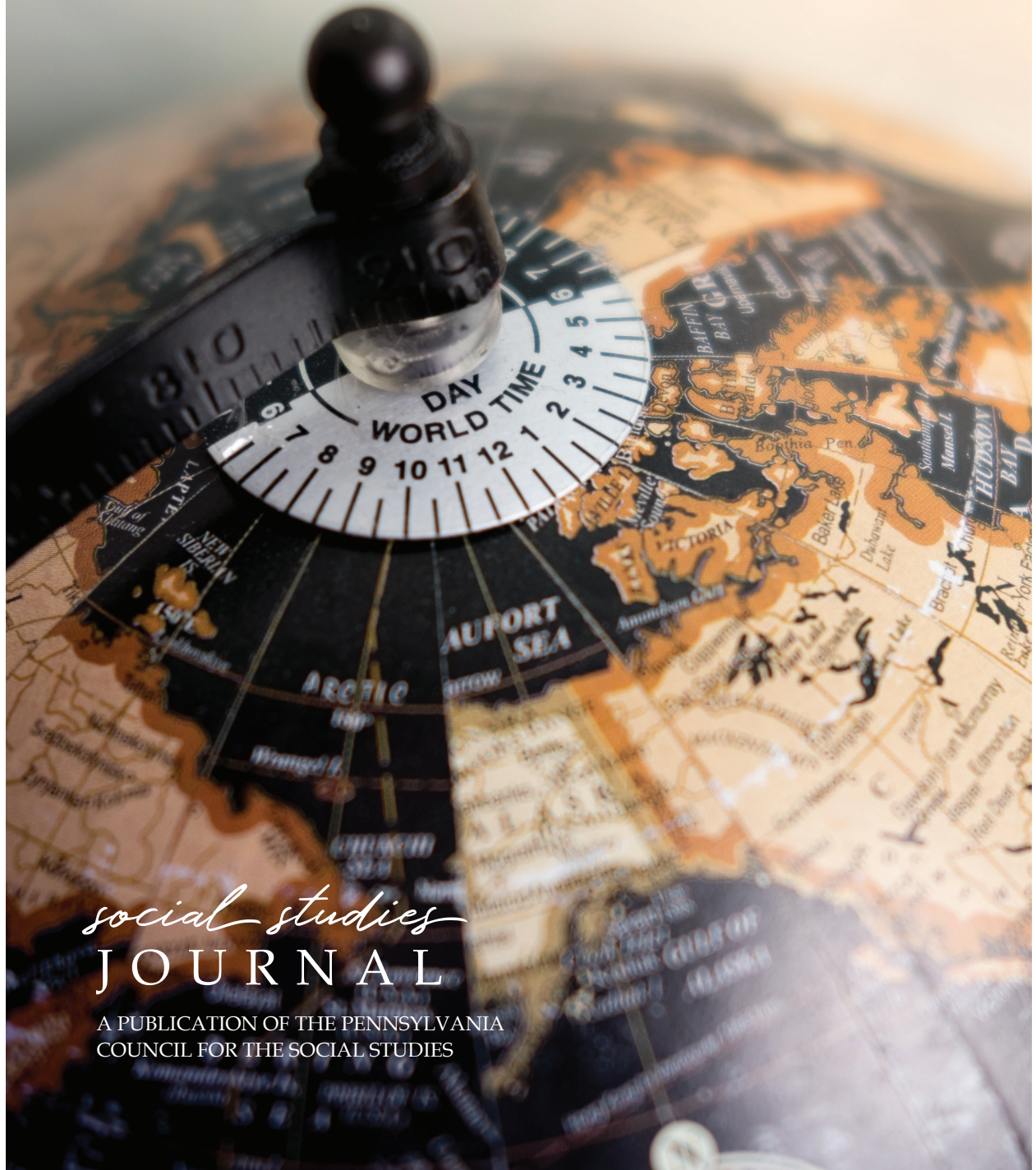


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*social studies*  
JOURNAL

A PUBLICATION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA  
COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

# *social studies* JOURNAL

Volume 37, Issue 2, Fall 2017

Editor: Jessica B. Schocker  
Associate Editor: Sarah B. Brooks

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## Guidelines for Manuscripts

### Aims and Scope

The Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies seeks to publish manuscripts in the *Journal* that focus on any of the following:

- Creative ways of teaching social studies at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels
- Research articles
- Explanations of new types of materials and/or equipment that directly relate to social studies teaching, particularly those developed and/or implemented by teachers
- Explanations of teacher developed projects that help social studies students and teachers work with community groups
- Reviews of books and other media that are relevant to the teaching of social studies
- Analysis of how other academic disciplines relate to the teaching of social studies

### Instructions for Authors

All manuscripts must adhere to the following formatting guidelines. Manuscripts that do not meet the guidelines will be returned to the author without going out for peer review. The editors of *Social Studies Journal* accept submissions on a rolling basis. However, calls for manuscripts are issued for both regular and special issues.

- Type and double-space submissions using 12-point font and one-inch margins
- Include any figures and/or images at the end of the article

- Authors are responsible for obtaining copyright permission for all images
- Average manuscript length is between five and fifteen pages, though exceptions can be made on a case-by-case basis
- Follow guidelines of the current *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*
- Do not include author name(s) or other identifying information in the text or references of the paper
- Include a separate title page that contains the title of the article, author(s) name(s), institution(s), and email address(es)
- With submission email, authors must attest that the manuscript is original, not under review elsewhere, and not published previously
- Papers must be submitted as Word documents to the editors at: editors.ssj@gmail.com

### Journal Information

*Social Studies Journal* is a biannual publication of the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies. The *Journal* seeks to provide a space for the exchange of ideas among social studies educators and scholars in Pennsylvania and beyond. The editors encourage authors both in and out of Pennsylvania to submit to the *Journal*.

All manuscripts go through a blinded peer-review process. In order to encourage and assist writers, the reviewers make suggestions and notations for revisions that are shared with the author before papers are accepted for final publication. The editors encourage authors in both K-12 and higher education settings to consider submitting to *Social Studies Journal*.

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Membership in the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies is currently free. Correspondence about membership should go to Executive Secretary, David Trevaskis: david@leapkids.com.

The *Journal* is currently available for free, open access on the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies website: www.pcssonline.org. Correspondence about editorial matters should be directed to the editors at: editors.ssj@gmail.com.

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Hard copies of the *Journal* are available upon request for a fee.

## From the Editors

This is an exciting time for *Social Studies Journal (SSJ)*. The Fall 2017 issue marks several changes for the *Journal*. First, Sarah Brooks has joined the editorial team as Associate Editor, bringing her research experience, careful attention to detail, and thoughtful perspectives to *SSJ*. We are fortunate to have her on board. Additionally, *SSJ* has a "new look"; the *Journal* boasts a new cover and editorial format, celebrating the growth experienced over the last year. *SSJ* is receiving more submissions from scholars across the country, and we are thrilled to continue to provide a quality outlet for scholars and practitioners to share their work.

The Fall 2017 issue includes articles featuring both timely and timeless social studies content. This issue opens with an invited piece by Tina Heafner: "Reading as a tool of thinking and learning in the social studies." Her piece addresses the importance of and issues with content area reading in the social studies and includes suggestions for teachers to support their students' reading. The second article, written by Mark Kissling, addresses the complexity of teaching patriotism, using the song "This Land is Your Land" as a lens for exploring how teachers do

(and could) approach teaching patriotism in elementary classrooms. Next, a piece by Corey Sell introduces a framework for pedagogical content knowledge in elementary social studies. Then, Mark Percy discusses how textbooks, when relied upon as the main source of curriculum, may inhibit deep and meaningful history instruction about the Civil War. Finally, Keyana Terry and Scott Waring share a WW2 era lesson plan using the SOURCES framework to encourage students to consider multiple historical perspectives through primary source analysis and critical discourse.

We are excited to release this issue of *SSJ* and hope our readers enjoy the articles included. We certainly enjoyed working with the authors to put this issue together. Please consider submitting any works in progress to *SSJ* for our next issue, and know that although we issue regular calls for manuscripts, we do accept submissions on a rolling basis.

Sincerely,

Jessica Schocker, Editor  
Sarah Brooks, Associate Editor

# READING AS A TOOL OF THINKING AND LEARNING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

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## Introduction

“There’s nothing more arduous than the apprenticeship of liberty.” - Alexis de Tocqueville

In a recent report published by the Stanford History Education Group, Sam Wineburg and Sarah McGrew (2017) offer evidence that suggests the importance of examining the ways in which we critically engage with information. Of particular interest was understanding how historians, fact checkers, and Stanford undergraduates used information to evaluate websites and search online for material regarding social and political issues. Their study reveals differing techniques for reading and judging the credibility of information. Historians and undergraduates read vertically; they engaged in a close read of the original source as an evaluation of content reliability. Professionally showcased information and the inclusion of scholarly references camouflaged bias and politically-charged positions while also distracting these readers from contesting information trustworthiness. In contrast, fact checkers read laterally by scanning websites and searching for patterns in key phrases through additional browsers. The fact checker’s aim was to seek out perspectives and to create a context for ideas. These strategies proved to be more reliable at querying information for accuracy and fidelity. Moreover, fact checkers effectively and more quickly identified the position articulated by the website’s backers through “focusing on what the rest of the web has to say” (p. 45). Wineburg and McGrew (2017) conjecture that the ways in which schools teach students to evaluate websites (e.g. guided questions) suggests an authoritative

template to information critiques. Rather, students should examine websites as a literal information web that is interconnected and exhibits web-like properties that perpetuate political and social positions. The latter point becomes even more contentious when we consider the manner in which search engines are mathematically orchestrated to provide readers with information that aligns with patterns in individual online behaviors. Furthermore, social media tools (e.g. Twitter – who one follows) and personal surfing behaviors allow Internet users to default to *motivated reasoning* (Clark & Avery, 2016); thus, the web of information accessed is filtered by a desire for affirmation of personal beliefs, values and ideas. While this report offers recommendations for digital literacy, there are also implications pertinent to the ways in which we teach students to engage with texts and information in social studies classrooms.

## Reading a Civic Tool: Reading to be an Informed and Engaged Citizen

Literacy in a social studies classroom is not just a skill; it’s a civic tool. A tool is something purposefully wielded by someone while a skill, at least in the literacy realm, is often referred to as something automatic that you don’t even think about. In this article, I describe how literacy in social studies is a lever for informed action when it is positioned as a tool for sense-making and discernment in the learning process. I explain how literacy is typically situated in the social studies classroom as an outcome oriented process. Even when disciplinary practices are taught, these are presented as a procedural process to be sequentially replicated with texts, such as primary and

secondary sources. However, I contend, from two decades of work and research with K-12 students and teachers, that literacy is a tool of astute thinking and learning. Reading is a sense-making process and needs to be supported in this manner to develop discerning and engaged citizens. To think, students have to be asked to be judicious consumers of information who actively and critically read as a process of understanding and questioning the world in which they live. See Figure 1 in the Appendix.

Verba et al. (1995) assert that primary skills such as reading and writing are necessary for political participation, and that increased education leads to greater political participation. Reading is necessary for students to be informed and engaged citizens (Wineburg & Reisman, 2015). However, reading should not be treated as a homogeneous skill but rather a multilayered tool that includes discernment and critique. Our aim as social studies teachers is to help students become astute consumers of information by teaching students to be critical thinkers. To be critical thinkers, students must be critical readers. Critical readers question texts by examining authors' viewpoints and motives. They seek to understand perspectives, credibility of information, and cross-reference the authenticity of ideas by reading across texts and bringing in other sources. The discerning reader is the fact checker who questions evidence and also understands their role as an active, not passive, reader.

To be critical readers, students must first be literal readers. Literal readers are able to identify explicit meaning from a text, understand the vocabulary used. This is best supported by strategies such as Important Questions (Heafner & Massey, 2012). Yet, to be literal readers, students must first read and engage with various texts. Their repertoire of knowledge depends on the volume of reading and exposure to other sources of information. The more students read on the same topic, the more likely they

are to move from novice to expert ways of thinking (Alexander, Kulikowich, & Schulze, 1994) and become novice historians and social scientists (VanSledright, 2012) who engage in the disciplinary skills exhibited by critical readers (Shanahan, Shanahan, & Misischia, 2011). Only by reading frequently and regularly will students develop fluency with content, academic vocabulary, and style of academic writing found in social studies classrooms. However, the frequency and types of opportunities students are given to read in social studies are associated with race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status (Fitchett & Heafner, 2017; Heafner & Fitchett, 2017; Heafner, 2017). Children who attend schools in high poverty and diverse communities do not have the same exposure to text or disciplinary literacy practices as their more affluent peers (Heafner & Fitchett, 2015; Heafner & Plaisance, 2016; Heafner, in press). The tool of citizenship (literacy in social studies) is segregated by access to high quality schools and teachers (Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2017, 2014a, 2014b). Thus, purposefully attending to the ways in which we can equitably support all students as readers in social studies is an important consideration for developing literacy skills essential for critical and effective citizens.

