immigration policy of Canada as a whole. According to the estimate of the RDSB's coordinator of English Language Learner (ELL) services, students in RDSB schools come from more than 60 countries and speak more than 80 languages, with approximately 4% of students receiving ELL services in 2011. The teacher participants taught in five different schools. As with the Maryland schools, I chose two schools as observation sites. The first was Erie Secondary School, which served a predominantly white, middle-class, professional population. According to the Ontario Ministry of Education's School Information Finder website, the percentage of students living in lower-income households was 8% in 2010-11, which is half the provincial average of 16.5%; the percentage of students whose parents have some university education was above 50%, which is substantially above the provincial average of 36.9%. The second was Huron Secondary School, which served a primarily white working-class population. At Huron,

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approximately 10% of students lived in lower-income households in 2010-11, while 8% of the students' parents had some university education. While Erie's performance in the province's grade 9 mathematics and grade 10 literacy examinations were above the province's average in every category, Huron's scores were below the provincial average in every category. Both schools enrolled between 1000 and 1500 students, which was slightly above the mean high school enrolment for RDSB. The first table below presents a summary of the schools involved in this study.

School Characteristics with Participating Teachers
Bold font used to identify teachers whose classes were observed.

School	SES	Setting	Race/Ethinicity
Harriet Tubman HS • **Deb Patterson** • Jackson Ellis • **Lori Carson** • Jonathan Miller	Mixed	Suburban	~40% black ~35% white ~15% Latino ~10% Asian
Franklin D. Roosevelt HS • **Dan Kennedy** • Matt Stein • Richard Moore	Upper-middle-class	Suburban	~75% white ~12% Asian ~8% black ~5% Latino
Erie SS (ESS) • **Linda Nevins**	Middle-class/ professional	Suburban	Predominantly white
Huron Secondary School • **Andrew James** • Ryan Grey	Working-class	Urban	Predominantly white <10% non-white
Pine Hill Secondary School • Kevin Parker	Middle-class	Small city	Predominantly white
Dundas Secondary School • Catherine Easton	Middle-class	Urban	Mixed – White Arab/Muslim immigrant populations from Africa, Asia
Queen Elizabeth Secondary School • William Fieldston	Middle-class/ working-class	Rural	Predominantly white

Figure 2: School Characteristics

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Data Sources

Interviews

Following the completion of the institutional review process in each of the participating school systems, the data collection proceeded in two stages. In the first stage, I identified 13 teacher participants – seven in Maryland and six in Ontario – and interviewed them about: their beliefs about history education, the nation, and citizen; their practices in teaching the required national history course (9th grade U.S. history or 10th grade Canadian history); and the ways in which local policies and expectations shaped their work. Participants were recommended by their principals, department chairs, or district social studies curriculum coordinators as examples of "wise practice" (Davis, 1997; Grant, 2005; Yeager, 2000). Among the teachers, there were four women and nine men. One (Jackson Ellis) identified himself as African-American, and the others identified themselves as White. They had between 2 and 26 years of teaching experience; 14 years was the median. Figure 3 below lists the teachers with their years of teaching experience and some details about their educational backgrounds. The teacher interviews lasted between one and three hours each. After collecting basic information about the teacher's background, each interview went on to explore the teacher's beliefs about the aims and purposes of teaching history, the teacher's pedagogical practices, and the role of context in shaping the teacher's practices in the classroom. The interview schedule (Appendix A) was provided to teachers in advance of the interview so that teachers could reflect on the questions in advance if they wanted to do so. The interviews themselves were semi-structured and conversational in tone to allow participants to modify questions. The table below displays some detail about the teacher participants.

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Teacher Participants

Teacher	# years teaching*	Educational background	MD/ON
Deb Patterson	14	BA Economics & Education Masters Public Administration Masters Curr & Instruction National Board Certified Teacher	MD
Jackson Ellis	2	BA History MEd Special Education	MD
Lori Carson	15	BA Secondary Ed (Social Studies)	MD
Jonathan Miller†	13	National Board Certified Teacher	MD
Dan Kennedy	3	BA Political Science MEd Secondary Education	MD
Matt Stein	8	BA Education MEd Administration	MD
Richard Moore†	26	(info not collected)	MD
Linda Nevins†	21	BA History BEd History and Physical Education	ON
Andrew James	11	BS Kinesiology (minor in History) BEd History and Physical Education	ON
Ryan Grey†	8	BA History MA History BEd	ON
Kevin Parker†	19	BA History BEd History	ON
Catherine Easton†	20	BA History BEd MA	ON
William Fieldston	21	(info not collected)	ON

* Includes current year.
† Department chairs for history and social studies in their respective schools.

Figure 3: Teacher Participants

Classroom Observations

In the second stage, I selected three of the Maryland teachers and two of the Ontario teachers for observation. Teacher selection was based upon the following criteria: (a) Teachers had to be teaching the required national history course in the period that I was collecting data, January through May of 2009; (b) I sought to collect data at one middle- or high-socioeconomic status (SES) school and one low- or mixed-SES school in each of the participating districts; and (c) I aimed to observe a mix of male and female teachers. I

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observed the teachers for 7-11 days as they taught the World War II unit of study. I audio recorded the classes and took field notes using the classroom observation guide (Appendix B) to focus my observations on the historical narratives presented in class, the pedagogical practices that teachers used to engage students with those narratives, the physical environment of the classroom, and the social climate. At times when students were working independently or in groups in class, I was able to conduct brief interviews with students about their learning in the class.

In both the Maryland and Ontario schools the required history course is divided into two levels. In DCPSD (Maryland), these levels were "honors" and "on-level," the honors classes being the higher level. I was able to observe one each of Deb Patterson's and Lori Carson's honors and on-level classes. At Harriet Tubman H.S., where Deb and Lori taught, the 9th grade classes were evenly divided between honors and on-level classes. I observed Dan Kennedy's honors class; Dan reported that at Franklin D. Roosevelt H.S., all sections of 9th grade history were honors except for one section that was on-level. In Ontario, the two levels are "academic" and "applied," the academic classes being the higher level. I observed Linda Nevins' academic level class; Linda reported that the majority of grade 10 history classes at Erie S.S. were academic level classes. I observed Andrew James' applied level class; Andrew reported that the majority of grade 10 history classes at Huron S.S. were applied level classes.

Classes observed at the two Ontario schools were 75 minutes long, and the required grade 10 Canada since World War I class was a half-year course, beginning in late January and running through the end of the school year in June. In the Maryland schools, the 9th grade United States History from 1865 to the Present was a full-year course. At Harriet Tubman H.S., each class met for 45 minutes three times per week and for 100 minutes one

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day per week. At Franklin D. Roosevelt H.S., each class met for 45 minutes five times per week. Some of the classes that I observed at Tubman H.S. were scheduled for the same time as classes at Roosevelt H.S., and the same was true of classes at Huron S.S. and Erie S.S., so I had to choose between the two schools on any given day of data collection. Dan Kennedy and Andrew James dedicated fewer class meetings to the study of World War II than the other three teachers observed, so I spent less time observing their classes. I also sought to maximize the range of instructional strategies and narratives observed, so at times I chose which teacher to observe based on the teacher's advance report of what he or she expected to be doing in class on that day. Because the logistics of data collection in multiple classrooms at multiple sites prevented me from observing every class addressing World War II in each teacher's classroom, I used informal focused interviews to gather data about the topics and key instructional activities for classes that I was not able to attend.

Documents and Artifacts

Prior to commencing this study, I completed a comparative analysis of the Maryland and Ontario social studies curricula for grades 9 and 10 to understand how the two address themes of nationhood and citizenship (Faden, 2007). In Ontario, the provincial curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2005) is prescribed curriculum for all public schools. In Maryland, the state curriculum serves as the recommended curriculum. DCPSD developed its own curriculum guide, which I obtained from Deb Patterson. In addition to curriculum documents, I collected artifacts from the classes that I observed, including classroom handouts, assessment activities, the teachers' Powerpoint presentations, and samples of student work. (Facsimiles of a selection of these artifacts are reproduced in the appendices.) I also obtained copies of the textbooks that the participants used as the main text for their classes: *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, Perry, Reed, & Winkler, 2004), *Canada:*

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Our Century, Our Story (Fielding et al., 2001), and *Canadian History: A Sense of Time* (Gini-Newman, Gini-Newman, Bowman, James, & Bray, 2006).

Data Collection Strategy: Relations and Ethics

Mindfulness of my own positionality in the research was essential to being a reflexive researcher "making visible the practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses" (Pillow, 2003, p. 178). My position as a researcher combined elements of both an insider's and an outsider's perspective. My ten years of experience teaching history in a public high school meant that I was familiar with many of the day-to-day challenges facing my teacher participants, but it also meant that I had to be self-reflective and aware of any tendencies to view the participants' work through the prism of my own teaching experiences. Having lived in the two localities in which the research was situated, I was familiar with the demographics and local issues, and so in some sense I considered myself to be an insider. However, because I had never taught in the two school boards where I collected data, I was an outsider to the school, department, and system-wide cultures in which the teachers worked.

In collecting data, Merriam (1998) identifies a continuum of relational possibilities between researcher and participant. My position was that of the "observer as participant," meaning that my data collection activities were known to the teacher and students that I was observing, and "participation in the group is definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer" (pp. 100-101). In recognition of the dynamic nature of social phenomena, I understand data collection as a process of personal engagement with the participants. Rather than capturing a static picture of the phenomena, I looked to approach the topic with "empathic neutrality and mindfulness" that would allow me to represent the complex and shifting nature of the connection between teachers' beliefs and practices, as well as the

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implications for student learning (Patton, 2002). In order to involve them in data collection and analysis, I sent interview transcripts, along with a brief summary of the themes from the interview to participants for their comments and corrections.

Over the course of the data collection process, I came to develop, to varying degrees, relationships of trust and mutual respect with the participants. My stance toward the participants may best be described using Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis's (1997) characterization of research as portraiture:

> The portraitist's stance is one of acceptance and discernment, generosity and challenge, encouraging the actors in the expression of their strengths, competencies, and insights. She sees the actors as knowledge bearers, as rich resources, as the best authorities on their own experience (p. 141).

In collecting and analyzing evidence of these teachers' practices, I came to see that each of these teachers infused their teaching with their values and integrity. I sought to reciprocate the gift of their participation in the research by sharing relevant teaching resources and creating space in our formal and informal conversations for them to develop and refine their visions of their work. I hope that my work is a testament to their commitment and dedication.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data was inductive and recursive, guided by the purpose of study and the theoretical framework. Merriam (2009) argues that data analysis occurs throughout the research process:

> Data collection and analysis is a *simultaneous* activity in qualitative research. Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation, the first document read. Emerging insights, hunches, and tentative hypotheses direct the next phase of data

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> collection, which in turn leads to the refinement or reformulation of questions, and so on. It is an interactive process throughout that allows the investigator to produce believable and trustworthy findings (p. 165).

Analysis began with data collection – as I made judgments about what data to record – and continued as I reviewed and commented on the data, refining plans for continuing data collection.

Analytic categories were drawn from the theoretical framework for this study, as I examined how the teachers described national identity, the nature of citizenship, and their preferred teaching strategies in their interviews. After transcribing each interview, I wrote a memo with an initial synthesis of the emergent themes in the interview, guided by the research questions. Each teacher participant received a transcript of his or her interview along with a summary of themes from the interview. Participants then had the opportunity to correct or comment on the transcript and respond to the themes presented. I compiled interview extracts related to each major theme (e.g., citizenship, national identity, the purposes of history education) in order to note common trends and divergent views. Once these themes emerged, I returned to the original transcripts to look for additional confirming and disconfirming data related to those themes. For the classroom observations, I recorded each class and took detailed notes focusing on the historical narratives deployed in the classes and the pedagogical strategies used by the teachers to engage students with those narratives. I then created a display for each teacher observed summarizing these data. I developed codes for the displays to identify the types of narratives represented in the classroom, drawing upon established traditions in U.S. and Canadian historiography (e.g., political, military, economic, or social history). A historian also coded selections of the data

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to establish reliability. After my initial synthesis of the data, I listened to the recorded classes to look for further evidence that would contradict or complicate my analysis.

The process of analyzing data involved a prolonged examination and rethinking of my theoretical framework, which rendered the process more recursive and less linear than the foregoing account might suggest. The end result was that I came to understand – indeed, to live – the process that Anyon (2009) describes in the introduction to her edited collection of critical education research:

> The authors in this book sought to "knead the dough" of their data/theory mix, working it into a rich and heady brew (Miller, personal communication). For the goal is that theory should help us deepen our research process and raise the level of our studies' meanings significantly extending and enriching the yield of our empirical work (p. 5).

This process was particularly pronounced when it came to analyzing teachers' pedagogical practices. Recent literature on history teachers' practices largely focuses on disciplinary approaches to history education or "historical thinking" (Lévesque, 2008; Seixas, 1996; Wineburg, 2001), but examining the data according to historical thinking concepts did not yield interesting insights on the production of norms of citizenship. Barton and Levstik's (2004) framework of four stances towards history education as citizenship education seemed initially to offer a promising lens, but upon further examination, using this framework did not produce powerful insights into how students are prepared for citizenship in the history classroom. Finally, as I will describe at some length in chapters 5 and 6, I used Hursh and Ross's (2000) description of democratic social education as a way of examining teachers' practices and considering the extent to which they enacted democratic citizenship education.

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Validity, Generalizability, and Implications of the Project

The goal of this project is to develop a fuller understanding of the role of history teachers' ideas and practices on the messages that students receive about citizenship. Employing a case study design, I examined the processes by which teachers conceive of, shape, and enact the curriculum. I also explored the institutional, local, national, and global contexts in which these processes take place. In producing detailed accounts of four teachers' practices, the research achieves naturalistic and reader generalizability, in which the reader generalizes the findings of the research to situations as they see similarities and applicability (Merriam, 1998, p. 211). This type of generalizability depends upon Erickson's (1986) idea of concrete universals: "The general lies in the particular; that is, what we learn in a particular situation we can transfer or generalize to similar situations subsequently encountered" (quoted in Merriam, 1998, p. 210). Naturalistic generalizability depends upon the researcher's ability to provide the level of description and clarity of interpretation necessary for the reader to apply the research to new contexts. In a similar vein, Flyvbjerg (2011) provides a compelling synthesis of arguments from the methodological literature and concludes that case study produces widely applicable knowledge.

While not concerned with "validity" as it is formulated in experimental research, qualitative research does have its own standards for trustworthiness. This project focused on trustworthiness through the use of triangulation, the comparison of multiple cases, member checks, systematic data collection, awareness of the researcher's positionality, and the presentation of thick description (Merriam, 1998, 2009; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005). Limitations of this study are typical of small-scale qualitative research, in that results are not generalizable to a larger population in the manner of experimental research and interpretations reflect the sensitivity and positionality of the researcher.

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Summary

Ultimately, this research sought to raise questions about the character of national identity and discourses of citizenship in the contemporary context of globalization. By historicizing the nation and analyzing the process by which the stories of the nation are constructed, we can call into question the nature of power relations and interrupt the reproduction of those power relations. In framing teachers' practices within the context of their own beliefs and practices with regard to citizenship, the nation, and history education, I aim to examine what Anyon calls (2009) "the *reciprocity* of production and reproduction, showing, for example, the agency of teachers and students in co-creating and perhaps resisting the economic determinations of a school's social context" (p. 6).

This work can be used to develop curriculum materials that present narratives from more diverse points of view and to help history teachers and teacher educators problematize the uses of narrative and pedagogical practices in the history classroom. Patton (2002) posits that interpretation in qualitative research "may take one of three forms: making the obvious obvious; making the obvious dubious; [or] making the hidden obvious" (p. 480, citing Schlechty & Noblit, 1982). Through the documentation of commonplace and taken-for-granted practices – which may be regarded as "the obvious" – I hope to problematize the universalist discourses of national identity.

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CHAPTER 4
History Teachers and the Stories of the Nation

Introduction

In the current chapter, I draw on interview data and my classroom observations to examine dominant discourses of national identity in the United States and Canada, teachers' beliefs about how the nation should be presented in the history classroom, and the narratives that teachers used to teach the history of World War II in their required national history courses. My goal is to provide a deeper understanding of the different ways in which citizenship in the United States and Canada is normalized, as well as how these different discourses reproduce, amplify, or contradict one another. My specific focus is on the pedagogical significance of such discourses of citizenship. Recalling that Rizvi and Lingard (2010) assert that "a social imaginary is … carried in images, myths, parables, stories, legends, and other narratives" (p. 34), mandatory history classes are a venue in which social imaginaries are shaped. I seek to explore how the narratives in history classrooms place the nation in a global order. What are the normative messages for what constitutes ethical action within the community of nations, and what are the implications for the agency of the individual citizen?

While the teachers in this study did not dwell explicitly on issues of globalization in their interviews or in the observed classes, their remarks about national identity and citizenship positioned each nation in a global order. Wertsch (2002) argues that narratives serve a dialogical function, as they "[provide] a dialogic response to previous narratives or [anticipate] subsequent ones. And the nature of the response can range from hostile retort to friendly elaboration, from a studied attempt to ignore another narrative to its celebration" (p. 60). The U.S. teachers' statements about national identity and citizenship focused on

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individual rights and freedoms while downplaying civic responsibilities. The narratives I saw deployed in the U.S. classroom observations positioned the nation as a benevolent force in world affairs, pressed into service by circumstance, and free of imperialistic drives. Canadian teachers' statements about national identity and citizenship focused on Canadian values of multiculturalism and peacekeeping. The narratives they deployed in the Canadian classroom, based on my observations, were dominated by images of the heroic participation of Canadians in the war effort. Examining the dialogic functions of these narratives provides insight into the social imaginary of the history classrooms. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss how these narratives function to limit what kinds of stories can be told about the nation and the "good" citizen.

History Teachers Talk about the Nation

Teacher interviews provided context for the classroom observations that followed in the data collection process. In analyzing teachers' views of the nation, I was interested in the extent to which they reproduced or resisted the pervasive themes of national identity identified in the review of literature addressing national identity in the United States and Canada. I also used the interview data to compare teachers' stated beliefs about the nation with the historical narratives they invoked in the classroom, in order to identify how and to what extent those historical narratives supported the teachers' views of national identity and citizenship.

If teachers are indeed curricular-instructional gatekeepers, then their conceptions of national identity should play a central role in the construction of national identity and citizenship in the history classroom. How do teachers understand national identity and their role in teaching about the interrelated concepts of national identity and citizenship in the nation's youth? I asked teachers about their aims in teaching Canadian or U.S. history.

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Interview questions included, "What do you believe are the characteristics of a good citizen?"; "What do you think students need to learn in order to be good citizens?"; and "What, in your opinion, are the most important topics in a Canadian/U.S. history course?" [1] Questioning teachers about national identity indirectly allowed the teacher to determine to what extent they implicated themselves in the modernist nation-building project. While the questions stipulate that a common rationale for history education is the preparation of future citizens, they do not presume that there is such a thing as a universal national identity. When teachers spoke about the nation, their responses often reflected widespread taken-for-granted characteristics of national identity, such as those identified by Hardwick et al. (2010) or Kaufman (2009), but there were also unexpected responses that challenged conventional wisdom about the culture of nationalism in each country.

U.S. Teachers on the Nation and Citizenship

Given the literature dealing specifically with national identity in the United States and Canada summarized in Chapter 2, one would anticipate that the U.S. teachers would express a strong sense of national identity bolstered by a commitment to promoting individualism and individual rights. For example, Hardwick et al. (2010) characterize U.S. national identity with a strong sense of patriotic nationalism and a reification of individual rights. And the teachers did indeed place a high value on individual rights. They described normative citizenship in terms of the individual's participation in society. However, the U.S. teacher participants displayed a pronounced *disinterest* in promoting nationalism or patriotism, thus turning on its head widely held images of the aggressively patriotic American. Only one

[1] A complete summary of teachers' responses to questions about citizenship can be found in Appendix D. Many of the responses referred to widely held beliefs about citizenship in democratic societies, such as the belief that citizens should understand government institutions, laws, and current issues. These responses appeared not to reflect participants' national context, and so I do not discuss them in depth here.

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teacher, Lori, expressed patriotism as an important value or as a goal of the curriculum. For the most part, the teachers refused to reproduce the narrative of U.S. exceptionalism in their interviews.

Only two of the seven teachers spoke directly about what they wanted their students to know about the United States, and these two teachers had opposing views. Lori, who taught at the ethnically and socioeconomically diverse Harriet Tubman H.S., wanted her students to "appreciate what you have in this country and how important it is to recognize [that] I have these rights, but you have responsibilities." On the other hand, Lori's colleague Deb wanted to share a less celebratory view with her students: "We've got warts, we've got good things, we've got bad things, but I want to give the kids a real honest look at history. Not, 'We're the Americans who saved the day.' Once in while we do … but we make some mistakes along the way." Deb's views take on a particular significance in the study of the curriculum of the nation in wartime because she was the only teacher in the study to have served in the military, having spent over a decade in the U.S. Army. Deb spoke about her military background with pride, so her viewpoints demonstrate that valuing military institutions is compatible with a critical approach to patriotism. Significantly, the other five U.S. teachers interviewed did not speak directly to the idea of U.S. national identity. They appeared to avoid talking about nationally shared values, describing citizenship using broad references to the citizen's rights. They described the model citizen vaguely as one who is an active participant in society, as I will describe in the following paragraphs.

The word that U.S. teachers employed most frequently to describe the behavior of a good citizen was "participation." While none of the Canadian teachers spoke of citizen participation without reference to specific types of activities, six of the seven U.S. teachers interviewed used this *self-consciously neutral* term. For example, Dan, who was in his third

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year teaching at affluent Franklin D. Roosevelt H.S., described good citizenship as, "My top three good citizen traits would be one who gathers information, makes informed decisions, and participates or makes his or her voice heard." Often citing the importance of individual rights, the teachers believed that citizens should enjoy maximal liberties, encumbered only by minimal obligations to other individuals or to society at a whole, such as the obligation to obey laws or vote. Within this discourse, individuals are free to "participate" in society in ways that are gratifying to them. Richard, the department chairperson at Roosevelt, identified a good citizen as "ideally somebody who participates and contributes to society around him or her, either at the local level or wider levels." Indeed, the teachers stated that citizens should participate in ways that are meaningful and serve the common good, as Deb suggested when she clarified her views on citizenship:

> I insist that they are knowledgeable participants and that they care about the consequences of their actions, whether it's here in the classroom, whether it's politically, globally or whatever, that they care about what they do and that they make decisions because it's something that they believe in.

However, U.S. teachers stressed that it was up to the students to define valuable participation for themselves. The teachers' emphasis on good citizenship as participation in society at first glance might appear to resemble Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) model of the good citizen as the "participatory citizen," who utilizes existing institutions and community structures to address social problems. I would be hesitant to make this connection, however, because the civic participation that the teachers described was so lacking in aim and specificity that it more closely resembled a liberal democratic model of citizenship (Habermas, 1996). The teachers' taciturn approach to exemplary citizenship means that the historical narratives take on additional weight in defining good citizenship in their classrooms.

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Another theme that emerged from the interviews with the Maryland teachers was the importance of being informed citizens. The interviews were conducted in early 2009, and most of the teachers referenced the recent presidential election as context for teaching students about citizenship. The teachers expressed concern about the inflammatory tone of partisan political discourse and the need to teach students to bring a critical approach to this discourse. Deb spoke about her drive to equip students to form their own political views, rather than simply following the dominant views in their communities:

> You have to be an informed participant. It's not enough just to participate, you have to know the issues, you have to know *yourself*, what you think, and I find that living here in [this area], it's heavily Democratic. And I'm not from around here, and I'm from a purple state, so I'm used to more toss-up politics, and here everything is just sort of like "we're all Democrats" and that's fine if that's what you really believe, but at 14 and 15, what do you believe? You know, they're still shaping and forming, and certainly they're going to get their ideas about issues and politics from home and from what they see on TV, but I want them to make their own decisions and to learn to be their own people.

Matt, another teacher at Roosevelt, suggested that ignorance represents a real threat to citizenship:

> They have to know what's right and what's wrong and they have to be taught that and they have to understand that particularly here in America that you have certain rights, whether it be freedom of whatever it is; speech, press, whatever and they have to understand that and they have to make sure that they don't and they are not subjected to any kind of perversion of those things. They can't be taken advantage of, I think

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> that's really important that they understand what their full rights are and that they can't be infringed upon.

Other teachers described the challenges of teaching students to engage in thoughtful political discussions when the norms for such discussions in the media and wider culture lack civility and – to borrow a term from Stephen Colbert – truthiness. The teachers' unease over heated political rhetoric is likely related to their reluctance to specify who is a good citizen or what a good citizen does. In such an atmosphere, any normative statement about citizenship may take on partisan shadings.

Canadian Teachers on the Nation and Citizenship

As I discussed in my literature review in Chapter 2, Canadian public discourse does not generally recognize patriotic nationalism as a strong component of Canadian culture. In fact, Canadians tend to view their nation as having a weak sense of nationalism, being founded upon an uneasy union among, principally, English, French, and indigenous Canadians (Saul, 2008). Thus, it came as a great surprise to discover the theme of nationalism that emerged from the interviews with the Ontario teachers in this study. In describing Canadian national identity, five of the six teachers interviewed posited that Canadian identity is difficult to define and that defining Canada is an important function of the Canadian history course. Linda, the department chair at middle-class Erie S.S., stated, "We should be a little more proud of what we do," when she noted that she believed there should be more Canadian history in the high school curriculum. The majority of the teachers named instilling pride in Canada as one of their pedagogical goals. In other words, the Canadian teachers in this study expressed a much greater concern with instilling patriotism than the U.S. teachers in this study. In keeping with Hardwick et al.'s (2010) synthesis of

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literature on Canadian national identity, the teachers focused on the concepts of multiculturalism, social welfare, and peacekeeping.

Four of the six teachers mentioned multiculturalism as one of the most important aspects or values of Canadian society. On this topic, Kevin, who is the department chair at Pine Hill S.S., said, "We have French and English but we also have [other groups]; there is all sorts of things going on and we've really kind of sold ourselves as this mosaic." Two others, Catherine and Andrew, mentioned Canada's history of peacekeeping or Canada's peaceful path to nationhood as defining characteristics. Andrew, who teaches at the working-class Huron S.S., noted,

> I think we do [have a distinct culture] and I think it is distinct from the United States… It's important … how we've worked towards our independence, without the violence, without the war, it does dictate our relationship … with the rest of the world and also our approach to the rest of the world, that we're very much seen kind of as the peace keepers. (Andrew)

Alongside the "peaceful Canada" theme were the descriptions of civility as an important characteristic of Canadian society. A broader theme that encompassed peaceful Canada and civil Canada was the emphasis on the collective good over the individual member of society, as exemplified by commitment to social welfare and social justice. William, an experienced teacher at a rural school, argued,

> How did we become this nation that is looked upon as being a beacon for the world … how did that evolve? It's really important they understand that, that's something that has evolved, because it hasn't been a freak of nature, it hasn't been an accident, people took stands against injustice.

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The teachers' descriptions of Canada reproduced a discourse of Canada as committed to multiculturalism, social welfare, and peacekeeping that Kymlicka (2003) debunks as a pervasive *myth* of Canadian exceptionalism. Yet this myth serves a powerful aspirational purpose, as it gives shape to the nation as imagined community and the good citizen as one committed to these ideals.

As anticipated by Hardwick et al. (2010), Canadian teachers identified commitments to communitarianism, peace-keeping, and multiculturalism as important aspects of Canadian national identity. With one exception, they did not show stronger affinity for regional identity than national identity. This may be a finding that is specific to Ontario, where national and regional identity tend to be more strongly conflated than in other Canadian provinces (Wiseman, 2007). However, the assertion that one purpose of the Canadian history course is to develop a sense of pride in Canada – expressed by five of the six teachers interviewed – is not anticipated in the literature on national identity, and has important implications for the way that history teachers imagine the nation. Only one of the U.S. teachers identified national pride as a desired outcome for history education. In keeping with assumptions about national identity, the U.S. teachers placed a heavy emphasis on the citizen acting as an individual, in possession of maximal liberties. This finding is consistent with previous research on national identity in Canada and the United States. The U.S. teachers in this study diverged from previous findings in their inattention to themes of patriotism and nationalism. Thus, while the teachers adhered to some of the expected characteristics of national identity, the Canadian teachers, for the most part, offered a strongly nationalistic rationale for history education, while the U.S. teachers expressed ambivalence or disinterest in educating for nationalism.

