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MANY VOICES:
LEARNING TO TEACH SOCIAL STUDIES

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Center for the Learning and Teaching of Elementary Subjects

The Center for the Learning and Teaching of Elementary Subjects was awarded to Michigan State University in 1987 after a nationwide competition. Funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, the Elementary Subjects Center is a major project housed in the Institute for Research on Teaching (IRT). The program focuses on conceptual understanding, higher order thinking, and problem solving in elementary school teaching of mathematics, science, social studies, literature, and the arts. Center researchers are identifying exemplary curriculum, instruction, and evaluation practices in the teaching of these school subjects; studying these practices to build new hypotheses about how the effectiveness of elementary schools can be improved; testing these hypotheses through school-based research; and making specific recommendations for the improvement of school policies, instructional materials, assessment procedures, and teaching practices. Research questions include, What content should be taught when teaching these subjects for understanding and use of knowledge? How do teachers concentrate their teaching to use their limited resources best? and In what ways is good teaching subject matter-specific?

The work is designed to unfold in three phases, beginning with literature review and interview studies designed to elicit and synthesize the points of view of various stakeholders (representatives of the underlying academic disciplines, intellectual leaders and organizations concerned with curriculum and instruction in school subjects, classroom teachers, state- and district-level policymakers) concerning ideal curriculum, instruction, and evaluation practices in these five content areas at the elementary level. Phase II involves interview and observation methods designed to describe current practice, and in particular, best practice as observed in the classrooms of teachers believed to be outstanding. Phase II also involves analysis of curricula (both widely used curriculum series and distinctive curricula developed with special emphasis on conceptual understanding and higher order applications), as another approach to gathering information about current practices. In Phase III, models of ideal practice will be developed, based on what has been learned and synthesized from the first two phases, and will be tested through classroom intervention studies.

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Abstract

Teaching a methods class for prospective teachers has traditionally been a solitary venture. A teacher educator plans the course, teaches the course, and evaluates the learning of the students. At best, the teacher educator is supported by classroom teachers in the field who permit prospective teachers to observe in their classrooms or to teach a lesson or a unit. However, classroom teachers are typically not involved in the planning and teaching of the course. Not only do they know little about what prospective teachers are learning in the course, they are often suspicious that the content of the teacher education course is not relevant to real classrooms.

This paper describes an attempt to challenge this paradigm and to experiment with a collaborative approach to teaching and learning in a social studies methods class. The collaboration included a teacher educator, two classroom teachers, a doctoral student in teacher education, a master’s degree student, and 25 prospective elementary teachers in an alternative teacher education program. We worked together in the context of a professional development school in which university and school-based educators collaborate to create exemplary sites for teacher education, K-12 teaching and learning, professional development of educators, and research.

Our collaborative efforts resulted in a social studies methods course that was strikingly different from the one that Roth had previously taught “on her own.” There was consensus among the participants that these changes enabled valuable learning experiences for all of us—teachers and students alike; we were all challenged to reconsider our own understandings of powerful social studies concepts and to reexamine what it would take to teach social studies in ways that were more deeply meaningful for students. The collaborative teaching and learning shifted the course from a well-organized and gently thought-provoking course when Roth had taught it on her own towards a more provocative and personally meaningful course that enabled transformative changes in participants’ views of what it means to teach and learn social studies with understanding.

The shifts that occurred in the course from Year One to Year Two as a result of the collaboration and the particular kind of school/university collaboration that enabled these changes are described in the paper. The changes are framed in the context of two theoretical perspectives: A conceptual change perspective and a curricular re-vision perspective. The changes in the course are illustrated through a case description of the course in action with multiple voices contributing to the case description. The voices represent the multiple school- and university-based course instructors as well as the prospective teachers. Each author’s voice is heard as she reflects on both her teaching and learning roles in this course.
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**Jennean's Voice:** During our class time, learning became a "social" event where we were able to create an understanding of Social Studies through debate and group discussions. Learning no longer required the memorizing of facts, rather it demanded the synthesis of information and ideas. It allowed us to experience Social Studies from the perspectives of our peers and mentors. We became active explorers of Social Studies, creators of knowledge and evaluators of information. (Jennean Masters, Journal reflections, 10/2/91)

**Penny's Voice:** Each instructor [in the methods class] seemed to have something unique that they added to make the class more enjoyable and thought provoking...I especially like it that you were still very interested in learning more yourselves—it really inspired me to see teachers so interested in what they were doing. It made me want to learn more myself!

We [the students] felt important like what we said was important and of value.
Even in the class discussions we felt important and were able to contribute to the course. (Priscilla Woodhams, Course evaluation response, 3/6/91)

**Anonymous Student:** Rather than lecturing at us, you made us feel like teacher colleagues, not just teacher-wanna-be's. (Course evaluation, 3/6/91)

Introduction: School/University Collaboration in Teaching A Social Studies Methods Course

Teaching a methods class for prospective teachers has traditionally been a solitary venture. A teacher educator plans the course, teaches the course, and evaluates the learning of the students. At best, the teacher educator is supported by classroom teachers who permit prospective teachers to visit their classrooms to observe or to try teaching a lesson or a unit. However, the classroom teachers are not involved in the actual planning and teaching of the course. The teacher educators

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teaching the courses rarely know much about what the prospective teachers are actually learning in the course, although research studies suggest that teacher education courses and programs generally fail to make transformative differences in preservice teachers' visions of what it means to teach (Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1978, 1979-80).

Last year we challenged this paradigm and experimented with a collaborative approach to teaching a social studies methods class. The goal of the collaboration was to construct a course that challenged preservice teachers' assumptions about what it means to know and understand in the area of the social studies. The collaboration included a teacher educator/researcher (Kathy Roth), two classroom teachers (Carol Ligett and Elaine Hoekwater), a doctoral student in teacher education (Corinna Hasbach), a master's degree student (Jan Derksen), and 25 prospective elementary teachers (including Jennean Masters and Penny Woodhams). Our collaborative efforts resulted in a course that was strikingly different from the one that Kathy had previously taught "on her own." There was consensus among the participants that these changes and the collaborative nature of the course were not only different—they were also valuable in transforming participants' knowledge and beliefs about what it means to know and to teach social studies. The collaborative teaching and learning shifted the course from a well-organized and gently thought-provoking course when Kathy had taught it on her own towards a more provocative and personally meaningful course that enabled major changes in participants' views of social studies.

In this report we will describe the shifts that occurred in the course from Year One to Year Two as a result of our collaboration, and we describe the particular kinds of school/university collaboration and theoretical perspectives that enabled these changes. The two theoretical perspectives that served as frameworks for the course and provided useful analytical tools for examining the impact of the course changes on the various learners were: a conceptual change perspective (Roth, 1989-90; Posner, Strike, Hewson, & Gertzog, 1982) and a curricular re-visions perspective (McIntosh, 1983, 1990). The changes in the course will be illustrated through the use of a case description of the course in action, with multiple voices contributing to the case
description. Analysis of the case focuses on two themes: (1) the usefulness of the collaborative structure in creating a transformative learning environment and (2) the usefulness of the two theoretical perspectives in creating a meaningful learning context for both prospective teachers and practicing educators to reexamine and deepen their understandings of social studies content and pedagogy.

We believe that this story of our collaborative efforts in reshaping one social studies methods course will be useful to the larger teacher education community in two ways. First, our experience illustrates that school-university collaboration in teacher education work can lead to substantive and not just structural changes in teacher education. We provide sufficient detail about the nature of our collaboration and how it led to important substantive changes in the course to enable other educators to learn from our experiences as they explore alternative models of collaborative teacher education work. Secondly, we believe that social studies educators will find the description of the course and the theoretical frameworks that shaped it across a two-year time span useful in rethinking the kinds of knowledge that prospective teachers of prospective citizens should be developing in teacher education programs:

Teachers need to understand more critically what they know and how they come to know in a way that enables them to venture into communities of difference so that they can reconceptualize the role of the school... (Giroux, 1992, p. 9, italics added)

Educating for democracy begins not with test scores but with the following questions: What kinds of citizens do we hope to produce through public education? What kind of society do we want to create? This involves educating students to live in a critical democracy and suggests a view of empowerment in which learning becomes the basis for challenging social practices that produce symbolic and real violence, that make some students voiceless and thus powerless, and that also implicate teachers in forms of bigotry, colonialism, and racism. Students need to learn that the relationship between knowledge and power can be emancipatory, that their histories and experiences matter, and that what they say and do can count as part of a wider struggle to change the world around them. (Giroux, 1992, p. 8, italics added)
Because the course was a collaborative venture, it will be described and analyzed in a way that reflects the many voices that created it. At times we will speak as one, using the pronouns "we" and "our." At other times individuals will describe their unique perspectives and reactions to the course planning, teaching, and learning. We will signify who is speaking through the use of voice announcements (i.e., Kathy's Voice).

Context of the Course in an Alternative Teacher Education Program:
An Evolving School-University Partnership

An Alternative Teacher Education Program

This course is the first methods of teaching class taken by prospective elementary teachers in the Academic Learning Teacher Education Program. This is an alternative teacher education program that emphasizes teaching for understanding in—and across—the various subject matters. The 25 juniors admitted each year proceed together as a cohort through a series of courses and field experiences that are conceptually linked to support the learning-to-teach process across the two-year period. A goal of the program is to help prospective teachers develop a strong conceptual framework for thinking about teaching and learning and develop the disposition to be reflective teachers who approach learning to teach as a lifelong inquiry process.

The program has an integrated field component in which each student is matched with a mentor teacher; the student visits this mentor teacher's classroom each term across the two-year period to complete field assignments associated with the courses and to student teach under the mentor teacher's guidance. The mentor teachers meet regularly with program faculty to discuss the content of the courses, the structure and goals of the field experiences, prospective teachers' progress, and effective mentoring strategies. Thus, this social studies methods course has never been taught in isolation of real classroom settings, and classroom teachers have always had some (limited) voice in shaping the course (See Figure 1).
Figure 1. Collaboration model in teaching prior to PDS involvement.
A Professional Development School

In 1989, Michigan State University initiated a partnership relationship with Emerson\(^2\) Elementary School to create a "professional development school" in which university faculty, school-based educators, and the community collaborate to create an exemplary site for teacher education, K-12 teaching and learning, professional development of educators, and research. In the process of initiating a professional development school and defining a mission statement during the Spring and Summer of 1989, educators from Emerson Elementary School and Michigan State University explored areas of mutual interest, defined priorities, and planned a set of projects that began operation in 1989-90.

The Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project: Teacher-Researcher Roles

Since 1989, Emerson and MSU educators have worked together in the context of three projects. One of those projects, the Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project (LISSS), explores the role of oral and written discourse in teaching for understanding in science, social studies, and writing. The group members include three Emerson teachers (Elaine Hoekwater, Carol Ligett, and Barbara Lindquist), two MSU faculty (Cheryl Rosaen and Kathy Roth), and three doctoral students in teacher education (Corinna Hasbach, Constanza Hazelwood, and Kathy Peasley). During 1989-90, the first year of the social studies methods class described in this paper, the group met weekly in a study group setting to share and discuss readings, to view and discuss videotapes of teaching and learning, to study samples of student writing, and to develop plans for changes in curriculum and classroom teaching. During 1990-91, Year Two of the social studies methods course, MSU and school-based project members focused on developing research cases of teaching and learning in writing, science, and social studies. These cases were developed in the context of extensive co-planning, co-teaching, and co-researching in third and fifth grade classrooms. For example, Corinna Hasbach and Elaine Hoekwater co-planned, co-taught, and co-investigated fifth grade social studies across the year, while Carol Ligett and Kathy Roth co-

\(^2\)Name of school and students are pseudonyms.
planned and co-investigated Carol’s teaching of a third grade integrated science and social studies unit.

**The Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project: Teacher Education Roles.**

In addition to taking on research roles, the Emerson-based LISSS project members became involved in teacher education activities. During 1989-90, Carol Ligett assisted Kathy Roth in teaching the Year One version of the social studies methods class for Academic Learning Program students. Carol attended class, supported Kathy in planning and teaching the class, provided support and feedback to the prospective teachers, and shared cases from her own teaching of elementary social studies. Carol describes her role that year as primarily a learning one—learning about social studies teaching and learning as well as about prospective teacher learning. Carol observed and interacted with the prospective teachers in ways that Kathy, as course instructor, was unable to do. These interactions provided Carol with rich insights into the prospective teachers' concerns, needs, and ways of thinking.