Further, to be literal readers, students must be effective readers. To be effective readers, students must also be motivated, looking for connections to oneself and the community, forming an understanding of issues in our culture, and exerting the effort needed to build new understanding. This begins with reading and makes reading central to the study of social studies. In social studies, students must have access to ample material that they can read. Teachers can leverage texts to engage students' interests to curate a motivation for reading and to create a framework for questioning that can lead to inquiry. As teachers entice students to read and write in as many ways as possible, they construct discourse spaces where students learn to articulate their thinking about texts,

grapple with meaning, and interrogate reliability. As a baseline, teachers should provide opportunities for students to read regularly and to read deeply in school. The more students read, the more likely they are to move from novice to expert ways of thinking. Surround students with more rather than less material to allow students to actively participate in ideas formative. Resist the desire to fall back on lecture or coverage because students struggle or resist reading. See Figure 2 in the Appendix.

### **Reading as Process for Thinking in Social Studies**

There are three ways to support reading in the social studies. Each has benefits but also limitations. Reading in each context suggests that reading can be an outcome, a procedure, and a sense-making process.

#### **Reading as a (Standardized) Outcome: Reading for “Right” Thinking.**

- Do reading tasks engage students in authentic intellectual work?
- Do reading activities promote a growth or fixed mindset?

Students too rarely think because we often fail to give them opportunities to engage in authentic intellectual work and we rarely create reading spaces that require discernment and astute thinking. Thinking is arduous and uncomfortable, particularly if the texts students are required to read offer conflicting and alterative perspectives from one’s own positionality (Chikkatur, 2013; Epstein, 2009; VanSledright, 1998). In a research study from almost a decade ago, in which I lead a technology-mediated study of multi-genre primary sources, a student expressed his dislike of a unit during an interview commenting: “I haven’t had to think for eleven years, why should I start now.” In unpacking his frustrations, he articulated, “You think for me, so I don’t

have to...” (Friedman & Heafner, 2007, p. 199), suggesting a preference for lecture because the teacher provided all the right answers (that were on the test) and summarized history in a simple, effortless format. The messiness that sources created and the requirements for reading, writing, and talking about texts overwhelmed him. He complained that he “didn’t want to work this hard” and that he “hadn’t been expected to do so” in all of his prior social studies classes. His resistance was rooted in his belief regarding the role of a teacher (conveyer of knowledge) and the role of a student (passive receiver of information). Ironically, this study sought to engage students in the analysis of digital sources early in the age of Web 2.0. Given the consideration of information as a “web” of authority and manipulation (Caulfield, 2017), there is a need to expect students to read laterally and to push students to engage in practices of discomfort that facilitate cognitive skill development (Sousa, 2016).

Another contributing factor to student perceptions of reading as a difficult process, is how reading is presented in social studies classrooms. Doty, Cameron, and Barton (2003) suggest, “Reading in social studies is not so much about reading skills as it is about how to use reading as a tool of thinking and learning” (p.1). However, when students are assigned to read a text, far too often students are reading for “right” thinking. For example, students are given the *Declaration of Independence* and asked read to identify the colonists’ grievances against the King that would compel them to seek separation from Great Britain. In the Founding Document, there are twenty-seven complaints listed against King George III. Students who read closely will find the “right” answers. Text within this task is viewed as containing explicit information, and comprehension as a means of having the predetermined “right” understanding of that information. Reading for “right” thinking suggests that novice readers who can’t find the answers are not



good readers and lack the skills to be good readers. It situates reading as a fixed outcome of intelligence. Comprehension of text, such as this Founding Document (a requirement in many state social studies standards), is something that one has or does not (perhaps to a varying degree) as a result of reading the text. Emphasis is given to close reading in search of the answers the teacher is seeking. This perception of reading propels a fixed mindset (Dweck, 2016), which undermines students' motivation to read for lack of ability to successfully replicate the teacher's thinking.

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propels a fixed mindset (Dweck, 2016), which undermines students' motivation to read for lack of ability to successfully replicate the teacher's thinking. See Figure 3 in the Appendix.

To clarify a general misconception, motivation and ability are not equivalent. Ability is defined in a fixed mindset as intelligence—a measured and pre-determined trait that is not malleable. Motivation refers to what a student will attempt, yet ability is defined as what a person can do (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996); consequently, motivation has a two-fold purpose in this example. First, students will not choose to read a text or continue to read a text if they believe it exceeds their capabilities (Schunk, 1991). If students expect failure, they will avoid reading because they do not believe they have the skills to comprehend the text. Second, when reading assignments are designed in such a manner to derive a standardized outcome, e.g. a "right" answer, students fear reading and often internalize that they are poor readers. An outcome oriented approach to reading affects socio-emotional attributes of learning. Failure for students who do attempt the reading only to find the wrong answers suggests they cannot think like the expert (e.g. the teacher or the historian) and are inadequate readers. To avoid being wrong and to protect their sense of worth or personal value (Covington, 1984), students do not attempt the reading or wait for the teacher to tell them answers and what to think about the text. Authoritative thinking manifests often as a student "popcorn" read-aloud and teacher question-answer session that remains silently filled with blank faces. The teacher is perplexed as to why students don't know after they just read the text together and the instructional-decision making default response is to infer behavior or reading issues. In this context, the inability of students to identify the standardized information expected suggests to novice readers that they lack the ability to think like the teacher, and thus, must rely on

the teacher to think for them. Their unwillingness to think is because they believe that they cannot think like the expert and, therefore, are not good at social studies. These sentiments also are affective foundations for student dislike of subject matter (Wellingham, 2009). Thus, the problem is compounded—teachers infer reading difficulties and students internalize failure.

**Reading as a Procedural Process: Reading to Think Like an Expert.** To compensate for students' lack of comprehension success, scholars recommend general reading strategies (e.g. MAIN idea or GIST) (Swanson, Reed & Vaughn, 2016; Shanahan, 2009; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008) and disciplinary practices (e.g. find evidence and make a claim) that provide a procedural approach to reading text (De La Paz, 2005; De La Paz, et. al., 2014; Monte-Sano, 2010; 2012; Reisman, 2012; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2013). Comprehension is seen as a stable, relatively uniform procedure. The good reader accesses a fixed set of strategies to arrive successfully at identifying the meaning of the text; whereas, the mock reader (as Wineburg, 2001, calls students) lacks sufficient expertise with reading strategies and will not fully comprehend the text. From a motivational standpoint, the nature of the task, defined as the procedures, social organization and products that each task requires, regulates what students learn and how students learn (Doyle, 1983). If students perceive a text as boring or too difficult, they will avoid the reading; whereas, if they believe readings are enjoyable, require a moderate amount of effort, and are reasonably challenging, students will approach the text. For struggling readers, procedures are not enough to ensure their comprehension success, deflating their sense of self-worth as a reader (Swanson, Reed & Vaughn, 2016). Although they take on the persona of an expert and *read like a historian*, mock readers cannot make sense of the reading on their

own (Wineburg, 2001). This leads to either reading avoidance or dependency upon others, specifically the teacher, for comprehension and content support.

Even with a structured process (e.g. reading like a historian) and well-defined steps, students may successfully replicate disciplinary strategies in identifying evidence from texts; however, there is no guarantee that inferential meaning will accurately represent findings by historians or social scientists. Expert knowledge underling the ability to recognize information has been characterized as involving the development of organized conceptual structures, or schema, that guide how ideas are represented and understood. When viewing images or texts (any form of data associated with a content discipline), the information noticed by novices is quite different from that of experts (Wineburg, 2001; VanSledright, 2011). One dimension of acquiring greater competence is “learning how to see” (e.g. noticing). Research on disciplinary expertise suggests the importance of providing students with learning experiences that specifically enhance their abilities to notice meaningful patterns of information (Shanahan, & Shanahan, 2008). Patterns form the cognitive content anchors that Brophy and Alleman (2008) describe as essential to understanding the academic language of a discipline. Comprehension as a procedural process is a step toward building reading efficacy, stamina and independence but doesn't engage readers in authentic intellectual work in social studies.

While the task of reading the *Declaration of Independence* requires literal reading and has its purpose, it doesn't give students the opportunity to think or to practice authentic intellectual work (King, Newmann, and Carmichael, 2009). Rather it positions reading as an information gathering process to be checked for accuracy. Even with guided reading notes or reading for disciplinary practices students may be able to offer evidence of grievances but will not

inferentially connect to the issues that underscore the meaning and nuances of language. What happens to the struggling or reluctant reader who lacks the reading stamina to finish the text or fails to engage skimming as a fact-finding tool? Moreover, *efficient* readers read so closely that they fail to infer the intent of writing for an international audience and the subtext of solicitation to join humankind's fight against tyranny. Years of close reading training (the primary strategy purported in the Common Core State Standards for ELA) would lead students to miss the global influence of the document. Close reading, the careful, analytic search for pattern, detail, and nuance, is essential to any thoughtful curriculum (Shanahan, 2012), but it does have limitations. As valuable as close reading can be in supporting literal meaning, it does not always facilitate inferential reading or reading laterally. "When the goal is to quickly get up to speed, the close reading of a source, when one doesn't yet know if the source can be trusted (or is what it says it is)—proves to be a colossal waste of time" (Wineburg & McGrew, 2017, p. 44). This calls to mind the way expert witnesses are called for prosecution and defense. Given the same set of data, witnesses arrive at different conclusions; so, why do we expect kids to be so narrow in their definitions and understandings of texts? Reading in social studies is more than being an efficient reader.

#### **Reading as a Sense-Making Process: The Discerning and Astute Reader.**

"Citizenship is best cultivated when students learn the critical skills of historical investigation and draw their own conclusions supported by evidence drawn from primary sources"--Larry Cuban, Educational Historian (2002)

Comprehension of another's (the expert's) thinking is valuable but is not the same as original generation. I situate this as arrive at thinking (as found in sense-making) in

comparison to teacher-given thinking in both outcome and procedural thinking processes. If a student's reasoning, and therefore the meaning behind their utterance, is limited to *because the teacher said so*, or *the standards require it*, or *the standardized test values that kind of thing* or *the smart student said it*, then the sense in which students can be said to know meaning or content, is quite fragile. If we think of our text interpretations as the "expression of a mental undertaking - that reveals how we think the world is and that commits us to certain implications - then our statements are a kind of obligation" (Brandom, 2000, p. 9). If, *because the teacher said so* is all that sits behind a student's claim, that student has obliged themselves to the source of knowledge - to the authoritative figure - with limited obligation to their thinking about the referents of their statements and their implications - in this case, the grievances listed in the *Declaration of Independence* derived from guided reading notes or the circumstances and events leading up to the *Declaration of Independence* as outlined in the teacher's lecture. What underpins students' claims (e.g. notes or lecture) is very shallow indeed. Personally derived insights have longevity, greater applicability, and versatility in new contexts; whereas, forged reasoning is repeated from an authority (e.g. the teacher or historian) and is not generated. While creativity of thought may not be present in the teacher-given context, it can be curated in the sense-making process. Meaning, as a mode of discernment, is understood as a network of "if...then..." reasoning. Meaning-making is a text-to-world correspondence where meaning is just the mechanism in the world that the reader creates connections. See Figure 4 in the Appendix.