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Stories of the Nation in World War II

To understand more deeply how teachers presented the story of the nation in the classroom – rather than how they *described* their presentation of the story of the nation – I observed five teachers (Deb, Lori, Dan, Linda, and Andrew) over the course of two to four weeks of their U.S. or Canadian history classes. In order to have as complete a record as possible, I also sought to collect all of the materials that the students received during their study of World War II, including textbooks, supplemental texts, homework and other assignments, and tests and quizzes.

Following Wertsch's (2002) model for looking at how narratives are used to construct the nation, the identification of the protagonists and agents in the story of the nation takes on particular importance. Thus, in analyzing the field data, I sought to identify the types of narratives that were used in each setting. I categorized narratives as representing political, military, or social history. These distinctions are not immutable and not always mutually exclusive, but they represent established narrative traditions in the field of historical scholarship.[2] Each category has implications for the representation of citizenship and agency within the nation's history. Narratives in political history typically feature political leaders or even nations themselves as the principal agents, but they may also feature private citizens as political agents. They center upon political, diplomatic, and legislative action, including the formation and promotion of policy, diplomatic negotiations, or the enactment of laws. Military history can feature as its protagonists military personnel at any level, from top leaders to enlisted recruits. Narratives in military history tell the story of war, focusing on

[2] Recent historical scholarship has extended and complicated these traditions in interesting ways. Foner and McGirr (2011) offer a useful overview of recent developments in these fields in U.S. historiography. However, the narratives observed in classrooms for this study did not reflect these recent scholarly developments and instead reflected the older narrative traditions as described.

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big-picture strategy or small-picture stories of individual experiences and contributions to the war effort. Social history, which may include labor history and cultural history, encompasses stories from civil society and tends to focus on the impact of society-wide movements on individuals and their communities. Of course, there are stories that straddle these categories, such as the internment of Japanese-Americans, which includes narratives that fit into both the political and social history traditions, so at times I had to either assign a narrative to more than one category or make fine distinctions using subtle cues related to the teacher's or the text's emphasis.

In keeping with Eisner's (2002) observation that "the timetable teaches" (p. 95), I sought to identify how the precious resource of class meeting time was divided among different types of narratives. I noted the types of narratives used in each class that I observed that was dedicated to some aspect of World War II. I then calculated the percentage of classes in which substantial attention was given to each type of narrative. The results are displayed in the table below. While the percentages varied from teacher to teacher, for all of the U.S. teachers observed, the largest amount of class time was devoted to political narratives, followed by military narratives, with the smallest portion of time devoted to social history narratives. For the two Canadian teachers observed, the largest portion of class time was devoted to military narratives while smaller portions of time were devoted to political narratives and social history narratives. While the chart below might suggest that military narratives were featured with similar frequency in the U.S. and Canadian classes, this suggestion is misleading. In fact, many of the Canadian classes were devoted exclusively to military narratives, whereas many of the U.S. classes presented military narratives in order to contextualize or explain changes in U.S. policy or to illustrate the pressures on U.S. political leaders.

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Percentage of Classes Observed Featuring Different Types of Historical Narratives

	U.S. Classes	Canadian Classes
Political narratives	73%	38%
Military narratives	59%	63%
Social history narratives	14%	38%

Note: Because each class can include multiple types of narratives, the percentages total more than 100.

Figure 4: Types of Historical Narratives in Classes Observed

Because the constraints of collecting data at multiple sites prevented me from observing every class that the five teachers dedicated to World War II, I did a similar analysis of each teacher's World War II unit exam. The results were generally consistent with my observations that class time was devoted primarily to political narratives in the U.S. classes and military narratives in the Canadian classes.

Unit Test Item Analysis by Teacher

	Deb & Lori*	Dan	Linda	Andrew
Political	48%	40%	19%	27%
Military	35%	42%	62%	50%
Social	12%	11%	19%	14%
Economic	4%	7%		9%

*Deb and Lori taught at the same school and used the same unit test.

Figure 5: Unit Test Item Analysis

The quantitative data used in this section provides a fairly blunt instrument for measuring the emphasis on different types of narratives in history classrooms. However, the data reveals consistent differences between the types of narratives that dominate in the U.S. and Canadian history classrooms, and these differences have significance for the construction of national identity and citizenship.

Stories of the United States in World War II

As is evident in the figures above, political narratives were dominant in the U.S. history classrooms. The protagonists in these narratives were usually national leaders, most

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often President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the nations involved in the war. Military narratives were also referenced in a majority of the classes observed. However, military narratives tended to play a supporting role to the political narratives. The emphasis in these narratives was on the big picture – war strategy and the sequences of territory won or lost – and how it affected political events. Throughout the narratives, one prominent theme was the evolving justification for U.S. involvement in the war. Significant class time was devoted to U.S. policies in the period before the United States entered the war (e.g., Neutrality Acts, Lend Lease Policy) and to the events surrounding the end of the war, specifically the development of the atomic bomb and the decision to use atomic weapons against Japan. In short, the World War II narratives, taken as a whole, worked to justify U.S. military involvement in the war. This fits with Crawford and Foster's (2008) assertion that justification of U.S. action in World War II is extremely important to the legitimization of U.S. power in the second half of the 20th century:

> For most Americans it represents the beginning of an age in which America, more than any other nation on earth, zealously undertook both to defend Western freedoms and to promote beneficent capitalism. … The significance of World War II in understanding America's unique place in the world cannot be underestimated. (p. 126)

To this point I would add that the justification of the use of atomic weapons against Japan is very important to the metanarrative, as it was the United States' nuclear advantage that allowed it to dictate much of the balance of power in the postwar era. Thus, one of the dialogical functions of these narratives (Wertsch, 2002), is to establish the United States as the benevolent superpower of the Cold War era.

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What are the implications of these narratives for citizenship? The protagonists and agents of these historical narratives may be taken as representations of good citizens in the story of the nation. The protagonists of classroom narratives were frequently political leaders, such as Franklin Roosevelt, Adolf Hitler, and Neville Chamberlain. Often, the protagonists of the narrative were the nation-states themselves, ostensibly acting as a collective. Rarely were other individuals named as actors or agents. For example, on the unit exam review handout for Deb's class (Appendix D), there is only one individual listed who is not a political or military leader: A. Philip Randolph, the African-American labor union leader. Ordinary people appeared in classroom historical narratives in the form of nameless collectives, such as infantrymen landing on the beaches of Normandy, Japanese-Americans submitting to internment, generic Rosie the Riveters expanding women's presence in the paid workforce, and civilians of all creeds participating in bond drives and rationing campaigns. There is an interesting tension in the U.S. classroom, where students are exhorted to exercise their citizenship as individuals, but offered a dearth of stories about specific private individuals who might serve as models of how this is to be done. Ordinary citizens, these narratives imply, may *participate* in history, but their agency is extremely limited – they do not *make* history by influencing the course of events. In other words, in the narrative world of the classes that I observed, agency rested firmly in the hands of men in positions of national power.

Stories of Canada in World War II

The narratives offered in Canadian history classrooms painted an entirely different view of the war. Not only did military narratives dominate the pedagogical landscape in the Canadian classrooms, but these narratives attended in detail to the material experiences of ordinary soldiers. A majority of the Canadian history classes observed devoted much or all

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of the class to military narratives, with more emphasis on battles, tactics, and the use of military technologies. The "word wall" from Linda's class (Appendix E) illustrates this focus. Several terms are related to the experience of war from the perspective of ordinary Canadians or Britons (e.g., Anderson Structures, WRENs, rationing) or to important military offensives (e.g., Operation Overlord, the Manhattan Project). The majority of terms on this list are actually terms related to the rise of fascism in Europe (e.g., Nuremburg Laws, Kristallnacht, brown shirts). Noticeably absent from the list are references to Canadian political or diplomatic actors. In fact, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King is mentioned only three times in the 31-page chapter on World War II in Linda's main textbook, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* (Fielding et al., 2001, pp. 174, 175, 184). The text ignores Mackenzie King's masterful use of statecraft and regional politics to ensure that the nation emerged from the war more unified and independent than it had ever been (R. Wardhaugh, personal communication, March 16, 2012). In ignoring the role of politics in shaping Canada's wartime experience, these narratives marginalize the role of democratic processes in shaping the course of the war. In contrast to the U.S. narratives, which focused most heavily on political actors, the difference is striking.

The focus on the personal experience of war is in keeping with the important role that the two world wars play in Canada's grand nation-building narrative. The world wars are frequently represented as the test by which Canada proved itself as an independent nation, rather than a junior partner in the British Commonwealth. The assertion that Canada "came of age" at the Battle of Vimy Ridge in World War I can be found in virtually every

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contemporary Canadian history textbook.[3] In his treatise on the construction of Canada's national myths, Francis (1997) wrote,

> How should war and its heroes be remembered? The master narrative presents both world wars as heroic struggles to preserve a way of life from enemies who would overwhelm it. According to the master narrative, the sacrifice of all those young lives was valorous and meaningful. War is horrible, but its horror is redeemed by noble sacrifice. This is the official memory of the war. It is unambiguous and idealistic. It invokes the war to promote unity and patriotism. The belief that Canada "came of age" at Vimy Ridge, for example, sanctions the slaughter, makes it purposeful, repays in part the debt we owe to the men who died there. (p. 126)

The presentation of World War II in the classrooms that I observed, as well as in the interviews with Canadian teachers, played to both sides of this collective memory. Teachers wanted to foster respect for the sacrifices of the World War II generation while also painting a vivid picture of the horrors of war. This treatment of the war offers a superficial critique of militarism but ultimately fetishizes the horrors of war by imbuing them with the noble aura of sacrifice for the greater good.

Protagonists in the historical narratives I observed in the Canadian classes included the nations involved in the war, leaders of foreign nations, and citizens who contributed to the war effort in both military and non-military capacities. There were strikingly few references to Canadian leaders, including Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, his cabinet, and generals or other high-ranking military figures.[4] Detailed narratives about the

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[3] Berton (1986) provides a classic account of this narrative from its origins in 1917.

[4] In fact, there was more attention to political developments in Europe leading up to and during the war than in Canada. A substantial amount of the political narrative content in Andrew's and Linda's classes was devoted to political developments in nations other than Canada.

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fighting of the war described the valuable contributions that Canadians made to the war effort. The overall impression given is that Canadians participated in the war heroically, but they were not responsible for the conduct of the war. The presentation of the war from the soldier's perspective is consistent with Heer's (2010) assessment of Canadian accounts of the Great War:

> In a lot of ways, English Canadian historiography on the war is oddly stunted: on the one hand historians like Cook have done magnificent archival research so we have a tremendous knowledge of the war as experienced by soldiers. But there is a persistent tendency to ignore the big picture. (n.p.)

Because political leaders, generals, and policymakers are not presented as agents in this narrative landscape, no one is responsible for the troubling aspects of the war, such as unequal treatment of women and ethnic minorities, military failures, or the civilian casualties that resulted from Allied air strikes. As I will discuss at the end of this chapter, a focus on celebrating the heroic sacrifice of individual soldiers renders difficult any attempt to represent an anti-war perspective in the Canadian history curriculum.

My analysis of narratives in use in classrooms demonstrates the role that the history curriculum plays in constructing the nation as an imagined community with a continuous unfolding narrative (Anderson, 1991). Through the narratives described, members of these communities imagine themselves as part of a benevolent nation-building enterprise. In both the Canadian and U.S. grand narratives of nationhood, World War II plays a particular role in that it provides an unambiguous enemy in the form of fascist Germany. In all five of the classrooms in which I observed, considerable time was devoted to the development of the National Socialist Party and the ambitions of Adolf Hitler. Hitler, students are told, took advantage of the economic desperation of ordinary Germans to solidify his control of

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Germany and implement his Final Solution. The model of historical agency here is one in which the actions of nations are the result of the intentions of national leaders; the actions of the citizenry is irrelevant.[5] There is little discussion of the ambiguities of war and broader questions of responsibility, such as those examined in World War II curricula in many European nations, such as Germany, England, and Sweden (Crawford & Foster, 2008; Nicholls, 2006). Within this master narrative, the actions of the Allies are, by their necessity, heroic. Yet there are counternarratives that dramatize the ambiguities of war. These counternarratives ask us to consider the costs of total war, the questions of how the burdens and benefits of wartime sacrifice are distributed, and the lasting impact on those who fight.

Schematic Narrative Templates in the United States and Canada

Examining the enacted curriculum in the United States and Canada complicates our understanding of how national identity is represented and constructed in the history classroom. The results presented here raise questions about ways in which the stories of the nation told in high school history classes may be at odds with the most desirable or hopeful images of these nations. Because we are constantly drawing upon narratives to make sense of our world, their role in shaping our social imaginary goes largely unnoticed. McLaren (1995) argues,

> Contained in all cultural narratives is a preferred way of reading them. We don't only live particular narratives but we inhabit them (as they inhabit us). The degree to which we resist certain narratives depends upon how we are able to read them and rewrite them. (p. 98)

[5] For a critical examination of this type of historical agency, see den Heyer 2003, 2006.

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It is only through the systematic observation of the uses of historical narratives that we can understand and challenge them. I propose that inquiry into the use of history education in the project of contemporary nation-building must work to document the narratives that are used to produce the nation as imagined community. Wertsch's (2002) narrative dialogicality is a way of theorizing this process and naming the silences that are produced. In particular, it is important to consider the extent to which certain narratives function as a means for evading questions about the ethical responsibilities of the nation and, by extension, of the citizen. What is at stake here is the possibility of understanding how historical narratives normalize each nation's place in the world order and its relations with the community of nations. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) write, "We use the notion of 'social imaginary' to suggest that policies are not only located within discourses, but also in imaginaries that shape thinking about how things might be 'otherwise' – different from the way they are now" (Rizvi & Lingard 2010, p. 8). My findings reveal that the stories of the nation articulated by history teachers who participated in my research often functioned to close off the possibility of "thinking about how things might be 'otherwise.'"

Within the literature of history education research, there is little critical discussion of the privileged place of military narratives in Canadian history classes.[6] These narratives support the teachers' intention to foster national pride in their students and educate them in a form of citizenship that gives primacy of place to the needs of society over the needs of the individual. However, they exist in tension with the discourse of nationhood that celebrates "peaceful Canada" – a nation of peacekeepers who used peaceful means to develop from

[6] Critical discussion of narratives used to teach Canadian history has focused largely on the representation or lack of representation of Canada's many cultural and linguistic minorities. For example, see Conrad, 2011; Seixas and Clark, 2011; Stanley, 2006. The publication of McKay and Swift's *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an age of anxiety* later this year promises to bring more attention to the role of military narratives in the construction of the imagined community.

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British colony to independent nation. Moreover, the insistence that Canada "came of age at Vimy Ridge," commonplace in Canadian textbooks and popular texts, suggests that Canada's path to nationhood was no less violent than if it had been made by revolution. Richardson (2002) noted that in the Alberta social studies curriculum documents, Canada's participation in World War II was presented as evidence of "mature nationhood" (p. 67). Thus, the proliferation of historical narratives that detail Canada's active presence in World War II, such as providing training and manufacturing for the British air force or participating in D-Day and the liberation of the Netherlands, serve as a testimony to Canadian nationhood. The triumphal use of the two world wars in the popular imagination of the nation begs the question of whether this tradition belies the "peaceful Canada" grand narrative with the view to promoting a discussion about alternative war narratives that offer a more nuanced approach to the ethics of citizenship in wartime.

These narratives of military heroism may persist in the Canadian collective memory because they speak to the Canadian public's unease about Canada's status as a nation. The uncritical celebration of Canadian participation in World War II, and in international events more broadly, represents an English Canadian schematic narrative template, to borrow Wertsch's (2002) term. I propose that this template be called, "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage." It describes a pattern for the stories represented in history classes:

1. There is an initial situation in which Canada's national strength or autonomy is in question.
2. Canada seizes an opportunity to make vital contributions to a global effort.
3. Canada earns new recognition and respect from powerful nations, usually European nations and/or the United States.

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The problem with this schematic narrative template is that, like all schematic narrative templates, it exerts hidden control over the stories that are told about Canada. It means that historical narratives from all eras of Canadian history – such as the War of 1812, numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions, and even the 1972 hockey Summit Series – are shaped to demonstrate that Canada deserves recognition as a member of the international community. At the same time, it precludes the telling of stories that undermine that recognition or call attention to morally ambiguous aspects of Canadian history. In 1992, the CBC aired *The Valour and the Horror*, a documentary that included an episode devoted to Canadian participation in air strikes on German civilian targets. The documentary prompted a public outcry of protest followed by Senate hearings discrediting the narratives. *The Valour and the Horror* has not been broadcast since. Following these events, publicly funded documentaries about Canadian participation in World War II have thoroughly embraced the valor while turning away from the horror (Grace, 2009). The importance placed on the two world wars as tests of Canadian nationhood makes it extremely difficult to raise anti-war perspectives in public discourse or in the classroom.

In the case of the enacted curriculum in the U.S. schools, the predominance of political narratives has long been recognized. However, the equivocations and expressions of unease with regard to the norms of citizenship expressed by the U.S. teachers in this study were not anticipated in the literature. Analyses of the discourse of nationhood in U.S. history textbooks such as those offered by Loewen (2007), Crawford and Foster (2008), and VanSledright (2008), paint a picture of triumphal nationalism that was not consistent with most of the participants' expressed views. In place of purely celebratory patriotic narratives, the stories from the U.S. classrooms could be classified under a schematic narrative template that I will call "The Reluctant Hegemon":

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1. There is an international conflict in which the United States is not involved.
2. The situation grows increasingly worrisome until there is a turning point in which the U.S. public is convinced of the justness of intervention.
3. The United States enters the conflict and tips the scales, resulting in victory for the righteous.

This template clearly works for the two world wars, but it may also be seen in narratives of other conflicts, such as the Spanish American War and even the Revolutionary War. Note that this emphasis on the reluctance of the United States to enter into wars is a narrative strategy that makes it difficult to suggest that the country pursues or has ever pursued an imperialist agenda. Thus, the economic or geopolitical gains that have resulted from American military actions are simply the natural consequences of engaging in these just wars; they are certainly not the motivation for entering into any war in the first place.

The schematic narrative template identified with each nation – "The Reluctant Hegemon" and "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage" – is, at its core, about that nation's place in the global order. One striking feature of these templates is the way that both construct their nation as passive in the face of larger forces of history. The Reluctant Hegemon goes to war and assumes the role of hegemon due to circumstances putatively beyond its control. It is ironic to the point of perversity to write the story of the mightiest economic and military power in modern history as one of unwitting inheritor; but this writing makes it possible for the citizen of the hegemon to avoid claiming responsibility for the global inequality, poverty, and injustices that result from its policies. As for Canada Proves Itself, this template may at first appear to be an innocent coming-of-age story, but in truth it draws attention away from questions of Canada's complicity in British or American hegemony. In this narrative, Canada only acquires recognition as a nation through its

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contribution to British or American campaigns, and thus its citizens appear not to have the standing to critique the global order that they participate in creating. The failure to attend to political narratives in the Canadian history classroom also renders democratic processes irrelevant and therefore invests the citizen with no agency by which to work for social justice.

Summary

The stories of nationhood discussed in this chapter rest on the presumption that the United States and Canada have earned their wealth and privileged place in the community of nations through the exercise of leadership and selfless contributions to the world. When one reads the narratives closely, however, we can see that they address the insecurities that each nation has about its place in the global order. In this way, mandatory secondary school history classes contribute to a social imaginary in which global asymmetries of power are not subject to critique. This social imaginary suggests that nations and their citizens react to developments in global events; they are not responsible for them. This view of the citizen as helpless and without agency echoes the dominant discourse of globalization which

> suggests that globalization of the economy in particular is inevitable and irreversible. It implies moreover that nobody is in charge of globalization; and that it benefits everyone. Now it is possible to contest each of these claims, but as ideological assertions they are often assumed, rather than put forward as claims to be tested or debated (Rizvi & Lingard 2010, p. 33).

History education offers an opportunity for students to learn that economic, political, and social developments are *not* inevitable, and that they derive from policies that should be subject to democratic processes. For this reason, we should be concerned about the way that

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the historical narratives in this study contributed to a pedagogy of social reproduction and the fostering of a politically passive citizenry.

Examining the process of imagining the nation in the history classroom reveals that the historical narratives used in history classrooms paint a triumphal picture of the United States and Canada that may contradict even the teachers' own conceptions of national identity and citizenship. As Anderson (1991) asserts, the imagining of the nation requires the construction of a public memory that remembers some narratives while forgetting others. A critical approach to history requires teachers to interrogate which narratives are silenced in the written curriculum (Segall, 1999). Understanding the hidden dialogicality of historical narratives can help teachers and teacher educators engage more critically with these narrative traditions. At the same time, we must remember Wertsch's (2002) contention that narratives are cultural tools, a conceptual resource that individuals draw upon to make sense of the world. For this reason, we need to understand that stories belong both to the individual who tells them and to the culture as a whole. Rather than blame teachers for the lack of critically-minded counternarratives to tell the story of the nation, we should ask why these narratives occupy center stage in the popular imagination. In the following chapter, I will look at the way that policy environments and other contextual factors influence the ways that teachers tell the story of the nation.

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CHAPTER 5
History Teachers' Pedagogies in Context: The Maryland Case Study

Introduction

In posing the question, "How do history teachers use historical narratives and pedagogical practices to imagine the nation and the 'good' citizen?" I sought to understand the implication of teachers' practices for citizenship education. One of the foci of my research is the way in which context – the expectations of school administrators, the intended curriculum, students, parents, and community members – shapes teachers' work. In this chapter I will present and discuss two main findings. The first is that teachers' practices were constrained by increased expectations for adherence to the written curriculum and by increased practices of surveillance of teachers, and this finding was markedly more true for the Maryland teachers than the Ontario ones. This finding came as a surprise because the literature on the impact of neoliberal reforms on history education has focused on the effect of state-mandated testing (Au, 2009; Grant et al., 2002; Salinas, 2006; van Hover & Heinecke, 2005), but in the cases of Ontario and Maryland, there is no state or provincial history test. However, the local school district in Maryland administered its own standardized mid-year and final examinations in the absence of state testing. This context of accountability has serious implications for how citizenship education is addressed in the context of the history classroom. The finding that the teaching of history is increasingly regulated by state and local policies even in the absence of state testing has not yet been documented in the literature of history education.

The second significant finding discussed in this chapter is that the teachers working in the middle- and high-SES schools provided their students with markedly more opportunities

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to exercise what VanSledright (2008) calls "high-status cognitive capabilities" than the teachers at the low- or mixed-SES schools. VanSledright argues that history classes should prepare students to meet the demands of democratic citizenship:

> In information-laden, pluralistic democracies, capabilities for thinking through, assessing, and evaluating (in speech and/or writing) the plethora of political, product, and media claims that appear in startling numbers every day may well be understood as necessities. These cognitive capabilities are considered high-status forms of knowledge that can be (perhaps need to be) matched to the growing intellectual demands life in the 21st century makes on citizens of such democracies. (p. 130)

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have argued that democratic education should develop students' capacity for identifying and explaining the causes of injustice. Hess (2009) argues that engaging students in controversial political discussions is an important part of education for democracy. Working from the position that history education should educate students for "strong democracy" (Barber, 1984) or "deliberative democracy" (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004), I was attentive to the implications that teachers' pedagogical practices have for the development of skills needed for analysis, critique, deliberation, and self-expression as integral to citizenship education.

The finding that high-SES students have a richer, more rigorous curriculum builds on a tradition of qualitative research documenting the ways that the enacted curriculum prepares working-class children for unskilled or low-wage work while preparing high-SES children to assume positions of power and authority (e.g., Anyon, 1981; Oakes, 1985; Willis, 1977). This study offers insight into why, at least in the history classroom, SES so often is a factor in determining the complexity or rigor of the enacted curriculum. All of the teacher participants were highly-qualified and knowledgeable about their subject matter, and all

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espoused a commitment to providing all students with a high-quality academic curriculum; thus, the discrepancies noted should not be attributed to differences in teacher qualifications or low expectations for students from historically disadvantaged communities. Examining the impact of context upon teachers' work sheds light on why teachers enact the curriculum differently when presented with the reality of students from different cultural or class backgrounds. Differences in the enacted curriculum can be explained by the different funds of cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu, 2002) that students bring to class. Observing classes in four schools representing communities positioned socioeconomically as working-class (Huron Secondary School), mixed (Harriet Tubman High School), middle-class (Erie Secondary School), and upper middle-class (Franklin D. Roosevelt High School), it became clear that the curriculum was designed to utilize the cultural and social capital that is generally accessible to middle-class and upper middle-class students. My findings explain the processes by which neoliberal reforms, which limit teachers' agency as the curricular-instructional gatekeeper, exacerbate the social inequalities in the enacted curriculum.

Connecting Pedagogies and Citizenship Education

Analyzing the implications of the history curriculum for citizenship education is not a simple task. As discussed in previous chapters, the literature on citizenship education is vast, comprising a wide range of theoretical approaches to citizenship. For the purposes of this study, I focus on how the enacted history curriculum teaches students to engage with the challenges of citizenship in a democracy. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have explored at length the challenges of defining what education for democratic citizenship should look like, noting,

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> At the level of rhetoric, most educators, policymakers, and citizens agree that developing students' capacities and commitments for effective and democratic citizenship is important. When we get specific about what democracy requires and about what kind of school curricula will best promote it, however, much of that consensus falls away. (p. 241)

I use Westheimer and Kahne's three types of good citizen (the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the justice-oriented citizen) to conceptualize the aims of different enacted curricula. While it is difficult to fix a definition or a set of characteristics to good citizens, there is consensus that citizenship requires rigorous (or "higher order") thinking skills, the ability to find and evaluate sources of information, engagement with diverse cultures and points of view, and a range of effective communication options. As I examine teachers' practices, I am looking for the extent to which they facilitate Hursh & Ross's (2000) description of democratic social education:

> The aim of this approach to social studies is not to indoctrinate students in a particular way of seeing the world but to have teachers and students together realize that they do not know what they need to know, pose questions, and diligently pursue answers to those questions with a critical eye toward the sources of information. To create a critical literacy, students have to have access to views other than those provided by the people in power and must be able to situate current issues within their historical context. In much the same way that we have situated social studies within its historical, political, and economic context, teachers and students need to be able to situate and connect social studies to the wider culture. (p. 13)

Thus, my view of citizenship education has much in common with the pedagogical aims of productive pedagogies (Lingard et al., 2003), critical literacy (Janks, 2010; Lankshear &

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McLaren, 1993), and many proponents of democratic social studies education (e.g., Au, 2009; Hursh & Ross, 2000; Thornton, 2005).

In this chapter I will first describe the impact of policy environments (school, district, and state policies) on the work of teacher participants in the Maryland school district in this study. Then I will present case study portraits two of the teachers that I observed in Maryland, noting both how they balance their own goals and values within the constraints imposed by the context in which they work. As I noted in the previous chapter, teachers in this study have a view of themselves as professionals with a high level of agency when it comes to shaping the enacted curriculum. The case study portraits reveal how the policies of increased accountability and surveillance limit their agency in telling the story of the nation.

The Policy Context in Maryland

When I asked the Maryland teachers how they decided what topics they would teach, they immediately referred to the standardized examinations that the school district's curriculum office required them to administer twice during the year-long 9th grade U.S. history course. These examinations, which consisted primarily of multiple-choice-type questions with two essay questions, ensured that teachers taught the prescribed curriculum. Ross (2000) has described the movement to prescribe what knowledge shall be taught in social studies classes as "antidemocratic because they severely restrict the legitimate role of teachers and other educational professionals, as well as the public, in the conversation about the origin, nature, and ethics of knowledge taught in the social studies curriculum" (p. 220).