In 1990-91 involvement of LISSS Project teachers in the teacher education program increased. Carol Ligett and Barbara Lindquist each became a mentor teacher for an Academic Learning junior: Carol served as mentor for Jennean Masters, and Barb became mentor for Penny Woodhams. This mentoring responsibility involved Carol and Barb in attending regular mentor teacher meetings with program faculty on campus and in working with a prospective teacher in the classroom on a regular basis. For example, during the social studies methods class, Jennean and Penny visited Carol and Barb's classrooms at Emerson to observe and interview students, to plan a social studies unit, and to teach a few social studies lessons.

In addition to mentoring Jennean, Carol again participated in the social studies methods class in 1991, but this time as a co-instructor rather than an assistant. Carol and Kathy jointly planned the syllabus and readings for the course, jointly taught the course, and jointly evaluated the students. But there were new collaborators in this process! Elaine Hoekwater and Corinna Hasbach, who were co-teaching 5th grade social studies, joined the class as "consultants." As you
will see from our case description, these consultants played a critical role in the course, bringing provocative cases and questions from their teaching and research in the elementary classroom to the methods class. In addition, Jan Derksen joined the class. She wanted to study elementary social studies teaching in action and could not find regular planned experiences in the master’s program to meet this need. As her advisor, Kathy arranged an independent study field experience in which Jan participated in the methods class and conducted a research study of a small group of students in Elaine and Corinna’s fifth-grade social studies class.

Thus, the context of the course in 1991 was quite different than in Year One. In addition to its context in the overall Academic Learning Program and in the context of a field component involving 25 different mentor teachers in 14 local schools, the course was also situated in the context of the collaborative work between Emerson Professional Development School and MSU through the Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project (see Figure 2).

Changing Theoretical Frameworks from Year One to Year Two: A Conceptual Change Perspective Evolves to Include a Curricular Re-Vision Perspective

A Conceptual Change Framework

In Year One, Kathy brought to the course a conceptual change framework for thinking about both elementary school social studies teaching and prospective teachers’ learning. Drawing from a wide body of research on learning in science classrooms (including some of her own research), from her own study and experience in using this framework to teach fifth-grade social studies and science, and from research on teacher development and teacher learning, Kathy believed that a conceptual change framework could be helpful in guiding her teaching of the course and in supporting prospective teachers’ efforts to plan and teach social studies to elementary students.

Establishing the Problem: The Importance of Learners’ Ideas

The conceptual change framework that Kathy used in her planning and teaching (see Table 1) focused on learners (elementary students or prospective teachers)—their ways of thinking and making sense of the content and their needs for support in developing their understandings. She
characterized a conceptual change model of instruction as starting with students' ideas: Teachers begin by engaging learners in the exploration of a central question or problem that is of importance to both the student and the discipline from which it is derived. Establishing a problem is a process that does not occur in one lesson; rather it is a recursive process with students continuing to be engaged in exploring problems as they search for answers to their questions.

One piece of establishing the problem—a piece which may occur many times during a unit of study or a course— involves the teacher in eliciting and seriously considering the students' knowledge, ideas, beliefs, confusions, experiences misconceptions relevant to the question at hand. This process is useful for the teacher in understanding learners' prior knowledge and experience and is useful for the learner in articulating his/her personal beliefs and understandings and in becoming aware of the differing views of classmates. Awareness of this variety of ideas often engages students in the issues, creating questions about how to resolve the differences. The learners' engagement in the problem is also encouraged by activities that challenge them to reconsider and revisit their ideas in the context of new information and by activities that link the problem to students' experiences and concerns. Explanations of new concepts are provided only when students seem ready for a new way of thinking about the central question: "My idea doesn't satisfy me any more; Is there another way to think about it?" The teacher then engages learners in explanations of new concepts in ways that help them see the relationships and differences between their own ideas and the new information.

The central problem and questions that Kathy used in constructing the syllabus for the Year One version of the social studies methods course focused on teaching for understanding in social studies: What does it mean to teach for understanding in social studies? What is a useful framework to guide you in planning and teaching social studies for understanding to a diverse group of learners? Engaging prospective teachers in this question involved more than eliciting their ideas: Class activities were designed to challenge prospective teachers to explore, question, elaborate, and change their entering conceptions of social studies teaching. For example,
Figure 2. Collaboration model in teaching the course Years 1 and 2.
A CONCEPTUAL CHANGE MODEL OF SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION

ESTABLISHING A PROBLEM

*Eliciting Students’ Ideas About Social and Historical Events, Issues, Patterns

Students should see that other students have different ways of thinking about the same events, issues, patterns. Engage students in considering those differences as a problem to be solved. Connecting the concepts to students’ "real" world experiences will help engage them in the problem.

*Challenging Students’ Ideas to Create Conceptual Conflict, Dissatisfaction

Engage students in thinking through whether their own ideas are balanced, complete, accurate, personally sensible. For example, present students with information that conflicts with their personal conceptions and ideas. Encourage students to debate ideas and positions.

*Explaining Social Studies Concepts in Contrast with Students’ Conceptions

Explain and/or introduce new concepts in ways that are likely to make sense from the students’ perspectives. Use a variety of different representations to explain new ideas (models, role playing, explanations, charts, diagrams, etc.). Help students see contrasts between their ideas and new information.

UNDERSTANDING AND USING SOCIAL STUDIES CONCEPTS

Students need numerous opportunities to use new concepts a variety of ways and in different contexts. A variety of activities and questions that engage students in using social studies concepts and in refining their understandings of these concepts will help students see the wide usefulness of the concepts. At first, students’ personal conceptions will persist as they answer these questions. The teacher, therefore, must play the role of “cognitive coach” (Collins, Brown, and Newman, 1987), helping students develop better strategies for comprehending and using concepts by:

a. modeling appropriate strategies
b. coaching students as they try to use the strategies
c. scaffolding the students’ efforts to use the strategies
d. gradually fading the amount of teacher direction and guidance in constructing explanations for these questions.
prospective teachers were shown through videotape two examples of elementary social studies teaching that clearly contrasted with the kinds of social studies teaching they probably had experienced as students themselves. In a reflection paper, prospective teachers were encouraged to compare and contrast these two cases—Jane Elliott's teaching of third graders about discrimination in the movie "A Class Divided," (ABC, 1985) and Kathy's teaching of fifth graders about cultural conflict between Columbus and the Arawak Indians—with their own experiences as students in social studies classes. An analysis of more traditional high school social studies teaching described in a paper by McNeil (1980) provided a theoretical perspective that supported students in this reflection process.

Using New Ideas and Concepts

A second major phase of the conceptual change framework that guided Kathy's planning and teaching was designed to support learners in understanding and using new concepts in a variety of ways and in different contexts. It is not enough to challenge students' conceptions and make them dissatisfied with, in this case, traditional views of social studies teaching. Prospective teachers lack models or images of what might replace the type of classroom reported in McNeil's paper. In the methods class, a major "new concept" was actually more of an instructional framework—a conceptual change framework for thinking about social studies instruction. This framework was proposed and examined as a possibly useful alternative to traditional pedagogical models.

Prospective teachers were not introduced to this new framework until the 6th week of the 10-week course, after they had first explored and defined the need for a new way of thinking about teaching social studies to help students develop meaningful student understanding. After the framework was introduced, students used the framework to plan an elementary social studies unit that they would later implement during their student teaching experience. The unit planning process was structured as a multifaceted process that was supported with substantial coaching and
scaffolding by peers in small groups and by Kathy and Carol in written feedback and individual conferences.

A key step in this unit planning process was the identification of an engaging central question that drew from and represented accurately some "big idea" or major concept from one or more of the social science disciplines and also seemed likely to connect with students' knowledge and experience. In the context of the final exam, prospective teachers met in small groups with educators from the Academic Learning Program and mentor teachers to discuss (among other things) their analyses of the usefulness of this particular framework for planning and teaching social studies. Thus, students spent significant time using and analyzing this conceptual change framework in personally meaningful contexts.

It was hoped that this process would support students not only in questioning their entering notions of good social studies teaching but also in developing an alternative way of thinking about planning and teaching social studies that would promote deeper student understanding. Students were not expected to adopt the conceptual change framework as presented in Table 1 rather, they were encouraged to draw from that model in constructing a personally meaningful framework. The model provided one possible alternative to the largely didactic model that they had experienced as students.

Collaboration and the Transformation of Course Frameworks:
A Curriculum Re-visioning Perspective

Collaboration in Year Two provided a new theoretical perspective for guiding and analyzing our joint planning, teaching, and learning in the methods class. Drawing from papers (McIntosh, 1983, 1990) which Corinna brought to the group, we became intrigued with McIntosh's framework of interactive phases for analyzing curriculum re-vision efforts. This curriculum re-visioning model is designed to support the development of a more inclusive, multicultural vision of disciplinary content. This framework helped us to characterize ways in which the conceptual change emphasis on understanding the "big ideas" in the disciplines during the first year of the course had evolved as a result of our collaborations during Year Two to include
a challenge to traditional disciplinary views of what and who counts in history, political science, anthropology, economics, or sociology content. We briefly characterize McIntosh's framework here and suggest how this framework can be used to understand the ways the course was transformed in Year Two as a result of the school-university collaboration.

Within the framework of a broken pyramidal image of society (with a few winners visible at the top and many invisible losers at the bottom), McIntosh describes five interactive phases of curricular re-vision that attempts to include women and minority perspectives in the content of disciplinary curricula. In her 1990 paper she illustrates these interactive phases as they might play out in a United States history course, and we elaborate her ideas here to capture our understanding of the essence of her phases in the context of teaching about the “discovery” and exploration of the Americas:

**Phase 1: All White Male History** (or political science, or sociology, etc.). An all-white course in United States history usually begins by describing the voyages of Europeans. The men who "reached the pinacles" are described: Columbus, Magellan, Marquette and Joliet, Cabot, Hudson, Raleigh, daGama, Cortez, Coronado, Balboa, etc. The motivations and accomplishments of these men are described, emphasizing their courage and contribution to the expansion of Western civilization into the New World.

**Phase 2: Exceptional Minority and Women Individuals in History** (or economics, or political science, or sociology, or biology). A Phase Two course encourages female students and students of color to emulate the most ambitious of their forbears, and to overcome obstacles to advancement in American society. In the case of Native Americans, there may be an emphasis on those who are seen to have interacted well with the settlers. In the case of women, a few women may be added to the story of the exploration and settlement of America. In elementary social studies, for example, Sacagawea and Pocahontas are often added into a Phase 2 study of American history. Sacagawea is highlighted for her help to Lewis and Clark and Pocahontas for her helpfulness to John Smith and the Jamestown settlers. To find people like Sacagawea and Pocahontas, "historians' spotlight is simply trained a little lower than usual on the pinacles, so that we see people like Susan B. Anthony [Sacagawea or Pocahontas] trying to scramble up the rocks" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 8). Sacagawea is a hero who entered men's territory and succeeded. A Phase 2 curriculum communicates to students that women and
minorities don't really exist unless they are exceptional by white male standards. They don't exist unless they make something of themselves in the public world.

**Phase 3: Minority Issues and Women's Issues (or Minority Groups and Women) as Problems, Anomalies, Absences or Victims in history**

"Phase 3 courses focus on, or at least give serious attention to, racism and other systemic oppressions. In the case of Native peoples, the late 19th century U.S. government policy of genocide is recognized" (McIntosh, 1990, p. 5). Phase 3 looks at those peoples who are in the valleys below the pinacles, bringing us in touch with people without power. "Phase 3 introduces us to the politics of the curriculum. We can't simply "include those who were left out" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 9). It's not an accident that these people were left out—the gaps in history are there for a reason. Recently we came across an instructional map (not in a textbook, of course) showing all the different North American native cultures and where they lived before "westward expansion"; we believe this map could be a useful tool in creating a Phase 3 curriculum. At the bottom of the map (see Figure 3) in large letters is the question: WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE NATIVE AMERICANS? ASK YOUR TEACHER FOR THE TRUTH. Phase 3 curriculum work, like this question, potentially raises anger among members of the invisible groups: Why has our history been left out? Why do we come out looking like losers in history? Why are we seen as either exceptional or deprived in our history books? Their place in history is seen as a problem and an absence in this phase of curricular revision.