Reading as sense-making positions text comprehension as a purposeful decision-making process about what a reader might infer. Let us first consider what is privileged in the ways we approach reading in the social studies classroom. In Reading for the Right

Answer (or reading as an outcome), the text is privileged. In Sense-making, the reader is privileged. The job of the teacher is to keep the reader connected to reality, "sense-making," rather than abandoning the text completely in favor of background knowledge and/or unsubstantiated opinions. Reading as a sense-making process does not depend on the reader arriving at any one particular "right" answer but rather seeks to engage the reader in thinking with the text and to view themselves as discerning and astute consumers of information. As students read, their minds work to figure out what a text *could* mean, including differing hypotheses. Hypothesizing becomes the Intellectual work of comprehension and moves reading from an information gathering approach to reading as inquiry. Constructing knowledge, (e.g. the focus of reading as a procedural process), alone is not enough. The mere fact that a student procedurally arrives at identifying evidence and forming an argument may (re)produce a solution to a problem but there is no guarantee that the solution is adequate or valid. Authentic intellectual work requires construction of text-dependent knowledge guided by disciplined inquiry. By this, learners "use a prior knowledge base, strive for in-depth understanding rather than superficial awareness, and develop and express their ideas and findings through elaborated communication" (Wineburg & McGrew, 2017, p. 44). Reading inquiry tasks expect students to use discernment, higher-level thinking, interpretation, and/or problem solving to figure out the possible (visible and hidden) meanings of a text and to leverage this knowledge to construct meaning beyond success in school (King, Newmann, and Carmichael, 2009).

By recognizing the relationship among ideas and details, texts can create space for sense-making as students connect meaning to the world in which they live. In this context, readers read to interpret without judgment of accuracy. They read to explore

meaning and safely confront the limits of their understanding. They read as active and astute consumers of information; they read to make sense of the text within society and cultures. Tasks are open-ended and serve to motivate learners through choice, challenge, control, collaboration, constructive comprehension, and consequences (Turner & Paris, 1995). If misinterpretations are made, collaborative deliberation can create thinking space for students to share differences of interpretation as well as their values and perceptions. Moreover, it removes the criticism of presentism that inhibits students from considering texts from their cultural frames. Students can grapple with the contradiction of slaveholding colonies with declarative statements of equality for all men and lists of evidence of tyranny and oppression of the rights of man in the *Declaration of Independence*. This process extends C3 inquiry (NCSS, 2013) through consumption of complex and difficult text. Inquiry is not a procedural process, but rather a dispositional stance toward texts, ideas, and experiences. It is a willingness to wonder, to question, to seek answers, and to engage in collective thinking about content, information, evidence, and texts. Inquiry drives the discerning reader and sense-making of informational texts. In this way, the shared responsibility of reading as articulated in the College, Career and Civic Life (C3) Framework (NCSS, 2013) is achieved through text-inspired curiosity, disciplinary practices, and critical thinking.

As an example, suppose students openly disagree with the quality of a source (for example, *Communist Manifesto*) because they find it boring, problematic to navigate, academically dense (e.g. filled with unfamiliar language). Would the reader's perspective be considered in a social studies classroom? Would the text be critiqued or considered a classic? Procedural steps define how the reader will complete the task but avoid the issue of students' unwillingness to read. Moreover, procedural approaches to

comprehension do not account for the identity of the reader. Crocco, Halvorsen, Jacobsen, and Segall (2017) find that adolescents do not use a uniform practice of identifying and interpreting evidence across texts. Their critique and value of evidence varies depending on students' sociocultural identities, outside (of the source), and students' perceptions of the type of text. Astute readers need to do more than pull out information from a text or dichotomize evidence as either good or bad. Instead, texts must become information levers to be manipulated, questioned and critiqued on a "continuum of credibility" (Crocco, Halvorsen, Jacobsen, & Segall, 2017, p. 70).

If we consider motivations to read, we must also consider the manner in which educators curate motivation (Wellingham, 2009). The prevailing question, *How do teachers motivate students?*, particularly minority students implies that students are somehow dependent, incapable of self-motivation, and in need of help from a more powerful other—the authority (e.g. the teacher—the outcome oriented approach to text). Labeling unmotivated students as poor readers heightens our perception of students as motivationally dysfunctional, and increases our tendency not to trust their perspective. Banks (1993) termed this deficit mindset as cultural deprivation, while Dweck (2016) frames it as a fixed mindset. The fact that an inordinately high number of struggling and reluctant students come from high poverty and diverse communities should cause us to reflect on how we attempt to support students' motivations to read. Students' perspectives of texts as boring or irrelevant should not be dismissed but should be thoughtfully considered as reflective of the dispositional stances all readers have about texts at some point. Exploring more deeply the rationales for why students choose to read some texts and not others, may help guide choices in texts to provide more culturally inclusive readings

and to create space for sense-making in the social studies classroom.

Moreover, students need equitable opportunities to learn with texts and effective reading supports. Swanson, Reed, and Vaughn (2016) have found, "students can and will read when they receive high quality instruction that embeds literacy in the learning of content" (p. 342). Nurturing the willingness to read also demands a shift in mindset, to that of a growth mindset (Dweck, 2016); one in which students and teachers believe that reading and thinking are malleable tools that can be enhanced with effort, time, and access to engaging and culturally responsive texts. Readers cannot effectively replicate expert thinking without practice and opportunities to read and think (Wellingham, 2009). Reading as a sense-making process supports socio-cultural learning. Students construct meaning from prior experiences. They read to accomplish their own social purposes. And, students read to respond to the social purposes of others, including readers and authors. In this approach to social studies texts, students are social actors and meaning-making is responsive to the ideas presented by others and those derived from their own cultural frames and social context.

As another example, let us consider reading as a procedural process. Even though sourcing may lead a reader to identify the author's perspective, it will not directly guide the student to question the quality of the author's viewpoint. Although disciplinary practices provide a framework for organizing and making sense of the human experience, these "can both illuminate our world and block our view" (Levstik, 1995, p. 114). Therefore, the responsibility for the quality and creditability of a source resides not only with the reader, but also with the author of the text. Mock readers frequently find assigned texts boring because they are difficult, and irrelevant because they are culturally incongruent (Bartolomé, 1994; Epstein, 2009). If we judge the success or

failure of a text on whether or not a reader will accept the set of attitudes and qualities which the author's language asks the reader to assume (e.g. viewing the world from a specific socio-economic or cultural frame), then the quality of the text (and the interpretive meaning that ensues) varies depending on the cultural frames of the readers (Levstik, 1995). This mirrors the approach/avoid motivational challenges described earlier. When texts conflict with students' cultural identity, students resist the task and will avoid the text. According to Epstein (2009), how adolescents read, interpret and respond to U.S. History is critically influenced by students' sociocultural identity. Furthermore, the Rand Report (2002) describes learning as interplay between text, task and reader, which are situated within a socio-cultural frame. This interplay and associated cultural frames have significant implications for the choices of texts teachers make in social studies classrooms. As Appendix A of the Common Core State Standards (2010) claims, what students read is more important than how they read. Thus, the nature of the reading task and student perception of the importance of the text become key factors influencing student motivation for approaching or avoiding reading (Blumenfeld, Mergendoller, & Swarthout, 1987; Eccles et al., 1983).

**Reading as Tool for Sense-Making Takes Time and Requires Meaningful Texts.** Another consideration in selecting texts includes the readability of texts. Selecting the right length of and kinds of texts for students is also important. Complex content readings should typically use shorter text length because of the effortful, focused and demanding nature of the text's content and structure. The texts you (the social studies teacher) choose need to be worth reading and accessible to all readers. Multi-genre informational texts provide additional layers of evidence that can be used to support reading when inquiry is the primary

objective. Educators should look for texts that contain compelling content while leaving some inferential gaps for students to fill in. My colleague, Dixie Massey, and I have co-authored numerous short texts that are specifically designed to invite readers into content through texts and to engage students and teachers in inquiry as a co-constructed, shared learning with text. For short text ideas I recommend our *Strategic Reading* series in U.S. and World History as well as our *Seeds of Inquiry* series in U.S. and World History. For students with reading difficulties or the reluctant reader, I suggest *Beginning Inquiry: Short Texts for Inexperienced Readers of U.S. History*.

In literacy, the Common Core State Standards are drawing a lot of attention to text complexity. The most important components in text complexity are realizing that it does not just mean increasing the Lexile level of a text and that text complexity is a new way of describing text. This is distinguished from the former way of describing the challenge of text by using the term "text difficulty." The emphasis here is that we aren't just giving students texts that have higher Lexile levels. However, thoughtful planning holds the key to student success with complex texts. In fact, instruction with complex texts will initially require more teacher modeling, scaffolding, and support as well as responsive release. With responsive release, we give students what they can handle which implies moving at varying paces and in different directions. As students develop reading stamina, comprehension skills, and reading efficacy, complexity of texts can be gradually increased. However, teacher support of reading is a constant.

Additionally, if we want students to be able to read better and write more coherent arguments in social studies, then we have to attend to reading time. It isn't just an issue for elementary students. Because older students' time is divided up between so many topics, they often get very little

exposure to a large amount of texts or a lot of time to read such texts. Thus, students settle for skimming and grabbing what they hope is a coherent argument. Amount of time spent reading matters--and this is not a topic that comes up very often in middle or high school social studies classes.

### **Recommendations for Instructional Practice**

In closing, I offer a few recommendations for how you can support reading as a sense-making process in your social studies classroom.

**Teach students to evaluate the questions they ask.** Asking questions is an evolving process and one in which student thinking should begin to initiate questioning. Questions become more compelling and facilitate further study. Yet, many of the questions posed, particularly when students are asked to evaluate texts are provided by teachers (e.g. the outcome thinking process). When outcome-focused reading is the aim, teachers tend to rely on teacher question-answer (Q-A) sessions. When teachers pose questions about texts in the Q-A format, they often tend to focus on lower order questions and rarely engage students in higher order thinking questions (Swanson, et. al., 2015). Regardless of the discipline, students have to know the questions to ask of the text and of their own thinking. In that way, questioning is a general approach, but the questions that one discipline asks are not the same as another discipline. For example, in *How to Read Literature Like an English Professor*, the author talks about the meaning of meals in text. I had never considered the meaning of meals prior to reading this text. It was not a question that I knew to ask. Simply by knowing that question, I now tend to ask more and different questions about relationships between characters when I read literature. Similarly, students need to learn to ask questions by identifying the types of questions disciplinary experts would ask.

Reading as a procedural process uses discipline specific questions (e.g. Who is the author? When was the text written?) to guide students' understanding of text content but also models the types of questions experts would ask. Exposure to these questions is a progression in learning. While these are questions that can learned in a procedural approach to reading, thinking about the questions we ask of texts is a metacognitive process necessary for teaching how to question texts. For this latter approach, I recommend an instructional approach, *Questioning the Text* (Massey & Heafner, 2016). This method leads students to identify and classify questions they ask and compare these with questions social scientists pose. Students begin to understand that questions are generally evaluative, interpretive, and explicative in nature. They also learn questioning as a strategic and purposeful process driven by motives of the reader. The goal is not to answer questions but to generate questions from a disciplinary heuristic. See Figure 5 in the Appendix.

As part of the thinking process, students map questions onto text. Once questions are mapped onto texts, readers sort and filter questions. The aim is to get students to consider the types of questions they are asking of text. Categories (columns) for classifying questions are not predefined and should be created together. Discussion becomes an interactive process to identify commonalities of questions and explore motives (the reasoning behind) for each question and question type. Think Alouds are also critical tools in unpacking individual reasoning. These are used to do more than identify background knowledge associated with content, they are purposefully designed to be a metacognitive exercise to guide students in reflecting on the active contributions of readers to text meaning and the influence of socio-cultural frames of readers and authors. Peer read-alouds are also a useful format for supporting reading as

sense-making in small groups or thinking teams.

After thinking aloud and sorting questions, students compare thinking with historian's findings. They identify patterns and divergences in thinking. Many of the students' questions will reside at a surface level; whereas, experts' questions will reveal problems and situations through functional thinking about their field. Experts discern import details among a flood of information found in texts (Wellingham, 2009). Experts talk to texts in a way that novices don't know how to do yet. In time and through comparisons of thinking, rather than focusing on "right thinking" or "right answers", students can explore progressions of their questioning and a metacognitive understanding of knowledge processes.

**Slow down and build stamina with short texts.** Provide focused, in-depth learning opportunities for students to read engaging social studies texts. Don't skip the stories. Often stories are viewed as too "slow" for the pace required for content coverage, particularly in middle and high school classes; yet, stories open up opportunities for connections with the emotions and living conflicts. As Levstik (1995) suggests, narrative writing has an important place in social studies classrooms. Moreover, most novices remember in story episodes and stories increase content retention and connects with schema (Sousa, 2016). Although the pace is slower, stories and short texts: a) have a better chance of motivating students, b) ensure reading and interacting with material has a greater likelihood of being memorable, c) allow students to learn to take in information through reading, rather than limiting them to always going to a video source or a source where someone has interpreted the information, and d) do more to increasing reading stamina than lengthy texts.