The standardized examinations proved to be just one of a number of neoliberal policy initiatives that sought to increase control of teachers' practices. Teachers also described an intensification of the surveillance of their work by administrators, parents, and their own colleagues. These practices were designed to ensure that students in the same course

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received a similar curriculum, regardless of who their teacher was or which school the student enrolled in, and such policies were justified as increasing the equity of educational provision for disadvantaged students. I argue, however, that attempts to standardize the curriculum actually increase the inequities between high-status and low-status schools, while also curbing teachers' professional autonomy. Many other researchers have found that recent neoliberal educational reforms are justified with promises of decreasing educational inequality, but that in practice inequalities have widened following the implementation of these reforms (Hursh, 2008; Lipman; 2004; McNeil, 2000).

I will describe how the intensified surveillance of teachers' work inhibited their ability to engage students in the type of rigorous, critical, and open-ended learning that democratic citizenship requires. Ball (2003) has asserted that regimes of performativity change "what it means to be a teacher" (p. 217), replacing professional beliefs and judgment with either policy compliance or else strategic fabrication to elude compliance. Others (e.g., Apple, 1986, 2000; Ross, 2000) have argued that the agenda behind accountability is to strip teachers of their professional autonomy. The aggregate affect of increased control of teacher work is to reduce the ability of the teacher to engage deeply and critically with her subject, an effect that Luke (2006) describes as "a retrograde recommodification of knowledge" (p. 123). My conversations with teachers elucidate the ways in which accountability measures narrow both the content and the range of pedagogical practices that teachers can bring into the classroom, thus impoverishing their work as citizenship educators.

Before describing the policies that regulated teachers' work, I should note that I did not approach this project with an explicitly Foucauldian framework, but as I listened to teachers describe their practice, I was drawn to Foucault's concepts of discipline and surveillance as a way of understanding the shaping of the enacted curriculum (see Anyon,

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2009). Foucault's notion of governmentality "take[s] into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself" (Lemke, 2002, p. 52).

Standardized Examinations and Control of Curriculum Content

When I arrived to interview teachers at Harriet Tubman High School and Franklin D. Roosevelt High School, it was the middle of the district's January examination week. It was only the third year in which the teachers had administered standardized mid-year and final examinations for the grade 9 U.S. history course. Speaking to the teachers, it was clear that these examinations were the primary mechanism for controlling what teachers taught at both Tubman and Roosevelt. The school district prescribed a curriculum framework that outlined what historical content should be taught in the course, and this was the content on which students were tested. All of the teachers in this study reported that the expectation that they teach the content outlined in the county curriculum document, combined with consideration of what would be on the county exam, were the most important criteria in deciding what historical events and ideas they would devote attention to in their U.S. History course. Matt, a teacher at Roosevelt, described this process:

> When we get the [county] curriculum…we analyze it, and it tells you what you have to cover. So we have the expectations set for us from the state. So then…we decide how long are we going to spend. So I meet with US history teachers to say how long we want to spend on World War II. So we take out a calendar, we map it all out how long it's going to take each day. Obviously, you're independent, do what you want to do in your classroom as long as you cover the material in the curriculum. I think that the county does a good job of the curriculum as far as what you should cover, but it's very rigid and regimented as to what you can teach because of the time constraints. I

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> mean, I'd like to spend more time on certain topics, discuss different things but, like you said, you don't have the time to do that. I have the time to cover the curriculum but I don't have the time to incorporate things I think kids might be more interested in.

Other teachers indicated that the intended curriculum did not leave room for them to cover additional topics or examine topics in greater depth. Lori at Tubman, for example, stated,

> We don't teach 9/11 although some teachers take the liberty to do it. I would love to be able to go that far, but that time crunch… I need to make sure that I really do a good job with the stuff that they've given us to do at the end, and I don't see where any teacher has two or three days to go beyond where we're supposed to go just to teach for fun when it's not going to be on the semester exam. It's not going to be tested anywhere.

This effect was exacerbated by the fact that teachers were not permitted to see the examination before they gave it to students. Some teachers said that they were afraid if they skipped certain topics that they deemed less significant, they would appear on the examination, and the teachers would feel that they had not served their students well. It was this fear that kept teachers "in line" and teaching the prescribed curriculum, in many cases rendering their own professional knowledges and values irrelevant to the task of teaching. If, for example, a teacher felt that it was important for her students to study the events surrounding the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, she might feel – as Lori did – that including an additional topic deprived her students of knowledge that would be measured on the standardized exam.

Through the interview and observation process, it became clear that the weight of the exam was felt more heavily in one of the two U.S. schools in the study. Teachers at Harriet

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Tubman High School, the school representing mixed SES students, displayed a higher level of concern with their students' performance on the exams than teachers at Franklin Roosevelt High School, the high-SES school, as I witnessed the teachers on examination day at Tubman anxiously discussing whether they had taught all of the material on the examination. The teachers at Harriet Tubman – Lori, Deb, and Jackson – all reported that they devoted considerable time in class to test preparation, including reviewing sample exam questions and focusing on the type of vocabulary that would be on the exam. Preparing their socioeconomically and racially diverse students for the standardized exams was a daily concern for these teachers. At Roosevelt, on the other hand, all three teachers interviewed noted that the standardized exams were not especially challenging for their students. The three Roosevelt teachers interviewed indicated that the tests that they created for their classes were more challenging than the exams that the county produced. Richard, the department chairperson at Roosevelt, said, "I think my experience with teachers is that the county sets, you know, a decent bar, but it's not real rigorous compared to what a lot of kids at Roosevelt can do."

Furthermore, the examination itself represented a superficial approach to history education of a type widely critiqued by history education researchers (e.g., VanSledright, 2008, 2010; Wineburg, 2001). The curriculum documents list "essential questions"[1] and goals for student understanding that imply that students are expected to do more than simply memorize and reproduce historical narratives. However, the exam review sheet, which was distributed to teachers approximately six weeks before each exam date, was a long list of specific people and events from history, suggesting that the real goal of the exam is to test

[1] The term "essential questions" was taken from Wiggins & McTighe (2005), whose work was influential in curriculum planning in this school district.

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students' knowledge of historical facts, not their understanding or interpretation of history. The exam consisted primarily of multiple choice questions, with a few short essay, or Brief Constructed Response (BCR), items at the end. The effect of the standardized county exam was to focus teachers on the transmission of historical facts, rather than on engagement with history as a discipline, a set of skills, or a critical engagement with historical narratives. The examination stripped the history curriculum of its connection to strong democratic education.

Technologies of Surveillance

What is the role of the teacher within the paradigm of performativity and accountability? According to Ball (2003), performativity regimes seek to maintain "the appearance of freedom in a 'devolved environment'" (p. 218), as "[m]anagerial responsibilities are delegated, initiative and problem-solving are highly valued. On the other hand, new forms of very immediate surveillance and self-monitoring are put in place; e.g. appraisal systems, target-setting, output comparisons" (p. 219). In other words, the teacher is extolled as the creative, enterprising problem-solver who is accountable only to performance measures, such as the standardized exams described above. My findings illustrate the extent to which "the appearance of freedom" is maintained through a variety of subtle technologies of surveillance.

At the time of data collection, the participating school district had implemented other forms of surveillance of teachers' work in recent years. The examinations functioned as one forms of surveillance, as the scores were sent to the district's central office so that schools could be compared on the basis of their students' performance. A new online portal put the teachers' grade books online so that students and parents could view their complete performance record at any time. Administrators used these grade books as one means to compare and control teachers' performance. Richard, the department head at Roosevelt, had

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his teachers compare the number and types of entries in their grade books in a department meeting in order to facilitate a conversation about the different expectations that teachers had for students within the same course:

> I said, these people have a real challenge. So the principal and vice principal said – actually, it was the principal's great idea – take those final reports and take a kid from each class [and] put them together. So there's 4 teachers, here's what you all did … and I said, no accusation, I just said to everybody, if your team is close you're fine. I didn't have to say, "But Lisa, you and Bob and John are way off, what you are out of your friggin' minds? You got 3 and he's got 20 and you've got a test worth 5 points and it was all over the place!" and I didn't say that, I just gave it to them for them to process.

By presenting teachers with the data in their own grade books, Richard hoped that the teachers would come to their own consensus about how to reconcile discrepancies between their assessment practices. Richard indicated that approximately two thirds of the teachers in his department willingly cooperated in order to ensure that their expectations were roughly comparable to their colleagues. The other one third, according to Richard, resisted these efforts to control their work.

Collaboration: Substantive and Contrived

As Richard described above, teachers were expected to meet together in teams to ensure some level of comparability of the received curriculum for their students. When I spoke with administrators, including department chairs, principals, and administrators from the central office, they talked about the importance of teachers collaborating in order to ensure that learning outcomes were similar for the same course regardless of who was teaching the course. At both Roosevelt and Tubman, all of the 9th grade history teachers

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were expected to meet regularly to plan the time frame for the various units of study and share their assessment activities. Similar expectations were in place for teachers of other history and social studies classes. All of the teachers interviewed had adopted the practice of teaching content simultaneously in order to ensure that they would complete each unit of study on the same day or within a few days of each other. Teachers gave the same test at the end of each unit, though they reported that they would sometimes edit the test to fit their course, such as by changing the essay questions. These expectations that teachers collaborate and use similar assessment practices were another example of what Ball (2003) called "the appearance of freedom in a 'devolved environment'" (p. 218). Using teacher collaboration as the means to curricular control meant that responsibility was devolved to teachers, but they were held accountable to the examination composed by the school district's central office. In theory, the teachers had complete freedom to enact the curriculum, as long as they prepared students for the (multiple-choice knowledge-based) examination.

Hargreaves (1991) has drawn a distinction between collaboration that is "contrived" versus collaboration that is "substantive." Teachers in this study described their collaborative work in mainly positive terms, suggesting that while collaborative meetings were largely forced upon them, they used the opportunity to forge substantive partnerships. Participants reported that such collaboration allowed them to share ideas and materials and decreased the amount of "reinventing the wheel" that teachers do when they have to create new lesson plans from scratch. All of the participants reported that they had good working relationships with their colleagues, sharing materials or teaching ideas on a daily or near-daily basis. For the most part, they did not state that collaboration limited their professional autonomy, as Deb indicated;

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> Even though we teach the same topics, we have our own approaches, and Lori goes way overboard when she teaches trench warfare, and she brings in fog machines. I don't, so you know, if there's something that we really like or want to bring in, we can. Nobody has any problems, we just go, "Oh, okay, I'm cold on that one, so whatever. You go ahead and do it."

Lori's comments reveal the level of inspiration and emotional support that she draws from collaboration with Deb:

> We have a great rapport with each other…. We ask each other questions. Part of being a good teacher, I think, is having fun with what you're doing. I have so much fun with everybody, we get the work done, and then the kids, I think, can feel that we're really interested in having fun with the subjects…. So they get excited about it, and I like that also.

The teachers all spoke in positive terms about their partnerships with colleagues as a source of inspiration, creativity, and increased access to teaching resources.

However, from my perspective, the push toward teacher collaboration seemed to be an effective way for the school board to discipline teachers' practices by using other teachers to pressure them into conforming. Dan spoke about this dynamic:

> If I'm boxed in on anything, for instance if I wanted to add something, I'd be boxed in by time and I would be boxed in by other teachers…. [The county] wants all the teachers teaching the class to be teaching the same stuff. They leave it up to you how to teach it, but they want you to teach the same thing.

Richard, the department chair at Roosevelt, noted that some teachers did resist the push toward collaboration:

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> Some of our teams, it's working very well, where their tests are decent quality, good collaboration and they say, we're going to spend X days on this unit, we're testing on blank, on Reconstruction on this day, we each decide how we get there, but we test the same, grade the same, and the work is good. And then there are others that are at the other extreme and it's been a frustration.

Richard described in detail the discussions that he had with teachers in attempting to align the enacted curriculum in one teacher's class with all the other teachers who taught the same course. Richard recognized that teachers should have a degree of professional autonomy, but he was also responsible for ensuring that teachers were accountable for teaching the prescribed curriculum. I was able to sit in one team planning meeting at Tubman, and I found that there was indeed an atmosphere of collegiality and mutual respect, but also one of brisk efficiency. The teachers were planning out the curriculum for the remainder of the year. One teacher suggested that the group should leave more time for the final unit, examining events from 1992 to the present, so that students could understand the origins of recent developments in U.S. foreign policy. In the ensuing discussion, Deb and Lori pointed out that there would be few questions on the exam from this time period and, thus, it was hard to justify devoting more time to these events. At that point, Deb looked at me sheepishly and said, "We know. The exam drives our teaching." There are significant implications for citizenship education when teachers cannot find opportunities to address the nation's role in contemporary geopolitics. Many of the claims of history education's relevance to citizenship education presuppose that studying history allows students to contextualize contemporary social and political issues. But when contemporary social and political issues are squeezed out of the curriculum, students cannot make explicit connections between past and present.

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My conversations with teachers raised questions about how expectation for collaboration put limits on the possibilities for curricular innovation. In the end, each unit of study at Tubman and Roosevelt ended with a traditional paper-and-pencil test, consisting of multiple-choice and essay-type questions; I had to wonder whether there was space in the curriculum for students to engage in the kind of in-depth, open-ended inquiry that would allow them to explore the implications of historical narratives for understanding the contemporary world. Just as the standardized examinations limited teachers' ability to bring topics they were passionate about into the curriculum, so too did the process of collaboration limit teachers' abilities to enact innovative pedagogical practices.

Case Study Portraits of Maryland Teachers' Pedagogies in Context

There is little recent research that explores what happens in history classrooms, and statements about pedagogical strategies that teachers use are often decades old (Levstik, 2008; Nokes, 2010). My research sought to examine the everyday pedagogical practices of history teachers to understand their implications for citizenship education. By providing a portrait of each teacher's pedagogical practices, I hope to illustrate how each teacher enacts her or his own values, aims, and beliefs within the constraints of the context described in this chapter so far. For each teacher, I will describe her or his repertoire of pedagogical practices and discuss the implications for citizenship education.

Deb at Harriet Tubman High School

Deb Patterson teaches the 9th Grade U.S. History from 1865 to the Present course at Harriet Tubman High School, a culturally and socioeconomically diverse suburban high school. Looking around her classes, her students reflect the majority-minority composition of the school. Representing the distribution across the 9th grade history course, Deb's classes

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were equally divided between the "honors" and "on-level."[2] Desks in Deb's classroom form a U-shape with a front row and a back row arranged to face the front of the room, where there is a regular whiteboard and an interactive white board. There is a podium positioned left-of-center where Deb keeps notes, handouts, and other materials that she needs to have at hand during class. Deb spends much of the class giving instruction and coordinating activity from the middle of the U-shape. She has students reconfigure desks for different activities, joining into groups of 2 or 4 for pair and group activities and moving into rows for quizzes and tests. As I observed Deb's classes, it appeared that the U-shape of the desks signaled Deb's aim to have the class be a conversation in which the students exchanged ideas with her and with each other.

> I also really like them – when possible – to draw their own conclusions, or look at data or come to a conclusion … and I like to also have them do little writings, not always big stuff, but just here's what we've talked about today, here's an index card, write what do you think, what's your opinion, what do you think is going to happen next, just something to wake their brain up a little bit. And it doesn't have to be a right answer, it just has to be a thoughtful answer.

Deb's class sessions were devoted to a variety of activities, but the majority of them were teacher-centered activities. Deb stated that she liked to present her students with multimodal texts, such as photographs, works of art, maps, film clips, and music. In the first week of the unit, a teacher-centered lecture format dominated, in which Deb used a digital slide presentation to present narratives and images related to the events leading up to the

[2] I observed one of Deb's honors and one on-level class. The two classes were strikingly similar, but for the purposes of this study, I will be using the observation data from her honors class. As noted in my discussion of research methods, Deb and Lori reported that the 9th grade history classes at Tubman were equally divided between on-level and honors sections.

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Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the U.S. declaration of war. The tacit rule was that students were permitted – and encouraged – to raise their hands at any point in the lecture to ask questions for purposes ranging from simple clarification to deepening their understanding of the narrative. Deb would also question students during these PowerPoint lectures to maintain their interest or check their understanding of the content. Even when students worked independently or in groups, rather than in a didactic teacher-centered format, students rarely engaged so-called higher-order thinking skills in which they generated new meaning through processes of interpreting, critiquing, or generating historical narratives. Some of these activities included labeling maps with locations of World War II battles, reading primary and secondary source accounts of the war and answering questions related to those accounts, and engaging in limited research on World War II battles. In terms of the implications of these activities for citizenship education, they generally fostered some literacy skills but did not represent the types of rigorous information-seeking, questioning, and problem-solving that are typically named in the literature on democratic citizenship education.

Throughout the unit, class time was devoted primarily to transmitting a master narrative of the war. The master narrative was dominated by political narratives, as described in some detail in the previous chapter. When students were presented with questions in class or for homework, they were primarily closed questions, meaning that the questions generally had a "right" or expected answer. Often, there were questions that required more than a one-word answer, so responding required students to pull information together into a sentence or even a short paragraph. For example, one day students worked in groups of three or four to read short accounts about the lives of African-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and women during World War II. The instructions were:

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> WWII offered a number of minority groups both challenges and opportunities. As you read this section of the text focus on how the war altered the lives of individuals within these three groups. Focus on how the war either limited or expanded their civil and political rights. For each groups [sic] there is a list of terms that you need to cover n [sic] your notes (see Appendix F).

This activity was fairly typical of activities in Deb's class, in that it asked students to synthesize information from a text without generating any new meaning or original interpretation from the text.

One issue that Deb worried about was meeting the challenge of drawing her culturally and socioeconomically diverse students into narratives that were largely about the concerns of power elites. This was especially clear one day when Deb was lecturing her students on the events leading up to the outbreak of war in Europe. As she explained to me before the class, she really wanted her students to understand the enormity of the failure of world leaders who did not forcefully oppose Hitler's aggression before 1939. She wanted her students to understand why the policy of *appeasement* was such a failure:

> [Using the interactive whiteboard, Deb shows students a photo of Adolf Hitler and Neville Chamberlain shaking hands after signing the Munich Pact in September 1938.]
>
> Student 1: Why is that man smiling? It looks like he's sort of laughing at him.
>
> Deb: Why is this man [Hitler] smiling? This man is smiling because he has been pulling the wool over this man's [Chamberlain's] eyes time and time and time again. The concept we're going to get at here is called "appeasement," so let's write that down. [Writes "APPEASEMENT" on the whiteboard.] And you all know that *appeasement* means to pacify someone who is aggressive. And you've seen it.

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You've all been out at the shopping mall, and you've seen that bratty little kid who's dragging behind the mother, and the kid's screaming like, [in a high-pitched whiny voice] "It's the Disney Store! I want a Disney princess!" and the mother's like, "No. Come on!"

Student 2: I've seen that happen.

D: Yeah, you've seen it happen. And then they keep going. And there's Build-a-Bear, and they've got the new Christmas bear! [more high-pitched whining] And the mother is getting worn out because she just came to the mall because Sears is having a sale on towels. And she doesn't have time for this stuff. So the mother denied the Disney princess, but they get to Build-a-Bear, and the mother's tired, and the mother says,

Student 3: She ends up broke!

D: and the mother says, if we go into Build-a-Bear, and we get you the Christmas bear, will you be good? And the little girl goes [she nods her head up and down vigorously]. And so they go and get the Christmas bear. And then they head over to Sears

Student 4: And there's the candy shop.

D: and there's HANNAH MONTANA SHIRTS ON SALE, and the little girl goes, "Hannah Montana! Hannah Montana! I need them, I need them!" And the mother is embarrassed! She is embarrassed, and she picks the little girl up and drags her along. And they pass the ice cream store. And the girl says, "I'm so hungry! I'm so hungry! Can I have some ice cream?" And the mother says, "If I get you some ice cream, can we just. go. to. Sears. to get some towels?" And the little girl says [nods her head again]. And they get to Sears and the whole thing happens all over again. So Adolf

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> Hitler is that snotty little kid with the drippy nose: "I just want, I just want, I just want." "Hitler, if we give you Austria, will you be okay?" "Yes, yes!" "If we give you the Sudetenland, will you be okay?" "Yes, yes!" Every time Hitler says he wants something, Neville Chamberlain says, "Hitler, will there be peace, then?" "Yes, yes, yes!" So these two work out the Munich Agreement, and Neville Chamberlain declares, "There will be peace in our time!"

Deb went on to describe Hitler's expansion across Europe in the years leading up to the outbreak of war. Students were completely drawn in to the narrative about the little girl having a tantrum at the mall. They talked amongst themselves, saying things like, "Oh no, she didn't buy her the ice cream too, did she?" and, "Did they get the towels?" Deb reported that her students always remembered the error of appeasing Hitler when it came time to write the unit test and final examination. This incident captures the part of Deb's job that required her to translate historical narratives into meaningful terms for her students, many of whom did not come to her class with the funds of knowledge (Hedges, Cullen & Jordan, 2011) necessary to make sense of these political narratives. The teacher participants working in high-SES schools did not have to engage students with narratives in this way, as I will discuss later.

Pedagogical practices in which students had the opportunity to question or criticize the master narrative were largely relegated to work done outside of class. One occasion when students were significantly involved in critiquing or constructing narratives was a writing assignment in which the students were asked to generate alternative scenarios for responding to Hitler's aggression. For this assignment, students were given the following prompt: "You have been hired by the World Peace Archive to write a two page memorandum suggesting four actions that the United States and its European allies might have take to

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prevent World War II" (Appendix G). Significantly, the "peace memo" assignment was completed outside of class time. Deb spent approximately 10 minute of class time explaining the assignment, but then the process of planning and writing the memo took place outside of class. When I discussed the assignment with Deb, I mentioned that the assignment offered the students an opportunity to think both critically and creatively. She agreed, noting that she had developed the assignment with her colleagues and that she valued the assignment as an opportunity for students to think about peaceful methods for resolving international disputes. Another activity that involved significant critical thinking on the part of students was an Oxford-style debate on whether the United States was justified in using atomic weapons on Japan. For this activity, Deb selected three students to research and present the "pro" side and three for the "con" side. The selected students used one class period to do research in the library. On the day of the debate, the six debaters presented their arguments. Deb polled the class before and after the debate for their views on the question. Students who did not participate in the debate were required to write a short essay answering the debate question. It struck me as significant that only a minority of the class participated in the debate. Deb managed this activity so that all of the students would be involved (either participating in the debate or viewing and judging it), but she did not feel that all of the students could productively participate in the debating itself.

Looking at the pedagogical practices utilized by Deb, it is clear that she wants her students to engage a full range of thinking skills and to develop their voices to express ideas in oral and written forms. When asked about the purposes of teaching history, she responded,

> I think it's important that we have an explanation of current world situations and that the best way to do that is to learn how we got to where we are. I think that teaching

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> history is important from an acculturation standpoint, that it gives us a common starting ground, that it forms a national identity without, hopefully, brainwashing them [laughs], and giving them some freedom of thought. It provides them with connections to the world and an understanding of current events.

However, much of the time available in the classroom is dedicated to activities that will teach students the master narrative of United States history that they need to know for the county examination. This leaves few opportunities for the high status cognitive skills that VanSledright (2008) and others argue make history class an important venue for citizenship education. Additionally, the challenges of preparing students for the examinations means that little attention is devoted to connecting the course content to contemporary events, even though Deb herself identified this as one of the primary values of history education.

Dan at Franklin D. Roosevelt High School

Dan has been teaching history for two years at Roosevelt High School, which has a local reputation as a highly academic school serving an economically privileged community. Before coming to Roosevelt, Dan worked at a non-profit organization with a civic education mission, where he honed his skills at facilitating student discussion and debate. I observed Dan's honors class; all but one section of 9th grade history were honors classes at Roosevelt. The desks in Dan's classroom are arranged in rows, but he frequently directed students to move the desks during class for work in pairs or small groups. He described his repertoire of instructional activities as varied:

> I try to use a variety of different activities…. Some students want that straightforward approach, they like a Power Point, they like to see it. I'll give them some guided notes, and for some really dense stuff with a lot of vocabulary that works really well. But for maybe larger concepts we'll do group cooperative

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> learning, gallery walks, every student's responses, class discussion, activities. In a way I think sometimes students learn more from their peers than they can from a teacher. So I try to get them engaged with each other and just kind of guide them to make sure they are on the right track. Then I can step in and facilitate that and make that happen and then step back and they'll keep going.

Like Deb, Dan has an interactive whiteboard in the front of the room with a large teacher's desk positioned to the side of the board at an angle. Dan spent class time moving about the room, usually positioned at the front for whole-class instruction and moving about the room when students worked in pairs or groups.

Like Deb's students, Dan's students were required to read the textbook chapters on World War Two, but they also had a number of primary and secondary source readings that presented the content in more depth and from a variety of perspectives. Dan tended to offer primary source readings in an unexcerpted format or in lengthy excerpts, rather than in the abbreviated versions that were included with the county curriculum. These readings were substantially longer and pitched in a higher academic register than the readings that Deb gave to her students. For example, to prepare students to discuss Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Dan assigned his students to read to lengthy and historically significant documents representing opposing points of view (see Appendix H), whereas Deb assigned her students to read a series of one-page summaries that was provided by the county curriculum guide (see Appendix I). With the atomic bomb readings presented here, we can see that Dan's students read longer, more nuanced arguments and weighed more extensive bodies of evidence to come to a judgment about whether the use of nuclear weapons was justified. Both of Dan's readings are historically significant primary sources. One is the justification of the use of atomic weapons published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1947 by

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Secretary of War Henry Stimson. The other is the Franck Report, a 1945 publication signed by prominent nuclear scientists opposing U.S. nuclear policy. The matter of the texts that students use is significant, as it reflects the teacher's expectations for literacy attainment. Furthermore, Smith and Niemi (2001) found that the quantity of assigned readings and the frequency of classroom discussions as reported by students correlated with higher scores on the U.S. National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) history exam.

In class, Dan's students were often engaged in student-centered activities in which they had opportunities to develop their own interpretations, critiques, or judgments about history. In only one of the eight observed classes was significant time devoted to simply transmitting a master narrative. For the majority of classes observed, Dan engaged his students in some kind of open-ended question, such as, "Does the United States have a responsibility to interfere in European affairs in response to Hitler's aggression? Why or why not?"; "Should the United States practice isolationism today? Why or why not?"; "Should the United States have dropped the atomic bomb?" These questions focus on the dominant political narratives discussed in the last chapter, and they suggest that the curriculum is intended to prepare students to be politically engaged citizens who can participate successfully in civil society. Dan used a variety of techniques to allow his approximately 28 students to participate in the discussion, such as having students offer a thumbs-up or thumbs-down to voice agreement or disagreement or having students place themselves on a continuum marking their degree of agreement or disagreement with a statement. When Dan's class debated the use of atomic weapons on Japan, all of his students participated by lining up on one side of the room or the other to signal their position in the debate. He then had students discuss their position within their groups before presenting their arguments to the other side. In a typical class, the majority of students were actively

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engaged in analyzing historical narratives in pairs, in groups, or in a whole-class discussion. More than the other teachers observed for this study, Dan engaged his students in the interpretation and critique of historical narratives on a daily basis.