**Phase 4: The Lives and Cultures of Women and People of Color Everywhere As History.** "Phase 3 gives way to Phase 4 at the moment when all of those who were assigned to specialize in the functions of life below the faultline refuse to see [themselves] only as a problem and begin to think of [themselves] as valid human beings. Phase 4 vision construes the life below the break in the pyramid as the real though unacknowledged base of life and civilization. In the 4th phase women say: 'On our own ground, we are not losers; we have had half the human experience. The fact that we are different from men and diverse within our own group doesn't necessarily mean we are deprived' " (McIntosh, 1983, p. 14). In U.S. history, Phase 4 honors a variety of cultures on their own terms, trying to see them through the testimony or actions of their people. Instead of just studying the problems the Native peoples had as a result of European settlement (invasion?), Phase 4 curriculum explores the richness of Indian cultures in their own right. Such a curriculum might explore, for example, "the wholeness and intricacy of Native cosmologies, and the Indians' particular relation to the land and consonance with the spirit in the land, before the Anglo-European ethos of land ownership was
What happened to the Indians?
Ask your teacher for the truth!

Figure 3. Instructional tool that suggests a Phase 3 (McIntosh, 1991) history curriculum.
imposed. Phase 4 recognizes Anglo-European ideas, actions, and standards as ethno-specific." (McIntosh, 1990, p. 5).

**Phase 5: History Redefined and Reconstructed to Include Us All.**
Phase 5 is a radical revision of curriculum that rests on a radical revision of society and our ways of organizing knowledge and disciplines. McIntosh mentions this phase only briefly in both her papers; it is a phrase that is so far from our current experience that it is difficult to even imagine. "We don't know yet what reconstructed History would look like." (McIntosh, 1983, p. 21). The pyramidal structure of the psyche and society is discarded because it is incompatible with the decent, balanced survival of human psyches, institutions, and nations. A genuinely inclusive curriculum, based on global imagery of self and society, would reflect and reinforce the common human abilities and inclinations to cultivate the soil of the valleys and to collaborate for survival." (p.21)

**New Visions of Social Studies Content**

In Year Two McIntosh's curriculum re-visioning perspective had a significant influence on the ways we explored together the content of social studies. In Year One, social studies content was seen as derived from the disciplines and as organized around major concepts that have been defined by the disciplines. The ideas that we wanted elementary students to understand and to change their thinking about came primarily from traditional white male constructions of the disciplines (a Phase 1 curriculum most of the time). In Year Two, course participants were challenged to question and challenge the traditional disciplines. We moved into a course that caused anger about the invisibility of disempowered groups in the disciplines, a Phase 3 curriculum. We also sometimes approached a Phase 4 curriculum, studying ways in which the contributions and values of ordinary women and minorities—including ourselves—could play a more central role in our teaching of elementary social studies.

The conceptual change of course participants in Year Two was more personal and deep than in Year One. In a community that encouraged and respected contributions from each of us, we came to see that important ideas and experiences could come from us—ordinary women entering a profession marked by caretaking rather than achieving, a profession of low status and power. There were moments of anger when a Phase 3 curriculum permitted us to see ways in
which our own experience as women had been systematically kept out of our history books. There were moments of discomfort, as some resisted seeing this invisibility as a problem. There was anger and disagreement as traditional content and practices (like the flag pledge, for example) were challenged and analyzed from new perspectives.

It was not easy to allow the questioning of things we had always valued. Having new ways of seeing enabled us to see things we were not all prepared to see. There were also moments of joy and celebration (and even tears of happiness and empathy) as individuals in the course discovered and shared knowledge about Native peoples, about inner city families, about African cultures, about the contributions of women in history, that enriched our lives and enabled us to begin to envision a Phase 4 curriculum in elementary classrooms. An optional assignment in the course—the diversity project—captures this spirit, with prospective teachers teaching us about ways to communicate these ideas through artistic creations, through explorations of traditionally invisible cultures and knowledge, and through classroom activities for elementary students that celebrate the diversity of peoples and make real (not just a problem) the life of peoples like the slaves in the pre-Civil War era.

New Visions of Authority and Community in the (Teacher Education) Classroom

The McIntosh perspective also helped in our efforts to create a new vision of conceptual change instruction as embedded in a learning community in which all voices were important. This valuing of all voices and acknowledgment that the authority for knowledge rested in all of us changed the course in dramatic ways. Although prospective teachers still had a final course grade to worry about, there was a feeling that we were all colleagues in this endeavor and that the grades were just a nuisance we had to put up with until we could challenge and change in deeper ways the institutions that created the grading practice. From the perspective of McIntosh’s pyramidal image of society we took a significant step forward in challenging the pyramidal structure of university teacher education courses in which the authority for content and organization rests solely in the course instructor.
Before the course began, other teacher education faculty warned us that the prospective teachers would very likely take advantage of this course structure by not taking it seriously and by not working as hard as they would for courses that emphasized grades and formal tests of knowledge. Those of us teaching the course listened to these predictions and recognized the risks we were taking in sharing the class with the prospective teachers instead of delivering it to them. We are glad we took the risk. Like the third and fifth graders who delighted us with their engagement and thinking without the stick of grades held over their heads, the prospective teachers also showed that they could learn and grow in significant ways without the fear of grades and tests to motivate them.

Changes in the Planning, Teaching, and Learning in the Social Studies Methods Course from Year One to Year Two

In the following description, the different course participants will describe their perspectives about the planning, teaching, and learning in the Year One and Year Two versions of the social studies methods course. Emphasis will be placed on highlighting ways in which the collaborative work and the two theoretical frameworks enabled these changes to occur. Learning by all course participants will be examined through the discussion of several participants' reactions to one class activity, a discussion of an incident in Corinna Hasbach's and Elaine Hockwater's fifth-grade teaching. The impact of the Year Two course on participants' learning will also be examined through stories of critical incidents from multiple participants.

Planning: Course Content and Organization in Years One and Two: From One Voice to Many

Planning in Year One—Kathy's Voice

In 1990 (Year One), it was solely my responsibility to plan the course content, select the readings, and create the assignments. In the planning process, I considered carefully themes developed in other Academic Learning Program courses including disciplinary analyses of understanding and knowledge growth, constructivist, and social constructivist views of learning, conceptual change models of teaching, and a view of the teacher as a thoughtful, reflective,
inquiring professional. My planning process included extensive reading in the area of social studies and the various social studies disciplines and meetings with colleagues who are experts in history and in social studies education. These people served as sounding boards for my ideas and as content sources: What should I be helping prospective teachers understand about social studies teaching? What does it mean to teach history or social studies for understanding? Would the idea of teaching for conceptual change, so useful a framework for me in thinking about science teaching, also be a useful framework in thinking about social studies teaching?

When I first met with Carol to talk about the course, I already had the course outline, syllabus, and reading list ready. I used my interactions with Carol to fine tune my plans for how to teach this syllabus, but did not look to Carol for ideas about what to teach. The course that year was organized to build on program themes that were initially raised in the two foundations courses (a course on learning and a curriculum course). I titled the course "Teaching for Understanding in Elementary Social Studies" and organized the course around a central question, which was described to the prospective teachers in the syllabus in the following way:

A major goal of the course is to help you develop a framework for thinking about social studies instruction that will support you in planning and teaching social studies in ways that will help diverse learners develop meaningful understandings of important social studies concepts and ideas. Thus, a central question for the course is: What is a useful framework to guide you in planning and teaching social studies for understanding to a diverse group of learners? (Roth, Class syllabus, 1990)

Drawing from constructivist views of teaching and leaning, I encouraged prospective teachers to build their own framework as they explored this question and a set of subquestions through the readings and discussion of research articles, through the analysis of a case of my own fifth-grade teaching about the relationships between Native Americans and early American explorers, through field assignments in their mentor teachers' classrooms, and through the development of a social studies unit that would eventually be taught during student teaching in the mentors' classrooms.
The syllabus reveals a tension I felt between wanting prospective teachers to leave the course with a (my!) conceptual change framework for thinking about teaching social studies teaching and wanting the prospective teachers to develop a framework that made sense to them. The language also reflects a tension (highlighted in bold) between the extent to which I considered the course to be "mine" versus "ours" (acknowledging Carol's role):

As a class we will come to share many principles of "good" social studies teaching and will develop a common language for talking about social studies teaching. For example, we will consider what a conceptual change framework for planning and teaching social studies might look like. However, I will feel most successful as a teacher if each of you constructs by the end of the course your own personal visions of teaching for understanding or teaching for conceptual change. In fact, the general principles and theories will not be meaningful to you in the long run (during student teaching and beyond!) unless you make personal sense of them. Our goal is that the knowledge and ways of thinking you develop in this course will be meaningful and useful to you as a teacher (and not just as a student who needs to pass this course). (Roth, Class syllabus, 1990)

The subquestions guiding the course were used in developing the sequence of class readings, activities, and assignments. Table 2 outlines how the course was segmented into chunks, with each question or issue being the focus of study for one or two weeks of the ten-week term. Thus the course during Year One was planned to follow a logical flow of topics organized around these central questions. Each week's activities were designed to enable students to develop some ideas about the overarching question and about one of the four subquestions. I planned and carried out this flow of content, using Carol as a sounding board: How are the students reacting? Do we need to adjust the schedule and pacing? Overall, however, the course in 1990 was mine, with Carol participating primarily as an extremely thoughtful observer who provided critical insights to support my planning. In her journal and in our planning sessions Carol's questions and comments helped me learn about ways in which Carol's teacher voice and Carol's observations of these prospective teachers' learning might play a more central role in the course in the future.
Planning in Year Two—Many Voices

In 1991 (Year Two) many voices were brought to the planning and teaching of the class. These voices shaped the initial and ongoing planning of the content and organization of the class in ways that changed the class significantly:

**Carol's Voice:** Kathy Roth, Corinna Hasbach and I have been meeting since December in preparation for the winter term Social Studies Methods class. We'll meet with a group of twenty-some Academic Learning students in their junior year here at MSU.... I did feel we made several positive changes in last year's organization to benefit both the teachers and the students. The planning sessions made me feel a partner in determining the direction of an established class. Kathy was very open to my suggestions and seemed eager to incorporate my opinion and ideas. Her attitude seems to be "What can we do to make it better?" and I appreciate that, as a learner and a teacher. (Carol Ligett, Journal entry, 1/3/91)

**Kathy's Voice:** I am really excited about some new things we are trying this year, and if I had been doing the course alone those changes would never have come about—like the idea of a pretest, of course framing questions, and of student choices in course assignments. Carol played a central role in these changes. I've also noticed that she really thinks about these students as learners in a more positive, productive way than I do. Might that partly be due to her role in the course last year? What I've noticed is that she constantly considers the course through their eyes and is their advocate. (Kathy Roth, Journal entry 1/8/91)