**Allow time for reasoning and processing phases.** Far too often students complain about the volume of reading, not

because it's too much, but rather the timeframe that texts are assigned do not afford them time to process and personally make sense of their reading. Learning from texts is a winding pathway rather than a race. Students also need opportunities to ask questions that would lead to other texts. They should always have the disposition of where would I go next to answer my questions. These inquiry pathways can be supported with a wider array of texts through text sets. Help students to manipulate artifacts and primary documents, to engage in concrete activities, to approach topics from varied perspectives, and to think about and synthesize understanding in personal ways.

**Help students learn how to handle the texts that I as the teacher use regularly.** If I use textbook, then I want to assess how a student uses the text. If I use primary sources, then I want to know how students handle those sources. Such assessment is probably best accomplished through think-alouds and/or asking students to document how they think, not just how they respond to prompts. Also, consider what they do without background knowledge. Advanced students often have a lot of background information but that may hinder them from really thinking (c.f. Wineburg, 2001).

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**Engage students frequently with texts.** Provide multiple opportunities to study and read the same content to deepen



understanding. Remember students learn best when they can: a) build content anchors with background knowledge, b) connect content with what they already know, c) make connections to current topics and link content to own lives, d) actively question and develop their own conclusions, and e) talk with peers to construct ideas and points of view.

**Question what you assign students to read.** “If we want an engaged citizenry, then we need engaged readers” (Wolk, 2010, p. 10). If our goal is to nurture students’ love of social studies, it begins with the texts we select. Nurturing a love of reading and reading as a life-long learning skill begins with appealing texts. Using status quo texts will “continue to teach kids to hate reading and to see education as irrelevant” (Wolk, 2010, p. 10). Short texts, graphic novels, picture books, and historical novels invite students into content and can

lead to inquiries (Massey & Heafner, 2015, 2017). These are the stories that captivate readers. For example, the graphic novel, *Dogs of War*, inspired one reader to ask, “Why and how are dogs used in war?” which initiated a line of inquiry that led to many more texts including primary sources and densely boring texts. However, interest and curiosity mitigated stamina to read these complex texts.

#### **Author’s Note**

I want to acknowledge with gratitude the ongoing dialogue with my colleague and friend, Dr. Dixie Massey at the University of Washington. Our continued discourse led to many of the ideas discussed in this article. Our shared inquiry continues to challenge my thinking and understanding of literacy and social studies. Thanks for the many years of collaboration.

## Appendix

Figure 1. Reading as a Tool of Thinking and Learning

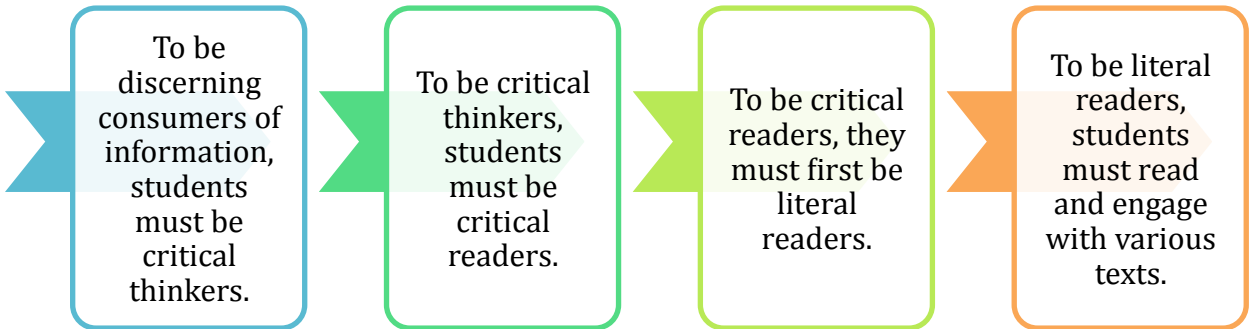


Figure 2. Reading is an Essential Tool of Social Studies

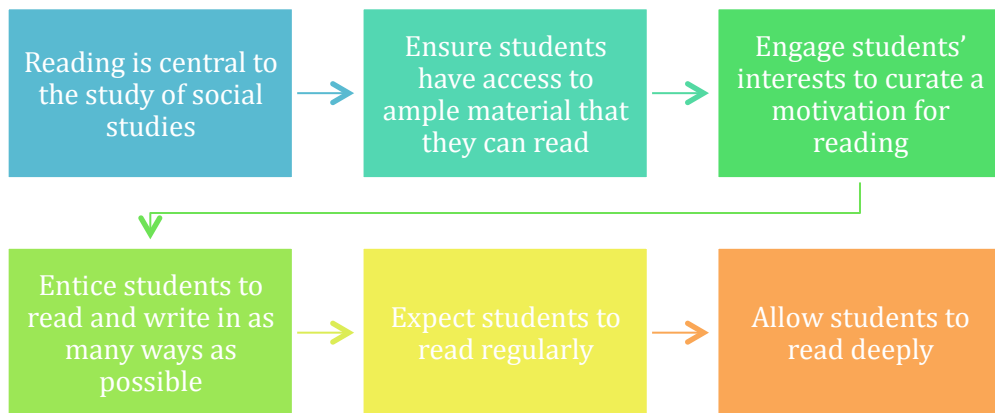


Figure 3. The Motivational Challenges of Reading as an Outcome

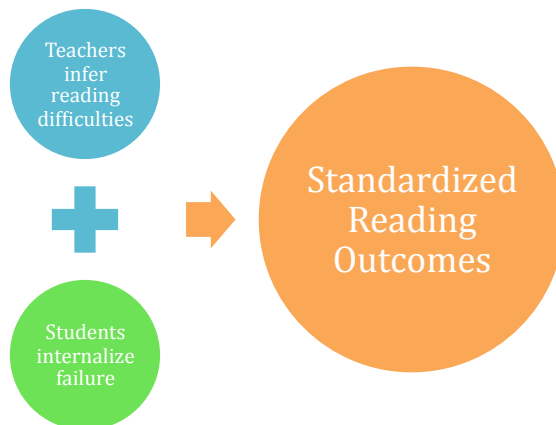


Figure 4. Comprehension as Teacher-Given or Arrived at Thinking

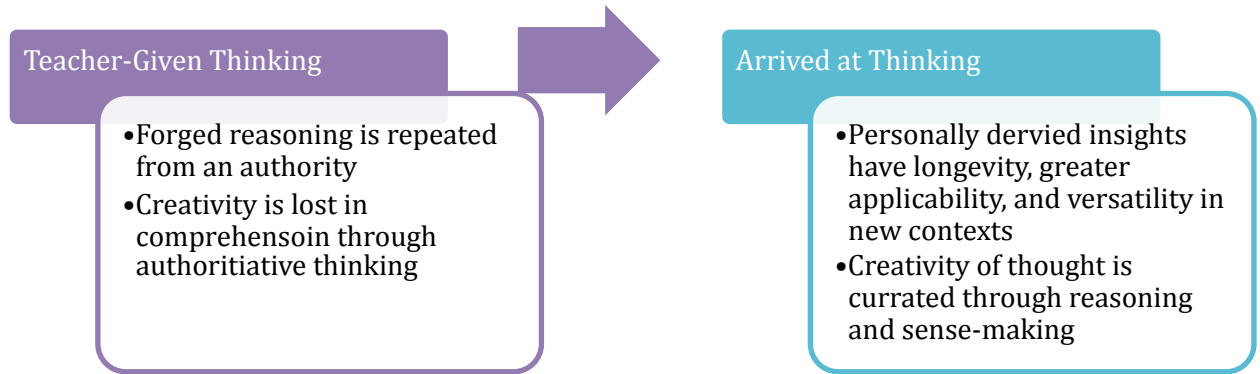
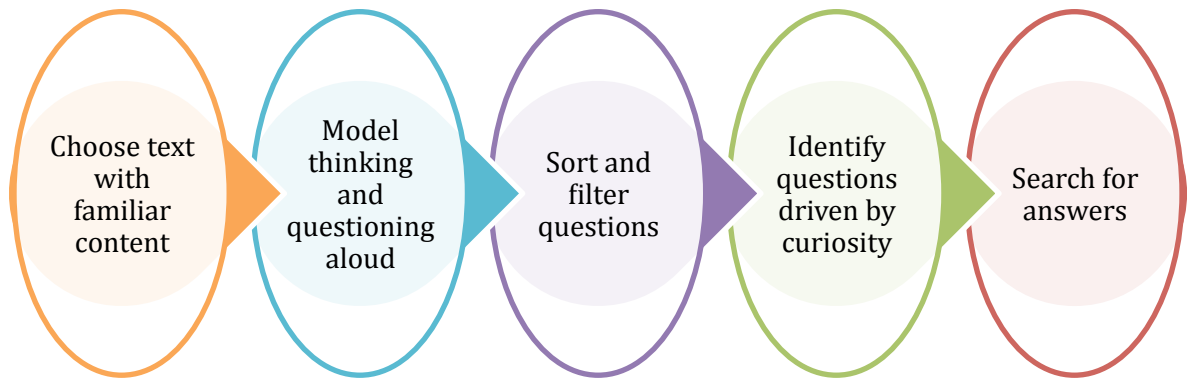


Figure 5. Questioning the Text



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## "I STOOD THERE WONDERING IF": TEACHING THE COMPLEXITY OF PATRIOTISM IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES

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In my first semester of graduate school at Michigan State University (MSU), a professor assigned me to investigate the history of a school-related artifact of my choosing. Interested in both folk music and the teaching of patriotism, I chose to study "This Land Is Your Land" in U.S. schools. I knew the song was penned by Woody Guthrie in 1940, near Times Square, as a frustrated response to Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" (see Santelli, 2012), but I also knew that I didn't learn any of that context around the song when I first sang it in elementary school music class. As my hunch was that most Americans were familiar with the song, I wondered if it was due to a non-descript schooling experience similar to mine.

My project—which continues today, ten years later—has yielded fascinating results. Surely not all public schools currently teach the song, but many do, and almost certainly the majority of them have over the past five decades (Kissling, 2013). The primary reason for this is that since 1959, the song has been printed in numerous music textbooks. Once students began learning it in music class, it quickly became commonplace at school gatherings and performances of patriotic plays. For example, on the morning of March 13, 1975, students in schools across the United States sang "This Land Is Your Land" as the opening activity and theme song for the first annual national "Music In Our Schools Day" celebration. The

song was picked for its wide popularity and its patriotic overtones that fit with the country's upcoming bicentennial the next year.

But the text of the song that was distributed to schools for Music In Our Schools Day—like so many music textbooks from 1959 to the present—only included four stanzas, what I call the "traditional" verses:

*This land is your land, this land is my land  
From California to the New York Island,  
From the Redwood Forest, to the Gulf Stream  
waters,  
This land was made for you and me.*

*As I went walking that ribbon of highway  
And saw above me that endless skyway,  
And saw below me the Golden Valley, I said:  
This land was made for you and me.*

*I roamed and rambled, and followed my footsteps  
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts,  
And all around me, a voice was sounding:  
This land was made for you and me.*

*When the sun come shining, then I was strolling  
In wheat fields waving, and dust clouds rolling;  
The voice was chanting as the fog was lifting:  
This land was made for you and me.*

Guthrie's two other original stanzas were omitted:

*Was a big high wall there that tried to stop me  
A sign was painted said: Private Property  
But on the back side it didn't say nothing  
This land was made for you and me.*

*One bright sunny morning in the shadow of the  
steeple  
By the relief office I saw my people*

*As they stood hungry, I stood there wondering if  
This land was made for you and me.*<sup>1</sup>

These “nontraditional” verses are noticeably different from the traditional ones. They engage topics such as private property and a relief office, and the last one questions *if* this land was made for you and me. So as a part of my graduate school project, I began to wonder why students in 1959 and 1975 and the late 1980s (when I was in elementary school) weren’t privy to all of these verses. And, I was curious why and how current teachers teach the song: was there still no “wondering if,” and if so, why?

The semester after I started my project, through MSU and personal contacts (I grew up in Mid-Michigan), I found four public elementary school teachers (from four different schools within ten miles of each other but in three different school districts) that taught “This Land Is Your Land”: one in Lansing, Michigan’s capital city; one in East Lansing, where MSU is located; and two in Okemos, the relatively affluent suburb where I grew up. Beth, Gail, Janet, and Samantha (pseudonyms) were White females who had been teaching for 10-30 years. Beth, Janet, and Samantha were music teachers across multiple elementary grade levels, while Gail was the general curriculum teacher for a K-1 classroom. Each of the teachers generously agreed to one interview in her classroom with me about why and how she teaches “This Land Is Your Land.”<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this article is to share

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<sup>1</sup> Guthrie wrote different versions of the song (Santelli, 2012). Here I share his typed original version with handwritten edits, which I first saw in Pete Seeger’s book *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?* (1997).