Observing Dan's classes, it was clear that the students of Roosevelt High School entered into the curriculum with ease because of the cultural capital that they brought to school, as well as the support that this capital afforded them. These students had parents who were, for the most part, professionals who had completed postsecondary degrees; they expected their children to follow in this path, as well. From the students' comments in class and their private discussions before and after class, it was apparent that they were comfortable talking about history, politics, and international relations, and so their teachers were able to draw them into political, military, and diplomatic historical narratives and immediately engage them with questions that demanded interpretation, judgment, and critique. Recall, for example, the lengthy dramatization that Deb enacted in her classroom to imbue the term "appeasement" with meaning for her students. Dan did not have to engage in these types of exercises to make the curriculum meaningful for his students. Instead, Dan was able to begin class by asking his students, "Did the U.S. have a responsibility to interfere in European affairs during Hitler's aggression? Why or why not?" In response to this question, students wrote a one-paragraph response, which served as a "pop quiz" to demonstrate that they had done the reading the night before. Bernstein (1990) noted that a rigorous curriculum demands that students have "pedagogic time" available to them outside of school hours. That Roosevelt students had ample access to "pedagogic time" was evident in the way that Dan was able to assign more reading and more difficult reading for students to do outside of class. Not only did the students have time and space at home dedicated to their school work, but they had other supports, in the form of parents and siblings who could

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help them with the highly academic readings and other assignments, and many had access to private tutors when they struggled with the demands of their schoolwork.

Implications for Citizenship Education

In this chapter I have described the policy environment regulating history teachers' work in the Maryland school district in this study and have examined in some detail the pedagogical practices of two of the teachers taking part in this study. At this point, I would like to return to Hursh and Ross's (2000) argument that democratic social education aims

> to have teachers and students together realize that they do not know what they need to know, pose questions, and diligently pursue answers to those questions with a critical eye toward the sources of information. To create a critical literacy, students have to have access to views other than those provided by the people in power and must be able to situate current issues within their historical context. (p. 13)

It should be clear that the expectations that these teachers faced worked at cross purposes to Hursh and Ross's vision for meaningful democratic education. The Maryland teachers were responsible for preparing students for a standardized examination and expected to collaborate in order to ensure a level of sameness between the curriculum enacted in their classroom and the curriculum enacted in their colleagues' classrooms. The sheer quantity of historical facts that teachers had to "cover" to prepare students for the examinations rendered scarce opportunities to study and interrogate narratives in depth, to the point where I did not observe this happening in any of the classes that I observed. It also left little room to explore controversial issues or to situate contemporary events in their historical context.

The conditions of the Maryland teachers' work rendered apt Ball's (2003) description of teaching in a neoliberal regime as "the appearance of freedom in a 'devolved environment.'" It was clear that teachers used their pedagogical content knowledge to shape

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the enacted curriculum, as the case study portraits of Deb and Dan reveal. However, so much of the curriculum appears to be outside of the teacher's control. This tension, between teachers wanting to assert and believe that they are important agents in the classroom and the neoliberal paradigm that seeks to fix and commodify knowledge, was evident when Matt described his curriculum planning process:

> Obviously, you're independent, do what you want to do in your classroom as long as you cover the material in the curriculum. I think that the county does a good job of the curriculum as far as what you should cover, but it's very rigid and regimented as to what you can teach because of the time constraints. I mean, I'd like to spend more time on certain topics, discuss different things but, like you said, you don't have the time to do that. I have the time to cover the curriculum but I don't have the time to incorporate things I think kids might be more interested in.

In this context, the observer can't help but question the extent to which teachers are "curricular-instructional gatekeepers" (Thornton, 2006).

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CHAPTER 6
History Teachers' Pedagogies in Context: The Ontario Case Study

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I documented the policy shift toward neoliberalism in the Maryland school district. I analyzed how policies of standardization and performance impacted the citizenship education dimension of the enacted history curriculum, and I argued that the neoliberal policies limited the teachers' ability to engage with principles of education for democracy, such as those articulated by Hursh and Ross (2000), Lingard et al. (2003), and Au (2009). I concluded that the working conditions for teachers in the Maryland case study bore a strong resemblance to Ball's (2003) description of teaching as "the appearance of freedom in a 'devolved environment'" (p. 217).

In the current chapter, I will examine the Ontario history teachers' pedagogical practices in their context. Like the Maryland teachers, the Ontario teachers worked within a policy environment in which there were elements of a neoliberal rationality (Lemke, 2002). However, the Ontario teachers did not have to contend with standardized examinations or the same intense policies of surveillance as those documented in Maryland, leaving the Ontario teachers with a great deal more flexibility in how they enacted the curriculum. In general, the Ontario teachers articulated a curricular vision or a set of aims that guided their pedagogical choices. Yet the environment was not one of "anything goes," as teachers described tensions between their practices and the school board's performance expectations. While negotiating these tensions, these teachers described their practice through the lens of ethical responsibility that defied recent trends representing a "huge potential for largescale deskilling and deprofessionalization" of teachers, as well as the "recommodification" of

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knowledge (Luke, 2006, p. 130-31). In short, the Ontario teachers exercised professional autonomy despite the enactment of neoliberal reforms and even moved towards Luke's (2006) vision of teacher as cosmopolitan, exploring "the ethical and moral dimensions of teaching as work in relation to globalized flows and economics" (p. 136). The Ontario teachers each articulated a vision for how the enacted curriculum fostered "high-status cultural capital" (Anyon, 2006) and contribute to the development of democratic citizenship.

One common theme between the Ontario and Maryland teachers was the discrepancies noted between the low- and middle-SES schools in opportunities for students to practice "high-status cognitive capabilities" (VanSledright 2008). Therefore, this chapter, like the previous one, contributes to understanding why schools may reproduce inequalities in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977), despite teachers' intentions to provide all students with a rigorous academic curriculum.

As in the previous chapter, I will first describe the context in which teachers worked, and then present case study portraits of the two Ontario teachers that I observed. These two portraits will provide the empirical basis for examining the history classroom as a site for citizenship education. To be clear, my purpose is to document teachers' pedagogical practices and their implications for citizenship. By understanding the complex dynamics among the teachers' professional beliefs, local policies, and the social context in which the teachers worked, I seek to build a comprehensive understanding how citizenship education is enacted in the history classroom.

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The Policy Climate in Ontario

Policies for Performativity

A number of policy shifts in Ontario demonstrate that the province has embraced a neoliberal rationality that seeks to increase control over teachers' work. Neoliberal reforms enacted since 2000 increased the level of accountability of schools and school boards to provincial policies through a new curriculum and new teacher performance appraisal procedure (Larsen, 2009; Rezai-Rashti, 2009; Vibert, 2009). For example, a number of Ontario teachers mentioned the need to conform to the Ontario assessment policy known as KICA, which stipulates that teachers must assess students in the four areas of Knowledge/Understanding, Inquiry/Thinking, Communication, and Application, also known as the "Achievement Chart" (Ministry of Education, 2005, pp. 18-19). The development of KICA in recent years has given teachers, administrators, students, and parents a common language by which to discuss and evaluate teachers' assessment practices. Some teacher participants labeled different parts of their unit tests or other curriculum materials with the different components of KICA. Some teachers also reported being asked to show evidence of using KICA during the teacher performance evaluation process with their principal or vice principal. KICA, therefore, represents a policy that standardizes the way of understanding and categorizing the aims of the curriculum. As is characteristic of other Ontario policies, it is a fairly flexible policy that appeared to neither aid nor impede the enactment of democratic pedagogical practices.

The Ontario History Curriculum

The provincial curriculum was revised in 2000 to be more prescriptive of the curricular content with greater emphasis on measureable outcomes (Rezai-Rashti, 2003,

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2009), yet the history curriculum document is structured around five broad themes that teachers can interpret through the lens of their own pedagogical aims. The Ontario high school history curriculum document (Ministry of Education, 2005) states, "Canadian and world studies offers students a variety of history courses that will enhance their knowledge of and appreciation for the story of Canada" (p. 43). The course is divided into five "strands"; they are Communities: Local, National, and Global; Change and Continuity; Citizenship and Heritage; Social, Economic, and Political Structures; and Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication. The history strands are a collection of themes in that are prominent in standard Canadian historical narratives. Unlike the Maryland history curriculum, the Ontario curriculum is not arranged chronologically; and the five strands are not closely related to each other. For this reason, the curriculum reads as a series of learning goals, and it can be difficult to synthesize the guiding purpose or organizing principles. Kevin argued that the organization of the provincial curriculum is "not set up to be teachable," and complained that the most important strand – "Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication" – was relegated to the last page of the curriculum:

> They have them on the back page, the historical inquiry skills, and I just wish that they would say, "Here's what's really important, here's what's sort of important and here's what's not really important. . . ." It should be the first page. If they were really on our side, it would be the first page.

Kevin's objection is echoed by Bickmore (2006), who analyzed social studies curricula from Ontario and two other Canadian provinces and noted,

> Critical thinking goals in particular were often found in separate lists of skills, disconnected from the content to which they might be applied. Because teachers, tests, and textbooks generally attend to specific subject matter more than to such

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> general and marginal guidelines, this analysis emphasizes the substantive content expectations. (p. 363)

In practice, the lack of focus in the curriculum document allowed the teacher participants to bring their own critical lenses to the curriculum.

It is important for Ontario teachers to bring a critical perspective because the Ontario history curriculum document (Ministry of Education, 2005) avoids any critical engagement with the taken-for-granted narratives of Canadian history. For this reason, the intended curriculum itself does not support the development of the critical perspectives that students need to exercise robust democratic citizenship. As I have noted previously (Faden, 2007), references to Canadian government policies in the Ontario history curriculum are generally laudatory, so that the curriculum becomes a celebration of Canada and a legitimization of federal power. There is very little in the Ontario history curriculum that is at all critical of Canadian government or authority figures. Reviewing the high school curriculum document, I was only able to find mention of two policies that shed a negative light on the Canadian government: a reference to the treatment of Jewish refugees after 1930 (p. 47) and a reference to the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War (p. 51). Other internal Canadian conflicts, such as relations between aboriginal and white Canadians, are watered down by avoiding the conflict aspect of that topic. For example, in the Change and Continuity strand, one of the expectations states that students will "evaluate the impact of social and demographic change on Aboriginal communities (e.g., relation, urbanization, education, pressures to assimilate)" (p. 48). This statement holds no party responsible for hardships endured by First Nations peoples. To state that Aboriginal communities were affected by "social and demographic change" is to suggest that they were swept along by impersonal and inevitable forces, rather than suggesting that Aboriginal communities have

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been affected by specific government policies, prejudice, and structural economic inequality that continues to this day. In the Citizenship and Heritage Strand, one expectation states that students will "describe the achievements of Aboriginal organizations . . . in gaining recognitions of the rights of Aboriginal people is Canada" (p. 50). There is an eerie silence in this statement insofar as it avoids examining why Aboriginal people had to work for recognition of their rights. Many of the topics that might represent points of conflict, such as the history of the labor movement and civil rights movement, are presented blandly as contributions to Canada's development. This "contributions" approach to history ignores the existence of conflict and oppression. Furthermore, it implies that all Canadians are free to contribute to the development of Canada without discussing the structural factors that explain why some are more prominent contributors than others.

Teachers as Curricular-Instructional Gatekeepers

From the perspective of the teacher participants, the vagueness of the provincial curriculum worked to their advantage, as it allowed them to shape the enacted curriculum according to their pedagogical aims. All of the teachers in the study reported that, while they taught the content specified in the curriculum, they used their own professional judgment to select the content that would be emphasized in their classroom, a finding that is all the more striking when compared with the erosion of teacher professionalism described in the Maryland case study. The Ontario teachers interviewed stated that they did not try to teach all of the historical content outlined in the provincial curriculum guidelines. Unlike the Maryland teachers, the Ontario teachers articulated pedagogical goals that guided their selection of topics to include in the curriculum. Linda said that she emphasized the curriculum about which she was passionate, that was local, and that she could support with texts and resources that would engage her students. Catherine stated that she emphasized

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French-English relations and the history of indigenous people in Canada because she felt that those topics best illustrated the multicultural nature of Canada, as well as the history of conflict and resolution within Canadian society. Ryan stated that he was guided by his interest in social history and its connection to social justice. Teachers were generally in agreement that with experience in teaching Canadian history came a sense of which topics from the curriculum were important to include and which could be left out. The teachers spoke with confidence about their role as curricular authority within the classroom.

Most of the Ontario teachers who participated in this study had served on their school board's history curriculum oversight committee and had a strong sense of their curricular vision. Some teachers indicated that they were aware that control over the enactment of the curriculum was contested, and that history teachers need to have the political, cultural, or social capital to claim control of the curriculum. Kevin, who has extensive experience in teacher professional development through working with teacher candidates and teaching history professional development courses online, voiced frustration with teachers who try to teach all of the specific content expectations in the curriculum:

> They are deadly afraid of not doing their job. If you actually just look at the expectations, it wants you to cover content. It says, "Demonstrate knowledge of," but like those words can mean anything. But when there's a huge list there, they're like, "Ok, let me start doing this." And I say, "No. I'm telling you" – and I'm very blunt – "I'm telling you what's important, and because I'm your department head, if the principal gives you a hassle, I will speak with the principal and we'll see whose knowledge of the philosophy of teaching history is better," and I've been teaching long enough now that I'm about the same age level of principals and vice principals

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> and some of them are my friends. I've been around long enough that I'll protect that teacher if somebody hassles them.

Kevin argued that teachers simply cannot teach all of the content expectations laid out in the provincial curriculum document, and when they try, they "get horribly bogged down in the early 20th century . . . It's really quite ghastly." Kevin's comments serve as a reminder that not all teachers see themselves as agents of curriculum enactment; some understand their role as implementers of the provincial curriculum.

Even Ryan, one of the most independent-minded teachers in the study, reflected on how administration expectations curbed his intellectual freedom:

> I think from a political standpoint . . . there's a radical freedom that's implicit in the profession, but there's a lot of self-censorship, and so I think where it comes from is if a principal has a certain management style I do think that teachers do tend to retreat and a lot of the radicalism of their teaching atrophies.

The board has a policy of rotating principals frequently. Ryan reported that in his eight years of teaching with the board, he had worked with four different principals. He indicated that the changes in leadership meant that he could not be sure that any innovative work he did in curriculum, whether it was the development of new courses or collecting new materials for existing courses, would be supported from one year to the next. Thus, the vision that each teacher brought to the teaching of history was enacted through a process of negotiation with the written curriculum and the power structure (i.e., principals) within their schools.

The role of collaboration. As with the Maryland teachers, the Ontario teachers were expected to collaborate with colleagues to ensure that students in the Grade 10 Canadian History course had similar learning experiences even if they were taught by different teachers. Andrew reported,

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> Especially for the Grade 10 we collaborate a lot. With our new administration, they want our grade 10 history to be very similar between all of our teachers so we have the same kind of assessments, the same content, the same curriculum, the same almost everything.

Teachers reported that they gave the same final exam as their colleagues in the Grade 10 Canadian History course, though unlike the U.S. teachers in this study, the Canadian teachers controlled the content of the final exam in collaboration with their colleagues. Andrew and Linda both reported that, like the teachers in Maryland, they gave their students essentially the same unit tests as their colleagues. Speaking about the final examination that all of the grade 10 teachers gave their students, Linda said, "It's just a good exam, it really is, and it's fair, you want kids to believe that their exam, you know, that they're not going to be marked harder or marked on different things than somebody else." These expectations for collaboration in the Ontario school board did not appear to impose serious limits on teachers' practices, however. Ryan, a teacher at Huron Secondary School with Andrew, described how the teachers within his department created space for each teacher's approach and historical interest:

> There's different ways of climbing the mountain, in terms of the way that I teach . . . In the department we have a professional respect for each other but very radically different approaches, and part of it is our backgrounds are very different, so, so you know, and it's interesting how that influences your teaching. So for example, you know, we have a political historian, we have a military historian, and I'm a social historian, and each of us give huge credence to our branch that we're familiar with.

Ryan's comment suggests that the degree to which the Ontario teachers in this study were constrained by the prescribed curriculum depended on the individual teacher's interpretation

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of that curriculum and of the culture of their school and their department. Ryan's department supported collaboration and a degree of standardization in assessment practices but also left room for teachers to shape the curriculum through the lens of their pedagogy.

Kevin described an atmosphere in his department of substantive collaboration (Hargreaves, 2010), in which teachers collaborate in a spirit of collegiality, rather than collaborating in compliance with school policy:

> [We collaborate] all the time. . . . Someone will come in and say, "You know, we have to come up with a different lesson for that, it's just crappy." And we'll say, "Let's try this." Our binder is kind of an open thing where people put new stuff in that they do and they tell us what they're doing. They say either, "I'll use that," or, "I won't." It's all built upon itself. We're not sitting in our own rooms. But having a history office to me is very important.

Kevin and his colleagues keep a common binder with all of their lesson plans and curricular materials together. Through daily communication, the teachers share feedback on these materials and then make individual decisions about what they will use in their classes.

Understanding History Education as Social Education

In sharing their insights into pedagogical practices, the Ontario teachers often spoke of the moral and ethical implications of their work as history teachers, evoking Luke's (2006) assertion that "to *do* education implies just that, the capacity to publicly and performatively stand for and on behalf of a particular form of life, rather than knowing something or having specific skills per se" (p. 131, emphasis in the original). This provided a strong contrast to the Maryland teachers, who spoke of their work mostly in terms of nurturing the knowledges and skills that are deemed valuable for academic and vocational success.

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The freedom to be radical. Two of the Ontario teachers, Ryan and William, found opportunities within the curriculum to pursue a social justice agenda. They stressed understanding causes of injustice and ways of addressing injustice. Ryan spoke at length about his vision of history education as a means to teaching social justice. In enacting the curriculum, he emphasized the process of placing the student in a historical context:

> Well, I think for people to be informed, deliberate citizens I think people need to have a sense of their personal past as well as their, the past of their communities, as well as the past of their nations and so forth, so I think history plays a vital role in terms of, of you know, shaping a community of critical thinkers. And I think that's kind of the hallmark, that I see, with history is that we do a lot of you know, dealing with essential questions, a lot of higher level thinking. . . . . I would describe history like for me in terms of how I set up my courses is I always start from the personal, people interrogating themselves, and where they come from.

Ryan was the teacher who spoke most explicitly about his commitments to social justice, as well as about how these commitments shaped his pedagogy. He noted that a focus on ethics is lacking in the curriculum, stating, "We have business departments, where[as] we don't really have departments of, you know, social justice or being a citizen." Ryan was critical of traditional hierarchical relations between students and teachers, and he sought pedagogical practices that disrupted those hierarchies:

> I feel that there needs to be a radical shifting of the focus on, like that sense of the community of learners, and because as it is right now, I mean the traditional paradigms still are pretty passive, so I think like in terms of, of strategies. What I'm trying to do now is move now is to move towards literary circles, that type of activity, so that students each have an assigned role, and they learn, you know, how to work

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> individually but then how to collaborate effectively, and do it in a way which the teaching, well essentially I am a facilitator, but I can be completely removed so that they take autonomy over their learning, so that's been my big focus right now to the point where I feel like I can completely step back from the learning situation and let them kind of control things like literary circles, but then also shape some of the curriculum as well, and so, so that's kind of the frontier that I am exploring now.

Ryan saw the history curriculum as a place where students could become critically engaged with social issues.

William saw the history curriculum as a way to teach students to reflect upon the issues of power, violence, and human rights. He recalled one student whom he noticed intimidating other students in the school:

> I kept hammering at this bullying thing and a lot of it came through the wars, but particularly the Holocaust, and he was sickened. In the end he was sickened to hear what had happened to Jewish people in the Holocaust, and he came up to me and he said, "I've changed." I said, "I noticed . . . you're actually sticking up for victims in history, and I hear that you're not bothering these two kids in the hallway anymore." So when you have a little victory like that, it just says I'm going in the right direction.

William drew connections between everyday violence in schools – such as bullying or teachers disrespecting students – and the dynamics perpetuate stereotyping, discrimination, and even genocide. He finds roleplay activities to be among the most effective pedagogical strategies because students must imagine themselves in these violent narratives and must envision themselves as social agents. William believes that studying violent episodes in history can teach students the importance of standing up against injustice:

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> That's the adult world, the real world that we live in, and I don't go into severe extremes and that when discussing those things with them, but I give them enough of a portal that maybe later on when things are going really screwy in their lives, they'll say, well I had that crazy history teacher and he said it was going to be like this, and you know what, it is like this. And then maybe, if enough of them say, it's not a nice situation, maybe they'll change something about it, it's one thing I say, some day you'll be in a leadership position, don't treat people the way you dislike being treated, treat them the way you want to be treated, the simple Golden Rule

William was concerned that contemporary popular culture desensitizes young people to violence, and he sees engagement with historical narratives of war and human atrocities to be a way making the impact of violence comprehensible to students. Like Ryan, William embraced an approach to history education that aimed to develop students' capacities for Justice Oriented Citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). While Ryan and William could be regarded as outliers for having deep commitments to critical pedagogy, their practices demonstrate that the Ontario curriculum and policy context was flexible enough to accommodate their radical perspectives.

A Liberal Participatory Approach

The other four teachers embraced a liberal democratic approach to history education that emphasized teaching for democratic participation and respect for diversity. As I described in Chapter 5, the majority of the Ontario teacher participants described a commitment to multiculturalism as an important aspect of Canadian national identity, and the theme of engaging with difference emerged in the majority of the interviews. Kevin's pedagogical practices were driven by the belief that students need to understand perspectives that are different from their own:

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> From my perspective, the characteristics of a good citizen are one that has an ability to put themselves in someone else's shoes. A willingness to see things from other people's perspectives. I'm very real world about this. I am not here to make nice people. I am here to make informed people. I'm here to help them understand the world around them, so they can make good decisions for themselves and for other people. … So in terms of what makes a good citizen I just think really somebody who puts themselves in someone else's shoes and understands from that perspective. I think if we can do that we've got it in great shape because then you're less likely to have someone be mean to someone else or ignorant or all those kind of things.

Catherine described her efforts to reach out to the growing Muslim community in her school as important to her professional practice. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001,

> It was very important to move on that instantaneously, because we would have had bullying in the halls. We had a little assembly, a couple of days later[presenting] the [local] Muslim leader, he believes in peace, hear it from his own words. The Muslim kids in the school said, "Hey man, don't blame me for this." And we're supporting them, [saying] yeah, don't blame the kids in the school for this because this has nothing to do with the individuals here.

The teachers' commitments to serious engagement with diversity recalls Luke's (2006) call for cosmopolitan teachers "whose very stock and trade is to deal educationally with cultural 'others'" (p. 135).

The Role of Socioeconomic Status

The two teachers from Huron Secondary School, which served the lowest SES status community of all the participating schools, reported more difficulty with meeting the

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expectations of the Ontario curriculum. Andrew said that he wanted to hold his students to high academic standards, but he was concerned that if his standards were unrealistic many of his students would stop attending his class:

> I think the major struggle though is, you're right, it's kind of the expectations of the teacher, we've got these 250 expectations for this course that they're going to achieve at the end of this course, and . . . because you have to walk that fine line, I think if you really want to raise your expectations and push them as hard as you can, and you don't want them to stop coming, so you want, you know, they want to come to class and they want to enjoy your class, so yeah, it's a balancing act, right, you're trying to offset those things with each other.

Ryan, the other teacher at Huron, took a "less is more" approach where he identified the "essential question" for each unit of study and focused on fostering deep understanding of that unit, rather than teaching students about all of the content specified in the provincial curriculum document:

> Yeah, I would say, because it's always tricky in terms of like you know, there's differences of opinion, of exactly what the Ministry wants, but I mean, I feel that you know the evaluation that I do fits in to exactly what the Ministry expectations are, so you know, kind of what the Ministry desires is, in terms of the rubrics, the assessment is clearly outlined for the students, there are certain standards of achievement that the Ministry wants the students to achieve and I feel that myself and other members of the department do that, but I think where the wiggle room happens is you know, in terms of there's no way that you could cover the same bulk of material at this school for instance that the government wants, it's impossible to do it well.

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From Ryan's description, it would seem that his curriculum complies with the spirit of provincial guidelines while not perhaps meeting its expectations for the quantity of material covered.

Case Study Portraits of Ontario Teachers' Pedagogies in Context

Linda at Erie Secondary School

Linda Nevins teaches the grade 10 Canada Since World War I course at Erie Secondary School, which serves a middle- and upper middle-class suburban community in Ontario. The desks in Linda's class were arranged in horizontal rows with two aisles down the middle. She spent the majority of the time in the observed classes in the front of the room lecturing, leading discussion, and presenting material; but she also used the two aisles to move up and down the rows and engage with students individually and in small groups. Linda's pedagogical practices reflected two aims – to have students learn the master narratives of Canadian history and to give the students opportunities to interpret, critique, and reconstruct those narratives. In an email correspondence, Linda wrote, "I like students even in grade 10 to do interpretive work and come to conclusions themselves about events historically and hopefully current as well."

In approximately half of the observed lessons, Linda devoted significant time to teacher-centered activities, such as lecturing, showing film and documentary clips, and having students read secondary sources out loud and answer closed-ended questions about their meaning. These activities supported Linda's belief that students needed to understand public institutions to be good citizens. Linda said that it was important for students to understand the responsibility that individuals have to the collective good and to appreciate the accomplishments of Canadians who came before them. For example, in one lesson,

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Linda gave each student a newspaper or magazine clipping about Canadians who made heroic contributions to World War II off the battlefield, such as intelligence officers, prisoners of war, and members of the resistance movement. She asked each student to read their article, summarize it for the class, and "think about whether you would have the courage to do what they did." These lessons represented what many in the history education field have called a "heritage" approach to history education, meaning that the intent of the lesson appears to be to foster pride in past events, suspending critical judgement.

Linda balanced her presentation of the Canadian master narrative of World War II with substantial time devoted to activities that ask students to construct their own historical narratives. Several of Linda's students spoke to me about the assignment in which they examined how a controversial topic was treated in five different Canadian textbooks from the 1950s onwards (Appendix K). The list of suggested topics spanned the 20th century and included a number of topics related to World War II: conscription, the internment of Japanese-Canadians, the use of the atomic bomb, the Holocaust, and the failed Canadian attack on Dieppe. My conversations with students indicated that they appreciated the opportunity to interrogate textbook narratives and described the assignment as a powerful learning experience. Linda also assigned a research paper during the World War II unit in which students researched a question and supported a thesis statement. Reading the list of suggested topics, it is clear that these prompts offer students with many opportunities to critique Canadian master narratives and to develop their own interpretations, such as with the questions, "The bombings of German cities by allied airmen during WWI [sic] was a war crime. Disagree/agree," and, "Is multi-culturalism the best or worst thing that ever happened to Canada?" (Appendix J). As Linda was introducing the assignment, one student asked if they were allowed to argue both sides of their selected question, and Linda's response was,

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no, they had to stake out one position and defend it. Then another student commented, "These questions are all good because you can argue them either way."

The projects described above were noteworthy for the open-ended nature of the inquiry. Linda did not put limits on the sources that students could consult or the position that they could take in response to the assignments. The textbook assignment engaged students in the project of evaluating truth claims. Focusing critically on truth claims in history textbooks – which are so often treated as "official knowledge" (Apple, 2000) – encapsulates a robust approach to citizenship education, as VanSledright (2008) has claimed,

> In information-laden, pluralistic democracies, capabilities for thinking through, assessing, and evaluating (in speech and/or writing) the plethora of political, product, and media claims that appear in startling numbers every day may well be understood as necessities (p. 130).

Linda devoted substantial class time to supporting both the textbook assignment and the research paper, teaching students how to search for and properly cite credible sources and giving them class time to read, take notes, and organize their ideas. In interviews, the Maryland teachers noted that they simply did not have time available to devote to research, as covering material for the final examination was their primary concern. Furthermore, Linda noted that her students, who were predominantly from middle-class or upper middle-class backgrounds, were highly literate and academically motivated, making them able to find and read high-quality sources of information with limited support from the teacher. When I observed students working on the textbook project in class, it appeared that all of the students were focused and able to use the time productively. Students also appeared to take pleasure in discussing their projects with each other and showed excitement or anticipation

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when it came time to choose topics for the research assignment, demonstrating a sense of ownership of the curriculum.