**Pretesting and framing questions.** These comments were written prior to the beginning of the course and reflect some key changes that occurred in planning the content and organization of the course during Year Two. In one of our very first planning meetings, Carol suggested the idea of a pretest as one strategy for eliciting prospective teachers' ideas and preconceptions about social studies knowledge and teaching. Carol's idea of a pretest came from her experiences in pretesting her third graders. This idea of pretesting was one that she had become intrigued with as a result of the readings and discussions associated with our collaborative work in the Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project. Carol had tried pretests with her third graders and found this to be an extremely useful tool in planning and teaching. Thus, in this case collaboration came full cycle:
Table 2
ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE SYLLABUS FOR THE
SOCIAL STUDIES METHODS CLASS IN YEAR ONE AND YEAR TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR ONE - 1990</th>
<th>YEAR TWC - 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Question:</strong> What is a useful framework to guide you in planning and</td>
<td><strong>Central Question:</strong> What does it mean to teach for understanding in social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching social studies for understanding to a diverse group of learners?</td>
<td>studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weeks One and Two:</strong> Why is it important to teach social studies?</td>
<td><strong>Framing Questions Addressed Throughout the Course:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The problem of teaching for understanding in social studies</td>
<td>-What is social studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Goals and functions of social studies instruction</td>
<td>-Is social studies important to teach? Why or why not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Week Three:</strong> What do diverse learners bring to the social studies classroom?</td>
<td>-What would you argue are the &quot;big ideas&quot; that elementary students should learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weeks Four, Five, Six:</strong> What social studies concepts and ideas are important</td>
<td>from social studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for diverse learners to understand? What are key ideas from the disciplines that</td>
<td>-Should social studies instruction take into account student race, gender, social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emerging citizens can and should understand?</td>
<td>class, socioeconomic status, ability, disability, prior knowledge or experience?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-What does it mean to teach geography for understanding? (Week Four)</td>
<td>Should all students receive the same kinds of social studies instruction? How</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-What does it mean to teach history for understanding? (Week Five)</td>
<td>would you defend your position?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-What does it mean to teach sociology, economics, and communities for</td>
<td>-How would you plan a unit of social studies instruction that fosters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understanding in K-3 social studies? (Week Six)</td>
<td>understanding and conceptual change for a diverse group of learners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weeks Seven, Eight, Nine, Ten:</strong> What kinds of instructional activities,</td>
<td>-What kinds of knowledge do you need to support student understanding in social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading, classroom discourse, student writing, and classroom environment support</td>
<td>studies? How can you acquire this knowledge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching for understanding in social studies?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-A conceptual change unit planning format (Week Six,Seven)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Using the textbook as a tool for planning and teaching (Week Seven)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Creating a community of inquiry: Classroom discourse (Week Eight)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Creating a community of inquiry: Writing Assignments that promote understanding (Week Nine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Assessing student understanding in social studies (Week Ten)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 cont'd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Assignments and Grading:</th>
<th>Course Assignment Options and Grading: Select at least one additional assignment beyond the unit plan and the final exam. Decide how much you want each assignment to count towards your final grade.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation/Learning Logs</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection Paper</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Assignment Paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources Annotated Bibliography</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Plan</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Plan</td>
<td>30% - 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam (Framing Questions)</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive Journal Writing</td>
<td>0% - 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection or Position Paper</td>
<td>0% - 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity Project</td>
<td>0% - 30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kathy helped Carol think about trying pretests with her third graders, and Carol helped Kathy see the value in using such pretests with prospective teachers.

In discussing what questions to ask on a pretest, Carol and Kathy came up with the idea of using the pretest questions as framing questions for the entire course: These questions would always be kept in front of the group and would be the questions that prospective teachers would write about on the final exam. The syllabus that we created explained the framing questions and the central problem of the course:

A major goal of the course is to help you develop a framework for planning and teaching social studies in ways that will help diverse learners develop meaningful understandings of important social studies concepts and ideas. Six questions will frame our inquiry into social studies teaching:

-What is social studies?

-Is social studies important to teach? Why or why not?

-What would you argue are the "big ideas" that elementary students should learn from social studies?

-Should social studies instruction take into account student race, gender, social class, socioeconomic status, ability, disability, prior knowledge or experience? Should all students receive the same kinds of social studies instruction? How would you defend your position?

-How would you plan a unit that fosters understanding and conceptual change for a diverse group of learners?

-What kinds of knowledge do you need to support student understanding in social studies?

-How can you acquire this knowledge? (Roth, Ligett, & Hasbach, Course syllabus, 1991)

It is an interesting comment on the genuineness of this collaboration that neither Carol nor Kathy could remember (without revisiting the audiotape) who had come up with the idea of framing questions. They both described the idea coming out of a discussion about Carol's idea about
pretesting, but neither could recreate from memory the complicated path of discussion and idea
 generation that resulted in the idea.

The three of us (Kathy, Carol, Corinna) spent several planning sessions exploring and
debating the set of framing questions. The more involved we got in this process, the more ways in
which we saw this idea enhancing the course. By using framing questions that were continuously
in front of all of us, we were no longer trapped into a lockstep pattern: "If this is Week Three, we
must be in 'Student Diversity'." Instead of trying to address each question or major issue as a
separate one sectioned off into a discrete chunk of the course, we could provide a more integrated
experience. Activities could now be chosen for their richness in helping prospective teachers
address multiple issues and questions. This seemed more consistent with our conceptual change
model—finding activities and experiences that would challenge students to reexamine long-held
assumptions regarding the central questions of the class, rather than constructing a logical outline
of content to cover. The use of course framing questions helped us (especially Kathy who had
"owned" the course previously) let go of our rather fixed notions of what prospective teachers
should learn and when they should learn it. It helped us treat these prospective teachers more like
we treat our elementary students—as individuals each starting with a unique set of knowledge and
experiences and each likely to react to course experiences in unique but also productive ways. We
decided to pick a rich set of activities and assignments and then to allow prospective teachers to
make their own decisions about how to use a particular reading or course activity to think about the
framing questions. One reading might help some students think about the big ideas that should be
taught in social studies, while the same article might help someone else think about how to teach
social studies to a diverse group of learners.

Corinna liked this organization around framing questions, because she wanted to explore
whether prospective teachers would connect better with issues about the inclusion of women and
minorities in the curriculum when that was a thread throughout the entire course, rather than a
focus of study for one or two weeks in the course (as during Year One, for example). She brought
to the course an expertise in women’s studies and experience in teaching prospective teachers in the context of a psychology course on learning. She was curious about how issues about gender, race, class, and so forth. could be meaningfully integrated into a methods-of-teaching class.

Corinna’s goal of emphasizing race, class, and gender issues throughout the course supported a goal that Carol and Kathy had identified based on the Year One experience: Addressing controversial issues in a more sustained and less timid way. In Year One, Carol had observed that Kathy *told* the prospective teachers not to be afraid of addressing controversial issues in social studies—that controversy is at the heart of many social issues. But in her own teaching of the methods class, she would foray into a controversial issue and then quickly retreat. In reflecting on that observed pattern, Kathy and Carol had agreed to address controversial issues more boldly in Year Two.

**Assignment options.** Our discussion of the prospective teachers' use of the framing questions to shape the course for themselves led to a reconsideration of course requirements and grading. If we wanted prospective teachers to view this course as a genuine learning setting rather than a place to check off one more requirement for certification, there would have to be more student ownership of the course. Carol lobbied in these sessions for doing away with grades. Kathy and Corinna were not willing to go that far, but as a group we negotiated a plan that was comfortable for all of us. It was a step forward, we felt, in inviting students into a learning community and in encouraging students to own and have a real voice in the course. It was agreed that students would have some significant choices in the assignments they would complete and how their grade would be weighted. Everyone would be required to do a unit plan and to take the final exam (which consists of the five course-framing questions). Students would choose at least one of three additional assignment options. In addition, students would choose how much each assignment would be weighted (within certain boundary guidelines):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Weightage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit Plan</td>
<td>30-60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive Journal Writing</td>
<td>0-30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21
Reflection or Position Paper 0-20%
Diversity Project 0-30%

The diversity project was a new idea we had generated in our deliberations. It was one that we felt left ample room for initiative and creativity for prospective teachers who feel comfortable with a less structured assignment. We hoped that at least some students would choose this option, since it was one that involved prospective teachers in a teacher educator role:

Students completing this assignment option will pay particular attention to the readings about diversity issues (gender, race, class, ability, disability, interests, personality, behavior, prior knowledge, etc.) and will produce a product that will help others in the class think more deeply about student diversity and/or how to provide classroom experiences that benefit diverse learners. This project could be completed as a group project. It is designed to allow room for creativity and exploration. This may not be a good option for you if you are looking for a lot of structure in your assignments. In this project, you can feel free to take emotional, artistic, and/or intellectual risks. Go for it! (Ligett, Roth, & Hasbach, Course assignment sheet, 1991)

Collaborative Planning: Our Intended Course
Viewed from Conceptual Change and Curricular Re-vision Perspectives

A changing conceptual change perspective. The conceptual change model that had driven the course in Year One still played a prominent role as the Year Two course was collaboratively planned. However, Kathy brought to the Year Two course a new emphasis in her thinking about a conceptual change model of instruction. Through Barb Lindquist's observations of her teaching of science to the fifth graders, Kathy learned that a critical piece of her version of conceptual change teaching was the creation of a special learning community. Barb emphasized that the way the fifth graders saw Kathy as taking their ideas seriously and as collaborating with them in scientific research seemed to be critical in making science more engaging to them. Kathy, Barb, Carol, Cheryl and others in the LISSS Project study group grappled with describing this component of conceptual change instruction and developed a revised representation of the conceptual change model (see Table 1). The new representation (Figure 4 & Table 3) emphasizes the critical role of community building in teaching for conceptual change: You could go through the steps of eliciting learners' ideas, challenging them, and supporting them in using new ideas without genuinely
Figure 4. A conceptual change science learning community.
Table 3
A Learning Setting vs. a Work Setting:
Creating a Conceptual Change Learning Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A CONCEPTUAL CHANGE SCIENCE LEARNING COMMUNITY</th>
<th>A WORK-ORIENTED CLASSROOM SETTING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Sense making and learning as the goal</td>
<td>*Getting the work done as the goal: getting facts learned or activities and projects completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Personal, emotional involvement in meaningful and authentic problem situations</td>
<td>*Depersonalized, unemotional relationship with work, getting the products made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ownership and commitment by each person; responsibility shared</td>
<td>*Teacher as executive in charge of everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Active inquiry and question asking are valued and encouraged</td>
<td>*Getting the right answer is valued and encouraged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Expertise comes from everyone, is shared; learning is a collaborative process</td>
<td>*Expertise comes from the teacher and learning is a private activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Everyone's ideas are valued and respected as useful in the learning process; diversity is celebrated in a caring environment</td>
<td>*Workers need to keep quiet and busy; diversity is a problem for quality control and efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Good learners listen to each other</td>
<td>*Good workers listen to the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Public sharing and revising (working out) of ideas</td>
<td>*Only complete, polished final products are shared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Evidence, not authority, is used to construct new knowledge and judge merits of ideas</td>
<td>*Knowledge comes wrapped in neat packages that are delivered from teacher or text to student; all packages are to be appreciated and not questioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Each learner starts and finishes in a unique place; learning as a process of conceptual change</td>
<td>*All workers create the same product or else are failures; learning as a &quot;you have it or you don't&quot; phenomena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The metaphor of a learning vs. a work setting for thinking about classrooms was adapted from Hermine H. Marshall (1990) in "Beyond the Workplace Metaphor: The Classroom as a Learning Setting" in Theory Into Practice, 29, 94-101.
engaging them in the problem if the community did not support learners in critical ways. Some of the norms and values we felt were important in science classrooms are shown in the outside circle; these values seemed equally applicable to our teaching of the methods class.

In the Year Two syllabus, we described our goals with a new emphasis on this idea of building a conceptual change learning community for all of us as learners:

Our goal is that all of us, including the instructors and consultants, will make significant progress in answering these questions this term. As instructors with years of teaching experience, we have done much thinking about these questions both in theory and in practice. We are still grappling with them; there are no simple "right" answers. In fact, we hope that the course will help you see the complexities and dilemmas embedded in each of these questions....

As education professionals and pre-professionals, each of us also has a responsibility to support others in the learning process. We need to support and challenge each other. We need to help each other keep in mind our ultimate goal—improving the quality of social studies teaching and learning in elementary classrooms.

We will feel most successful as instructors at the end of the course if you can describe significant ways in which your ideas about the course framing questions have changed and if you have constructed a personally meaningful and useful vision of teaching for understanding in social studies.(Roth, Ligett, & Hasbach, Course syllabus, 1991)

An interactive phases of curricular re-vision perspective. The changes in the Year Two planned course can also be viewed from McIntosh's interactive phases of curricular re-vision. During Year One the content of social studies curriculum that prospective teachers examined was closely and safely linked to the disciplines—"big ideas" from history, sociology, anthropology, political science, etc. In McIntosh's scheme the Year One course was often a Phase 1 curriculum, focusing on the traditional content of the disciplines, which is predominantly a white male perspective. As Carol noted, however, Kathy occasionally ventured beyond these bounds in Year One (although she fairly quickly retreated). For example, a case of teaching and learning that was featured as a centerpiece in the course syllabus was Kathy's teaching of fifth graders about the
"explorers." Kathy did not teach her fifth graders about the explorers in a traditional, Phase 1 way.