<sup>2</sup> I also traded a few emails with each teacher prior to our interview.

what I learned and consider its implications for elementary social studies teaching. I begin with a brief discussion of two relevant concepts—America/n and patriotism—and then examine why and how the teachers teach the song. Throughout I raise questions for teachers and teacher educators to consider, and I conclude with a charge to trouble traditional teaching of “This Land Is Your Land.”

### Framing this Inquiry

Upon returning to the United States after years living in France, James Baldwin wrote, “No one in the world seems to know what [America] describes, not even we motley millions who call ourselves Americans” (1961, p. 17). Following Baldwin, I wonder how people—especially students—make sense of (or “construct”) what America is and what it means to be American. Through what Eisner (1985) calls the explicit, implicit, and null curricula, schools play a big role in this construction since U.S. teachers teach students daily about American government, history, literature, popular culture, etc.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, many students pledge allegiance daily as U.S. flags are common sights in and out of schools. Indeed, throughout the country’s history, U.S. schools have

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<sup>3</sup> Paraphrasing Eisner, the explicit curriculum is what is *intended* (by teachers, standards, textbooks, and so forth) for students to learn. The implicit curriculum is what students learn *unintentionally* while the explicit curriculum is enacted. The null curriculum is what students learn from what is omitted in the explicit curriculum. The implicit and null curricula, taken together, are sometimes referred to as the hidden curriculum.



focused on teaching “America/n,” often through the lens of patriotism (Bohan, 2005; Koch, 1996; O’Leary, 1999; Westheimer, 2007a).<sup>4</sup>

One way that students learn about patriotism in the earliest grades is through music. “This Land Is Your Land” is one of many songs that typically resides in the mainstream elementary school curriculum. It is my contention, however, that students learn more than just the names, tunes, and lyrics of these songs. Woven into the learning of them is an unstated curriculum that is powerfully, and often implicitly, educative about America/n.

Patriotism—as both concept and action—is complex (e.g., Bodnar, 1996). A common contemporary definition of patriotism is “love for and loyalty to one’s country.” This definition, though, raises different ideas for different people. If an American denounced the U.S. Congress when it declared war on Iraq in 2003, was she exhibiting love for and loyalty to her country? Without even parsing out what “love for” and “loyalty to” mean, there are distinct ways of reading this action. It might be argued

that she was unpatriotic by challenging the decisions of those elected to lead her. It might also be argued that she was patriotic by exercising her First Amendment right to free speech.

Westheimer (2007b) offers two patriotism “umbrellas” (pp. 173-8). Authoritarian patriotism features the belief that one’s country is inherently better than other countries and, as a result, its citizens should support and follow, without questioning, the policies of the officials who run the country. The other umbrella, democratic patriotism, is marked by allegiance to a set of principles (e.g., freedom and justice for all) with an understanding that these principles are not necessarily always enacted by the government or its people. Both authoritarian patriotism and democratic patriotism can be said to express love for and loyalty to country, but the ways in which these expressions are enacted (as well as taught and learned) are quite different. While it is likely that no teacher easily fits into teaching for only one of these broad categories, this framework is helpful to think about how different teaching rationales might position students to engage what it means for themselves and others to be patriotic.

### **Why Beth, Gail, Janet, and Samantha Teach “This Land Is Your Land”**

Without being collaborators, there were strong similarities in the teachers’ purposes for teaching “This Land Is Your Land.” The most straightforward purpose was that their students simply loved the song and the process of learning it. Prior to interviewing Beth in her classroom, she had her students perform (i.e., sing and hand-motion) the song for me. Although

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<sup>4</sup> “America/n” is an abbreviation of America and American. As Walzer (2004) notes, the noun “American” can refer to Canadians, Mexicans, and others who live in the Western Hemisphere, yet “American” has become a stand-in for *citizen of the United States of America* and as an adjective, a stand-in for *relating to the United States of America*. These are vast terms with a host of contested meanings and yet the terms are common to everyday, mainstream discourse in the United States. In this article, I typically comply with this common usage of “American,” as well as the use of “America” as an abbreviation for *The United States of America*. In reference to the United States, I use the words country, nation, state, and America. There is overlap across all of these words, which is why I use them, for the most part, interchangeably. However, I am cognizant that contested meanings are attached to each of these, especially when they are used in relation to each other.

her students had learned it five months prior, they, without recent rehearsal, easily and excitedly performed all four traditional verses of the song. This demonstrated both the students' enjoyment attached to learning the song and their ability to remember it, which I speculate is tied to the ease with which they learned it.

It is interesting to consider the importance of student enjoyment. While teachers generally want their students to enjoy learning, enjoyment does not automatically correspond to quality learning. There can be an ominous hidden curriculum that accompanies the explicit curriculum. I think back to my first year of teaching when I simulated trench warfare from World War I for my students. We played, essentially, a big game of dodgeball. My students loved the game, and this love directly contradicted my attempt to have students see the futility of war. It's not that fun should be stripped from learning, but the curriculum of "learning while having fun" can obscure some lessons taught to students. It is very possible that a student could learn explicitly that "This Land Is Your Land" is a fun song but learn implicitly that America/n is free from struggle and beyond critique. To what degree, I wonder, might the fun of "This Land Is Your Land" serve to palliate intended and unintended patriotic messaging?

A second purpose is that the teachers enjoyed the song as much as the students. All four teachers remembered learning the song when they were in their youth, with Beth and Gail definitively noting that they learned it in school. They had positive memories attached to this learning and so, in their teaching of the

song, they transmit something that they value and enjoy to their students. In this transmission, which indicates that it is customary to learn the song as a child in the United States, the teachers are implicitly teaming with teachers across the country, past and present, to carry on a decades-long American tradition. But tradition, by nature, is often self-reifying. In upholding this tradition, are the teachers able to critique the well-cut grooves of what it has meant to teach and learn the song in elementary school?

The third reason is that the teachers use the song to teach academic content. Gail, the lone grade-level teacher, uses the song to teach geography as her students plot the song's geographic references on a giant U.S. map. More important than teaching geography, though, Gail pointedly stated that patriotism was "the main reason" she teaches the song. This, she said, was due to a state social studies standard requiring her to teach patriotism to her K-1 students. While she noted that the concept of patriotism is hard for them to grasp at their young age, she indicated that they learn elements of patriotism "like recognizing the flag and being able to sing patriotic songs."

Importantly, patriotism here goes undefined as its meaning is left for students to cull implicitly. The emphasis is on rote action, not inquiry. Clearly, Gail's students are some of the youngest in the U.S. public schooling spectrum and a deep, complex understanding of patriotism at their age might be hard to imagine. But, even at their age, should student understanding of patriotism refrain from complicating the goals of obedience and unquestioned loyalty to the country? Fixing right and wrong, with the country always in the right,

positions students in such a way that any future instance of their country in the wrong must somehow be reconciled. When the complexity of patriotism dwells in the null curriculum—i.e., learning from what is absent—the default approach for reconciliation becomes one of disbelief or suppression.

The music teachers echoed Gail's patriotic reasoning for teaching the song. In fact, all four teachers indicated that they feel the song is something that all U.S. citizens need to know. Beth and Samantha said the song is for the students' "memory banks," and Janet offered:

If you're going to an American public school and growing up in this culture, it seems appropriate to teach some of those core, known-by-everybody songs that we all share...You want children to have that background knowledge so they can relate to what's going on. It just seems like, part of being an educated American citizen, you should have exposure to that.

Janet's quote implies that these "core" songs that are "known-by-everybody" are known by everybody *in the same way*. That, in essence, there is one meaning to "This Land Is Your Land." This implication, however, skirts the possibility that there are multiple ways of knowing the song. When knowing becomes fixed, there is little room for critical thought. Beth also teaches the song as a "core" patriotic song:

It's important to me because [the group of my students is] a diverse population. Even if it weren't, the U.S. is a diverse place and there are times when I'll have a parent of a foreign student or Jehovah's Witness say they won't sing a patriotic song. We're in a public school, and you're welcome to be here, but we're in a

public school and I do teach patriotism. Period. On the surface, there is nothing that is challengeable: this land is made for you and me. There is nothing real prickly. A couple of times a child from another country has asked why do we sing these [patriotic songs]? I say that these songs are about our country. We sing songs about other countries too. But we're an American school and this is what you get in an American school.

While Beth seemingly has a goal to foster one fixed understanding of the song without stirring controversy, I question what message this teaches a diverse (or, as Beth notes, even non-diverse) population of students. "This is what you get in an American school" might be an authoritative announcement that patriotism is not open for deliberation or critique.

At the same time, however, Beth stressed that she wants her students to understand "that this land is made for you and me" in addition to knowing that the song is part of the nation's heritage. Mindful of the diversity of her students (in terms of race, place of birth, and socioeconomic status), Beth considered the song's egalitarian message to be one of the driving forces behind her teaching of it. This mindfulness, however, does not square easily with the notion of teaching something akin to authoritarian patriotism. On the one hand, there is a message that trumpets equality and diversity, but on the other hand, there is a message of "Americanization," seeking to bring about a convergence of student understandings.

When I asked Beth why she feels the song is patriotic, she replied:

The concept of the bottom line. This land is made for you and me. It needs to be said because it is not always so. The

reality is that it may not feel like that to a whole lot of people. I think it's important to get that message into these kids, the kid with all the opportunity and the kid who lives in the trailer park. They may never have a shot at the American Dream, but I want it absolutely drilled in their heads that this place should be for you.

Beth is quite mindful to teach her students that what they feel might not be the same for everyone. While this pedagogical goal attempts to broaden student understanding of the diversity of the views of others around them, raising awareness about injustice, it does not necessarily spur students to question the injustice. Students are taught about injustice that they likely already know, either consciously or subconsciously, but they might not be prompted to consider why this is the case or consider what they and others might do to make the situation more equitable. In such a case, the explicit curriculum and the implicit curriculum clash: How can a student learn to appreciate and work for diversity while being asked to conform to a uniform love of country?

Interestingly, after Beth spoke the block-quote above, she added, "I teach [the song] as patriotic because it's in the patriotic section of the book, but [patriotism] is what it's about." She had laid out opposing arguments for teaching the song, ranging from Americanization to appreciation of diversity, but she also noted the importance of the textbook. Yet, while "This Land Is Your Land" is a common text in music textbooks, it is not a universal, stated curriculum requirement. Only Samantha had curricular documents that named the song, and in these, which were district-wide, the song was listed as a suggestion for fulfilling a standard entitled

"Curriculum Connection." It is significant that the song was not a big chunk of the scripted curriculum yet it was a sizable part of the enacted curriculum; perhaps it is too immersed in what is familiar and traditional to receive much critical consideration.

### **How Beth, Gail, Janet, and Samantha Teach "This Land Is Your Land"**

One method enacted by all four teachers is called "echo singing," which means that the teacher sings the lines and the students sing them back in order for students to learn both the lyrics and melody. While echo singing allows for students to quickly learn the song, it seemingly parallels the "fixing" of patriotism described above. Certainly students need to sing similarly in order to sing together, but this replicates the teacher's version of the song. Unless the teacher also teaches other versions of the song, which none indicated happens, the song is closed off to variation.<sup>5</sup> From this perspective, echo singing is mimicry and regurgitation. How the teacher views, constructs, and presents the content is merely transferred to the students. There is seemingly no room for student construction of knowledge and critique. The teachers described other general methods<sup>6</sup>, but I discerned three large trends for how "This Land Is Your Land" is taught across the teachers: in a patriotic unit at the start of the school year; through "talking" about the song; and, using the traditional verses.

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<sup>5</sup> A quick YouTube search will offer a number of versions of the song, but also see Santelli (2012).

<sup>6</sup> Another method, utilized by three of the teachers and endorsed by the fourth, is teaching physical actions that correspond to the lyrics and are to be motioned while singing the song.