Spending time in Linda Nevins's class, it was clear that, like many history teachers, Linda had multiple goals for her students, which could be in tension with each other. Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that while the history education literature tends to place overly simplistic labels on pedagogical approaches (eg., "heritage versus history"), in practice teachers embrace multiple purposes in the history classroom (pp. 7-9). At times Linda wanted to instill in her students a sense of pride in Canada and to pass on the triumphal master narrative of World War II, but other times, she asked students to turn a critical eye on the dominant historical narratives. Linda's students appeared to move easily between the heritage and critical modes of learning history. Observing Linda's class supports Cuban's (2009) contention that teachers are "radical pragmatists" who embrace multiple and sometimes conflicting pedagogical approaches or Barton and Levstik's (2004) assertion that teachers often combine multiple approaches to history education within one lesson.

Andrew at Huron Secondary School

Andrew taught grade 10 Canadian history at Huron Secondary School, which serves a working-class urban community. As in Linda's classroom, Andrew's students sat in desks arranged in horizontal rows with two aisles up the middle of the room. As I described earlier in this chapter, Andrew spoke about student attendance as one of the challenges that he faced as a teacher, and this was evident in the half-dozen or more empty desks in the room each time that I visited. Andrew was concerned that if he assigned too much homework or did not make his class accessible for students, they would simply stop attending his class. He described the community that Huron Secondary School drew from as "financially stressed." He believed that the school had to maintain the highest academic standards possible to

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prepare students for postsecondary education, but at the same time, parents mostly expected students to go on to pursue employment after graduation:

> If you take the cream of our crop, the top kind of 30 students in the grade, they can measure up, I think, to any high school in the city. The problem is ours is capped at about 30, whereas you know, you'll see some schools have 98% application rate to university, whereas ours is much, much lower. But I still think the cream of our crop [is very good], and so we have to teach our university courses that way, which makes it difficult because you know, like in some of my university courses I'll have 32 to start, and by the end of the course I'll be down to 20 and of those, 5 or 6 are realistic university students, and so it's difficult for them because it's taught at that level, but we have, I mean we have kids come back, I had student come back and talk to me this year who's finished first year of business with honors last year and is doing well again this year, and he'll say you know, thanks so much for making us do seminars or research essays because it's prepared me for university, I think that they're prepared, but I think overall, the expectation coming out of the school is right now, currently, is to be employable. Make our student employable and so we push towards trades, apprenticeships, like you said, college programs and we're trying to make that more financially viable for our kids to do that.

I observed an "applied" level class. At Huron, there were 11 sections of applied grade 10 Canadian history and 6 sections of the academic level.

Like Deb at Harriet Tubman High School in Maryland, Andrew's work as a history teacher required him to engaged students with historical narratives that did not easily fit into their existing frames of reference. Andrew began most classes by asking students to answer one or a series of questions that he wrote on the chalkboard on the side of the room. Some of

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the questions prompted students to share their experiences in and out of school, and some elicited reactions to the historical narratives presented in class. The following is a typical series of these questions:

1. My favorite school subject is ___.
2. One course I am looking forward to in my senior years is ___.
3. I think Japan would attack the USA in 1941 because ___.

Andrew has each student share their answers with the class. This technique serves multiple pedagogical goals, including setting up the expectation that students will actively participate in class from the first minutes of class, expressing interest in students' lives, and reconnecting students with the historical content. Andrew described his goal of engaging students:

> Yeah, you don't put them in a position where they can't answer a question, where it would be wrong or laughed at, so you want it to be an open environment and hopefully you get the student sharing . . . I really think it's a valuable resource because you get to know the students and again they can share and again they're talking, and then of course there's the link to the content for that day.

On Fridays, instead of a set of questions, Andrew opened the discussion to current events, "so we talk about what's going on in the world and what's happened and then we try and make something relate to the curriculum." In the Friday discussion that I observed in May 2009, the biggest news story in Canada and the United States was the Chrysler automotive company's application for bankruptcy. Andrew explained the process of filing for bankruptcy and described some of the ways that people in Ontario, where automobile-related manufacturing represents a significant segment of the labor force, might be affected. "If we

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have thousands of people losing their jobs," he told the class, "it's going to affect other small businesses and the local economy." At the end of class, Andrew reminded students,

> We discussed this before, the pros and cons of government getting involved in private business with bailout packages and things like that. Remember when we studied the 1930s, we said that was a big part of the stimulus plans, using government money to get businesses going again and get people back to work.

During the classes I observed in Andrew's World War II unit, there was relatively little time spent using student-centered pedagogical practices after the opening series of questions. The two most common activities were lectures in which students were given a text with the text of the lecture in which they filled in blank spaces with key names and terms (see Appendix L for an example) and viewing films. Andrew told me that he would not use the fill-in-the-blank format for note-taking in an academic level class, but the applied students "have a very difficult time listening and writing at the same time." Films that students viewed during the classes that I observed were *Swing Kids* (1993), *Pearl Harbor* (2001), *Enemy at the Gates* (2001), and the CBC documentary *World War II: Canada's War in Colour* (2004). Andrew often asked students to examine the films closely to note inconsistencies between historical accounts in the films and those in other sources. In one of our interviews, Andrew said that he wanted students to examine texts critically, and that he would ask students to compare a film account, such as the Invasion of Normandy as depicted in the film *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) with a book and a video game such as *Call of Duty*. Unfortunately, I was not able to observe this particular lesson. In the lessons that I did observe, few students participated in discussions of films or other texts.

One of Andrew's pedagogical aims was to find ways for students to feel a sense of connection with the historical narratives that they were learning about. At the beginning of

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the unit, Andrew showed *Swing Kids* (1993), a Hollywood film depicting the lives of a group of rebellious German youth in the interwar years. Following the film, the students were assigned to write a response to the prompt, "Imagine that you were a teenager in Nazi Germany who immigrated to Canada. Write a letter to the Canadian youth today telling what it was like to grow up under totalitarianism." This assignment implies that students can take the film's narrative and use it to draw out lessons for themselves. It reflects Andrew's pedagogical commitment to making the historical narratives that his students were studying meaningful and relevant to students and their experiences. Another assignment that asked students to connect their lives with historical events was the scrapbook assignment that each grade 10 student at Huron Secondary School was required to complete for the Canadian history course. In the scrapbook, students included family pictures, stories from family history, a timeline of well-known historical accounts juxtaposed with events from their lifetime. As was the pattern with Deb's class in a mixed-SES school in Maryland, activities that asked students to interpret or critique historical narratives were relegated to tasks done outside of scheduled classes.

Implications for Citizenship Education

My conversations with the six Ontario teacher participants made it clear to me that these teachers were, in fact, curricular-instructional gatekeepers in a much more substantial way than the Maryland teacher participants. When describing the process of enacting the history curriculum, they drew on their pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986), consisting of beliefs about the purpose of history education, the interests of their students, how students respond to different pedagogical practices, and the salience of different historical narratives to students' lives. Several of the teachers emphasized the importance of learning to see the world from multiple points of view. Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that

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recognizing different perspectives is an important component of democratic citizenship education because "to take part in democratic deliberations, it is not enough to know that other people have different perspectives; we must be willing to entertain the possibility that those perspectives make sense and that they are not the result of ignorance, stupidity, or delusion" (p. 210). This approach is consistent with what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have identified as education for "participatory citizenship" (pp. 241-42). These teachers were focused on developing in students the capacities for engagement with democratic processes and institutions, such as knowledge of public institutions and public issues, as well as communications skills for democratic deliberation. Two of the teachers, Ryan and William, described practices resembling Westheimer and Kahne's education for "justice oriented citizenship" in which they asked students to use history as a lens to "understand the interplay of social, economic, and political forces" (p. 242). While the Ontario teachers were teaching a prescribed curriculum document, unlike the Maryland teachers, they exercised the role of curricular instructional gatekeepers.

Observing Linda and Andrew teaching their grade 10 Canadian history courses, it was clear that familiar dynamics were at play with regard to the relationship between the enacted curriculum and the socioeconomic position of the students. Like Deb at Harriet Tubman High School, Andrew invested much of his pedagogical attention in activities that would transmit a master historical narrative of World War II and make that narrative relevant and meaningful to his working-class students. Linda, on the other hand, challenged her students with open-ended assignments that allowed them to read widely, develop their own point of view, and communicate their ideas using high-status print forms of literacy. Thus, despite the teachers' equal levels of commitment to provide a rich curriculum for their students, as Duke (2000) concluded, "For the rich, it's richer" (p. 460). This study

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contributes to understanding how these socioeconomically related discrepancies are perpetuated and, as in the previous chapter, implies that teaching a rigorous curriculum in a low-SES school requires a departure from the intended and supposedly universal curriculum to one that focuses on issues relevant to the students' social contexts. Without this type of curricular vision, low-SES students will continue to experience a curriculum that is lacking in the high-status cognitive skills and cultural capital that they need for democratic citizenship.

As I discussed in my third chapter, the participants in this study are not intended to be viewed as "representative" of history teachers in the board or in Ontario, and I do not claim that their beliefs and practices should be generalized to other teachers in the region. Rather, the purpose of this case study is in-depth understanding of teachers' practices in context. By examining their practices, as well as the beliefs and intentions that inform them, I have shown how the policy environment and the social context in which teachers work afford different opportunities for teachers to enact their role as curricular instructional gatekeeper, with important implications for citizenship education.

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CHAPTER 7
Implications of Imagining the Nation in the History Classroom

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

This monograph offers a number of new insights into the role of high school history education in imagining the nations of the United States and Canada and constructing the "good" citizen. The theoretical framework and methodology of this study, as well as the findings, may be useful for examining the production of national identities and citizenship discourses in other nations as well. My theoretical framework assembles the conceptual tools necessary for examining the history classroom as a site for the production of the nation as imagined community, representing a new contribution to the fields of history education and citizenship education. Using the work of Anderson (1991) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010), I have tied the production of normative messages about citizenship to political and economic agendas. I bring new theoretical resources to the study of the enacted history curriculum, in Anyon's (2009) words, "because their adoption may lead to new and interesting data and explanations, and—importantly—because they may provide some purchase on progressive strategies for social change" (p. 8). My hope is that by exploring the complex processes by which the social imaginary is created in the history classroom, teachers and students can be empowered to critique, challenge, and recreate the social imaginary into one that embraces social justice, ethical practices, and human welfare, thus answering Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) call:

> We need a new imaginary which recognizes that human beings are social and cultural beings as well as economic ones, an imaginary that recognizes the need to think locally, nationally and globally. Such an imaginary suggests the need for the construction of cosmopolitan citizenship that emphasizes collective well-being

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> sutured across local, national and global dimensions. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, pp. 201-202)

Returning to Patton's (2002) statement that qualitative research "may take one of three forms: making the obvious obvious; making the obvious dubious; [or] making the hidden obvious" (p. 480), I believe that this study both documents and problematizes "obvious" discourses and practices in the United States and Canada. Some of my findings are relatively unsurprising, such as the fact that the U.S. teachers in the study largely understood citizenship in terms of the possession of individual rights or the finding that the Canadian teachers internalized the values of cultural diversity and peaceful conflict resolution. There were, however, significant surprises. The uncritical celebration of military narratives on the part of the Ontario teachers in this study points to a militaristic theme in Canadian civic culture that is not often publicly recognized, but which serves powerful political interests (McKay & Swift, in press). The reluctance on the part of the Maryland teachers to provide any specific models for good citizenship demonstrate the destructive effects of political partisanship and the breakdown of civil political discourse on spaces dedicated to citizenship education. In describing these findings in detail, this account seeks to stimulate further discussion and raise new questions of how citizens are, and should be, educated in history classrooms.

A key feature of this project is its comparative design, which proved to be an effective method for problematizing commonsense notions about the nation and citizenship. Because the United States and Canada have so much in common – geographic features, economic structures, democratic institutions, diverse cultural inheritances dominated by British traditions – differences between the two immediately appear significant. As Bloch argued, there is rich potential in comparative studies

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> of societies that are at once neighbouring and contemporary, exercising a constant mutual influence, exposed throughout their development to the action of the same broad causes just because they are close and contemporaneous, and owing their existence in part at least to a common origin. (quoted in Hill & Hill, 1980, p. 830)

It might be tempting to dismiss the dominance of military narratives in the Canadian classrooms with an assertion such as, "When you teach the history of war, military narratives will necessarily be in the foreground." Yet the data from the U.S. classrooms showing the dominance of political narratives there trouble any latent assumptions that one approach to telling the story of the nation at war is more "natural" or "correct" than any other. The same could be said for other aspects of this study, such as the way that the teachers understood their roles as curricular instructional gatekeepers, or ideas about how citizens should be prepared for life in a participatory democracy. The fact that I could find no previously published international comparative studies examining the enacted history curriculum means that this project may serve as a starting point to help other researchers plan international comparative research.

Implications of Empirical Findings

Historical Narratives in the Classroom

Through this project I identified one new schematic narrative template (Wertsch, 2002) at use in the history classrooms in each of the nations involved in this study. As I explained in the theoretical framework in Chapter 1, schematic narrative templates are basic stories that are repeated frequently within a specific culture. They work by providing an outline that specific historical narratives will tend to conform to, when possible. They also have the effect of silencing narratives that conflict with or challenge the dominant narrative

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template. In the U.S. context, I identified a schematic narrative template of "The Reluctant Hegemon," in which the United States was a reluctant participant in World War II, drawn in by altruistic concerns for its allies abroad and justifiable fears for the security of its own population. In the Canadian context, I identified a schematic narrative template that I titled "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage." As I argued in Chapter 4, both of these schematic narrative templates serve to justify the place of the nation in an imagined global order. In the U.S. case, the narrative template suggests that the United States' position as the world's preeminent military and economic power was the natural consequence of its decisive contributions to World War II. In the Canadian case, the narrative template makes Canadian participation in the war evidence of Canada's status as an independent nation and an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

These templates are dangerous because they deflect attention away from important questions about the ethical implications of each nation's contributions to the war effort, as well as questions about who pays the cost and enjoys the benefits that accrue in wartime. World War II is particularly notable for the large-scale bombing campaigns targeting civilian population centers, such as London, Dresden, and Tokyo, and for the use of atomic weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The heroic portraits of the war painted in all of the classrooms observed deflect attention away from questions about who in a democratic society is culpable for the hundreds of thousands of civilians killed in violation of modern conventions of warfare. As a result of these events, the United States carries the additional burden of being the only nation to have deployed atomic weapons. It would be worthwhile for students to examine the impact of this fact upon the United States' role as a world leader. Instead, students in this study debated whether the use of atomic weapons was "justified" as a means to end the war with Japan, a framing of the question that generally led students and teachers

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to tilt in favor of the affirmative argument. In a comprehensive history of U.S. military leadership since World War II, Carroll (2007) writes that Hiroshima and Nagasaki represent a dark turning point for the United States because "the atomic bomb obliterated distinctions between decisions and the rapidity with which they can be carried out, between the rear echelon and the front line, between military devastation and mass annihilation" (p. 31). Carroll's unease about nuclear weapons may also be applied to many of the technologies of war that have been developed in the subsequent decades. I would like to see space open up in history classrooms to debate whether technologies that target civilian populations, wreak environmental destruction, and pose unknown health and environmental risks are in keeping with the values and foreign policy priorities of our populations. And while the United States is the preeminent military power, Canadians are not exempt from these discussions, as Canada is a military ally of the United States, and Canada is home to facilities for the manufacture of U.S. weaponry.

These findings are significant because previous research examining schematic narrative templates in the United States and Canada (Létourneau & Moisan, 2004; Peck, 2010; Wertsch & O'Connor, 1994; Wills, 2011) used student-generated historical accounts as the data source. My study is unique in using ethnographic participant observation as the data source, and thus my findings represent the actual schematic narrative templates in use in the enacted curriculum, rather than the narratives internalized by students. Also significant is the finding that the narratives in use in classrooms often seemed to contradict teachers' own descriptions of what they wanted their students to know about the nation and citizenship. This contradiction affirms Wertsch's (2002) theory that schematic narrative templates are largely invisible to those who use them and that they represent cultural resources available for producing meaning. For this reason, I would argue that one logical next step is to

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investigate what texts are available for bringing new narratives and counter-narratives into the classroom. New narratives are needed in order to provide more activist and justice-oriented models of citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), to demonstrate that supposedly "neutral" bodies of knowledge serve powerful political interests (Apple, 2000).

Teacher Professionalism and the Enactment of Curriculum

When examining the Maryland teachers' practices and the processes by which they enact the curriculum, I was struck by the powerful new technologies that were enacted to increase surveillance of teachers' work and reduce their control of the curriculum. These are global trends that have been documented elsewhere (e.g., Apple, 1986; Ball, 2003; Hursh, 2007; McNeil, 2000), but this study offers some new insights into these processes. Au (2011) argues that the erosion of teacher professionalism amounts to a "new Taylorism" in education and is effected through the development of state-mandated testing and the introduction of scripted curriculum materials. However, Maryland has no standardized state history test, so it was interesting to note that the Douglass County School District developed its own standardized test as a means to ensure that teachers were "accountable" to the county curriculum. In this case, the drive towards standardization and accountability assumed the form of a pervasive new ideology. Participants acknowledged that the county exams dictated what was taught, but at the same time they bought into the idea that all teachers should be accountable for teaching the curriculum, reflecting Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) observation,

> Globalization represents a range of loosely connected ideas designed to describe new forms of political-economic governance based on the extension of market relationships globally. . . . It rests on a pervasive naturalization of market logics, justifying them on the grounds of efficiency and even "fairness." (31)

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The teachers' acceptance of the accountability regime stands in contrast to the teachers Ball (2003) interviewed, who found neoliberal reforms intolerable. This finding may reflect my sampling method, as I was referred to the teachers by principals and department chairs, who likely would not have referred me to "troublemakers" who resisted the policies. However, through observing the participants' collaborative interactions with other teachers in their departments, it appeared that the acceptance of the new policies was widespread; and the department chairs interviewed reported that resistance to these policies was limited to a minority of teachers. Furthermore, my informal observations within the departments led me to suspect that the large-enrollment mandatory classes that I observed would be taught by the more policy-compliant teachers, whereas those who resisted standardization would be assigned to teach elective courses, in which there were no standardized examinations, and thus were subject to a lesser degree of surveillance. The neoliberal policies were justified as an equity imperative, ensuring that students from historically disadvantaged communities receive the same curriculum as affluent students. There was no discussion about whether students living in different socioeconomic locations perhaps *should* receive a different curriculum that reflected their experiences and community histories.

The reality was that the students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds did *not* receive the same curriculum as students in the more affluent communities. In my observations at upper middle-class Franklin D. Roosevelt High School and Erie Secondary school, students were engaged in tasks that had them interpreting, critiquing, and constructing historical narratives in more than half of the classes that I observed. These students were actively learning to examine texts critically, form independent judgements, and communicate their views persuasively. In other words, they were developing the capacity to participate in democratic life (Giroux, 1988; Hursh & Ross, 2000; Parker, 2003). Students at

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Harriet Tubman High School and Huron Secondary School, on the other hand, spent little of the observed class time engaged in the construction of meaning. What I found interesting, however, was that the teachers at these schools valued the independent thinking skills necessary for democratic citizenship, and they incorporated these skills into projects that students completed outside of class, leaving class time for the transmission of historical narratives. Clearly these teachers believed that they were giving the students the richest curriculum possible while still covering the mandated curriculum. This finding challenges a key argument used to support neoliberal policies: that the gap between the curricula of high- and low-SES schools is a result of "the soft bigotry of low expectations" on the part of teachers.[1] Had the neoliberal accountability ideology not been in place, the teachers in this study might have devoted more class time to the development of complex thinking skills. Perversely, the accountability regime that purported to deliver "equity" exacerbated the inequalities it claimed to ameliorate.

Limitations of the Findings

As I noted in my discussion of case study methodology in Chapter 3, case study research is particularistic and makes no claims to generalizability to broad populations. I want to emphasize that case study is bounded by participants, space, and time (Stake, 2005). I do not intend to imply that the practices that I observed in teachers during their presentation of World War II were characteristic of their treatment of other topics. For example, the paucity of social history narratives in the teaching of World War II in the Maryland teachers' classrooms does not suggest that the there is an absence of social history narratives at other

[1]President George W. Bush referred to "the soft bigotry of low expectations" as a policy rationale in speeches throughout his presidency, including his 2004 acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in New York City. That text is available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57466-2004Sep2.html.

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points in the curriculum. I know from my conversations with Deb Patterson that she found many opportunities to draw upon her racially and ethnically diverse students' experiences and family histories when she taught about the Civil Rights Movement in her United States history classes. The disconnect that I noted between her students and the World War II curriculum reflects upon a specific aspect of the curriculum.

Future Directions for Research

While case study research makes no claims to producing findings that are representative of a larger population (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Stake, 2005), reports of the process of imagining the nation are likely to raise questions about whether they identify discourses that are in use nationwide. For this reason, future research should examine how the nation and the good citizen are represented in history classrooms in other regions of the United States and Canada. Just as this study yielded some surprising findings, expanding the inquiry to new communities and cultural populations is likely to lead to insights about the production of the nation as imagined community. Another direction for future research is to examine the practices of teachers committed to social justice in imagining the nation. In particular, I am interested in the way that these teachers collect and utilize counter-narratives to challenge dominant metanarratives of the nation. Documentation of teachers' pedagogical practices for engaging students from historically marginalized communities in representations of nationhood and citizenship would also contribute to an expansion of the field of citizenship, along the lines that Reid, Gill, & Sears (2010) have suggested.

As I noted in my discussion of the theoretical and methodological contributions of this work, cross-national comparative study of the enacted history curriculum is rare. Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) argue that vertical case studies, such as this one, "attend to the ways in which historical trends, social structures, and national and international forces shape local

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processes" (p. 96). Future research could use this study design to examine how the nation is constructed in history classrooms in other nations. Recent publications document a growing interest in the examination of history textbooks for the ways that they imagine the nation (Carretero 2011; Crawford & Foster 2008; Nicholls 2006; Williams, in press). By expanding these research questions to the enacted curriculum, scholars can develop a deeper understanding of how teachers exercise agency over the production of national identities.

Conclusion

I developed this project in an effort to understand how individual teachers enacted their beliefs about citizenship and the nation through their uses of narratives and pedagogical practices. After examining the data, however, I came to understand that teachers exercise their agency within a policy and cultural context that shapes their practices as much as their own beliefs and aims do. This dissertation points to the value and significance of research that is committed to building knowledge and understanding about history teachers' pedagogical practices within specific contexts. It shows that teachers' pedagogical practices cannot be adequately understood outside of broader macro forces and influences, such as local policies of teacher supervision and evaluation; local curricular ideologies (Eisner, 2002); and global education policy discourses (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). While history teachers often seek to teach a depoliticized, objectively "true" version of the nation's history, these case studies reveal that history education is always political in its implications. At the micro level, teachers and teacher educators need to develop narratives and pedagogical practices that explicitly critique the "official knowledge" (Apple, 2000) represented in the formal curriculum. At the macro level, teachers, curriculum scholars, and historians need to work together to increase the availability of counternarratives of the nation in both the curriculum and public discourse, and to critique dominant discourses of global citizenship.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide for Teacher Interviews

Teacher's Name:
Current School:
Years of Teaching Experience:

Teacher background
To begin, I have a few questions about your background as a teacher.
1. Please give me a brief overview of your own education. (degrees, special courses, teacher training)

2. Did you study history as an undergraduate or graduate student?

3. What courses will you teach this year?

Teacher beliefs
The next few questions are about your beliefs concerning history and citizenship education.
4. Tell me a few of your thoughts on the purposes of teaching history in high school.

5. How do you define history for your students? (or, How would you describe history as a discipline?)

6. What experiences have shaped your ideas about history?

7. What kinds of classroom activities or instructional strategies do you think best support student learning in history classes?

8. What do you believe are the characteristics of a good citizen? (For example, some people would say that a good citizen is knowledgeable about government, while others would say that a good citizen is active in the community; some focus on participation in civic affairs …)

9. What do you think students need to learn in order to be citizens? (What knowledge and skills do students need in order to be good citizens?)

Teacher practices
The following questions are about your practices as a history teacher.
10. Many teachers say that there is more content in the curriculum than a teacher can fit into the time available. How do you determine which topics you teach in your (grade 9/grade 10) (U.S./Canadian) history course? (What, in your opinion, are the most important topics in course? Why?)

11. What types of learning activities do students do in your class? (e.g., lecture, cooperative/group work, role plays, research activities, reading independently or as a group, analyzing primary sources, mapping)

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12. What texts or kinds of texts do you find most effective for engaging students in learning history? (Which books or readings do students find most engaging or memorable? Which texts do you most look forward to using each year?)

13. What other sources – documentaries, websites, films, DVDs, etc. – do you find to be most effective for engaging students in learning history?

14. What role do current events and issues play in your classroom? (Do you discuss current events regularly in your classroom? What connections do you see between current events and learning history? How do you address major events, such as 9/11 or Hurricane Katrina or a national election, in your history classes?)

Contextual Issues

The next few questions are about external influences on your classroom practice. These influences include curriculum documents, administrators, colleagues, students, parents, and the community.

15. What do you think of the (Maryland/Ontario) history curriculum guidelines?

16. How does your principal's (or other administrators') expectations impact your teaching? (Can you describe an instance in which this happened?)

17. How do your colleagues impact or influence your teaching? (How often do you talk about teaching history with colleagues? What kinds of issues do you talk about with them?)

18. How do student expectations influence your teaching? (For example, expectations about how much work they will have, what they will learn, what history is about, etc.)

19. How do parent and community expectations influence your teaching? (For example, expectations about what students will learn, why history is important, the historical topics that they will study, etc.)

Final Questions

20. Is there anything else that you would like to add about your beliefs and practices for teaching history?

21. How, if at all, do you think teaching history today is different from teaching history, say, 10-20 years ago? (Looking back at your teaching over the past 10 or 20 years, what changes have you noticed? How have developments like advances in technology; globalization of politics and trade, the end of the Cold War or the War on Terror changed the nature of teaching history?)

22. Is there anything about your cultural background (ethnicity, religion, sexual identity, the region where you grew up, etc) that you think has shaped your practice as a history teacher?

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Appendix B: Classroom Observation Guide

The following issues will be addressed over the course of approximately 3 weeks of observation.

Note date, time, location, and name of teacher for each observation.

Historical Narratives
Record historical narratives used in class.
How does the teacher convey historical narratives to students, orally, in text, and through multimedia sources?
How do students respond to each narrative? Record student responses and note non-verbal cues that convey student attitudes towards narratives.
In activities focusing on the interpretation/analysis of history, themes of particular interest are agency and power; war and global relations; good citizens/bad citizens (heroes and villains?); and opportunity and inequality.

Instructional Activities
Summarize instructional activities. When possible, include teacher language about the purpose of these activities.
Note sources and texts used in class, as well as others referenced in class. Retain copies, when possible.

Classroom Environment
How is the classroom arranged? Where do students sit, and how do the teacher and students use the space?
Create seating chart to help record student participation.
How is the room decorated? What images are present?

Social Climate
What appear to be expectations for behavior in this class? How does the teacher communicate expectations?
How does the teacher address students, and how do students address the teacher and each other?
What role does controversy or conflicting points of view play in the classroom discourse? Are they welcomed, avoided, or discouraged?