In fact, she took some risks by challenging fifth graders' assumptions that Columbus was a hero by focusing first on the contrasts between European culture and Native American cultures in 1492 and then by examining the "discovery" of America from the Native American perspective as well as the European perspective. She read from adult books about atrocities committed by the Spaniards against the Native peoples. She challenged students to consider Columbus as a complex human rather than as an unquestioned hero. Students were appalled at the treatment of the Indians and decided to write a letter to the editor of the local paper demanding a day honoring the Indians: Why do we have Columbus Day when the Indians were here already? When students were considering criteria for admission to the Explorers' Hall of Fame, there was vehement argument about the inclusion of Columbus because of his treatment of the Native Americans.

The discussion of this case in the methods class certainly created moments when it raised anger among the prospective teachers: "Why didn't we ever know about this? These fifth graders know about it, and we don't! Columbus was always presented to me as a hero only." There was anger about the way their history had been whitewashed. These were powerful moments of Phase 3 curriculum with even a hint of Phase 4 as students working on unit plans about the Native Americans became totally enthralled and excited with what they were learning about native cultures that had never been made visible to them before. One student started attending any pow-wow she could find to further understand, celebrate, and appreciate Native cultures. But controversy and disempowered groups were often downplayed, especially when it came to planning units that prospective teachers developed for use in public school classrooms. Kathy and Carol did not push prospective teachers in Year One to challenge the traditional content of social studies instruction. Instead, the prospective teachers used a new, conceptual change way of thinking about teaching social studies but applied that approach to traditional and "safe" disciplinary content.
In the second year of the course, however, Corinna's input supported Kathy and Carol in scaffolding prospective teachers in challenging the traditional content of social studies and the disciplines. In the Year Two course a conceptual change model was still used to guide planning for the prospective teachers' experiences and for thinking about how to teach elementary students. But views of content changed: Content in both a methods class and in elementary classrooms now included more voices and was more inclusive of all peoples' experiences. Prospective teachers would change not only their views of social studies instruction but also their views of themselves and society. Thus the course was planned to move into Phases 3 and 4 curricula in McIntosh's scheme.

Teaching the Course in Years One and Two: From Conducting an Orchestra to Creating Jazz

There were clearly differences in the planning and organization of the course content and syllabus between Year One and Year Two. However, it was not only the planning and outline of the course that changed as a result of the changing nature of the school-university collaboration in Year Two. The teaching of the course also changed in significant ways during the second year, and these changes were the result of the changes in the collaborative relationships.

Year One: Conducting an Orchestra

During Year One, when Kathy taught the course with assistance from Carol, adjustments in pacing and scheduling were made along the way. But teaching the course was essentially a matter of putting the planned syllabus into action. Incidents from Carol's third-grade classroom were shared with the class to support the developing themes of the course, but these incidents did not drive the course in unexpected or uncharted directions. Although Carol worked with individual students, sometimes led whole-group class discussions, read and responded to some student journals, and provided critical feedback and questions about the prospective teachers' progress, she did not genuinely share control of the course. Matching the title she was given, Carol was an assistant to the instructor. Kathy was the instructor, making decisions about course plans and directions and directing most of the whole group discussions.
Kathy that year was like the conductor of an orchestra with Carol serving as her concertmaster. Kathy recognized that each musician had a different part to play, had individual contributions to make to the whole, and would need her guidance to connect his or her part with the rest of the orchestra—to create a harmonious whole. The musicians in this orchestra were encouraged and supported to develop their talents to their potential, and there was room for individual interpretation of the music, but Kathy and the score she brought put clear bounds on what music would be created. The main score was laid out ahead of time. The orchestra worked under Kathy's leadership towards playing more harmonious music. Rehearsal sessions (like class) proceeded smoothly and without unexpected disruptions. Musicians practiced their music in between sessions, often with individual tutoring from Kathy or her concertmaster, Carol, helping them see the big picture—how their parts fit in the whole.

**Year Two: Creating Jazz**

Teaching during Year Two was characterized by major shifts that can be represented using our musical metaphor. If in Year One the teaching of the course was like an orchestra led by a conductor using a largely predetermined score, Year Two teaching might be represented as a jazz improvisation group in which the musicians (class participants) alternated in taking the lead as they worked with a score that left much more room for individual improvisation and left open the possibility of a significant change in the score as the piece is played and developed by contributions by each musician. The score provides structure and bounds to the piece, but the individual musician can play a bigger role in shaping the creation of the piece. While there is still a recognized leader and organizer of the group, this person's role is not described as "conducting," since that role is a more shared one. As each soloist has her turn, she becomes a composer and a conductor.

As we became more like a jazz group, there was a significant shift from "the" course or "Kathy's course" to "our" course. More voices and perspectives were heard and drawn from in teaching the course and in re-planning the course as it developed. There were now two course
instructors—a teacher educator and a third-grade teacher—taking joint responsibility for the ensuring the progress of the class. There were also graduate students (a doctoral student and a master's student) and a fifth-grade teacher serving as consultants in the course. These consultants had major input into the teaching and ongoing planning of the methods course while simultaneously being deeply engaged in teaching and/or studying fifth graders' learning of American history.

In addition to adding new voices to the ensemble, we also created a new role for prospective teachers in the course. These course participants were actively encouraged to bring their perspectives and personal histories into the "piece" we were creating. There was significant effort placed on ensuring that prospective teachers' voices were heard and valued. This inclusion of many voices and perspectives enabled us to dig more deeply into the idea of controversy in the social studies curriculum. It also expanded the knowledge base of the course to include teacher experiences and personal histories as well as research and scholarly writings. This emphasis on multiple perspectives also facilitated a more inquiry-oriented approach to the course content, making more room for question raising and making clear-cut answers less and less satisfying.

The second shift grows out of the first. In Year Two, we shifted from a more traditional course setting where assignments get turned in and grades awarded towards a genuine learning community in which all participants are learners. In this learning community, instructors (teacher educator and teacher) and consultants (graduate students and teacher) were just as much learners as the prospective teachers. We considered ourselves to be educators working together to improve social studies learning opportunities for children, rather than students working for a grade and professors evaluating students. Changes in the grading and course assignment structure supported this shift, but an equally important support was the new norm being created that encouraged a polyphony of voices to be heard rather than just the solo performance by the teacher.

Growing out of the shifts toward more voices being heard and all participants coming together as learners was a shift toward more learner definition of the content that enabled new
visions of social studies teaching to emerge. There were now multiple sources of authority for knowledge. Because we were all learners coming to this experience with different backgrounds and life experiences, the actual content learned by each participant was unique to that individual. And such improvisation on the score was encouraged. Although we set out together by exploring the same readings and cases of teaching and learning (the same score), we left room for each individual to interpret and improvise personal ways of understanding and making sense of the common score. Each of the course instructors and consultants also contributed new perspectives that shifted the views of social studies teaching from a disciplines-based perspective to a wider appreciation and understanding of social studies as including, for example, social criticism and personal social development.

"Out of the Mouths of Babes":
A Case of Many Voices Learning to Teach Social Studies in Year Two

Shortly before the methods course began, an incident dealing with racism occurred while Elaine and Corinna were teaching their fifth graders about the colonization period of American history. As we (Kathy, Carol, Corinna) planned the social studies methods class, we decided that this vignette would make an interesting reading for the class and included a written description of it (Hasbach, 1990) in the reading packet. The case became an important tool in enabling class participants to think deeply about what it means to understand concepts like "racism" and to consider a case of elementary social studies teaching that challenges the norm of whitewashing American history by engaging students in critical analysis of potentially "hot" issues. In terms of our conceptual change instructional framework, it provided the prospective teachers with an opportunity to use new ideas and frameworks for examining social studies teaching as they deliberated about how they would have handled the incident. In terms of the phases of curriculum re-vision, the incident enabled many prospective teachers to bring issues of racism down into the fabric of everyday life, a Phase 4 curriculum.

The description of the incident will be described and followed by several participants' descriptions of the ways in which this incident contributed to their learning. Multiple perspectives
stemming from this one course activity will be used to illustrate how the Year Two course became more of a genuine community of learners engaged in transformative learning. The case challenged prospective teachers to question traditional social studies curricula and enabled participants to experience at different points in time a Phase 3 and a Phase 4 curriculum. Many of the events and ideas that the course participants describe here were not planned in the course syllabus, but emerged as a case of teaching and learning in a fifth-grade classroom became a critical piece of the "text" in the methods class. The incident and the issues it raised about teaching about racism and discrimination represent new content for the methods course. And that content was brought into the course by voices typically not heard from in methods courses—a classroom teacher and her doctoral student co-teacher and co-researcher. Ways in which each participant learned about teaching social studies for understanding is evident in their writing in response to this incident.

The Incident: Corinna's Voice, A Doctoral Student

On December 4, 1990, Elaine and I were co-teaching one of the introductory lessons on the unit of colonization. We had agreed that the students should become familiar with some concepts which would weave their way throughout the unit, and throughout the year. The students would then be asked to keep track in their reading of incidents that they thought fit with these conceptions, and give reasons why they thought this. The emphasis on these terms was thought to help the students become more critical of the social studies text they were using, and also the other resources they would be looking at. These terms would also help them be aware of these issues in the world around them (i.e., the link to the Civil Rights movement and today's struggle by various groups to overcome oppression). Bringing up these concepts was also an attempt to allow children to see that history is not a long legacy of consensus, but rather there is much conflict throughout history. Conflict is often covered up by the benign view which textbooks present—i.e., "Black Africans did not start arriving in large numbers until 1680" (Helmus, Arnsdorf, Toppin, & Pounds, 1984, p. 121, italics added) or "But after 1650 nearly all came as slaves" (p. 136, italics added).
The idea was that we would first help students uncover their conceptions and misconceptions about what these terms meant. Therefore, their task was to discuss these terms in their groups (knowing that they in all likelihood had some inkling of what these concepts meant but not necessarily a "sophisticated" knowledge—we assured them that they should just think about where they might have heard them before, and what they assumed, or supposed they meant). We were then to come together as a large group and put up all the ideas on an overhead and attempt to come to a consensus about the meaning of the terms.

The terms that the students were asked to think about were:
- Perspective (which we had talked about in relation to historical evidence)
- Democracy-freedom-liberty-equality-justice-rights-duties
- Racism-prejudice-discrimination-sexism-exploitation-power

The students were working in their groups, discussing the various terms. Both Elaine and I were pleasantly surprised with the thinking they were doing about the concepts. As I was walking around, Maria-Yolanda (who is Mexican-American) called me over to where her group was working on the concept of racism. She asked me if racism was "like against me because of my color"? I recall my response being, "yes, people of color experience racism." It is hard to recall my response because what occurred after her question "threw me." Natalie (who is Caucasian) seemed to "correct" Maria-Yolanda, explaining (speaking directly to Maria-Yolanda), "It's like teasing Beth [who is Black] because of her color. No, not you. You are the same as us. You just look like you have a tan—a tan that doesn't go away." Maria-Yolanda turned away from Natalie, said nothing, and had a look on her face which I was unable to "read." The closest I can come to explaining it is that it seemed like a mixture of resignation and disdain. I remember thinking, "What do I do now?" I did not know how to respond, but I remember being acutely aware that this was an extremely important interaction which had many ramifications.
Many Voices Using the Incident to Think about Teaching for Understanding in Social Studies

Participants in the class read a fuller account of the incident written by Corinna and a response from a high school teacher on the National Education Association computer network, who told a story of a black high school student who challenged the school practice of holding slave auctions to raise money. In class the discussion began with comments from Elaine Hoekwater about the incident. Elaine noted how her experience co-teaching the fifth graders with Corinna was creating a context in which comments like this could arise and that Corinna was helping Elaine learn to see and analyze the significance of incidents like this. As Elaine had written in a response to Corinna's journal entry:

Elaine’s Voice, A Fifth-Grade Social Studies Teacher: You are so perceptive on comments made by kids. I can see what you mean with different issues like Nan, Natalie, and Maria-Yolanda and the others, but I don't catch the significance of it at the time. I always appreciate your calling my (and others) attention to it. I am learning to key into these issues. (Elaine Hoekwater, Journal response to Corinna Hasbach, 1/23/91).