**The patriotic unit.** All four teachers teach the song in the context of a patriotic unit at the beginning of the academic year. As Gail explained, "Patriotism is a great spot to start [the school year] because you can talk about school spirit and classroom building," and Beth said that "This Land Is Your Land" is one of the songs she uses to set the tone for the year because it excites the students. In this context, the song can be a kind of tool, operated on multiple levels. At the most abstract level, it is a national patriotic tool, building student love for one's country. At a more concrete level, it is a school-based patriotic tool, building love for and within one's school. On both levels, the teaching of the song serves to lay out directives for what it means to be a citizen, of the country and of the school/classroom. This multi-level "mechanism of training" (Foucault 1977/1995), combined with student excitement while learning the song, establishes a host of pedagogical intentions for the school year (and, more largely, the process of schooling). But, are there aspects of democratic patriotism in this likely rigid, authority-imposing practice? For example, would there be any room for students (and citizens) to construct or challenge presuppositions about appropriate behavior or are the school's (and country's) rules simply pre-made and in need of following?

Gail and Samantha also noted that they teach the song at the beginning of the year to allow time to prepare students for community performances. Every year, Gail's students perform a patriotic holiday program for parents, nursing home residents, and other community members that includes singing of the "Pledge of Allegiance," "You're a Grand

Old Flag," and "This Land Is Your Land."

Thus, "This Land Is Your Land" is clearly much more than content to be learned; it is content to be performed publicly. In a sense, this performance by Gail's students is an initiation into what it means to be an American: to go out and perform the song for community elders who already know the song, probably learned it in school, and possibly had a similar rite of passage in their youth.

There was, however, some consideration of how "This Land Is Your Land" differs from other patriotic-unit songs. Gail said that learning the "Pledge of Allegiance" is about "respect [for America]," whereas learning "This Land Is Your Land" is about "friendship, fairness, and getting along." Her point was that "This Land Is Your Land" does not draw a direct connection between people and their government; rather, it highlights the relationships between people and the majesty of the landscape that they inhabit. Janet said, "There are other patriotic songs that I teach more for the pure patriotism," offering "The Star-Spangled Banner" as an example. This distinction among the songs is an important one because it highlights, even if implicitly, the possibility of different forms of patriotism by raising various ways in which one might be patriotic. Among this spectrum of patriotic songs, "This Land Is Your Land" is positioned on the margin of what might be called the "national." It is still considered patriotic, but patriotic is defined more in terms of community, social interaction, and land than loyalty to country.

Ultimately, for the music teachers, the textbook is the driving force behind the patriotic unit context, and with the music textbooks positioning "This Land

Is Your Land” as an American, patriotic song, what is learned from the books is clearly not just music-related.<sup>7</sup> There is little in these textbooks, though, that challenges unquestioning celebration of America. The only resistance to this celebratory narrative that I could discern, in fact, came in Beth and Janet’s 2<sup>nd</sup> grade textbook teachers edition, which informed that Woody Guthrie “wrote ‘This Land Is Your Land’ to protest Californians’ mistreatment of ‘Okies’...He wanted to remind Americans of their commonalities and encourage them to share the vast wealth of the country” (*Share the Music*, 1998, p.254). And yet, this is a story of tidy progress with no attention given to why there were hard times in the first place.

**“Talking” about the song.** A second trend in how the teachers teach “This Land Is Your Land” involves informal classroom discussions, what all four teachers referred to as “talking.” Talking, in this sense, is a summative term, a catchall for what happens in the teaching moments outside of explicitly learning and performing the song. The content of these discussions is not necessarily planned out in detail and it seems to couch much of the students’ learning. Beth commented, “We talk about the U.S., about the goal of it being welcoming to all, and the importance of

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<sup>7</sup> Beth and Janet use the same 2<sup>nd</sup> grade textbook, which is a part of the *Share the Music* (1998) series of elementary music textbooks used for each of the grades that they teach. The book places “This Land Is Your Land” after “My Country ‘Tis Of Thee” in the chapter “Celebrations: Patriotic Days.” The 3<sup>rd</sup> grade textbook groups “This Land Is Your Land” with “America The Beautiful,” “My Country ‘Tis of Thee,” and “You’re a Grand Old Flag,” categorizing these songs under the headings “From Sea To Shining Sea” and, like the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade book, “Celebrations: Patriotic Days.” Samantha uses a different textbook series but it also lumps “This Land Is Your Land” with similar songs.

patriotism.” Samantha noted, “We talk about patriotic not just being the history but also the songs that tell what the heart of America is.”

In both of these quotes, the teachers used the pronoun “we.” However, I wonder to what degree “we” is a stand-in for the teacher’s “I.” None of the teachers spoke to practices that asked students to share their ideas and experiences. The topics of this talking were not framed by the teachers as opportunities for the class to construct knowledge; rather, talking seemingly allowed the teachers to impart their knowledge to the students. While it is possible that the teachers simply did not speak to their practices that seek to have students construct knowledge, this idea of knowledge transference from teacher to student parallels echo singing and “fixing” the song.

Despite considerable talking, Guthrie, as the song’s composer, receives scant attention, and the historical context when the song was written gets even less. None of the teachers plays a recording of Guthrie’s version of “This Land Is Your Land” for her students.<sup>8</sup> Gail does not mention Guthrie, nor does she pick up the topic of the United States circa 1940, but she did note that she could teach about Guthrie similar to how she teaches her students about authors of the books they read. She felt that teaching about the historical context would be much more difficult due to her students’ ages. Beth said that she does not teach directly about Guthrie but she and her students look at

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<sup>8</sup> Of the teachers, only Samantha plays no recordings of the song, choosing to simply play the piano for her students or sing a cappella. Gail plays a version by Lee Greenwood while Beth and Janet play a version that comes with the music textbook series, which is sung by a children’s choir.

the picture of Guthrie that is in the textbook. She indicated that she asks her students questions about Guthrie's appearance but they do not spend time, for example, considering *why* he might be wearing the clothes that he is wearing (instead of simply noting the clothes). Like Gail, Beth does not teach about the historical context of the song, which raises important questions about the null curriculum of teaching the song since a "history-less" understanding of the song implicitly serves to fix it as natural, unquestionable, and seemingly unconstructed.

Janet does not teach about the historical context of the song either but she did indicate that she talks with her students about Guthrie. Before our interview she emailed me, "We discuss when he lived...and that he was a composer and a folk singer who traveled all over the U.S. and wrote more than a thousand songs." She also highlighted that "his songs helped people lift their spirits in times of hardship." Interestingly, these quotes from Janet, which she wrote via email to me before our interview, are taken word-for-word from the teachers edition of a textbook that she uses (although she did not quote them). While one reason for Janet's response could be that I interviewed her in February, months after she had taught "This Land Is Your Land," and she perhaps wanted to refresh her memory with the textbook, another reason might be that she simply relies heavily on the textbook to structure how she approaches teaching the song.

Samantha overlaps a bit with Janet as she "talk[s] about how [Guthrie] was a free spirit who traveled America." She is the only one of the teachers who gives

some historical context: "We talk about what it was like in the 1940s, no TV or video games, and that people were outside a lot more than they are now. We talk about how communities did more things together and how crime and drugs were not so prevalent in the small towns." This quote raises a number of questions. For example, whose historical context is this? Likewise, how does this context encapsulate the song? Furthermore, how do these talking points, particularly about "no TV or video games" and "how crime and drugs were not so prevalent," frame students' understanding of America/n, past and present?

**Using the traditional verses.** All of the teachers teach the four traditional verses. As Samantha plainly noted, "I teach the verses that are in the [text]book." This sentiment is shared by Beth and Janet, and it parallels Gail's approach, which is to teach the verses that are sung by Lee Greenwood in the recording that she plays for her students. Gail explained that her "students do not seem to have trouble learning the lyrics." The music teachers agreed with Gail's sentiment while noting that some of the stanzas are easier to learn than others, with the first verse being the easiest. None of the teachers teaches the two nontraditional verses.

The fact that the textbooks or versions of the songs played for the students do not feature all of Guthrie's lyrics is not the lone reason for teaching solely the traditional verses. Gail was not familiar with the nontraditional verses prior to the study but the three music teachers were. For Samantha and Beth, there is concern about the topics and ideas expressed in the nontraditional

verses. Samantha feels that they are “controversial,” which influences her to not teach them. Beth commented, “I don’t even go into [the nontraditional verses] with the kids. Not at this level. Just a positive message.” Under this framing, there is an implication that the messages of the nontraditional verses (e.g., questioning private ownership of property and the sobering reality of hungry people; wondering “if this land was made for you and me”) are negative, or seemingly detrimental to the students. The positive message that Beth seeks, or the uncontroversial message that Samantha seeks, is one that removes all criticality and complexity about America/n and patriotism.

Janet was aware of the nontraditional verses because they are printed in a children’s book entitled “This Land Is Your Land” (Guthrie & Jakobsen, 2008), which she sometimes shares with her students while teaching the song.<sup>9</sup> While recognizing that some of the nontraditional verses reference topics that are “different” than the traditional verses, she did not describe any difficulty with sharing them with her students. She did note, however, that engaging the nontraditional verses does alter the teaching of the song: “If you read through [Guthrie & Jakobsen’s book], it provokes a lot of conversation obviously. Then the whole idea of the hard times comes out... When you use the book it expands on the song.” The narrative introduced to

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<sup>9</sup> There is a large distinction here between teaching and sharing the nontraditional verses. None of the teachers, including Janet, teaches the nontraditional verses, which would entail having students learn and sing these verses.

students through the book, which features all six verses and vibrant corresponding pictures, presents more complex constructions of what America/n is and what it means to be patriotic. While Janet does not teach the song in this way every year, she does when she has “the time” or when “something more visual may be helpful” to her students’ learning.

Importantly, all of the teachers noted potential for teaching some or all of the nontraditional verses. Gail and Samantha indicated that teaching the “relief office verse” to their students given the bleak national and local economic climate during the last recession would be appropriate and possible. They also noted that older students could learn the nontraditional verses and find them meaningful. Beth felt that it would be possible for all of her students to learn the nontraditional verses if this learning took place in their general curriculum classes alongside of music class. Janet echoed this sentiment, highlighting that collaboration with the students’ grade-level teachers could open greater possibilities for her teaching.

While talking about the nontraditional verses, I asked Gail if teaching all of Guthrie’s verses would add to or contend with the goal of the patriotic unit in which she teaches “This Land Is Your Land.” Gail responded, “It wouldn’t be a contention... It would bring up things that are fair and things that are unfair, which leads to building of the country and the building of patriotism.” This possibility that would arise from teaching all the verses is not central, however, to why and how the teachers teach “This Land Is Your Land.” Therefore, the teachers are endorsing,



either explicitly or implicitly, Westheimer's (2007b) notion of authoritarian patriotism that does not ask critical questions about America/n and patriotism.

### **Troubling the Traditional Teaching of "This Land Is Your Land"**

One reading of "This Land Is Your Land," with which I believe the teachers in this study would agree, is that the song's lyrics appreciate diversity and affirm unity. While the four teachers certainly aim to cultivate a sense of unity in teaching "This Land Is Your Land," this unity appears to be founded on a push for conformity, not embrace or even acceptance of difference. For example, issues of race and class were minimally considered in the rationales for teaching the song.<sup>10</sup> Little was said by the teachers about exploring difference and understanding how difference operates. In fact, difference was flooded in a sea of patriotic commonality. While this objective was certainly not stated by the teachers, nor, I believe, consciously desired or intended, the inertia of tradition—with respect to curriculum, pedagogy, societal practice—virtually makes it inevitable. The song, which presumably trumpets diversity, can become a tool for inconsiderate conformity, which is akin to the notion under authoritarian patriotism that all Americans are alike in their explicit love for and loyalty to the country. Missing from this notion, though, is the idea that love and loyalty are enacted in many

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<sup>10</sup> Beth considered race and class directly but her method of addressing them centered on using "This Land Is Your Land" to look beyond, not think critically about, difference.

ways that are specific to the enactor (e.g., one might love America by protesting an instance of racial injustice).

Teaching conformity is understandable in that, for the teachers, "This Land Is Your Land" is a cultural text that their students need to know. In this sense, in order to be American, the students need to be able to recognize, understand, affirm, and sing "This Land Is Your Land" as symbolic of America. The teachers' references to the song as "core" content is reminiscent of Hirsch's (1987) advocacy for the learning of core knowledge that all students need to possess in order to communicate effectively with others and succeed in American society. Akin to Hirsch's argument, some of the teachers spoke about getting the song into the students' "memory banks," as if learning "This Land Is Your Land" is a deposit for future good living.