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Appendix C: Teachers' Views on Citizenship

Teachers were asked, "What do you believe are the characteristics of a good citizen?" and, "What knowledge and skills do students need in order to be good citizens?" Their responses are collated below (U.S. teachers' names appear in italics, Canadian teachers in plain font):

Knowledge about government/law/politics
Deb, Jonathan, Matt, Linda, Ryan, Kevin, Catherine, William
Knowledge/Understanding issues and current events
Deb, Jackson, Dan, Richard, Andrew, Ryan, Kevin
Follow rules/obey laws
Lori, Jonathan, Matt, Richard, Linda, Catherine
Voting
Deb, Jonathan, Dan, Matt, Linda, Catherine
Participation (broadly or vaguely defined)
Deb, Jackson, Jonathan, Dan, Richard
Valuing Rights and Responsibilities
Lori, Jonathan, Matt, Linda, Kevin
Appreciation for one's nation
Lori, Linda, Andrew, Catherine, William
Volunteer service
Matt, Richard, Linda, Catherine, William
Lobbying/Petitioning for change
Jackson, Dan, Linda, Kevin
Participating in civic dialogue or democratic deliberation
Jackson, Ryan, Kevin, Deb
Making good decisions (or understanding the consequences of decisions)
Deb, Lori, Dan
Community organization/activism
Deb, Jackson
Positively impacts society/not a detriment to society
Matt, Jonathan
Ethical concerns
Ryan, William
Works cooperatively with others
Ryan

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Appendix D: Unit Test Review Handout (Deb Patterson)

Harriet Tubman High School, Maryland, USA

Causes & Background of WWII

Conditions of Treaty of Versailles:
Reasons for the growth of dictators:
Japan's Invasion of Manchuria:
Munich Conference
- Appeasement:
- What was the agreement?
- Neville Chamberlain:

Joseph Stalin:
Non-Aggression Pact:

Early World War II (1939-1941)

List the Axis nations:
List the Allied nations:
Invasion of Poland:
Blitzkrieg:
Battle of Britain:
German Invasion of USSR:

U.S. Isolationism through 1941

Neutrality Acts (& Isolationism)
Attitude of FDR towards helping the Allies:
Cash-Carry Policy:
Destroyers for Bases:
Lend Lease Act:
Atlantic Charter:
Trade embargo & asset freeze against Japan:
Pearl Harbor:
Problems U.S. faced upon entering war:

U.S. Mobilization & Homefront During War

How did War end the Depression?
Defense Industries (why were these jobs desirable?)
A. Philip Randolph & FDR's Executive Order:
Government agencies & War
- Selective Service:
- Office of War Information:
- Office of Price Administration:
- War Production Board:
- Taxes & War Bonds:

Japanese Internment
- Reasons for Internment:
- Effect of Japanese Americans:

Rationing:
"Common Good" & WWII:

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"Rosie the Riveter" & role of women:
Outcomes of African American service in war:

European & Pacific Theaters
Military priorities of FDR & Churchill:
Study both the European & Pacific Theater Maps

European Theater
Stalingrad:
Role of Tuskegee Airmen:
Dwight Eisenhower:
D-Day:
Battle of the Bulge:

Pacific Theater
Midway:
Island Hopping:
Kamikazes:
Manhattan Project:
Reasons for using atomic bomb:

Post World War II
Deterioration of U.S. – USSR relationship:
Yalta Conference:
Potsdam Conference:
Nuremberg Trials:
Truman Doctrine:
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):
Marshall Plan & reasons why Plan was necessary:

Questions to Consider

Evaluate how U.S. policies changed regarding isolationism from the 1930s through the attack on Pearl Harbor

Explain how World War II impacted groups in the U.S, especially African Americans, women, and Japanese Americans. How was the idea of the "common good" applied to actions during World War II?

Describe the general course of the war in the European and Pacific Theaters

Describe the reasons for the growing U.S. – Soviet conflict at the end of the war, and the U.S. policies which resulted from it

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Appendix E: Review Handout (Linda Nevins)

Erie Secondary School, Ontario

WORD WALL – BETWEEN THE WARS & WWII TERMS

FASCISM	BLITZKREIG	ANTI-SEMITISM
TOTALITARIANISM	APPEASEMENT	S.S. ST. LOUIS
ARYAN	DUNKIRK	NUREMBERG LAWS
BLACK SHIRTS	LUFTWAFFE	KRISTALLNACHT
MUSSOLINI	THE LONDON BLITZ	FINAL SOLUTION
NAZI HANDBOOK	AXIS FORCES	CONVOY
HITLER JUGEN	MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT Or SOVIET NAZI NON-AGGRESSION PACT	
BROWN SHIRTS	BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AIR TRAINING PLAN	
MEIN KAMPF	RATIONING	AUSCHWITZ
THIRD REICH	PANZER	JEWISH GHETTOS
ANSCHLUSS	HUNGER WINTER	GENOCIDE
OPERATION BARBAROSSA	OPERATION HUSKY	
OPERATION OVERLORD	THE MANHATTAN PROJECT	
PILLBOXES	ANDERSON STRUCTURE	
DOODLEBUGS OR V1	LANCASTER BOMBERS	SCAPEGOAT
MUNICH AGREEMENT	SUDETENLAND	LEBENSRAUM
WAC'S	JOHN GREY (H.K. – soldier)	
WD'S	WRENs	RADAR

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Appendix F: In-Class Readings (Deb Patterson)

Name _____

Directions: Read [redacted] and take notes on this handout.

WWII offered a number of minority groups both challenges and opportunities. As you read this section of the text focus on how the war altered the lives of individuals within these three groups. Focus on how the war either limited or expanded their civil and political rights. For each groups there is a list of terms that you need to cover n your notes.

African-Americans
A. Philip Randolph
March on Washington
Executive Order 8802
FEPC

Japanese-Americans
Executive Order 9066
Internment
Korematsu v US
442nd Combat team

The Social Impact of WWII on Minority Groups

Women
Rosie the Riveter
Statistics on women in the work force
Job opportunities

للاستشارات

Fair Employment Practices Committee

On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). The order banned racial discrimination in any defense industry receiving federal contracts by declaring "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." The order also empowered the FEPC to investigate complaints and take action against alleged employment discrimination.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters President A. Philip Randolph, NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White, and NYA Minority Affairs Director Mary McLeod Bethune forced FDR to address the issue. Randolph, working with other civil rights activists, organized the 1941 March on Washington Movement to protest racial discrimination in defense industry and the military and threatened to bring 250,000 African Americans to Washington to demonstrate against congressional resistance to fair employment. FDR sent ER and New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to negotiate with March on Washington leaders. ER returned, telling FDR that their plans were firm, that only an antidiscrimination ordinance would prevent what promised to be the largest demonstration in our capital's history. ER urged FDR to act for both moral and political reasons. FDR agreed, but would only go so far. He agreed to have th FEPC prohibit discrimination in defense plants, but he refused to address the issue of segregation in the military, which had been Randolph's original concern.

The lure of defense industry jobs and promise of the FEPC triggered an enormous migration of African Americans from the South to defense plants. However, most African Americans were hired for menial jobs. A reluctant defense industry refused to comply with the order, arguing that if African Americans were hired as janitors, employers would be forced to integrate their workforce. In 1943, FDR decided to strengthen the FEPC after learning about how some employers were violating the spirit of the new order. As a result, he increased the FEPC budget to nearly half a million dollars and replaced the part-time Washington, D.C., staff with a professional full-time staff distributed throughout the country. By war's end the number of jobs held by African Americans was at an all-time high: African American civilians accounted for eight percent of defense-industry jobs, whereas before the war they only held three percent, and 200,000 thousand were employed by the government, more than triple the number before the war. A majority of those employed, however, still held menial jobs.

FDR's sudden death and the war's end left the FEPC in limbo. Congress, receiving mixed messages from the Truman administration, split over how best to address the issue and debated whether to extend the FEPC for a few years, make it a permanent commission, or not renew its charter. ER lent very active support to the bill creating a permanent FEPC. The Senate disagreed and let the FEPC die in1946. However, FEPC congressional supporters refused to yield and twice introduced bills calling for a permanent FEPC. Both bills failed. In 1948 Truman, after reading the recommendations of his Commission on Civil Rights, sent a civil rights package to Congress calling for a permanent FEPC,

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antilynching legislation, and the abolishment of the poll tax. The conservative coalition in Congress blocked Truman's request. In 1950, the House approved a permanent FEPC bill but southern senators filibustered and killed the bill. Truman increasingly focused on the growing Korean War and foreign policy replaced the Fair Deal as his major concern.

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Executive Order 9066: The President Authorizes Japanese Relocation

In an atmosphere of World War II hysteria, President Roosevelt, encouraged by officials at all levels of the federal government, authorized the internment of tens of thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry and resident aliens from Japan. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, dated February 19, 1942, gave the military broad powers to ban any citizen from a fifty- to sixty-mile-wide coastal area stretching from Washington state to California and extending inland into southern Arizona. The order also authorized transporting these citizens to assembly centers hastily set up and governed by the military in California, Arizona, Washington state, and Oregon. Although it is not well known, the same executive order (and other war-time orders and restrictions) were also applied to smaller numbers of residents of the United States who were of Italian or German descent. For example, 3,200 resident aliens of Italian background were arrested and more than 300 of them were interned. About 11,000 German residents—including some naturalized citizens—were arrested and more than 5000 were interned. Yet while these individuals (and others from those groups) suffered grievous violations of their civil liberties, the war-time measures applied to Japanese Americans were worse and more sweeping, uprooting entire communities and targeting citizens as well as resident aliens.

The 442nd Regimental Combat Team

On December 7, 1941, the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii was attacked by Japan. This act thrust the United States into World War II. All men who were eligible for military duty were called upon to fight, except Japanese Americans. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Japanese American men were catagorized 4C, non-draftable. Moreover, they and their families were placed into concetration camps by the United States Government. However, on February 1, 1943, the government reversed its decision on Japanese Americans serving in the armed forces and announced the formation of the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team.

The 442nd initially consisted of Japanese American volunteers from the mainland United States and the Hawaiian Islands. There were many different reasons why these young men volunteered. Despite the rampant racism towards Japanese Americans during this period, many volunteers felt that if there was to be any future for Japanese in the United States, they had to demonstrate their loyalty by fighting for their country.

Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S..214 (1944), was a landmark United States Supreme Court case which asked the question, "Did the President and Congress go beyond their war powers by implementing exclusion and restricting the rights of Americans of Japanese descent?"

In a 6-3 decision, the Court sided with the government, ruling that the exclusion order leading to Japanese American Internment was not unconstitutional. The opinion, written by Supreme Court justice Hugo Black, held that the need to protect against espionage outweighed Fred Korematsu's individual rights, and the rights of Americans of Japanese descent.

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And They Called it Women's Liberation

Rosie the Riveter

World War II

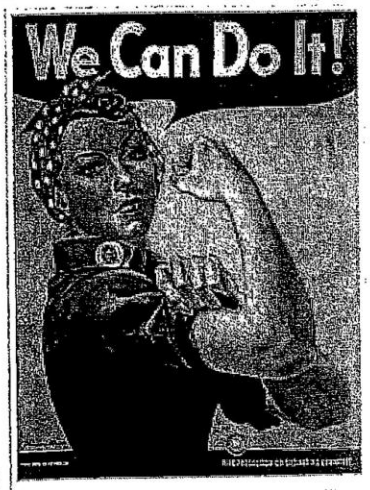
World War II came in the early 1940s. Men were drafted to fight, and America needed workers and supplies. Again, the employers looked towards the women for labor. Unmarried and married women were invited to work, as had been done during World War I.

But still, public opinion was generally against the working of married women. The media and the government started a fierce propaganda campaign to change this opinion. The federal government told the women that victory could not be achieved without their entry into the workforce. Working was considered part of being a good citizen, a working wife was a patriotic person.

The government founded the Magazine Bureau in 1942. The Bureau published Magazine War Guide, a guide which told magazines which themes stories they should cover each month to aid war propaganda. For September 1943, the theme was "Women at Work". The slogan for this was "The More Women at Work the Sooner We Win." Magazines developed stories that glorified and promoted the placement of women into untraditional jobs where workers were needed. The idea was that if smaller, unexciting jobs were portrayed as attractive and noble more women would join the work force.

The media created Rosie the Riveter, a mythical character to encourage women into the workforce. Rosie was portrayed as a patriotic woman, a hero for all American women. "All the day long, Whether rain or shine, She's a part of the assembly line. She's making history, Working for victory, Rosie the Riveter... There's something true about, Red, white, and blue about, Rosie the Riveter."

The propaganda efforts worked. More than six million women joined the workforce during the war, the majority of them married women. In 1940, before the war, only 36% of women workers were married. By 1945, after the war, 50% of women workers were married. The middle class taboo against a working wife had been repealed



Rosie the Riveter: "We Can Do It!" - Many women first found economic strength in World War II-era manufacturing jobs.

In 1940, only 10% of women who worked were employed by factories, but by 1944, the figure was up to 30%. Although pay was not always ual (the average man working in a wartime plant was paid $54.65 eek, while women on average were paid $31.21 per week), and conditions were sometimes very poor, women quickly responded to Rosie the Riveter, who convinced them they had a patriotic duty to enter the workforce. Some claim that she forever opened up the work force for women, but others dispute that point, noting that many women were discharged after the war and the jobs given to returning

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Appendix G: Peace Memorandum Assignment (Deb Patterson)

Writing Assignment
Memorandum on Preventing War

You have been hired by the World Peace Archive to write a two page memorandum suggesting four actions that the United States and its European allies might have taken to prevent World War II.

Use class notes, notes from slides and your text book to help you compose your memorandum.

1. Date your memorandum and address it to the members of the World Peace Archive. Paper should be typed, double-spaced, 12 font, Times New Roman with 1" margins.

2. In your introductory paragraph explain why you think World War II could have been prevented. (You must take this position.) Identify four distinct actions the Allied powers might have taken to prevent the outbreak of World War II. These actions should be prioritized within your introductory paragraph, with what you believe to be the most important action in avoiding war being first.

3. For each of the four actions you've identified, write a paragraph explaining why the action might have prevented World War II and also explaining reasons why that action was not taken by the Allies.

4. Throughout your memorandum you must incorporate at least five of these World War II terms:

Alliance; Appeasement; Democracy; Fascism; Imperialism; Isolationism; Propaganda; Totalitarianism

Be sure to highlight or underline these terms the first time you use them in your writing.

5. Summarize your ideas and actions in a well-constructed concluding paragraph.

Your memorandum is due: _____

The deadline is:_____

Point Values

Introduction and 4 prioritized actions	5 points
4 paragraphs explaining your actions	5 points each (20 points)
Proper and appropriate use of WWII terms	1 point each (5 points)
Proper setup/grammar/margins/font	5 points
Conclusion	5 points
Total	40 points

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Appendix H: Primary Source Readings – Atomic Bomb (Dan Kennedy)

marked for potential military use will become available for important peace-time developments, including power production, large engineering undertakings, and mass production of radioactive materials. In this way, the money spent on wartime development of nucleonics may become a boon for the peacetime development of national economy. . . .

SUMMARY

The development of nuclear power not only constitutes an important addition to the technological and military power of the United States, but also creates grave political and economic problems for the future of this country.

Nuclear bombs cannot possibly remain a "secret weapon" at the exclusive disposal of this country for more than a few years. The scientific facts on which their construction is based are well known to scientists of other countries. Unless an effective international control of nuclear explosives is instituted, a race for nuclear armaments is certain to ensue following the first revelation of our possession of nuclear weapons to the world. Within ten years other countries may have nuclear bombs, each of which, weighing less than a ton, could destroy an urban area of more than ten square miles. In the war to which such an armaments race is likely to lead, the United States, with its agglomeration of population and industry in comparatively few metropolitan districts, will be at a disadvantage compared to nations whose population and industry are scattered over large areas.

We believe that these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early unannounced attack against Japan inadvisable. If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction upon mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons.

Much more favorable conditions for the eventual achievement of such an agreement could be created if nuclear bombs were first revealed to the world by a demonstration in an appropriately selected uninhabited area.

In case chances for the establishment of an effective international control of nuclear weapons should have to be considered slight at the present time, then not only the use of these weapons against Japan, but even their early demonstration, may be contrary to the interests of this country. A postponement of such a demonstration will have in this case the advantage of delaying the beginning of the nuclear armaments race as long as possible. If, during the time gained, ample support can be made available for further development of the field in this country, the postponement will substantially increase the lead which we have established during the present war, and our position in an armament race or in any later attempt at international agreement would thus be strengthened.

On the other hand, if no adequate public support for the development of nucleonics will be available without a demonstration, the postponement of the latter may be deemed inadvisable, because enough information might leak out to cause other nations to start the armament race, in which we would then be at a disadvantage. There is also the possibility that the distrust of other nations may be aroused if they know that we are conducting a development under cover of secrecy, and that this will make it more difficult eventually to reach an agreement with them.

If the government should decide in favor of an early demonstration of nuclear weapons, it will then have the possibility of taking into account the public opinion of this country and of the other nations before deciding whether these weapons should be used in the war against Japan. In this way, other nations may assume a share of responsibility for such a fateful decision.

To sum up, we urge that the use of nuclear bombs in this war be considered as a problem of long-range national policy rather than of military expediency, and that this policy be directed primarily to the achievement of an agreement permitting an effective international control of the means of nuclear warfare.

The vital importance of such a control for our country is obvious from the fact that the only effective alternative method of protecting this country appears to be a dispersal of our major cities and essential industries.

J. FRANCK, CHAIRMAN
D.J. HUGHES
J.J. NICKSON
E. RABINOWITCH
G.T. SEABORG
J.C. STEARNS
L. SZILARD

VIEWPOINT 30B

The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan Was Justified (1947)

Henry L. Stimson (1867–1950)

The United States dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and a second bomb on Nagasaki three days later. The

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two detonations reduced most of both cities to rubble and killed, both instantly and by subsequent radiation poisoning, tens of thousands of Japanese (estimates range from 80,000 to 200,000). Within a few days Japan surrendered and World War II was over. For some Americans victory was clouded by the revelation of the atomic bomb's destructive power and America's decision to use it. An editorial in the journal *Christian Century* held that "use of the atomic bomb has placed our nation in an indefensible moral position." Partly to counter this and other criticisms, Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war during World War II, wrote an article, published in *Harper's Magazine* in February 1947, that subsequently became well known. In the article, excerpted here, Stimson defends the decision to drop two atomic bombs on Japan and describes the process behind the decision.

Stimson, a secretary of state under President Herbert Hoover in the 1930s, was appointed secretary of war by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940. After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, Stimson continued to serve as secretary of war under the new president, Harry S. Truman, until September 1945. Stimson was the chief adviser to Roosevelt and Truman on atomic policy and was in charge of the effort to produce an atomic bomb. On May 31, 1945, shortly after Roosevelt's death, he chaired a special Interim Committee meeting of leading government and military officials as well as a scientific panel of four nuclear physicists from the Manhattan Project. Following this and other meetings, he and the committee recommended to Truman that the atomic bomb be used against Japan.

What were the primary reasons for using the atomic bomb, according to Stimson? How important, according to his account, were reservations such as those expressed in viewpoint 30A by the Franck Committee? What response does he offer to these concerns? What reasons does Stimson provide for rejecting the idea of a noncombat demonstration of the bomb?

In recent months there has been much comment about the decision to use atomic bombs in attacks on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This decision was one of the gravest made by our government in recent years, and it is entirely proper that it should be widely discussed. I have therefore decided to record for all who may be interested my understanding of the events which led up to the attack on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, on Nagasaki on August 9, and the Japanese decision to surrender, on August 10. No single individual can hope to know exactly what took place in the minds of all of those who had a share in these events, but what follows is an exact description of our thoughts and actions as I find them in the records and in my clear recollection.

Plans and Preparations

It was in the fall of 1941 that the question of atomic energy was first brought directly to my attention. At that time President Roosevelt appointed a committee consisting of Vice President [Henry] Wallace, General [George C.] Marshall, Dr. Vannevar Bush, Dr. James B. Conant, and myself. The function of this committee was to advise the President on questions of policy relating to the study of nuclear fission which was then proceeding both in this country and in Great Britain. For nearly four years thereafter I was directly connected with all major decisions of policy on the development and use of atomic energy, and from May 1, 1943, until my resignation as Secretary of War on September 21, 1945, I was directly responsible to the President for the administration of the entire undertaking; my chief advisers in this period were General Marshall, Dr. Bush, Dr. Conant, and Major General Leslie R. Groves, the officer in charge of the project. At the same time I was the President's senior adviser on the military employment of atomic energy.

A Simple Policy

The policy adopted and steadily pursued by President Roosevelt and his advisers was a simple one. It was to spare no effort in securing the earliest possible successful development of an atomic weapon. The reasons for this policy were equally simple. The original experimental achievement of atomic fission had occurred in Germany in 1938, and it was known that the Germans had continued their experiments. In 1941 and 1942 they were believed to be ahead of us, and it was vital that they should not be the first to bring atomic weapons into the field of battle. Furthermore, if we should be the first to develop the weapon, we should have a great new instrument for shortening the war and minimizing destruction. At no time, from 1941 to 1945, did I ever hear it suggested by the President, or by any other responsible member of the government, that atomic energy should not be used in the war. All of us of course understood the terrible responsibility involved in our attempt to unlock the doors to such a devastating weapon; President Roosevelt particularly spoke to me many times of his own awareness of the catastrophic potentialities of our work. But we were at war, and the work must be done. I therefore emphasize that it was our common objective, throughout the war, to be the first to produce an atomic weapon and use it. The possible atomic weapon was considered to be a new and tremendously powerful explo-

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sive, as legitimate as any other of the deadly explosive weapons of modern war. The entire purpose was the production of a military weapon; on no other ground could the wartime expenditure of so much time and money have been justified. The exact circumstances in which that weapon might be used were unknown to any of us until the middle of 1945, and when that time came, as we shall presently see, the military use of atomic energy was connected with larger questions of national policy.

"This deliberate, premeditated destruction was our least abhorrent choice. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki put an end to the Japanese war."

The extraordinary story of the successful development of the atomic bomb has been well told elsewhere. As time went on it became clear that the weapon would not be available in time for use in the European Theater, and the war against Germany was successfully ended by the use of what are now called conventional means. But in the spring of 1945 it became evident that the climax of our prolonged atomic effort was at hand. By the nature of atomic chain reactions, it was impossible to state with certainty that we had succeeded until a bomb had actually exploded in a fullscale experiment; nevertheless it was considered exceedingly probable that we should by midsummer have successfully detonated the first atomic bomb. This was to be done at the Alamogordo Reservation in New Mexico. It was thus time for detailed consideration of our future plans. What had begun as a well-founded hope was now developing into a reality.

On March 15, 1945, I had my last talk with President Roosevelt. . . .

This conversation covered the three aspects of the question which were then uppermost in our minds. First, it was always necessary to suppress a lingering doubt that any such titanic undertaking could be successful. Second, we must consider the implications of success in terms of its long-range postwar effect. Third, we must face the problem that would be presented at the time of our first use of the weapon, for with that first use there must be some public statement.

Briefing Harry S. Truman

I did not see Franklin Roosevelt again. The next time I went to the White House to discuss atomic energy was April 25, 1945, and I went to explain the nature of the problem to a man whose only previous knowledge of our activities was that of a Senator who had loyally accepted our assurance that the matter must be kept a secret from him. Now he was President and Commander-in-Chief, and the final responsibility in this as in so many other matters must be his. President Truman accepted this responsibility with the same fine spirit that Senator Truman had shown before in accepting our refusal to inform him.

I discussed with him the whole history of the project. We had with us General Groves, who explained in detail the progress which had been made and the probable future course of the work. I also discussed with President Truman the broader aspects of the subject, and the memorandum which I used in this discussion is again a fair sample of the state of our thinking at the time.

Memorandum Discussed with President Truman, April 25, 1945

1. Within four months we shall in all probability have completed the most terrible weapon ever known in human history, one bomb of which could destroy a whole city.

2. Although we have shared its development with the U.K., physically the U.S. is at present in the position of controlling the resources with which to construct and use it and no other nation could reach this position for some years.

3. Nevertheless it is practically certain that we could not remain in this position indefinitely.

a. Various segments of its discovery and production are widely known among many scientists in many countries, although few scientists are now acquainted with the whole process which we have developed.

b. Although its construction under present methods requires great scientific and industrial effort and raw materials, which are temporarily mainly within the possession and knowledge of U.S. and U.K., it is extremely probable that much easier and cheaper methods of production will be discovered by scientists in the future, together with the use of materials of much wider distribution. As a result, it is extremely probable that the future will make it possible for atomic bombs to be constructed by smaller nations or even groups, or at least by a larger nation in a much shorter time.

4. As a result, it is indicated that the future may see a time when such a weapon may be constructed in secret and used suddenly and effectively with devastating power by a wilful nation or group against an unsuspecting nation or group of much greater size and material power. With its aid even a very powerful unsuspecting nation might be conquered within a very few days by a very much smaller one. . . .

5. The world in its present state of moral advancement compared with its technical development would be eventually at the mercy of such a weapon. In other words, modern civilization might be completely destroyed.

6. To approach any world peace organization of any pattern now likely to be considered, without an appreciation by the leaders of our country of the power of this new weapon, would seem to be unrealistic. No system of control heretofore considered would be adequate to control

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this menace. Both inside any particular country and between the nations of the world, the control of this weapon will undoubtedly be a matter of the greatest difficulty and would involve such thoroughgoing rights of inspection and internal controls as we have never heretofore contemplated.

7. Furthermore, in the light of our present position with reference to this weapon, the question of sharing it with other nations and, if so shared, upon what terms, becomes a primary question of our foreign relations. Also our leadership in the war and in the development of this weapon has placed a certain moral responsibility upon us which we cannot shirk without very serious responsibility for any disaster to civilization which it would further.

8. On the other hand, if the problem of the proper use of this weapon can be solved, we would have the opportunity to bring the world into a pattern in which the peace of the world and our civilization can be saved.

9. As stated in General Groves' report, steps are under way looking towards the establishment of a select committee of particular qualifications for recommending action to the executive and legislative branches of our government when secrecy is no longer in full effect. The committee would also recommend the actions to be taken by the War Department prior to that time in anticipation of the postwar problems. All recommendations would of course be first submitted to the President.

The next step in our preparations was the appointment of the committee referred to in paragraph (9) above. This committee, which was known as the Interim Committee, was charged with the function of advising the President on the various questions raised by our apparently imminent success in developing an atomic weapon. I was its chairman, but the principal labor of guiding its extended deliberations fell to George L. Harrison, who acted as chairman in my absence. It will be useful to consider the work of the committee in some detail. Its members were the following, in addition to Mr. Harrison and myself:

James F. Byrnes (then a private citizen) as personal representative of the President [later appointed Truman's secretary of state].

Ralph A. Bard, Under Secretary of the Navy.

William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State.

Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director, Office of Scientific Research and Development, and president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Dr. Karl T. Compton, Chief of the Office of Field Service in the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. James B. Conant, Chairman of the National Defense Research Committee, and president of Harvard University.

Broad Discussions

The discussions of the committee ranged over the whole field of atomic energy, in its political, military, and scientific aspects. That part of its work which particularly concerns us here relates to its recommendations for the use of atomic energy against Japan, but it should be borne in mind that these recommendations were not made in a vacuum. The committee's work included the drafting of the statements which were published immediately after the first bombs were dropped, the drafting of a bill for the domestic control of atomic energy, and recommendations looking toward the international control of atomic energy. The Interim Committee was assisted in its work by a Scientific Panel whose members were the following: Dr. A. H. Compton, Dr. Enrico Fermi, Dr. E. O. Lawrence, and Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer. All four were nuclear physicists of the first rank; all four had held positions of great importance in the atomic project from its inception. At a meeting with the Interim Committee and the Scientific Panel on May 31, 1945, I urged all those present to feel free to express themselves on any phase of the subject, scientific or political. Both General Marshall and I at this meeting expressed the view that atomic energy could not be considered simply in terms of military weapons but must also be considered in terms of a new relationship of man to the universe.

Recommendations of the Committee

On June 1, after its discussions with the Scientific Panel, the Interim Committee unanimously adopted the following recommendations:

(1) The bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible.

(2) It should be used on a dual target—that is, a military installation or war plant surrounded by or adjacent to houses and other buildings most susceptible to damage, and

(3) It should be used without prior warning [of the nature of the weapon]. One member of the committee, Mr. Bard, later changed his view and dissented from recommendation (3).

In reaching these conclusions the Interim Committee carefully considered such alternatives as a detailed advance warning or a demonstration in some uninhabited area. Both of these suggestions were discarded as impractical. They were not regarded as likely to be effective in compelling a surrender of Japan, and both of them involved serious risks. Even the New Mexico test would not give final proof that any given bomb was certain to explode when dropped from an airplane. Quite apart from the generally unfamiliar nature of atomic explosives, there was the whole problem of exploding a bomb at a predetermined height in the air by a complicated mechanism which could not be tested in the static test of New Mexico. Nothing would have been more damaging to our effort to obtain surrender than a ...