Here Elaine is modeling for the prospective teachers how her own learning about teaching social studies is growing as a result of her collaboration with Corinna. Despite being an experienced, successful teacher, Elaine is learning to look at students in new ways, is eager to continue this learning process, and is willing to share this learning openly with the prospective teachers.

Penny, a prospective teacher whose mentor taught fifth grade with Elaine at Emerson, had recently visited the school to do a field assignment (associated with the social studies methods class) that engaged her in observing and talking with a student who comes from a different background from her own. In the class discussion, Penny described in her journal (and in class) an incident similar to Elaine and Corinna's that had occurred during her field visit:

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3 Corinna Hasbach is involved in a National Education Association computer networking system which promotes the collaboration of researchers and practitioners nationwide, sharing knowledge about teaching and learning. She is the moderator and researcher of the "Thinking" conference and has a co-facilitator role on the "Multicultural" conference, two of the conferences on the network.
**Penny's Voice, A Prospective Teacher:** I thought the instance Corinna described was a helpful one to bring up. I've been in a similar situation, and I just drew a blank on what to say. Afterwards, I was upset about how I didn't know how to handle the situation. What do you say when a five-year-old says, "I'm tired of being Black," or a child teases someone about their ethnicity? (Penny Woodhams, Journal entry, 1/21/91)

After Penny's description of her incident, a lively discussion ensued with many students, instructors, and consultants providing input about ways of analyzing and understanding the meaning of the incidents and about ways of handling these particular situations. The incident involving Maria-Yolanda seemed to make real for all of us issues we had been discussing about the teaching and learning of social studies as often involving controversial, sensitive issues. We had all been quick to discredit the traditional high school teaching described in a paper by McNeil (1980), in which any hint of controversy was carefully avoided. But this case from Elaine and Corinna's classroom stimulated all of us to think harder about what it might mean for each of us to address controversial, sensitive issues in meaningful ways in elementary classrooms. We all recognized the fear and insecurity we would have felt in Corinna's situation.

In the discussion comparisons were made between this very real and personally significant incident that happened to someone in our methods class community to a case we had studied the first week of the course. That case was presented in a movie, "A Class Divided" (ABC, 1985). In the movie, a third-grade teacher (Jane Elliott) taught her students about racism and discrimination using an eye color simulation. The third graders took turns being labeled and treated as "lesser" because of their eye color (brown eyes vs. blue eyes). The movie had had an impact among the course participants: It successfully raised the issue of teaching for understanding in social studies—What does it mean to understand racism and discrimination? But the case in "A Class Divided" was distant from us both in space (a rural community in Iowa) and in time (the late 1960s).

The immediacy of Elaine and Corinna's case challenged course participants to revisit the earlier case of Elliott and to reconsider whether each of us would choose to tackle these tough but
important issues or would elect to instead gloss over them, to play it safe. We were each forced to think harder about the high ideals that we had written about and discussed after watching Elliott and reading McNeil's case study of the bland, controversy-free high school social studies teaching. We had all agreed that Elliott was much more successful in teaching for understanding than the teacher in McNeil’s case. But that teaching did not seem so easy any more.

We had also been impressed with the sophistication of fifth graders' reactions to the same movie we had watched. It had seemed so easy to think about teaching about racism and discrimination when we read Billy and Emily’s journal entries about their reactions to "A Class Divided”:

**Emily’s Voice, A Fifth Grader:** I thought the movie was excellent. for many reasons. I think if you were to teach a class about "Racism" that would be a great way to do it! I think that that teacher Mrs. Elliot had a very good idea and she should be proud of what she did because it is now being used to teach us. I can imagine sort of but not completely what they felt like because they had different colored eyes or skin! They must feel very bad because they feel that oh, they're better then me because they are white or have blue eyes or whatever reason. I learned that every one is the same! It doesn’t matter what color skin is or eye color or anything!

You should not judge a book by it’s cover practicly covers it!

I think we should try it in our class only with hair or something like that! I think it really did helped me to think more about Racism. I have always said that people that are fat or to skinny are stupid so I would think I was stupid because I was too fat but my mom said that it isn't what you look like on the outside but on the inside and now I think I'm perfectly normal and so is everyone else. Really there isn't a normal because everyone is special in their own way. So blacks are special because they are black and whites are special because they are white and everyone has many reasons they are special and so are special ed or mentally ill people have wounderful talents that nobody else can do!!! (Emily, Journal entry, 1/8/91)

**Billy's Voice, A Fifth Grader:** I got a very big feeling of respect for Mrs. Jane Elliot. I thought How great it is that someone finially found a good way to teach how wrong discrimination is. I was a little bit awed, and just a little suprised.

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4 Students' writing is presented without editing.
I though it was neat, and amazing that the class could divide against itself quickly. I would like (I think) to go through that. But after seeing the movie About it I would probably just sit back in my chair and laugh if Mrs. Hoekwater did it with us. After seeing the movie I doubt if it would have much effect if it were tried on us. But if we hadn't seen the movie I think it would have a lot of effect. I don't think you need to have something bad happen to do an experiment like that. I know that I have discriminated against people before. Like when I'm with a friend and a girl asks to play I would say "NO!" but after this movie I think I would say "YES!" And I would discriminate against kids younger than me. I would say "no you can't play with us your to little, kid. But I don't think I would after seeing this movie I wouldn't do that. The movie had a lot of effect on me!!! (Billy, Journal entry, 1/8/91)

But now it did not seem so easy to raise these issues with elementary students. Emily and Billy responded positively but what about Natalie and Maria-Yolanda? Participants reflected on these issues in their journals, in course papers, and on the exam. The case helped prospective teachers think about how willing they were to tackle controversial or sensitive issues in their unit planning. It helped many of us articulate a view of social studies teaching and learning in which emotions play an important role in coming to understand social studies. Listen to some of the ways in which this incident was used by different participants to develop ideas about teaching social studies:

**Sandra's Voice, A Prospective Teacher:** Corinna Hasbach's article, "Out of the Mouths of Babes," concerning racism in a fifth grade classroom brought up many issues which I have been grappling with myself. After reading the McNeil article, Corinna's article, and participating in methods class discussions, I realize I would be prone to avoid issues like racism which may be controversial in my classroom. This bothers me a great deal, and after some self-examination, I have come to the conclusion that most of my schooling has been the type of "mystification" instruction discussed in Linda McNeil's article. McNeil coined the term "mystification" for the lecture technique teachers use to present an important idea and then dismiss it without full explanation, saying something like, "You have to know this, but do not have the time to discuss it." In this way, a controversial subject could be avoided, and classroom instruction could smoothly proceed.

I attended an all-white parochial elementary and high school.... As a student, I was forced into a blind, sheltered position. I knew racism and prejudice existed, but
because they were made untouchable by my teachers, they became much more frightening and intimidating topics. I only learned they were wrong, without learning the proper language and behavior which acknowledge their existence yet work to decrease them.

I am afraid, however, that just reading and learning about approaches to controversial topics in the classroom will not eliminate the approach I was exposed to my whole life. I am afraid of my inexperience...

Am I prepared to handle occurrences in my classroom which may deal with race, class, or gender? I do not know, but I was pleased to read that Corinna also experienced many of the same doubts that I have. I feel that I have so much to learn about these issues, especially in topics like history, where women and minorities were consistently absent from my school books. (Sandra Weig, Reflection paper excerpts, 1/23/91).

Kellie's Voice, A Prospective Teacher: These thoughts and questions concern me as a future teacher. I agree with the thoughts of Corinna Hasbach in her article, "Out of the Mouths of Babes." It seems teacher preparation classes avoid topics that may call attention to discriminatory issues. If these were false, why do so many teachers try to avoid controversial issues that trigger intense emotions and reactions in the classroom? Where does that leave students like myself when discrimination "experts" such as Corinna do not know how to react in a classroom when discrimination suddenly pops up?

I believe teachers need to realize and question their own beliefs before teaching. There needs to be critical analysis and questioning of one's own prejudices and experiences with discrimination before discrimination is passed along blindly. Too many times people are too busy and hurried to question daily life. Thus we overlook and just accept many wrongs.

There was a quote I hope I can keep in mind while teaching. It was from Marge Harris who wrote in response to Corinna Hasbach's article. She is hopeful that "as we build more and more awareness and more sensitivity to hear each other, maybe, just maybe, we will begin to understand each other." (Kellie Babic, Reflection paper excerpts, 2/28/91)

Penny's Voice, A Prospective Teacher: I'm glad we had a chance to discuss this further in class. Some of the ideas brought up are below:
-Address the problem in some way, don't just push it aside
- If you need time to think about a way to deal with the issue, set a designated time and let the students involved know that you plan on helping them with the issue.
- Questions such as "I wonder why you feel that way" are helpful to get an idea of where the student is coming from.
- If you do have an idea of how to address the issue, do it at the time it arises while it is still fresh in the students' minds.
- If there's necessary consequences for a student, remember to consider how it will affect him/her overall.
- Ask others to advise and reflect on the situation, so you'll be more ready for the next time a similar incident arises. (Penny Woodhams, Journal entry, 1/26/91)

**Penny's Voice Again Later:** There was a particular quote from Corinna's writing that struck me (and relates to all the framing questions): "When those who have power to name and socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you... [and] describe the world in which you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium as if you looked in a mirror and saw nothing..." I think this relates to one of the framing questions in that as a social studies teacher, it's important to be aware of this "trick with mirrors" that makes people feel excluded, and try and make the classroom a place without exclusion. I really liked this writing because it gave a wonderful example of how this can be conveyed, and since my experiences in this kind of environment (where traditionally invisible groups are made visible) are so extremely limited, any exposure is all the more helpful. (Penny Woodhams, Journal entry, 3/6/91)

**Kathy's Voice, A Course Instructor:** Last year I did not think about "racism" and "discrimination" as the content of social studies instruction. Taking a disciplinary perspective I thought about "big ideas" in history and the social sciences—the big ideas I thought about included some of the terms Elaine and Corinna are teaching to the fifth graders (justice, democracy, freedom, liberty, equality), but it seems that I was picking out concepts that were positive examples, safe topics. I did not completely avoid controversial "big ideas," but I presented them in ways that softened them and robbed them of their real meaning and impact. For example, I thought about perspective and conflict as important ideas in looking at American history, but I did not think about including concepts like racism, sexism, discrimination, exploitation, power as part of the content of social studies instruction.

Watching the way Elaine and Corinna's case got all of us in the methods class so involved in thinking about what it means to understand in social studies, I now
think about understanding in social studies as having an important personal and emotional component. That emotional component may be uncomfortable and challenging to handle appropriately as in the case of Maria-Yolanda. But watching the videotaped interviews with her, I am convinced that these ideas were extremely relevant and important to her. Having a language to talk about and analyze her experiences as a minority have enabled her to understand discrimination in deeper ways, in ways that are likely to help her as she continues to deal with her personal experiences with racism and discrimination.

It's interesting to trace back how I gradually developed this idea that emotions are a critical component of coming to understand in social studies. Coming from a science background, where emotions are supposed to be extinguished completely in coming to understand natural phenomena, it makes sense that I did not at first think to consider the emotional component of social studies knowledge. The idea started developing from both Carol and Corinna's input. Even before the methods course, Carol was working on a list of criteria to communicate to parents about her goals for student learning in social studies. I remember she emphasized the development of "empathy for others." As she talked about this goal with me, she kept coming back to this idea of emotions and learning. I was resistant to the idea. But she kept raising the issue in different contexts. Corinna started raising it, too—"We need to uncover the emotional aspect of our work together and not only the intellectual." It still sounded too "feminine" to me, too "touchy-feely." But analyzing the different cases we explored in the course—especially ones from Elaine and Corinna's classroom about racism, discrimination, etc. and from Carol's classroom about the Persian Gulf War—I was forced to reconsider. In cases where emotions were permitted to be part of instruction, there seemed to be much more powerful learning outcomes (or at least the potential for more powerful learning). Now I am determined to rewrite the unit I taught fifth graders about exploration and conflict with Native Americans using an approach that does not play it so safe, that gets more at the heart of the issues. I think this will be an interesting unit plan to share with prospective teachers in contrast with my "kinder and gentler" unit I taught two years ago. (Kathy Roth, Journal entry, 10/2/91)

Discussion of the Case: Shifts in the Course Resulting from School/University Collaboration

In these case examples, it is clear that Kathy's perspective is no longer the primary text of the classroom. Her emphasis and interest in disciplinary approaches to teaching social studies are being challenged by a more social science or social criticism view of social studies. This perspective was not included in the Year One version of the course. Because Elaine and Corinna
were experimenting with this social scientist/social critic approach to teaching American history (vs. Kathy's historical inquiry approach) and because their voices were included in shaping the direction of the course, their ideas became part of the content explored in the course.