But, Hirsch's argument—specifically what it means *to know*—needs to be troubled. For the teachers in this study, what it means for their students to know "This Land Is Your Land" includes memorizing the lyrics to the four traditional verses, being able to sing these lyrics, and acknowledging that the song is patriotic alongside a handful of other songs. To know "This Land Is Your Land" is not to know that protest is woven through both its text and its history. This form of (un)knowing detaches the song from its composer and the context in which it was written and maps it on to a celebratory narrative about America that fails to recognize the complexity of America. Samantha upholds this narrative when she "talk[s] about what it was like in the 1940s" with her students: highlighting the absence of

television and video games then and the presence of crime and drugs now imagines an idealized American past.

The detaching of the song's creation context, while not necessarily purposely intended, has ramifications for how a student comes to know America/n. If students are introduced, for example, to the questioning at the end of the sixth stanza of the song—"I stood there wondering if this land was made for you and me"—ideas might be sown that America is a constant work in progress and a place for discussion and debate about, and action in response to, hardship. And, then, the song enhances (or at worst, signals) the idea that a patriotism of this construction is acceptable and, perhaps, desirable.

When the teachers speak of filling their students' "memory banks," I am reminded of Freire's "banking" concept of education (1993). This method approaches learning as gathering, as if knowledge that has previously existed outside of the students' lives must be directly deposited into the students' brains by the teachers. Learning, then, is entirely passive on the student's behalf. There is no struggle or critical thinking attached to "gaining" knowledge. Students are defenseless to the bombardment of American imagery that they see and internalize both in their textbooks and their classrooms (not to mention in their daily living outside of schools), and they are not taught to be critical consumers but malleable, non-filtering receptacles. What opposes the banking method is a form of pedagogy that positions students as constructors of knowledge. Questions, wonder, and discovery are present *and* central to the learning endeavor. From this perspective,

"This Land Is Your Land" can be a tool for complex thinking, not a deposit of blind patriotism.

Elsewhere (Kissling, 2015, 2016), I have made the argument that (social studies) teachers and students must explicitly wrestle with the complexity of patriotism—and that this wrestling, in and of itself, is an act of teaching and learning a kind of patriotism founded on critical thinking that is not authoritarian. This teaching and learning can be done in many ways, and at all age levels, including with "This Land Is Your Land" in the earliest grades.

Here are some suggestions for elementary teachers wanting to use the song in this capacity:

- Teach (and sing) all of Guthrie's original verses (Guthrie & Jakobsen, 2008).
- Teach about Guthrie, a complex and fascinating person (e.g., Kaufman, 2011), and the song's creation as a frustrated response to "God Bless America" (e.g., Santelli, 2012).
- Listen to different versions of Guthrie and others singing the song.
- Have students write their own lyrics based on their lived experiences as well as write responses to the song in other musical/lyrical forms.
- Have students wrestle with different constructions of patriotism and ask them to consider how, if at all, they feel "This Land Is Your Land" is patriotic.
- Expand this approach well beyond "This Land Is Your Land," to include any and all America/n and patriotic texts and topics (e.g., "Pledge of Allegiance," Thanksgiving).
- Collaborate with teachers across your school, including general curriculum teachers (i.e., grade-level) as well as special curriculum teachers (e.g., art, music, etc.).

Rethinking how “This Land Is Your Land” has been traditionally taught, teachers can position their students for lifelong consideration of their patriotism (and America/n) by teaching all six original verses and foregrounding Guthrie’s seismic “wondering if.”

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# ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES PEDAGOGICAL CONTENT KNOWLEDGE: A FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING

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A climate of accountability pervades the teacher preparation landscape due, in part, to recent calls for outcomes-based evidence of preparation programs (CAEP, 2013; Deans for Impact, 2016; U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Such calls underscore the importance for a common definition of teacher knowledge that can be assessed. Researchers have attempted to conceptualize the knowledge base of teaching with various models of teacher knowledge (Grossman, 1990; Shulman, 1986; Wilson, Shulman, & Richert, 1987). Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK)—a synthesis of content and pedagogy that “embodies the aspects of content most germane to its teachability”—was an outgrowth of such research (Shulman, 1986, p. 9). Scholars have demonstrated the critical importance of this particular kind of knowledge base and the positive affect it has on teacher candidate’s development within and after completing a teacher preparation program (Bauml, 2011; Grossman & Richert, 1988)—fueling recommendations for the inclusion of PCK within course curricula (ACE, 2002; CAEP, 2013).

In 2014, as a first-year teacher educator who identified as an elementary generalist, I was asked to teach an elementary social studies (ss) methods course. Even though I held no specialized background in ss content—quite common among elementary ss methods instructors (Lanahan & Yeager, 2008)—I accepted and turned to the ss literature for support in designing the course curriculum. In general, I found an unclear picture of what constitutes an elementary ss methods course (Adler, 1991; Slekar, 2005) and a glaring lack of a coherent framework of PCK for elementary ss (Slekar; Powell, 2017). Though my colleagues offered support in the

form of previous syllabi and suggested readings, I was left to my own professional judgment with minimal direction or mentoring—a prevailing problem for novice teacher educators (Gallagher et al., 2011). The result was a broad course curriculum with scattered elements of PCK pertinent to elementary ss that I used during the 2014-2015 school year.

The following school year—after I had the opportunity to reflect upon the course—I sought to make the following changes: (a) to narrow the curricular focus providing more in depth exploration of at least two ss disciplines, (b) to explicitly identify research-based PCK pertinent to the elementary ss disciplines chosen via a review of the literature, (c) to name more practical elements of PCK in the course that could transfer to a classroom setting—helping bridge the theory-to-practice gap, and (d) to create a more coherent curricular design for the PCK included within the course. As a result, I created an inchoate social studies PCK framework that outlined the new curriculum for the ss methods course, which I first taught in the summer of 2015 (see Appendix A).

## Developing a PCK Framework

I borrowed heavily from the work of Grossman et al. (2000) to frame the ss PCK around two types of pedagogical tools: (a) conceptual tools that include concepts and frameworks and (b) practical tools that include a strategy or practice that has immediate utility. Though limited work has been published on a comprehensive set of ss tools for elementary teachers (Monte-Sano et al., 2013), Bauml (2016) recently posited a PCK framework she used to design, as well as assess, an elementary ss methods course.

She organized her framework using the five powerful and purposeful elements of ss teaching and learning (i.e., active, meaningful, challenging, values-based, and integrative) as conceptual tools with examples of practical application ascribed to each. Building off Bauml's PCK framework, I turned to the literature in order to conceptualize elementary ss, specifically history and civics, in more explicit ways relevant to conceptual and practical tools. Though not an easy choice, to focus on history and civics, the sheer volume of ss content deemed pertinent for elementary teachers (Lanahan & Yeager, 2008) required me to make some difficult decisions about what disciplines to include and exclude within a three-credit course. In addition, I chose to center the curriculum on these two ss disciplines for two reasons. First, I acknowledged the realities of practicing elementary teachers who often focus their elementary ss instruction on history and civics (Fitchett & VanFossen, 2013; Levstik, 2008). Second, I found that cursory coverage of ss pedagogy across multiple disciplines led to surface-level understanding and disregarded the lack of content knowledge possessed by elementary pre-service teachers (PSTs). Therefore, I incorporated the study of content for history and civics into the teaching of PCK in hopes to deepen their PCK understandings—a point Powell (2017) recently articulated as an effective means of developing PCK. Below is a review of the literature for history and civics. By no means is this an exhaustive review of these disciplines. It merely represents the literature that informed my curricular decisions regarding a ss PCK framework—a conversation lacking within elementary ss teacher education.

**History.** Monte-Sano et al. (2013) surveyed the history education literature for a definition of history PCK and identified four key ideas: (a) representing history—ways in which teachers communicate to students what history involves and the

epistemology of history, (b) transforming history—ways teachers transform historical content into lessons appropriate for their student population, (c) attending to ideas—ways teachers attend to students' ideas and/or misconceptions about history, and (d) framing history—ways teachers frame the teaching of history into coherent frameworks of study. Moreover, they identified specific examples of how each idea could be taught within a classroom setting. For example, primary sources were mentioned several times including how to select, present, and analyze them as a means of representing and transforming history—a popular example of history PCK corroborated by previous research (Fehn & Koeppen, 1998; Mayer, 2006; Seixas, 1998). Fogo (2014) conducted a panel survey with teacher educators, teachers, and educational researchers and posited a set of core history teaching practices that constituted an attempt to identify history PCK that should be included within a methods course. The practices listed included: (a) using historical questions, (b) selecting and adapting historical sources, (c) explaining and connecting historical content, (d) modeling and supporting historical reading skills, (e) employing historical evidence, (f) using historical concepts, (g) facilitating discussion on historical topics, (h) modeling and supporting historical writing, and (i) assessing student thinking about history.

Historical thinking is a concept discussed by many researchers that deserves attention as an element of history PCK. A broad approach to defining it includes the following: (a) significance, (b) epistemology and evidence, (c) continuity and change, (d) progress and decline, (e) empathy, and (f) agency (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Mandell and Malone (2007) posit 5 patterns of historical thinking and provide questions historians pursue within each one. These five patterns include (a) cause and effect, (b) using the past to make sense of the present, (c) perspective, (d) turning points, and (e) change and

continuity. Lastly, Barton (2011) suggests at least three concepts are prevalent in the variety of ways to conceptualize historical thinking: (a) perspective, (b) agency, and (c) interpretation of evidence.

Looking to the burgeoning field of disciplinary literacy provides elements of PCK important to consider, especially with regards to the discipline of history. Within this field, researchers focus on how a specific discipline “creates, communicates, and evaluates knowledge, and how experts read and write” (Shanahan, p. 3). A majority of the literature focuses on the discipline of history. A popular line of research within the field has posited four heuristics or strategies that expert historians use when reading historical texts: (a) sourcing, (b) contextualizing, (c) corroborating, and (d) close reading (Reagan, 2008; Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Wineburg, 1991). Moreover, specific tools for teaching these strategies are now available for teachers via the Stanford History Education Group (SHEG) website or within published materials (Wineburg, Martin, and Monte-Sano, 2013).

**Civics.** Silva and Mason (2003) identified 4 conceptual tools for elementary teacher candidates: (a) constitutionalism, (b) citizenship (c) civic identity, and (d) pluralism. Practical tools for enacting each were mentioned, too. For example, the development of a classroom constitution that formalizes rules and privileges would support the concept of constitutionalism, whereas, the participation of students in such work would develop the concept of citizenship. Using classroom meetings to resolve problems was posited as an idea to support the concept of civic identity. To build the concept of pluralism among elementary students the authors shared that a project on one’s family background and/or culture would develop this idea.

The interactive read aloud is a practical tool promoted within the civics literature (Silva & Mason, 2003) to teach civics concepts especially among K-3 students

if utilized with informational text (Strachan & Whitlock, 2015) or the newspaper (Jordan, 2015). Several researchers have suggested using historical biographies to support the teaching of civic dispositions and conceptions of a citizen (Fertig, 2003; Tyson & Kenreich, 2001) within an elementary classroom. Others have suggested critical literacy (Ciardiello, 2004; Meller, Richardson, & Hatch, 2009)—a conceptual tool that aims to teach elementary readers to critically reflect upon the political, sociocultural, historical, and economic forces that shape their lives (Soares & Wood, 2010). Obenchain and Pennington (2015) approached civics PCK through a critical democratic literacy (CDL) lens and suggested that elementary teachers emphasize the critical reading of text for the purposes of reflection and action on our democratic principles.

Researchers advocate for the use of deliberation as a tool for civics teaching and learning (Avery, Levy, & Simmons, 2013; Johnson & Johnson, 1988; Parker, 2016). Johnson and Johnson developed a protocol for deliberation—often referred to as structured academic controversy (SAC)—that promotes controversy, debate, concurrence-seeking, and individualistic deriving of conclusions. The use of SAC with students in grades K-12 has supported cognitive and moral reasoning, perspective taking, open-mindedness, and creativity among K-12 students (Johnson & Johnson, 2009).

## Research Design

Using the above PCK framework forced the alignment of the course outcomes with the curricular experiences provided, i.e., readings, in-class activities, and assignments. And such alignment provided a clear means for assessing the PCK acquisition and knowledge development of the pre-service teachers (PST) by the end of the course. Therefore, with this study I sought to explore the development of elementary PSTs’ PCK immediately following the completion of a

five-week summer methods course and at least six months later during their one-year residency. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How did an elementary ss methods course framed around conceptual and practical tools immediately affect the development of PSTs' ss PCK?
2. How did an elementary ss methods course framed around conceptual and practical tools affect the short-term development of PSTs' ss PCK?
3. How did an elementary school field-based setting affect the development of PSTs' ss PCK?