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ing or a demonstration followed by a dud—and this was a real possibility. Furthermore, we had no bombs to waste. It was vital that a sufficient effect be quickly obtained with the few we had.

Views of Other Scientists

The Interim Committee and the Scientific Panel also served as a channel through which suggestions from other scientists working on the atomic project were forwarded to me and to the President. Among the suggestions thus forwarded was one memorandum which questioned using the bomb at all against the enemy. On June 16, 1945, after consideration of that memorandum, the Scientific Panel made a report, from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> The opinions of our scientific colleagues on the initial use of these weapons are not unanimous: they range from the proposal of a purely technical demonstration to that of the military application best designed to induce surrender. Those who advocate a purely technical demonstration would wish to outlaw the use of atomic weapons, and have feared that if we use the weapons now our position in future negotiations will be prejudiced. Others emphasize the opportunity of saving American lives by immediate military use, and believe that such use will improve the international prospects, in that they are more concerned with the prevention of war than with the elimination of this special weapon. We find ourselves closer to these latter views; *we can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use.* [Italics mine]

> With regard to these general aspects of the use of atomic energy, it is clear that we, as scientific men, have no proprietary rights. It is true that we are among the few citizens who have had occasion to give thoughtful consideration to these problems during the past few years. We have, however, no claim to special competence in solving the political, social, and military problems which are presented by the advent of atomic power.

The foregoing discussion presents the reasoning of the Interim Committee and its advisers. I have discussed the work of these gentlemen at length in order to make it clear that we sought the best advice that we could find. The committee's function was, of course, entirely advisory. The ultimate responsibility for the recommendation to the President rested upon me, and I have no desire to veil it. The conclusions of the committee were similar to my own, although I reached mine independently. I felt that to extract a genuine surrender from the Emperor and his military advisers, they must be administered a tremendous shock which would carry convincing proof of our power to destroy the Empire. Such an effective shock would save many times the number of lives, both American and Japanese, that it would cost. . . .

Memorandum on Japan

I wrote a memorandum for the President, on July 2, which I believe fairly represents the thinking of the American government as it finally took shape in action. This memorandum was prepared after discussion and general agreement with Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Navy [James] Forrestal, and when I discussed it with the President, he expressed his general approval.

Memorandum for the President, Proposed Program for Japan, July 2, 1945

1. The plans of operation up to and including the first landing have been authorized and the preparations for the operation are now actually going on. This situation was accepted by all members of your conference on Monday, June 18.

2. There is reason to believe that the operation for the occupation of Japan following the landing may be a very long, costly, and arduous struggle on our part. The terrain, much of which I have visited several times, has left the impression on my memory of being one which would be susceptible to a last ditch defense such as has been made on Iwo Jima and Okinawa and which of course is very much larger than either of those two areas. According to my recollection it will be much more unfavorable with regard to tank maneuvering than either the Philippines or Germany.

3. If we once land on one of the main islands and begin a forceful occupation of Japan, we shall probably have cast the die of last ditch resistance. The Japanese are highly patriotic and certainly susceptible to calls for fanatical resistance to repel an invasion. Once started in actual invasion, we shall in my opinion have to go through with an even more bitter finish fight than in Germany. We shall incur the losses incident to such a war and we shall have to leave the Japanese islands even more thoroughly destroyed than was the case with Germany. This would be due both to the difference in the Japanese and German personal character and the differences in the size and character of the terrain through which the operations will take place.

4. A question then comes: Is there any alternative to such a forceful occupation of Japan which will secure for us the equivalent of an unconditional surrender of her forces and a permanent destruction of her power again to strike an aggressive blow at the "peace of the Pacific"? I am inclined to think that there is enough such chance to make it well worthwhile our giving them a warning of what is to come and a definite opportunity to capitulate. As above suggested, it should be tried before the actual forceful occupation of the homeland islands is begun and furthermore the warning should be given in ample time to permit a national reaction to set in.

We have the following enormously favorable factors on our side—factors much weightier than those we had against Germany:

Japan has no allies.

Her navy is nearly destroyed and she is vulnerable to a surface and underwater blockade which can deprive her

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of sufficient food and supplies for her population.

She is terribly vulnerable to our concentrated air attack upon her crowded cities, industrial and food resources.

She has against her not only the Anglo-American forces but the rising forces of China and the ominous threat of Russia.

We have inexhaustible and untouched industrial resources to bring to bear against her diminishing potential.

We have great moral superiority through being the victim of her first sneak attack.

The problem is to translate these advantages into prompt and economical achievement of our objectives. I believe Japan *is* susceptible to reason in such a crisis to a much greater extent than is indicated by our current press and other current comment. Japan is not a nation composed wholly of mad fanatics of an entirely different mentality from ours. On the contrary, she has within the past century shown herself to possess extremely intelligent people, capable in an unprecedentedly short time of adopting not only the complicated technique of Occidental civilization but to a substantial extent their culture and their political and social ideas. Her advance in all these respects during the short period of sixty or seventy years has been one of the most astounding feats of national progress in history—a leap from the isolated feudalism of centuries into the position of one of the six or seven great powers of the world. She has not only built up powerful armies and navies. She has maintained an honest and effective national finance and respected position in many of the sciences in which we pride ourselves. Prior to the forcible seizure of power over her government by the fanatical military group in 1931, she had for ten years lived a reasonably responsible and respectable international life.

My own opinion is in her favor on the two points involved in this question:

a. I think the Japanese nation has the mental intelligence and versatile capacity in such a crisis to recognize the folly of a fight to the finish and to accept the proffer of what will amount to an unconditional surrender; and

b. I think she has within her population enough liberal leaders (although now submerged by the terrorists) to be depended upon for her reconstruction as a responsible member of the family of nations. I think she is better in this last respect than Germany was. Her liberals yielded only at the point of the pistol and, so far as I am aware, their liberal attitude has not been personally subverted in the way which was so general in Germany.

On the other hand, I think that the attempt to exterminate her armies and her population by gunfire or other means will tend to produce a fusion of race solidity and antipathy which has no analogy in the case of Germany. We have a national interest in creating, if possible, a condition wherein the Japanese nation may live as a peaceful and useful member of the future Pacific community.

5. It is therefore my conclusion that a carefully timed warning be given to Japan by the chief representatives of the United States, Great Britain, China, and, if then a belligerent, Russia by calling upon Japan to surrender and permit the occupation of her country in order to insure its complete demilitarization for the sake of the future peace.

This warning should contain the following elements:

The varied and overwhelming character of the force we are about to bring to bear on the islands.

The inevitability and completeness of the destruction which the full application of this force will entail.

The determination of the Allies to destroy permanently all authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the country into embarking on world conquest.

The determination of the Allies to limit Japanese sovereignty to her main islands and to render them powerless to mount and support another war.

The disavowal of any attempt to extirpate the Japanese as a race or to destroy them as a nation.

A statement of our readiness, once her economy is purged of its militaristic influence, to permit the Japanese to maintain such industries, particularly of a light consumer character, as offer no threat of aggression against their neighbors, but which can produce a sustaining economy, and provide a reasonable standard of living. The statement should indicate our willingness, for this purpose, to give Japan trade access to external raw materials, but no longer any control over the sources of supply outside her main islands. It should also indicate our willingness, in accordance with our now established foreign trade policy, in due course to enter into mutually advantageous trade relations with her.

The withdrawal from their country as soon as the above objectives of the Allies are accomplished, and as soon as there has been established a peacefully inclined government, of a character representative of the masses of the Japanese people. I personally think that if in saying this we should add that we do not exclude a constitutional monarchy under her present dynasty, it would substantially add to the chances of acceptance.

6. Success of course will depend on the potency of the warning which we give her. She has an extremely sensitive national pride and, as we are now seeing every day, when actually locked with the enemy will fight to the very death. For that reason the warning must be tendered before the actual invasion has occurred and while the impending destruction, though clear beyond peradventure, has not yet reduced her to fanatical despair. If Russia is a part of the threat, the Russian attack, if actual, must not have progressed too far. Our own bombing should be confined to military objectives as far as possible.

It is important to emphasize the double character of the suggested warning. It was designed to promise destruction if Japan resisted, and hope, if she surrendered.

It will be noted that the atomic bomb is not mentioned in this memorandum. On grounds of secrecy the bomb was never mentioned except when absolutely necessary, and furthermore, it had not yet been tested. It was of course well forward in our minds, as the memorandum was written and discussed, that the bomb would be the best possible sanction if our warning were rejected.

The Use of the Bomb

The adoption of the policy outlined in the memorandum of July 2 was a decision of high politics; once

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was accepted by the President, the position of the omic bomb in our planning became quite clear. I nd that I stated in my diary, as early as June 19, that he last chance warning . . . must be given before an ctual landing of the ground forces in Japan, and for- mately the plans provide for enough time to bring r the sanctions to our warning in the shape of heavy rdinary bombing attack and an attack of S-1." S-1 as a code name for the atomic bomb.

There was much discussion in Washington about he timing of the warning to Japan. The controlling actor in the end was the date already set for the otsdam meeting of the Big Three. It was President ruman's decision that such a warning should be olemnly issued by the U.S. and the U.K. from this eeting, with the concurrence of the head of the hinese government, so that it would be plain that *ll* of Japan's principal enemies were in entire unity. his was done, in the Potsdam ultimatum of July 26, which very closely followed the above memorandum of July 2, with the exception that it made no mention of the Japanese Emperor.

On July 28 the Premier of Japan, [Kantaro] Suzuki, rejected the Potsdam ultimatum by announcing that it was "unworthy of public notice." In the face of this rejection we could only proceed to demonstrate that the ultimatum had meant exactly what it said when it stated that if the Japanese continued the war, "the full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland."

A Suitable Weapon

For such a purpose the atomic bomb was an eminently suitable weapon. The New Mexico test occurred while we were at Potsdam, on July 16. It was immediately clear that the power of the bomb measured up to our highest estimates. We had developed a weapon of such a revolutionary character that its use against the enemy might well be expected to produce exactly the kind of shock on the Japanese ruling oligarchy which we desired, strengthening the position of those who wished peace, and weakening that of the military party. . . .

Hiroshima was bombed on August 6, and Nagasaki on August 9. These two cities were active working parts of the Japanese war effort. One was an army center; the other was naval and industrial. Hiroshima was the headquarters of the Japanese Army defending southern Japan and was a major military storage and assembly point. Nagasaki was a a major seaport and it contained several large industrial plants of great wartime importance. We believed that our attacks had struck cities which must certainly be important to the Japanese military leaders, both Army and Navy, and we waited for a result. We waited one day.

Many accounts have been written about the Japanese surrender. After a prolonged Japanese cabinet session in which the deadlock was broken by the Emperor himself, the offer to surrender was made on August 10. It was based on the Potsdam terms, with a reservation concerning the sovereignty of the Emperor. While the Allied reply made no promises other than those already given, it implicitly recognized the Emperor's position by prescribing that his power must be subject to the orders of the Allied Supreme Commander. These terms were accepted on August 14 by the Japanese, and the instrument of surrender was formally signed on September 2 in Tokyo Bay. Our great objective was thus achieved, and all the evidence I have seen indicates that the controlling factor in the final Japanese decision to accept our terms of surrender was the atomic bomb. . . .

A Personal Summary

In the foregoing pages I have tried to give an accurate account of my own personal observations of the circumstances which led up to the use of the atomic bomb and the reasons which underlay our use of it. To me they have always seemed compelling and clear, and I cannot see how any person vested with such responsibilities as mine could have taken any other course or given any other advice to his chiefs. . . .

As I read over what I have written, I am aware that much of it, in this year of peace, may have a harsh and unfeeling sound. It would perhaps be possible to say the same things and say them more gently. But I do not think it would be wise. As I look back over the five years of my service as Secretary of War, I see too many stern and heartrending decisions to be willing to pretend that war is anything else than what it is. The face of war is the face of death; death is an inevitable part of every order that a wartime leader gives. The decision to use the atomic bomb was a decision that brought death to over a hundred thousand Japanese. No explanation can change that fact and I do not wish to gloss it over. But this deliberate, premeditated destruction was our least abhorrent choice. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki put an end to the Japanese war. It stopped the fire raids and the strangling blockade; it ended the ghastly specter of a clash of great land armies.

In this last great action of the Second World War we were given final proof that war is death. War in the twentieth century has grown steadily more barbarous, more destructive, more debased in all its aspects. Now, with the release of atomic energy, man's ability to destroy himself is very nearly complete. The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended a

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war. They also made it wholly clear that we must never have another war. This is the lesson men and leaders everywhere must learn, and I believe that when they learn it they will find a way to lasting peace. There is no other choice.

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is to deny that under our system of law individual guilt is the sole basis for deprivation of rights. Moreover, this inference, which is at the very heart of the evacuation orders, has been used in support of the abhorrent and despicable treatment of minority groups by the dictatorial tyrannies which this nation is now pledged to destroy. To give constitutional sanction to that inference in this case, however well-intentioned may have been the military command on the Pacific Coast, is to adopt one of the cruelest of the rationales used by our enemies to destroy the dignity of the individual and to encourage and open the door to discriminatory actions against other minority groups in the passions of tomorrow.

No adequate reason is given for the failure to treat these Japanese Americans on an individual basis by holding investigations and hearings to separate the loyal from the disloyal, as was done in the case of persons of German and Italian ancestry. . . . It is asserted merely that the loyalties of this group "were unknown and time was of the essence." Yet nearly four months elapsed after Pearl Harbor before the first exclusion order was issued; nearly eight months went by until the last order was issued; and the last of these "subversive" persons was not actually removed until almost eleven months had elapsed. Leisure and deliberation seem to have been more of the essence than speed. And the fact that conditions were not such as to warrant a declaration of martial law adds strength to the belief that the factors of time and military necessity were not as urgent as they have been represented to be.

Moreover, there was no adequate proof that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the military and naval intelligence services did not have the espionage and sabotage situation well in hand during this long period. Nor is there any denial of the fact that not one person of Japanese ancestry was accused or convicted of espionage or sabotage after Pearl Harbor while they were still free, a fact which is some evidence of the loyalty of the vast majority of these individuals and of the effectiveness of the established methods of combatting these evils. It seems incredible that under these circumstances it would have been impossible to hold loyalty hearings for the mere 112,000 persons involved—or at least for the 70,000 American citizens—especially when a large part of this number represented children and elderly men and women. Any inconvenience that may have accompanied an attempt to conform to procedural due process cannot be said to justify violations of constitutional rights of individuals.

All Americans Have Equal Rights

I dissent, therefore, from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life. It is unattractive in any setting but it is utterly revolting among a free people who have embraced the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. All residents of this nation are kin in some way by blood or culture to a foreign land. Yet they are primarily and necessarily a part of the new and distinct civilization of the United States. They must accordingly be treated at all times as the heirs of the American experiment and as entitled to all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

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VIEWPOINT 30A

The United States Should Not Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan (1945)

The Franck Committee

In 1942 the United States undertook a secret research effort—the Manhattan Project—to develop a new kind of weapon powered by the splitting of the atom. The original impetus for the Manhattan Project was the fear of Germany's developing such a weapon. Following Germany's surrender in May 1945, however, discussion within the U.S. government and military focused on using the bomb against America's other main World War II enemy, Japan.

Many of the scientists who were part of the massive effort to invent the atom bomb were troubled about the ethical and political questions regarding the bomb's use. In 1944 and early 1945, Manhattan Project scientists based at the Metallurgical Laboratory (Met Lab) at the University of Chicago held seminars, circulated petitions, and in general raised concerns about the future implications of their research. One of these scientists was James Franck (1882–1964), an eminent German physicist who had been forced to leave Germany in 1933, and who had

Excerpted from *The Franck Report*, June 11, 1945.

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agreed to join the Manhattan Project in 1942 on the condition that he could express his views on how the bomb, if successfully developed, should be used.

The physicist who recruited Franck for the Manhattan Project, Arthur H. Compton, was a member of the scientific panel of the special Interim Committee appointed by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to advise President Harry S. Truman on the atomic bomb (see viewpoint 30B). At the Interim Committee's meeting on May 31 in Washington, Compton urged that the concerns of Franck and the other Chicago scientists be considered. On June 2, in Chicago, Compton met with the scientist, who subsequently formed several committees to write reports and recommendations concerning the future use of atomic bombs and energy. Franck chaired a committee of seven Met Lab scientists to discuss and report on the political and social implications of the new weapon. The Franck Committee's report, excerpted here, stresses the importance of international control of atomic weapons, and provides arguments against a surprise bomb attack on Japan.

Franck traveled to Washington on June 12, 1945, to join Compton in presenting the report to Stimson, but the secretary of war was out of town. The report was left in Stimson's office; it is uncertain whether and how closely he or other government officials read it. America dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima less than two months later.

What predictions does the committee make concerning future U.S./Soviet Union relations? Are the committee's objections to using the atomic bomb against Japan primarily moral or practical? What uses of the atomic bomb do they recommend?

I. PREAMBLE

The only reason to treat nuclear power differently from all the other developments in the field of physics is the possibility of its use as a means of political pressure in peace and sudden destruction in war. All present plans for the organization of research, scientific and industrial development, and publication in the field of nucleonics [the science of nuclear phenomena such as fission and fusion] are conditioned by the political and military climate in which one expects those plans to be carried out. Therefore, in making suggestions for the postwar organization of nucleonics, a discussion of political problems cannot be avoided. The scientists on this Project do not presume to speak authoritatively on problems of national and international policy. However, we found ourselves, by the force of events during the last five years, in the position of a small group of citizens cognizant of a grave danger for the safety of this country as well as for the future of all the other nations, of which the rest of mankind is unaware. We therefore feel it our duty to urge that the political problems, arising from the mastering of nuclear power, be recognized in all their gravity, and that appropriate steps be taken for their study and the preparation of necessary decisions. We hope that the creation of the Committee by the Secretary of War to deal with all aspects of nucleonics, indicates that these implications have been recognized by the government. We believe that our acquaintance with the scientific elements of the situation and prolonged preoccupation with its world-wide political implications, imposes on us the obligation to offer to the Committee some suggestions as to the possible solution of these grave problems.

Scientists have often before been accused of providing new weapons for the mutual destruction of nations, instead of improving their well-being. It is undoubtedly true that the discovery of flying, for example, has so far brought much more misery than enjoyment and profit to humanity. However, in the past, scientists could disclaim direct responsibility for the use to which mankind had put their disinterested discoveries. We feel compelled to take a more active stand now because the success which we have achieved in the development of nuclear power is fraught with infinitely greater dangers than were all the inventions of the past. All of us, familiar with the present state of nucleonics, live with the vision before our eyes of sudden destruction visited on our own country, of a Pearl Harbor disaster repeated in thousand-fold magnification in every one of our major cities.

In the past, science has often been able to provide also new methods of protection against new weapons of aggression it made possible, but it cannot promise such efficient protection against the destructive use of nuclear power. This protection can come only from the political organization of the world. Among all the arguments calling for an efficient international organization for peace, the existence of nuclear weapons is the most compelling one. *In the absence of an international authority which would make all resort to force in international conflicts impossible, nations could still be diverted from a path which must lead to total mutual destruction, by a specific international agreement barring a nuclear armaments race.*

II. PROSPECTS OF ARMAMENTS RACE

It could be suggested that the danger of destruction by nuclear weapons can be avoided—at least as far as this country is concerned—either by keeping our discoveries secret for an indefinite time, or else by developing our nucleonic armaments at such a

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pace that no other nations would think of attacking us from fear of overwhelming retaliation.

The answer to the first suggestion is that although we undoubtedly are at present ahead of the rest of the world in this field, the fundamental facts of nuclear power are a subject of common knowledge. British scientists know as much as we do about the basic wartime progress of nucleonics—if not of the specific processes used in our engineering developments—and the role which French nuclear physicists have played in the pre-war development of this field, plus their occasional contact with our Projects, will enable them to catch up rapidly, at least as far as basic scientific discoveries are concerned. German scientists, in whose discoveries the whole development of this field originated, apparently did not develop it during the war to the same extent to which this has been done in America; but to the last day of the European war, we were living in constant apprehension as to their possible achievements. The certainty that German scientists are working on this weapon and that their government would certainly have no scruples against using it when available, was the main motivation of the initiative which American scientists took in urging the development of nuclear power for military purposes on a large scale in this country. In Russia, too, the basic facts and implications of nuclear power were well understood in 1940, and the experience of Russian scientists in nuclear research is entirely sufficient to enable them to retrace our steps within a few years, even if we should make every attempt to conceal them. Furthermore, we should not expect too much success from attempts to keep basic information secret in peacetime, when scientists acquainted with the work on this and associated Projects will be scattered to many colleges and research institutions and many of them will continue to work on problems closely related to those on which our developments are based. In other words, even if we can retain our leadership in basic knowledge of nucleonics for a certain time by maintaining secrecy as to all results achieved on this and associated Projects, it would be foolish to hope that this can protect us for more than a few years.

It may be asked whether we cannot prevent the development of military nucleonics in other countries by a monopoly on the raw materials of nuclear power. The answer is that even though the largest now known deposits of uranium ores are under the control of powers which belong to the "western" group (Canada, Belgium, and British India), the old deposits in Czechoslovakia are outside this sphere. Russia is known to be mining radium on its own territory; and even if we do not know the size of the deposits discovered so far in the USSR, the probability that no large reserves of uranium will be found in a country which covers ⅛ of the land area of the earth (and whose sphere of influence takes in additional territory), is too small to serve as a basis for security. *Thus, we cannot hope to avoid a nuclear armament race either by keeping secret from the competing nations the basic scientific facts of nuclear power or by cornering the raw materials required for such a race.*

"If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction upon mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world [and] precipitate the race for armaments."

We now consider the second of the two suggestions made at the beginning of this section, and ask whether we could not feel ourselves safe in a race of nuclear armaments by virtue of our greater industrial potential, including greater diffusion of scientific and technical knowledge, greater volume and efficiency of our skilled labor corps, and greater experience of our management—all the factors whose importance has been so strikingly demonstrated in the conversion of this country into an arsenal of the Allied Nations in the present war. The answer is that all that these advantages can give us is the accumulation of a large number of bigger and better atomic bombs—and this only if we produce these bombs at the maximum of our capacity in peace time, and do not rely on conversion of a peace-time nucleonics industry to military production after the beginning of hostilities.

However, such a quantitative advantage in reserves of bottled destructive power will not make us safe from sudden attack. Just because a potential enemy will be afraid of being "outnumbered and outgunned," the temptation for him may be overwhelming to attempt a sudden unprovoked blow—particularly if he should suspect us of harboring aggressive intentions against his security or his sphere of influence. In no other type of warfare does the advantage lie so heavily with the aggressor. He can place his "infernal machines" in advance in all our major cities and explode them simultaneously, thus destroying a major part of our industry and a large part of our population, aggregated in densely populated metropolitan districts. Our possibilities of retaliation—even if retaliation should be considered adequate compensation for the loss of millions of lives and destruction of our largest cities—will be greatly

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handicapped because we must rely on aerial transportation of the bombs, and also because we may have to deal with an enemy whose industry and population are dispersed over a large territory.

In fact, if the race for nuclear armaments is allowed to develop, the only apparent way in which our country can be protected from the paralyzing effects of a sudden attack is by dispersal of those industries which are essential for our war effort and dispersal of the populations of our major metropolitan cities. As long as nuclear bombs remain scarce (i.e., as long as uranium and thorium remain the only basic materials for their fabrication), efficient dispersal of our industry and the scattering of our metropolitan population will considerably decrease the temptation to attack us by nuclear weapons. . . .

We are fully aware of the staggering difficulties involved in such a radical change in the social and economic structure of our nation. We felt, however, that the dilemma had to be stated, to show what kind of alternative methods of protection will have to be considered if no successful international agreement is reached. It must be pointed out that in this field we are in a less favorable position than nations which are either now more diffusely populated and whose industries are more scattered, or whose governments have unlimited power over the movement of population and the location of industrial plants.

If no efficient international agreement is achieved, the race for nuclear armaments will be on in earnest not later than the morning after our first demonstration of the existence of nuclear weapons. After this, it might take other nations three or four years to overcome our present head start, and eight or ten years to draw even with us if we continue to do intensive work in this field. This might be all the time we would have to bring about the regroupment of our population and industry. Obviously, no time should be lost in inaugurating a study of this problem by experts.

III. Prospects of Agreement

The consequences of nuclear warfare, and the type of measures which would have to be taken to protect a country from total destruction by nuclear bombing, must be as abhorrent to other nations as to the United States. England, France, and the smaller nations of the European continent, with their congeries of people and industries, would be in a particularly desperate situation in the face of such a threat. Russia and China are the only great nations at present which could survive a nuclear attack. However, even though these countries may value human life less than the peoples of Western Europe and America, and even though Russia, in particular, has an immense space over which its vital industries could be dispersed and a government which can order this dispersion the day it is convinced that such a measure is necessary—there is no doubt that Russia will shudder at the possibility of a sudden disintegration of Moscow and Leningrad and of its new industrial cities in the Urals and Siberia. Therefore, only lack of mutual *trust*, and not lack of *desire* for agreement, can stand in the path of an efficient agreement for the prevention of nuclear warfare. The achievement of such an agreement will thus essentially depend on the integrity of intentions and readiness to sacrifice the necessary fraction of one's own sovereignty, by all the parties to the agreement.

Revealing Nuclear Weapons to the World

From this point of view, the way in which the nuclear weapons now being secretly developed in this country are first revealed to the world appears to be of great, perhaps fateful importance.

One possible way—which may particularly appeal to those who consider nuclear bombs primarily as a secret weapon developed to help win the present war—is to use them without warning on an appropriately selected object in Japan. It is doubtful whether the first available bombs, of comparatively low efficiency and small size, will be sufficient to break the will or ability of Japan to resist, especially given the fact that the major cities like Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kobe already will largely have been reduced to ashes by the slower process of ordinary aerial bombing. Although important tactical results undoubtedly can be achieved by a sudden introduction of nuclear weapons, we nevertheless think that the question of the use of the very first available atomic bombs in the Japanese war should be weighed very carefully, not only by military authorities, but by the highest political leadership of this country. If we consider international agreement on total prevention of nuclear warfare as the paramount objective, and believe that it can be achieved, this kind of introduction of atomic weapons to the world may easily destroy all our chances of success. Russia, and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions, as well as neutral countries may be deeply shocked. It may be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a weapon as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a million times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement. We have large accumulations of poison gas, but do not use them, and recent polls have shown that public opinion in this country would disapprove of such a use even if it would accelerate the winning of the Far Eastern war. It is true that some irrational element in mass psychology

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makes gas poisoning more revolting than blasting by explosives, even though gas warfare is in no way more "inhuman" than the war of bombs and bullets. Nevertheless, it is not at all certain that American public opinion, if it could be enlightened as to the effect of atomic explosives, would approve of our own country being the first to introduce such an indiscriminate method of wholesale destruction of civilian life.

Thus, from the "optimistic" point of view—looking forward to an international agreement on the prevention of nuclear warfare—the military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confidence and by a wave of horror and repulsion sweeping over the rest of the world and perhaps even dividing public opinion at home.

From this point of view, a demonstration of the new weapon might best be made, before the eyes of representatives of all the United Nations, on the desert or a barren island. The best possible atmosphere for the achievement of an international agreement could be achieved if America could say to the world, "You see what sort of a weapon we had but did not use. We are ready to renounce its use in the future if other nations join us in this renunciation and agree to the establishment of an efficient international control."

After such a demonstration the weapon might perhaps be used against Japan if the sanction of the United Nations (and of public opinion at home) were obtained, perhaps after a preliminary ultimatum to Japan to surrender or at least to evacuate certain regions as an alternative to their total destruction. This may sound fantastic, but in nuclear weapons we have something entirely new in order of magnitude of destructive power, and if we want to capitalize fully on the advantage their possession gives us, we must use new and imaginative methods.