Multiple voices shaped the content and teaching of the course. The participants reflect a variety of ways of thinking about and learning from this incident. All, including the course instructors, were successful in using the incident to challenge in deep and personally meaningful ways their earlier assumptions about "good" social studies teaching. There were highly charged emotions generated by this case and others in the course that genuinely opened participants' eyes and hearts and minds to blind spots, to self-reflection, to long-held unquestioned assumptions. The idea of controversy in the social studies curriculum was no longer an abstract concept that seemed fine when kept at a safe distance. Through this case exploration, this issue became "up close and personal."

**Critical Incidents Illustrating Participants' Learning**

To further illustrate the theme that all participants were learners in this course and to illustrate the nature of our learning, we will each share a personally meaningful critical incident from the course. These incidents will also provide additional glimpses of how the collaborative teaching and the two theoretical frameworks were enacted and interpreted.

**Penny's Critical Incident: Learning About Invisibility in History**

It's difficult to pick just one critical incident—it seemed like in some way each day gave us something new to consider as we thought about teaching for understanding in social studies. I do remember the day, however, that Corinna showed the movie on women in history (*One Fine Day* by Wheelock & Weaver, 1985), and I think it illustrates how a typical class got me to reconsider my original thoughts and open my mind to learning more about teaching social studies. Prior to this day instructors and other classmates had raised the issue of women being underrepresented in history. However, I was skeptical about letting that influence how and what I would teach in social studies. I really didn't believe that there was any major piece missing from the history I
learned in school. I just thought women rarely did anything worth mentioning in a history book. (It's strange for me to think about how I used to interpret things!)

However, I began to question my thoughts after watching the movie and realizing that I could only identify about 3 people out of the 100 who had made substantial contributions to shaping the world. I thought to myself: I never realized how much I don't know. Why didn't I ever think of this before? How can I learn more or think about social studies in a different way so that my future students don't walk away with such a one-sided interpretation of history?

It's important to note that I don't think I would have questioned my previous knowledge and thought so extensively if I hadn't been given the chance so many times in class. It seemed like throughout the whole term activities like the movie got us to reconsider or consolidate our ideas on social studies teaching and learning. Then, through genuine discussions (involving the instructors and our classmates) and journal writings, we got support in developing our ideas. This support was not in the form of didactic statements or one-answer questions; rather, we seemed to sort out ideas through thought-provoking questions and responses which focused on "making sense" of the issue at hand.

There also wasn't a "lid" put on what was important to learn about the topic. Instead, we were continually encouraged to keep an open mind and keep questioning our ideas about teaching and learning social studies.

Jan's Critical Incident: A Master's Student Learning About Diversity

My beliefs about social studies teaching and learning evolved a great deal during my participation in the social studies methods course. In the beginning I was convinced that children could not truly understand the meaning of diversity when they have not been exposed to it. How can students in a mostly white classroom at Emerson understand racism and discrimination?

As the term progressed our homogenous group of white women in the methods class shared ideas and experiences. I was surprised at how many of us had actually experienced discrimination. We were a diverse group after all. I learned so much from the course coordinators
and the prospective teachers. Not only have I changed the way I believe social studies should be taught to children, but I have also changed the way I look at and talk about other groups and individuals. Despite our apparent homogeneity, we were truly a community of diverse learners.

Such a diverse community existed at Emerson, too. As an extension of the methods class, I spent some time observing two fifth-grade social studies classes taught by Elaine Hockwater and Corinna Hasbach. As they taught about colonization and Native Americans, Elaine and Corinna used class discussions and a wide array of literature and reference materials. I interviewed some target students and was impressed by their understanding of the vocabulary used in the discussions such as: discrimination, visibility, rights, freedom, equality, perspective, and so on. The students could readily identify those classmates who were visible or invisible in their classrooms. Some could even relate their own experiences with discrimination. One student described an experience with discrimination when his Grandma allowed the girls to play inside but the boys had to play outside. The fifth-grade students, like the students in the methods course, were a diverse group of learners who brought to the class experiences which helped everyone better understand social studies concepts.

Jennie's Critical Incident: Learning to Value Students' Questions

On February 14, Carol Ligett (my mentor teacher and course instructor in the Social Studies methods class) entered the third-grade classroom wearing a large, bright Indian necklace, which generated many questions from her students: "Why are you wearing that necklace?" "What does that thing stand for?" "What is a pow-wow?" Rather than ignoring these questions, Carol allowed them to guide the lesson, saying "That is a very good question, Kyle. Does anyone have ideas as to what a pow-wow might be?" Hands were raised and ideas were shared: "I saw Indians on TV build a fire and dance." "And I think it is where they made things." Even Mrs. Ligett offered her ideas, saying: "I think of people sitting down to talk."

The entire class had generated a central question about the pow-wow which they now attempted to explore through discussion, experience during a pow-wow at a schoolwide assembly,
and collaborative analysis of shared information. Carol did not enter the room with an agenda of topics nor a list of questions for her students to answer. Rather, she allowed students to control the lesson, by sharing their knowledge and experiences and by creating questions which they asked peers, rather than relying on Carol for the correct answers. Carol acted as a stimulus, attracting her students' attention with the Indian necklace, asking open-ended questions, and contributing her own questions and knowledge. The students responded to this stimulus by sharing their knowledge about Indian pow-wows, thus generating new meaning together.

While students expressed their ideas about pow-wows, Jimmy said, "I have a neighbor who is half Indian. "This simple statement generated questions and a debate, about being half Indian: "Being half Indian means you have a tan." "No, I think it means you act different sometimes." As the discussion began to diverge, Mrs. Ligett intervened suggesting they ask the Indian during the pow-wow.

During the pow-wow it was obvious to me that these students desired a deeper understanding of the Indian culture for themselves and that they felt obligated to do the same for the community of learners. They confidently asked the questions they had generated and attempted to answer in the classroom. The Native American answered their questions to the best of his ability. When he revealed some answers that were similar to those they had generated together, eyebrows were raised, smiles were shared, and taps on the shoulder were passed around the room. The students realized that their pursuit for knowledge was not a simple affair which was settled within the classroom. By asking the Native American their questions, students investigated, tested, and compared their ideas against an outside viewpoint. Also, by asking the community's questions, students revealed their interest in the topic and learning process, as well as the confidence and respect they held for their peers.

Carol recognized the value of this open environment. Rather than accepting the role of "all-knowing," she allowed students to question and share with one another. She guided students by raising questions and adding ideas and information, but she did not dominate the conversation with
textbook facts. Rather, she respected students' ideas, believing, "at the heart of any good teaching and learning experience is a critical relationship; that is a relationship in which teachers and learners alike seek to question each others' ideas, to adopt them and even reject them, but not discount them."

**Kathy's Critical Incident: Learning About Thoughtful Citizens**

After reading and comparing two contrasting, thought-provoking visions of the goals of social studies instruction—the American Federation of Teachers "Education for Democracy, A Statement of Principles" (American Federation of Teachers, 1987) and Jonathan Kozol's second chapter from *The Night is Dark, and I am Far from Home* (1975)—the class held a debate about the use of the flag pledge in schools. The debate was organized in a way that forced each of us to take a position about the flag pledge: either that the flag pledge is "designed to domesticate the human spirit" (a Kozol position) or that the flag pledge is designed to liberate the human spirit. Prior to the debate Corinna shared a copy of the text of President Bush's open letter to college students in support of the Persian Gulf War (Bush, 1991).

In the debate, I took the stance that the flag pledge is designed to domesticate the human spirit. But later I wrote in my journal: "How can I hold such an unpatriotic position, especially at this time of war?" I was surprised at the clarity of my position, especially since I have often been criticized for being too wishy-washy, too indecisive, too successful at seeing the reasonableness of different positions and perspectives. As I rethought my position about the flag pledge, I realized that I felt quite passionately that the automatic, unquestioning show of allegiance represented to me by the flag salute is exactly the kind of mindless social studies teaching I oppose—teaching that does not engage students in genuine thinking and reasoning, teaching that does not respect the capabilities of young people to dig into important issues in depth. And I recognized that reading Bush's statement to the college students about the Persian Gulf War had been a key stimulus that helped me clarify this position. I was not bothered by Bush's request for support for American
forces in the Gulf, but I was upset by the simplistic right versus wrong thinking he seemed to be encouraging our young people to adopt:

There is much in the modern world that is subject to doubts or questions—washed in shades of gray. But not the brutal aggression of Saddam Hussein against a peaceful, sovereign nation and its people. It's black and white. The facts are clear. The choice unambiguous. Right vs. wrong. (Bush, 1991)

Here was the President of the United States—a model citizen—encouraging college students to accept unquestioningly facile answers to complex problems rather than to analyze critically. I was insulted by the President's attitude that this kind of reasoning is sufficient in talking with our young people about grave matters such as war and peace, life and death. Bush did not discuss with the college students ways in which he had debated various positions and strategies. He did not waver in his certainty that this was the correct action. This is not my ideal of the kind of thoughtful citizens I am hoping that we educators can become and can support future citizens in becoming.

Would Carol's third graders find the President's explanations convincing? Would they accept his reasoning unquestioningly? They did not see the war in the same black and white way that Bush did. I wonder if they would argue with him and challenge his thinking if they had a chance?:

My felings about war. It is sad because it is not wrth it for amricanas ovre thar. It is not wrth lives. they should talk about and have pece.

I fell scared about the golf crisis becouse what if it moves to the united states or mexico or any contanent what would we do? would we have to move? and what if they blow up quwat? or Iraq?
How come we are having a war? Is Martin Luther King's dream ever going to come true to have peace on earth? If we have a war, are we making a sin?

I would like to know how many people are in Saudi, Arabia? And how many doctors are over there to help?
Why is there such a thing as war? Why is everybody suffering? Why did people go in the army? Are we going to die? Are we going to win or lose?

Is there ever going to be peace on earth?

Carol's Critical Incident: Learning to Be a Teacher Educator

Twelve years of teaching Communities in third grade was getting to me. In three, 20-minute social studies classes a day, I found it impossible to get the 75 third grade children engaged in learning. I tried unsuccessfully to teach the difference between a community and a country by telling and by reading fact-filled texts. There simply was not enough time to cover it all, and the children showed little interest in learning about characteristics of communities described in their textbooks. Both learners and teacher became frustrated and bored. Adoption of a new social studies series only meant this situation would continue another seven years. There was too little teaching and learning occurring in my social studies classroom.

About this time Emerson became a Professional Development School. I joined the Literacy in Science and Social Studies study group in hopes of learning how to become a more effective teacher—which meant that I had to become a learner. I took the time to read some current research articles that challenged traditional teaching of social studies. I thought about ideas like conceptual change, understanding, scaffolding, and writing to learn. I wrote and read more about teaching. I discussed my readings, thinking, and writing with university and school colleagues. I realized the importance of having longer time blocks and teaching for the understanding of big ideas rather than facts. The futility of attempting to cover the entire social studies text became apparent—and a relief—to me.

When I first began teaching the social studies methods class on campus, I continued to see myself as a learner. We read and discussed articles concerning the different disciplines included in the domain of "Social Studies." We learned about the importance of teaching history and geography and were told about the social studies curriculum frameworks in California. Through this study, I discovered that there was a name for the families, neighborhoods, and communities curriculum I had been teaching. It was called "Expanding Horizons," and there was little research
to support its widespread acceptance. I was pleased with the knowledge I was attaining. I was even applying information I had learned to my writing of a social studies unit along with the prospective teachers in the methods class.