Starting an Arms Race

It must be stressed that if one takes the pessimistic point of view and discounts the possibility of an effective international control over nuclear weapons at the present time, then the advisability of an early use of nuclear bombs against Japan becomes even more doubtful—quite independently of any humanitarian considerations. If an international agreement is not concluded immediately after the first demonstration, this will mean a flying start toward an unlimited armaments race. If this race is inevitable, we have every reason to delay its beginning as long as possible in order to increase our head start still further. . . . The benefit to the nation, and the saving of American lives in the future, achieved by renouncing an early demonstration of nuclear bombs and letting the other nations come into the race only reluctantly, on the basis of guesswork and without definite knowledge that the "thing does work," may far outweigh the advantages to be gained by the immediate use of the first and comparatively inefficient bombs in the war against Japan. On the other hand, it may be argued that without an early demonstration it may prove difficult to obtain adequate support for further intensive development of nucleonics in this country and that thus the time gained by the postponement of an open armaments race will not be properly used. Furthermore one may suggest that other nations are now, or will soon be, not entirely unaware of our present achievements, and that consequently the postponement of a demonstration may serve no useful purpose as far as the avoidance of an armaments race is concerned, and may only create additional mistrust, thus worsening rather than improving the chances of an ultimate accord on the international control of nuclear explosives.

Thus, if the prospects of an agreement will be considered poor in the immediate future, the pros and cons of an early revelation of our possession of nuclear weapons to the world—not only by their actual use against Japan, but also by a prearranged demonstration—must be carefully weighed by the supreme political and military leadership of the country, and the decision should not be left to military tacticians alone.

One may point out that scientists themselves have initiated the development of this "secret weapon" and it is therefore strange that they should be reluctant to try it out on the enemy as soon as it is available. The answer to this question was given above—the compelling reason for creating this weapon with such speed was our fear that Germany had the technical skill necessary to develop such a weapon, and that the German government had no moral restraints regarding its use.

Another argument which could be quoted in favor of using atomic bombs as soon as they are available is that so much taxpayers' money has been invested in these Projects that the Congress and the American public will demand a return for their money. The attitude of American public opinion, mentioned earlier, in the matter of the use of poison gas against Japan, shows that one can expect the American public to understand that it is sometimes desirable to keep a weapon in readiness for use only in extreme emergency; and as soon as the potentialities of nuclear weapons are revealed to the American people, one can be sure that they will support all attempts to make the use of such weapons impossible.

Once this is achieved, the large installations and the accumulation of explosive material at present ear-

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marked for potential military use will become available for important peace-time developments, including power production, large engineering undertakings, and mass production of radioactive materials. In this way, the money spent on wartime development of nucleonics may become a boon for the peacetime development of national economy. . . .

SUMMARY

The development of nuclear power not only constitutes an important addition to the technological and military power of the United States, but also creates grave political and economic problems for the future of this country.

Nuclear bombs cannot possibly remain a "secret weapon" at the exclusive disposal of this country for more than a few years. The scientific facts on which their construction is based are well known to scientists of other countries. Unless an effective international control of nuclear explosives is instituted, a race for nuclear armaments is certain to ensue following the first revelation of our possession of nuclear weapons to the world. Within ten years other countries may have nuclear bombs, each of which, weighing less than a ton, could destroy an urban area of more than ten square miles. In the war to which such an armaments race is likely to lead, the United States, with its agglomeration of population and industry in comparatively few metropolitan districts, will be at a disadvantage compared to nations whose population and industry are scattered over large areas.

We believe that these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early unannounced attack against Japan inadvisable. If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction upon mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons.

Much more favorable conditions for the eventual achievement of such an agreement could be created if nuclear bombs were first revealed to the world by a demonstration in an appropriately selected uninhabited area.

In case chances for the establishment of an effective international control of nuclear weapons should have to be considered slight at the present time, then not only the use of these weapons against Japan, but even their early demonstration, may be contrary to the interests of this country. A postponement of such a demonstration will have in this case the advantage of delaying the beginning of the nuclear armaments race as long as possible. If, during the time gained, ample support can be made available for further development of the field in this country, the postponement will substantially increase the lead which we have established during the present war, and our position in an armament race or in any later attempt at international agreement would thus be strengthened.

On the other hand, if no adequate public support for the development of nucleonics will be available without a demonstration, the postponement of the latter may be deemed inadvisable, because enough information might leak out to cause other nations to start the armament race, in which we would then be at a disadvantage. There is also the possibility that the distrust of other nations may be aroused if they know that we are conducting a development under cover of secrecy, and that this will make it more difficult eventually to reach an agreement with them.

If the government should decide in favor of an early demonstration of nuclear weapons, it will then have the possibility of taking into account the public opinion of this country and of the other nations before deciding whether these weapons should be used in the war against Japan. In this way, other nations may assume a share of responsibility for such a fateful decision.

To sum up, we urge that the use of nuclear bombs in this war be considered as a problem of long-range national policy rather than of military expediency, and that this policy be directed primarily to the achievement of an agreement permitting an effective international control of the means of nuclear warfare.

The vital importance of such a control for our country is obvious from the fact that the only effective alternative method of protecting this country appears to be a dispersal of our major cities and essential industries.

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VIEWPOINT 30B

The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan Was Justified (1947)

Henry L. Stimson (1867–1950)

The United States dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and a second bomb on Nagasaki three days later. The

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Appendix I: Readings on Atomic Bomb (Deb Patterson)

Student Handout 2.2A

Decision B: Whether to Drop an Atomic Bomb

Vice President Harry S. Truman became president after Roosevelt unexpectedly died in April 1945. While attending an Allied conference in Potsdam, Germany, three months later, Truman received a telegram stating that the test of the atomic bomb had been successful. By this time in the war, Germany had been utterly defeated. However, Japan had vowed to fight on, despite the Allies' demand at Potsdam for an unconditional surrender. The Japanese felt that an unconditional surrender would jeopardize the position of their emperor, whom they considered divine (Godlike). In addition, the Japanese viewed surrender as dishonorable. They fought with fanatic resistance and believed it was more honorable to commit suicide than to surrender to enemy forces. In this vein, Japanese *kamikaze* pilots strapped themselves into planes loaded with explosives and crashed them into American naval vessels. They managed to destroy 53 ships and damage 158 others.

Despite these desperate attacks, the Japanese were close to defeat by July 1945. Three factors were working against them. First, Allied bombing runs over the Japanese home islands were killing tens of thousands of civilians and military personnel. Second, an Allied naval blockade made it impossible for Japan to import the goods necessary to continue fighting and prevented one million Japanese troops in China from returning to their homeland. Third, the massive Soviet Red Army was poised to enter the war and assist the United States.

The United States had hoped to end the Pacific War by invading the home islands of Japan. However, in the face of Japanese fanaticism, Truman was deeply concerned that such an invasion would cost tens of thousands of American lives. In light of this concern, some of Truman's advisors recommended that he end the war quickly by dropping a bomb without warning on a large Japanese city. The undersecretary of the navy, Ralph Bard, disagreed and told Truman that dropping the bomb without a specific warning would jeopardize "the position of the United States as a great humanitarian nation." A group of scientists from the bomb project suggested that the United States drop the bomb in a remote, unpopulated location to show the bomb's power and convince Japan to surrender.

Critical-Thinking Question B: You are a close advisor to President Truman. Which of the following do you advise the president to do? Be prepared to defend your answer.

A. Without warning, drop an atomic bomb on a Japanese city as soon as possible.
B. Drop the bomb on an unpopulated area to demonstrate its destructive capabilities.
C. Warn the Japanese that the United States possesses atomic weapons and is willing to use them if they don't surrender in a specified time. If they don't surrender, then drop the bomb.
D. Reject the use of atomic weapons, and continue the naval blockade and conventional bombing. If the measures do not produce a Japanese surrender, invade Japan.
E. Reject the use of atomic weapons and negotiate an end to World War II, allowing the Japanese to surrender with their emperor as a part of the postwar government.

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Student Handout 2.2A

Decision C: Whether Truman Made the Right Decision

Immediately following the dropping of the two atomic bombs on Japan, the majority of Americans felt the right decision had been made. Surveys conducted by *Fortune* magazine in the fall of 1945 revealed that over 50 percent of Americans believed that the United States "should have used the two bombs on cities just as we did." Another 22.7 percent felt the United States "should have quickly used many more [bombs] before Japan had the chance to surrender." American soldiers also supported Truman's decision. One young soldier stated: "When the bombs were dropped and news began to circulate that [the invasion of Japan] would not take place after all, that we would not be obliged to run up the beaches near Tokyo assault-firing while being mortared and shelled…we cried with relief and joy. We were going to live. We were going to grow up to adulthood after all."

Many officials in the top ranks of the military and government supported Truman's decision to drop the atomic bombs. However, others expressed doubts. Admiral William D. Leahy stated: "It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons…. My own feeling was that being the first to use [the atomic bomb], we adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages." Dwight D. Eisenhower, a general with enormous prestige, expressed the hope that the United States would never have to use such a weapon against an enemy again because he disliked seeing the country "initiate the use of anything so horrible and destructive."

Some historians have severely criticized Truman's decision. They argue that the Japanese were already defeated in August 1945, and that the atomic bombs were used primarily as a warning to the Soviet Union. Although they were allies during World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had very different visions for the postwar world. The Soviets wanted to maintain control over Eastern Europe. The United States wanted the Soviets to provide independence to eastern European countries. Historians critical of Truman's decision argue that he authorized the use of the atomic bombs mainly to scare the Soviets out of Eastern Europe and to keep them from gaining more territory in Asia. To these historians, the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sacrificed in a high-stakes poker game between two superpowers. They also argue that the postwar nuclear arms race can be traced back to the fear and mistrust created by Truman's decision. Other historians counter that the military pressures Truman was under at the end of World War II played a much more important role in his decision than the threat of Soviet aggression.

Critical-Thinking Question C: Truman's decision to use atomic weapons against Japan is one of the most controversial in history. In retrospect, do you think Truman made the right decision in authorizing the use of atomic weapons? Be prepared to defend your answer.

A. Truman did not make the right decision when he authorized the use of atomic weapons
B. Truman made the right decision when he authorized the use of atomic weapons.

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Appendix J: Research Paper Assignment (Linda Nevins)

ESSAY TOPICS CHC2E

Canada's refusal to allow Jewish immigrants during the 1930s and 1940s was justified by the depression and war. Agree or disagree

Dieppe: A disaster or lessons in preparation for D-Day?

The bombings of German cities by allied airman during WWI was a war crime. Disagree/agree

The most important battle involving Canadians in WWII was _____
(Dieppe, D-Day, Ortona, Liberation of Holland, Hong Kong, etc)

Conscription was necessary in WWII. Agree or disagree

The 'Secret war" (espionage) was crucial to allied success in WWII. Agree/disagree

Canadian women played a crucial role in WWII. Agree or disagree

Canada's most important role in WWII was_____
(BCATP, convoy duty, supplies to Britain, military contributions, etc)

The internment of Japanese Canadians in WWII was necessary for the security of Canada. Disagree/Agree

It was necessary to drop the atomic bomb to end WWII. Agree or disagree

Mackenzie-King was the most important Prime Minister in Canadian history. Disagree/Agree

Canadian troops never should have been sent to Hong Kong. Agree or disagree

Native Canadians who enlisted were treated the same as any other soldier. Agree or disagree

German treatment of allied POWS was the same (or better) than Canadian POW treatment. Dis/agree

The British used Canadian troops as cannon fodder in both WWI and WWII. Disagree or agree

Canada should not have been involved in the Korean conflict. Agree or disagree

The Avro Arrow was not financially viable and the project should have been cancelled. Agree or disagree

Canada should not be involved in Afghanistan. Agree or disagree

Water is not part and should never be part of the Free Trade Agreement. Dis/agree

The Canadian government should establish limits on foreign ownership of Canadian resources like oil, minerals, lumber, water, etc. Agree or disagree

Tommy Douglas is not the 'Greatest Canadian'. Agree or disagree

Should Canada abandon Free Trade with the USA (& Mexico)?

Should Quebec be allowed to separate from Canada?

Is multi-culturalism the best or worst thing that ever happened to Canada?

Should Canada continue the practice of sending peacekeepers to every world crisis?

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Appendix K: Textbook Analysis Assignment (Linda Nevins)

IT MUST BE RIGHT, ITS IN THE TEXTBOOK!
RECOGNIZING BIAS AND POINT OF VIEW (POV) ASSIGNMENT CHC2D 30 MARKS

Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia was notorious for revising their history books to omit certain events and alter others to display the government in a more favourable light or condemn and discredit certain groups. History is more about interpretation than fact. Canadian textbooks try to balance issues but sometimes topics reflect the bias of the editors, writers, revisionist or contemporary opinion. This exercise will examine controversial topics in Canadian history comparing how they are interpreted in various Canadian textbooks.

1. PICK A TOPIC Consider one of the following

-Conscription in WWI or WWII	- Winnipeg General Strike	-Dieppe
-Internment of Japanese Canadians	- Regina Riot	-Avro Arrow
-Cuban Missile Crisis	- Sir Sam Hughes	-Bill 101
-Dropping the Atomic Bomb	- Native Canadians	-Free Trade
-Quebec Referendum	-Dionne Quints	-Vietnam War
-Charles de Gaulle's visit to Quebec	-October Crisis 1970	-Hong Kong
-WWI leadership- military generals	-Holocaust	-
- other topic with instructor's approval		

2. CREATE AN ORGANIZED CHART
That includes the following columns
Bibliographic information Facts/Information Bias/Point of View

3. CHOOSE FIVE TEXTBOOKS AND FILL IN THE CHART
Bibliographic Information
MLA style bibliographic information; Author/s. *Title*. Where published, Publisher: year

Facts- In point form, jot the pertinent information on the issue: dates, people involved, facts critical to the event or person, especially as they relate to the controversial nature of the topic -where there is no information at all- make note of that (Omissions tell a lot)

POV/Bias/Opinions- note what the bias, point of view expressed is eg. Native Canadian, French Canadian, English Canadian, victors, vanquished, feminist, chauvinist, workers, police -make note on the reliability of the source, omissions, opinions, etc.

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4. ANALYSIS : CREATE A REPORT

a) INTRODUCTION

Briefly introduce your topic- include dates, definitions if required and a summary of the topic including the events and what aspects make in controversial or open to interpretation, bias, etc.

b) ANALYSIS/SUMMARY

Explain how the topic or event has been traditionally viewed or interpreted by Canadian textbooks.

What is the significance or importance of the event and it's various interpretations to Canadian history and Canadian history students.

Point of View and bias can be intentional. Why might the editors have included a biased piece or a specific POV in the text? What point are they trying to make?

What does this reflect on how Canadians view themselves or are viewed by the rest of the world?

Why is this topic and various interpretations of it included or omitted in a history text?

MARKING SCHEME/RUBRIC POV ASSIGNMENT-IT MUST BE RIGHT!

TOPIC_____ NAME_____

LEVEL 4	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 1
BIBLIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION		KNOWLEGE	5 MARKS
-MLA style , 5 sources	-4 sources	-3 sources	-2 or fewer sources-style problems
FACTS/INFORMATION		KNOWLEDGE	5 MARKS
-main points & details summarized main points		-most points	-missing major ideas, incomplete
-paraphrased, excellent clarity		- good attempt at paraphrasing	-little paraphrasing, confusion
-indicates depth of coverage in book		- good attempt at details, examples	-poor indication of topic depth
-tidy, legible, no spelling errors,		-legible, few errors	-messy, many errors, illegible
BIAS/POV/OPINION		THINKING	10 MARKS
-able to detect subtle bias		-detects obvious bias	-difficulty identifying bias/POV
-reference to both text & pictures		-no comments on pictures	
-direct quotes for all points		-quotes for most points -some quotes	-few or no quoted material
-identifies the POV expressed			
-insightful remarks on reliability of source		-some interpretation of reliability	-no mention of reliability
ANALYSIS/SUMMARY		THINKING	10 MARKS
-introduction to topic includes	-most main topics	-missing a few ideas	-missing main ideas
main ideas, accurate dates, people, statistics,		-missing information	-incomplete information
-insightful summary, paraphrased		-requires more complete summary or paraphrasing	
-clear & accurate sequencing of events		-sequencing confusing or inaccurate	-incomplete/lacks clarity
-excellent insights into topic & impact		-lacking insight to topic or impact of topic not addressed	
-insightful remarks on significance of topic & interpretations		- could develop analysis of interpretations	-little analysis
-convincing explanation of omissions		-superficial coverage of omissions	-does not address omissions
-insightful remarks on reliability of sources		-superficial coverage of reliability of sources	-not mentioned

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Appendix L: Classroom Handout (Andrew James)

HITLER TURNS EAST
GRADE 10 HISTORY

Hitler's ultimate objective had always been the _____. Hitler carried a heavy loathing for Russian Bolshevism but more importantly Russia would provide the additional _____ room that would enable Germany to complete their domination of Europe.

The peace treaty Germany had singed with _____ in 1939 had served its purpose. Although Britain had not been _____, there was little the tiny island could do to stop Hitler's plans for the Soviet Union. Hitler also saw the Soviet Union as Britain's last hope of _____. If Russia was destroyed, Britain would surely collapse. Hitler began to make plans for the invasion called "Operation Barbarossa".

The Soviet foreign minister visited Berlin in November of 1940 to question the movement of German troops into _____ (Hitler was preparing to protect his invasion from the north). Hitler tried to appease him by asking the Soviet Union to _____ the Tripartite Pact. Although terms for this could not be worked out, Russia and Germany did sign a new treaty in January of _____ which included a trade agreement.

Despite the new agreement, Hitler had refined operation Barbarossa and considered the destruction of the Soviet forces a key to his _____. Hitler planned to divide his forces into three sections and _____ from the north to Leningrad, the centre to Moscow while the southern force would secure the Ukraine, Russia's "granary". The German forces would move quickly and _____ large numbers of Russian troops before they could retreat. The attack would take place in May of 1941. Germany began to _____ the 3.6 million men, 3600 tanks, and 2700 aircraft taking place in the attack.

Interesting – although Russia was _____ about the attack they did little to prepare their defense. The British had obtained intelligence regarding the invasion and passed it on to Moscow. Also an extremely successful _____ during WWII, Richard Sorge, worked in the German embassy in Japan. He _____ plans for Barbarossa when Germany asked Japan to renounce their five year peace agreement with the Soviet Union signed in 1941. Japan's ambitions however still resided in the south and they _____ to participate in the attack.

WHY DID RUSSIA DO NOTHING??? The Soviet forces were still trying to re-organize after their poor showing in Finland and Stalin did not want to do anything to provoke Hitler. It was not until the ____ of the attack that Stalin issued an alert.

The first two weeks of the attack were a dazzling _____ for the Germans. Germany's fast moving tank groups were able to create _____ around the Russian troops. When the first pockets were closed they captured 290,000 prisoners, 2500 tanks, and 1500 guns. By the time Stalin began to speak out to his citizens to defend to the last the air force in Western Russia was almost _____ and ground forces had lost over 600,000 men.

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Germany seemed well on their way to total _____ in Russia, but then Hitler's pride caused more problems. Hitler wanted to direct the invasion personally and he confused his own Generals by changing the focus of the invasion from Moscow to _____ in the North, and Ukraine in the South.

Stalin personally took _____ of Russia's defense. The party strengthened its grip on all areas of life in the Soviet Union and many of the generals who faced the initial German blitzkrieg were relieved and _____. The result was a tough and ruthless method of running the army where the families of those who surrendered would lose all their _____.

On the German side, their harshness was also directed at the Russian people who the Nazi's regarded as ____-human. Captured Soviet soldiers were not treated according to the Geneva Convention, unlike those of the western allies. Two specific groups of people were targeted and executed by the SS Einsatzgruppen (Special Groups), communist officers, and Russian _____.

At the beginning of September, Leningrad was surrounded but then Hitler had another change of heart. Moscow was once more the main _____. The redeployment of Germany's forces took time and the attack was not ready until the end of September. By October the autumn mud caused the German assault to bog down and by October a temporary _____ had to be called.

By November the cold came and the hard ground allowed the attack to continue but the German forces were not ready for the Russian _____. On December 4th the temperature dropped to -35 degrees. Tanks would not _____, weapons were frozen, and frostbite hit the German ranks hard. Hitler had to _____ his troops away from Moscow to a defensible position. The quick victory in Russia predicted by Hitler was not to come and the German people realized they were in for a long _____.

By early 1942, Hitler was ready to resume offensive maneuvers, but again the _____ had changed. Hitler would now concentrate most of his forces to the south and the rich Russian _____ fields located behind Stalingrad. The battle at Stalingrad became personal for both sides as it bore the name of the Russian leader. The German army broke into the city of Stalingrad but the _____ city provided cover for pockets of Soviet soldiers who continued to fight. Despite mounting losses Stalin refused to abandon the city.

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Appendix M: Ethical Review Approval Notice

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS - ETHICS APPROVAL NOTICE

Review Number:	0810-3
Applicant:	Lisa Faden
Supervisor:	Wayne Martino
Title:	*"Thinking the Nation": Teaching History in the United States and Canada in the 21st Century*
Expiry Date:	August 31, 2009
Type:	PhD thesis
Ethics Approval Date:	October 29, 2008
Revision #:	
Documents Reviewed & Approved:	UWO Protocol, Letters of Information & Consent

This is to notify you that the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (REB), which operates under the authority of The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the date noted above. The approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

No deviations from, or changes to, the research project as described in this protocol may be initiated without prior written approval, except for minor administrative aspects. Investigators must promptly report to the Chair of the Faculty Sub-REB any adverse or unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected, and any new information which may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study. In the event that any changes require a change in the information and consent documentation, newly revised documents must be submitted to the Sub-REB for approval.

[signature deleted]

2008-2009 Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

Dr. Jason Brown	**Faculty (Chair)**
Dr. Elizabeth Nowicki	**Faculty**
Dr. Jacqueline Specht	**Faculty**
Dr. John Barnett	**Faculty**
Dr. J. Marshall Mangan	**Faculty**
Dr. Immaculate Namukasa	**Faculty**
Dr. Robert Macmillan	**Assoc Dean, Graduate Programs & Research (*ex officio*)**
Dr. Jerry Paquette	**UWO Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (*ex officio*)**

The Faculty of Education — Karen Kueneman, Research Officer

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Lisa Y. Faden

Education

Ph.D. Educational Studies The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario
Dissertation: The History Classroom as a Site for Imagining the Nation: Canadian and U.S. Teachers' Perspectives and Practices
Supervisors: Goli Rezai-Rashti and Wayne Martino

M.Ed. Teaching and Curriculum Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

B.A. (*magna cum laude*) History Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Honors Thesis: The Cultural Meanings of Japanese War Brides

Educational Awards and Scholarships

2010-11 Ontario Graduate Scholarship

2008-10 Social Science and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship

2008-09 Ontario Graduate Scholarship (declined 2008-09)

2005-07, 2008-2010 Western Graduate Scholarship (declined 2007-08)

2005-08 Western Graduate Research Scholarship

2008-10 Western Graduate Thesis Research Award

2008 Art Geddis Award for Graduate Research, University of Western Ontario

1996-99 Massachusetts Attracting Excellence to Teaching Fellowship

1995-96 Amherst College Fellowship for Graduate Study in Education

Teaching Experience

Teaching Assistant The University of Western Ontario
Teaching and Learning Theory in Intermediate/Senior History and Social Studies (Preservice Program)

High School History Teacher Newton North H.S., Newton, Massachusetts
Taught World History to 1800 (9th Grade), American Studies, (11th Grade), AP United States History, (11th Grade), East Asian Studies, (12th Grade).
Awarded the Charles Dana Meserve Excellence in Teaching Award, 2005.

Cultural Exchange Coordinator Newton, Massachusetts and Xiuning, China
Developed service learning program with grant from the Brookfield Arts Foundation.

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High School History Teacher Wellesley H.S., Wellesley, Massachusetts
Western Civilizations (9th Grade)
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Publications

Faden, L. Y. (forthcoming/2012) The Story of the Nation in Wartime: World War II in U.S. and Canadian Secondary History Classes. In J.H. Williams (Ed.), *(Re)Building Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*. Rotterdam: Sense.

Faden, L. Y. (forthcoming/2012). History education in the United States and Canada: Imagining the nation in a globalizing world. In J. Zajda (Ed.) *International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* (2nd ed.). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Faden, L. Y. (forthcoming/2012). History education in the United States and Canada: Imagining the nation in a globalizing world. *World Studies in Education*.

Faden, L. Y. (2012) Teachers Constituting the Politicized Subject: Canadian and U.S. Teachers' Perspectives on the 'Good' Citizen. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning,* Special Issue, A. Sears and C. Peck (Eds.) *History and Citizenship Education: International Perspectives and Promising New Directions*, 7(2): 173-189.

Van Deven, T., Hibbert, K., **Faden, L. Y.** & Chhem, R.K. (in press). The Hidden Curriculum in Radiology Residency Programs: A Path to Isolation or Integration?, *European Journal of Radiology*.

Larsen, M. and **Faden, L**. (2008). Supporting the Growth of Global Citizenship Educators, *Brock Education: A Journal of General Inquiry. Special Issue - Citizenship Education in the Era of Globalization: Canadian Perspectives*, 17 (1): 71-86.

Larsen, M., & **Faden, L**. (2008). Supporting the growth of global citizenship educators. In M. O'Sullivan & K. Pashby (Eds.), *Citizenship education in the era of globalization* (pp. 91-104). Rotterdam: Sense.

Conference Presentations

Faden, L. (May 2012). Engaging with Historical Narratives: Sociocultural Approaches to History Education. Chair and Presenter at the Canadian Society for the Study of Education (Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies). Waterloo, Ontario.

Faden, L. (2011). History Teachers "Think the Nation": Narratives of Citizenship in Wartime Canada and the United States. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting (Teaching History SIG). New Orleans, Louisiana.

Faden, L. (2011). Citizenship in the History Classroom: Canadian and U.S. Teachers' Perspectives on the "Good Citizen" Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting (Citizenship Education SIG). New Orleans, Louisiana.

Stooke, R., Hibbert, K., **Faden, L.**, & Parkinson, H. (2011). Supporting Graduate Education Students' Writing: A Case Study. Poster presented at Opportunities and New Directions: A Research Conference on Teaching and Learning. Waterloo, Ontario.

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Faden, L. (2011). The Story of the Nation in Wartime: World War II in U.S. and Canadian Secondary History Classes. Paper to be presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting. Montreal, Quebec.

Faden, L., and Williams, D. (2011). Utilizing Peer Support for Dissertation Writing. Workshop facilitated at the New Scholars Workshop, Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting. Montreal, Quebec.

Faden, L, Van Deven, T., and Hibbert, K. (2010). An Investigation of the Hidden Influences that Affect the Nature of Learning, Professional Interactions and Clinical Practices in Medical Imaging Departments Across Canada. Paper presented at the Center for Education Research and Innovation Second Annual Research Symposium, London, Ontario.

Faden, L. (2010). "Thinking the Nation": Canadian and US history teachers' approaches to citizenship. Paper presented at the Canadian Society for the Study of Education. Montreal, Quebec.

Faden, L. (2010). "Thinking the nation": History education in Canada and the United States. Paper presented at the New Scholars Workshop, Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.

Faden, L. (2008) Global Citizenship Education. Paper presented at the Ontario Women's History Network Annual Meeting, Waterloo, Ontario

Faden, L. (2007). Citizenship Education in North America: Case Studies of Social Studies Curricula in Ontario and Maryland. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD.

Larsen, M., & **Faden, L**. (2007). Global Citizenship: Teachers' Perceptions, Attitudes and Beliefs. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD.

Faden, L. (2001). Teaching about rural China through vernacular architecture. Paper presented at the Primary Source Geography of China Conference, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Faden, L. (1998). A human rights perspective on law and justice in China today. Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Social Studies Conference, Boston, Massachusetts.

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