One afternoon while helping a prospective teacher with her unit planning, I suddenly realized the importance of my being a teacher educator as well as a learner. I needed to be both! Carla needed me to share my learning with her. I had to teach her—I had to become a teacher of teachers. What led to this insight was my realization that Carla's understanding of how to teach for understanding in social studies would have a direct effect upon what and how I taught social studies. You see, Carla would be teaching students in my school. Her unit on Islands would be taught to the same children that would be in my social studies class the following year. The concepts and misconceptions of my next year's class would depend on Carla's understandings. My ability to teach her would not only effect the students she taught this year, but also her future classes—and mine. What a responsibility! I could no longer just enjoy being a learner in the methods class. I also had to teach teachers what I understood, and it was important for me to learn as much as possible to become a good teacher educator. Teaching and learning became intertwined—first in my third-grade class and now in my work in the social studies methods class.

**Corinna's Critical Incident: Brief Encounters of the Pedagogical Kind**

Why is it that as an educator I can allow fifth graders the latitude to learn and struggle to understand difficult concepts, whereas with adult learners I expect quick results? This question arose while I taught fifth-grade social studies and simultaneously worked with the undergraduate social studies methods class. I found myself in awe of fifth graders' small connections and "ahas," thrilled when students made some sense of difficult concepts such as discrimination, racism, and sexism. Yet, I became vexed when undergraduates in the methods course were not metamorphosed by readings on these same concepts.

My journal reflected disappointment with the undergraduates' resistance towards concepts such as discrimination, racism, and sexism. I felt the readings were so compelling that the
undergraduates should have been transformed immediately. Why do I know intellectually and emotionally that for fifth graders learning takes time, that a brief encounter with new knowledge cannot create deep conceptual understandings of complex ideas, yet I forget that when dealing with adults? Where did I get the idea that all it takes is several readings to counteract two to three decades of deeply entrenched ideas about the "natural order of things"? Words from McIntosh (1983), echo in my mind, reminding me of the concept of patience in teaching and learning, and change:

Gerda Lerner gave the keynote address on "Liberal Education and the New Scholarship on Women. "After her talk, I asked, "On the basis of all the work you have now done on American women's history and on the experience of Black Americans, how would you organize a basic text called American History?" She answered, "I couldn't begin to do that; it is too early. It would take a team of us, fully funded, two years just to get the table of contents organized, just to imagine how we would categorize it. "And then she said, "But don't worry, we were 6,000 years carefully building a patriarchal structure of knowledge, and we've only had 12 years to try to correct, and 12 years is nothing." (p. 21)

What Was Gained?

What was gained from teaching this course as a school/university collaboration? There were certainly additional stresses and complexities added to the course because of the collaboration. From our perspectives, collaboration for collaboration's sake was not a justification for our work. Instead, we wanted to see evidence that such collaboration resulted in a more meaningful, educative experience for all involved—teachers and prospective teachers. We did not want the experience of valuing all voices to simply be a nice experience in mutual support for one another. Instead, we wanted to create an environment that was safe for people to take intellectual risks and to try out new ways of thinking about social studies, about social studies teaching, and about themselves as citizens in a democracy. In keeping with our conceptual change framework and our desire to re-vision the social studies curriculum, we shared Giroux's (1992) vision that learning in this setting be transformative—not just for the prospective teachers but also for the practicing teachers/teacher educators:
This is not meant to suggest that the experiences that students [and practicing teachers] bring to schools [or schools of education] be merely affirmed. On the contrary, one begins with such experiences but does not treat them as undisputed nor allow them to limit what is taught. Experience needs to be viewed from a position of empowerment rather than from a position of weakness. Knowledge needs to be made meaningful in order to be made critical and transformative. The curriculum needs to be tailored to the voices that students already have so that they can extend those voices into other galaxies, which may be less familiar but are equally important as terrains of knowledge and possibility. (p. 9—italics added)

We are convinced that what was gained from this particular school/university collaboration was a uniquely powerful set of understandings developed by the course participants—both teachers and prospective teachers—about the teaching and learning of social studies and about teacher education. Examination of the responses to the course framing questions at the end of the course by course instructors, course consultants, and prospective teachers revealed an array of thoughtful yet diverse ideas about these questions. As you read the following responses to one of the framing questions, "What is social studies?" consider whether you think these responses came from course instructors, students, or course consultants. Are you hearing the voice of a university professor? a doctoral student? an experienced classroom teacher? a prospective teacher? an elementary student? Can you tell the difference? Are these participants spouting back memorized responses, or have they created personally meaningful understandings of social studies?

**Voice A: Whose?**

What is social studies? Social studies is an attempt to understand people and how they interact with each other and the world throughout the past, present, and future. Since we are all people, it is always an interpretive way of thinking that depends on one's own experiences and unique way of looking at things. One's attempt to understand this subject is always affected by personal bias. This makes it particularly important to at least try and understand multiple perspectives of any social studies issue.

Some of the fields of study included in social studies are history, sociology, political science, economics, psychology, anthropology, geography, the humanities, arts, religion,
geography.... The list is extensive and can even extend to science and language arts—for anything people try and understand is then linked to people, making it a social issue.

An important idea to keep in mind while trying to understand social studies is that it is a discipline created by people and for people. Thus, it is and has been distorted. People have often abused this field of knowledge to suit their own purposes. There are countless examples of powerful groups of people imposing their interpretations on the rest of society. One of the most tragic deals with certain groups presenting social reality without considering other, less powerful groups. These less powerful groups are presented as if they never existed—invisible in the course of human study.

A person truly interested in understanding people must take this into consideration and be particularly critical of the information they accept as reality. One must make a conscious effort to include "invisible" groups in order to make their understanding more complete. Thus, social studies is always questioning, always trying to get a more holistic interpretation of the world. Social studies by nature is an emotional discipline. Since it deals with people, it also deals with their feelings. This includes both the feelings of the people being studied and the people attempting to learn. Emotions such as outrage, joy, excitement, celebration, and injustice are all a part of understanding social studies.

Another important idea about social studies is that it is impossible to contain it - we are constantly learning about people, whether it be ourselves or others, throughout our lives.

**Voice B: Whose?**

What is social studies? Social studies is a way of seeing the world. It's a way of ordering reality which allows people—children and adults—to make sense of the world in which they live. Social studies is a socially constructed way of categorizing and managing human experience—both past and present. The important thing to remember is that the interpretations of reality which have been passed down are intimately connected to power—those who have it have a large hand in the arranging and ordering of reality. Groups which are powerless or have less power are often
underrepresented or invisible in the ordering of social reality. Their representation often only reflects their relationship to those in power—not their relationship to themselves—each other in their own right.

**Voice C: Whose?** What is social studies?

*It is content:* Drawn from the social science disciplines of history, geography, anthropology, economics, political science, sociology. Each discipline helps us develop a new lens for looking at and making sense of our human and social world. But the content goes beyond disciplinary boundaries and is intimately linked with the humanities, the arts, science, religion.

*It is about people:* Includes emotions and humanness, the ways in which people interact, humans as social beings.

*It is about daily life as a citizen:* Skills like how to balance a checkbook, get a job, vote. Understanding how food gets to us. Rules and organization of our society.

*It is about the world of humans:* Multicultural understanding and celebration, the diversity, and oneness of humans, international relations

*It is about social criticism:* oppression, analysis of social injustice, critiques of our society

*It is about action:* Ways to be a contributing citizen, ways to be an activist citizen

*It takes place throughout the school day:* Is part of the hidden as well as the explicit curriculum.

**Voice D: Whose?**

What is social studies? Social studies is a collage of various viewpoints, beliefs, and cultures which requires and allows each viewer to interpret and analyze the "big picture" based on their individual feelings, histories and time periods. Thus, social studies is life, for it allows individuals to view their past, helping them understand the present, in hopes of creating a more democratic and unified future. Thus, social studies should not be viewed as a static set of disciplines. Rather, it should be viewed as a dynamic and growing collage, which involves the overlapping of economics, anthropology, social science, and so on, as well as personal history,
dilemmas, controversy, and differing beliefs. It requires fact, but also invites interpretation and inquiry thus helping each person gain a deeper understanding of the world and his/her place in it. In short, it is only by examining the facts from each discipline, adding them to experience and viewing them from different angles/points of view, that social studies is appreciated and understood.

These four responses come from two prospective teachers (A is Penny Woodhams and D is Jennean Masters), a doctoral student (B is Corinna Hasbach's response), and a teacher educator (C is Kathy Roth). As we read over these responses and those of other participants to this question and to the other framing questions, we found that each response provided ideas that we wanted to think about and possibly integrate into our own responses. This speaks both to the quality and diversity of the responses and to the learning community we had established in the course and hoped to extend beyond the course into our teaching experiences wherever they may be.

**Conceptual Change Learning?**

As we read these responses, we were reminded of a conceptual change model of teaching and learning and ways in which our learning can be described as "radical restructuring" of our social schema. There are striking changes in each participant's responses from the pretest to the posttest; an important change that is difficult to point to directly is the sense of importance and even passion that is present in the posttest responses but absent in the pretest responses. Each of us believes our own changes to be significant and personally useful in understanding both our professional and personal lives. Our new found awareness of the complexities and subtleties of social interactions and of social injustices helps us make sense of our lives and inspires us to want to help young students develop these and other ways of understanding and appreciating our human, social world.
Learning to Re-vision Curriculum?

We are also reminded of McIntosh’s interactive phases of curricular re-vision. Most of these responses reflect a Phase 3 awareness about the reasons that minority groups and women lack power and status in the pinnacles of social success. These invisible groups in traditional disciplinary content are now visible to us. There is anger about their absence in Anglo-European versions of history, political science, psychology, geography, and so forth. But our responses go beyond anger and suggest that we are eager to change the status quo—to value and include diverse cultures and peoples in our experiences and in social studies teaching. Jennean’s view of social studies as an interactive, connected collage of various viewpoints, beliefs, and cultures captures our appreciation and valuing of the connected world below the faultline in the societal pyramid. In a collage, each part contributes to the beauty of the whole—each supports the other "for the decent survival of all." Each piece in the collage is unique and beautiful in its own right as well as in relationship to the others. In the collage of overlapping pieces that we envision, there is no dominant patch and no top and bottom. In short, we imagine a Phase 4 curriculum of inclusiveness and diversity in which there can be many winners:

[Stage 4 curriculum has] potential reconstituting power for all students and teachers. For an enormous shift in the consciousness occurs when the ordinary lives of people, including people of color as the world’s majority, are seen to constitute the main human story, and history is defined as all those elementary of the past in the multiplicities of our heritages which can make each of feel fully real in the context of education or life. In Phase Four, the question "How was it for people?" opens the study of History to every kind of humble detail. All voices count. Pedagogy shifts so that the professors' forms of knowing are not necessarily superior to the students' forms of knowing. (McIntosh, 1990, p. 7, italics added)

In closing her 1990 paper McIntosh describes two fictitious students who had experienced a "Stage Four" curriculum in which "all voices count":

Maya and Angela [the fictitious students who experienced a Phase Four curriculum] have been supported to think beyond national boundaries, recognizing people everywhere.... They have cross-cultural curiosity and commitment, trusting their
own daily experience to lead to questions about larger world patterns. They think of people in cultures other than their own as having cultural complexity and integrity, and as being unknown to them, but potentially in conversation with them. They feel a strong need to find common bonds and make some common policy amidst the diversities. *To citizens like this, we could entrust policy-making. Our choices about education will determine whether we will have such citizens.* (1990, p. 17—italics added)

Although the course did not fully explore the possibilities in a conceptual change learning community or achieve completely McIntosh's vision of a Phase Four curriculum, we know that the course moved closer to those visions as a result of our collaborative efforts. We believe that collaborative efforts like ours can begin to point the way towards more meaningful teacher education experiences that challenge all educators to think more deeply and inclusively about the content of social studies curricula and about the preparation of teachers to teach social studies. It may be Jennean and Penny who will eventually create classrooms where all voices count. To prospective teachers like Jennean and Penny we could entrust the education of our future citizens. Our choices about teacher education will determine whether we will have such teachers.
References