**Participants and Context.** I designed a two-tier sample for this study. The first tier of participants consisted of 13 graduate-level students who were enrolled in the author's five-week elementary ss methods course during the summer of 2015. The majority of the participants were White females—excluding one male and one Asian-American female. The second tier participants were purposefully selected to follow into their year-long residency starting the fall of 2015, because they had been assigned by the program coordinator to work within a professional development school that I led. Only four out of five selected consented to participate, with one dropping out mid-year; therefore, three participants—two White females and one White male—participated. All three worked across two grade levels during their year-long residency: (a) Jason in a sixth- and second-grade classroom, (b) Kandace in a sixth- and third-grade classroom, and (c) Eve in a first- and third-grade classroom.

**Data Collection and Analysis.** From the first tier of participants, I collected a pre- and post-assessment that consisted of two sections. In the first section, participants rated their overall level of confidence in teaching elementary ss using a 10-point likert scale as well as their understanding of 10 specified pedagogical tools using a 5-point

likert scale—with a justification required for a rating of three or higher. In the second section, participants completed a concept map with three nodes: (a) ss teaching, (b) ss learning, and (c) ss assessment. During the final class meeting, the students were presented with their pre-assessment work and asked to revise their concept map and complete self-ratings again for confidence levels and PCK tool understanding.

From the second-tier participants, I collected a goal sheet where they identified 5 tools they would like to enact within their year-long residency during the final class meeting. Moreover, I conducted a 30-minute, semi-structured interview with all three participants. Each interview was conducted and recorded using google phone, and occurred at least seven months into the residency (March for Kandace and Eve, and May for Jason).

I conducted a descriptive analysis of the numerical data, such as the participants' rating of both their confidence levels in teaching ss overall and their knowledge of 10 specific tools, with the intention to describe trends. Given the small sample size ( $n=13$ ) this data set did not lend itself to further inferential statistics, e.g. t-tests, nor was that my intention with this data set. With regards to the qualitative data, i.e., the concept map, the self-ratings justification, and the interview data, I analyzed the data set using both categorizing and connecting strategies (Maxwell, 2005).

## Findings

In addressing the first research question, the data revealed the course immediately affected the confidence levels and PCK development of the participants. Specifically, the participants gained confidence in teaching social studies and began to conceptualize active and meaningful history teaching and learning—two elements of powerful and purposeful social studies teaching and learning. With regards to the

second and third research question, the year-long residency setting influenced the PCK development of all three participants and mediated the short-term affects of the course resulting in few PCK tools being enacted. Though few were enacted—often due to a limited flexibility to practice them within their settings—all participants were forward-looking sharing a desire to do more in their residency setting or their first year teaching.

**Research Question 1: Immediate Influence.** At the onset of the course, the participants held an inflated sense of confidence in their abilities to teach elementary social studies—often attributed to an interest or passion in the subject (n=3). The median self-reported confidence level for participants was a seven, with three participants self-reporting levels of eight or higher. By the end of the course, the median self-reported confidence level for participants was an eight, with 10 participants self-reporting confidence levels of eight or higher. Therefore, by the end of the course, participants did self-report an increase in their confidence levels.

Participants' justification for their confidence levels revealed a consistent concern of content knowledge and a lack of PCK awareness in relation to teaching elementary social studies. First, content knowledge remained a contributor to their confidence levels across the course. In the beginning, it was of concern for eight participants. One commented, "I can teach my students social studies, but I am just worried about remembering all of the information and not getting dates/people confused." By the end of the course, six explicitly mentioned a lack of content knowledge in relation to their self-reported confidence level. According to this data, the course seemed to highlight the importance of content knowledge in teaching elementary social studies with many further aware of what they don't know by the end—a possible explanation for the six that mentioned it in relation to their confidence levels. Second,

not one participant mentioned tools as a reason for their confidence level at the onset of the course, whereas, 12 mentioned it as justification by the end of the course. So by the end of the course, participants could not only name this nuanced type of knowledge, i.e., PCK, but began to realize its important role in their practice.

*PCK Development.* An analysis across the multiple data sets revealed a burgeoning conceptualization of two elements of powerful and purposeful social studies teaching and learning as they relate to the discipline of history: (a) active and (b) meaningful. With regards to active teaching, participants spoke of student engagement in learning, inquiry-based teaching, historical thinking skills, and primary source instruction. First, participants self-reported higher confidence levels in teaching ss by the end of the course due, in part, to a better understanding of student engagement in learning history. One shared, "I have gotten ideas on how to make it [ss] more engaging, active..." Another commented, "I am no longer afraid of using too much direct instruction," realizing history could be taught using more participatory and engaging methods.

Second, in the post-assessment concept map six students added some form of reference to inquiry-based teaching with words such as "explore and experiment," and "method to guide their [students] own thinking". In addition, participants added the names of the following tools, which promote inquiry-based teaching, to their concept maps: (a) 5Es (n=4), (b) historical method (n=4), (c) primary sources (n=6), and (d) structured inquiry (n=5). And on the post-assessment, four tools—all of which promote active ss teaching through inquiry—were scored significantly higher by the participants than on the pre-assessment: 5 Es Instructional Model, Structured Inquiry Model, Structured Academic Controversy, and Historical Method.



Third, participants learned how historians develop knowledge in their field, i.e., the historical method. One participant defined it as, “looking at information and asking questions about it to form an idea;” whereas, another student explained it as, “piecing together the past through examination of primary sources.” Seven participants explicitly mentioned historical thinking skills demonstrating a burgeoning understanding of the connection between the methods used by historians and the type of thinking that is required of them.

Lastly, six participants added primary source work to their concept maps, and two specifically referenced it as a contributing factor to their confidence level by the end of the course. One stated, “I feel more confident now that I can find and use different sources.” Another connected the use of sources to the historical method in the following way: “taking information from a source and questioning it to create and build understanding and meaning.” Primary source instruction, along with the above three I mentioned, all revealed a developing understanding of active teaching within the discipline of history—a prominent theme across the data.

I found meaningful instruction to be a second theme across the data. In the post-assessment concept map six students referenced meaningful instruction with four explicitly mentioning it and two referring to it with descriptions such as, “not just list of dates but why specific topics are important” and “incorporating different topics so students can relate to the material”. One, in particular, took their original node of student engagement and added characteristics of meaningful teaching to it.

Participants identified several means of enacting meaningful instruction: (a) “students must think about all of the elements that might have affected people’s motives during a historical event” and (b) “put[ing] students in ‘someone else’s shoes’ has the potential to be really powerful.”

Participants referred to this element, too, in relation to their confidence levels. For example, one participant wrote, “I have gotten ideas on how to make it [ss] more...meaningful.” Another realized that, “topics can be greatly localized to my future students’ realm of experience.”

**Research Question 2: Short-term Influence.** Participants enacted few of the PCK tools during their year-long residency—only two conceptual ones (i.e., active and meaningful elements of powerful ss teaching and controversial issues) and six practical ones (i.e., concept formation, Library of Congress website, perspective taking, primary sources, tableau, and thinking hats). Of these tools, all three participants utilized the Library of Congress (LOC) website and primary sources to teach history. Jason stated, “I found the stuff [primary sources] from LOC so invaluable...I used LOC primary sources all throughout the whole unit.” Kandace used primary sources when it came time to introduce students to Native American tribes and when teaching ancient Egypt. She commented, “I really love them and definitely try to pull them out whenever I possibly can and get the students familiar and comfortable with them.” Eve used a variety of primary sources (i.e., images, videos, and documents) to teach two famous Americans: Pocahontas and Jackie Robinson. She utilized the LOC website to find many of these sources and commented, “the LOC resources have been important for me in teaching social studies.”

Two participants discussed ways they sought to make social studies instruction meaningful—an element of powerful ss teaching. As part of the school’s PBL initiative Jason was tasked with developing a means to have students share their social studies projects. He developed a museum night and described how this activity supported meaningful learning, “I think they really just take ownership of what it is they are producing and it is nothing that just sits in the classroom.” Kandace, too, sought to

make social studies instruction meaningful via a practical tool learned within the course—concept formation. She used it to develop third graders' notion of leadership and related this work to the upcoming election, which made it meaningful for the students: "all five groups were able to tell me that we have elections coming up tomorrow so when people go to vote...they know the [leadership] qualities that are going to help them choose." And one participant, Eve, felt pride when she enacted a tableau with third graders, because she felt it supported the active element of powerful ss teaching: "that [tableau] was effective, and I feel like the students liked it...they don't want to just sit there and listen all the time cause that is boring."

**Research Question 3: Influence of Year-long Residency Setting.** Across the interview data participants expressed a limited flexibility to practice the PCK tools. At times, all three participants described their mentor teachers (MT) as being flexible in allowing them to teach in ways they desired. For example, Kandace shared, "both my mentor teachers have been really supportive in terms of if I come to them with an idea I was thinking about...they would be oh sure go for it—that sounds great." Other times, all three participants spoke to limits on this flexibility. For example, all participants referred specifically to their MTs schedule and adhering to the grade-level pacing guides as limitations. Jason, described another limitation. He spoke of ensuring the tools he used fit with the specific school priority for the year, such as Project-based Learning (PBL). He described wanting to utilize more of the historical method with students but in the "true spirit of PBL the teachers are suppose to back off and let the students direct their learning," which made it difficult for him to enact the historical method as he had learned within the course.

Though all participants acknowledged a limited flexibility in practicing the PCK tools, they spoke of a

desire for more practice—illuminating a sense of hope in potential possibilities. Kandace mentioned wanting to use more tools during her last two months within the residency, "I do definitely intend to do that [historical or geographic method] more just as I start taking over stuff more." Both Eve and Jason spoke of a desire to utilize these tools next year as a first-year teacher. Eve shared, "I have kind of been through the first trial run [residency work]...I think I definitely am going to be more in a place [first year teaching] where I can actually do that [use the tools] a little bit more than I have been doing yet." Jason explained, "I have all these tools; I am just not ready to open up the toolbox yet. I would rather do it when I am running the show"

### **Implications for Elementary SS Methods**

This study is limited due to the small sample size, the lack of inferential statistic analysis (i.e., t-tests), the 5-week condensed nature of the coursework, the decision to focus on history and civics PCK solely, and my role as both instructor and researcher. Nevertheless, there are three implications from this work that corroborate previous research and underscore the importance of additional research, which will be discussed next.

#### **Importance of Practical Tools.**

Consistent with previous studies about ss methods courses facilitating immediate changes in PSTs' knowledge (Bauml, 2016; Conklin et al., 2010) all 13 participants experienced some form of growth in their ss PCK, especially with regards to two conceptual tools: (a) meaningful and (b) active teaching and learning. However, it was through the practical tools that participants made sense of these two conceptual ones. For example, immediately following the course participants defined active teaching with references to using primary sources, the historical method, the structured inquiry model, and a structured

academic controversy. Within the residency, all three participants utilized the Library of Congress website as a tool to locate primary sources that promoted active teaching and learning within their practice. These examples illustrate the importance of practical tools as a means of developing conceptual tools (Ball & Forzani, 2009; Grossman et al., 2000; Lampert, 2010; Martel, 2013; Nocon & Robinson, 2014) and, perhaps, it is this interplay between the two that forges deeper understandings of powerful and purposeful elementary social studies teaching and learning (Bauml, 2016). Therefore, conceptualizing ss PCK as conceptual and practical tools—as I have done in this work—appears to be beneficial for PSTs’ PCK development. And has the potential to help shift teacher education towards a more practice-centered curriculum that could bridge the historical divide between coursework and clinical experiences (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Grossman et al., 2009).

#### **Creating New Contexts for Learning.**

The year-long residency context in this study did not always support the use of the PCK tools (Grossman et al., 2000). When participants did have opportunities to practice some of the PCK tools it was often absent their mentor’s guidance—an opportunity the participants relished but one that research has demonstrated will not foster productive learning experiences with regards to PCK development (Tang, 2003). However, one particular component of the methods course and year-long residency setting did appear to affect all three participants’ PCK—specifically two practical tools: the use of the LOC website and primary sources. These tools were taught in collaboration with Teaching with Primary Sources of Northern Virginia (TPSNVA)—a grant-funded affiliate of the Library of Congress. They provided instruction on the use of primary sources, which included a two-hour workshop taught within the methods course on campus and a one-hour professional development taught in the school site attended by the PSTs and their

MTs. The workshop focused on accessing primary sources through the LOC website and employing them with elementary students using such tools as the LOC analysis worksheet, a See-Think-Wonder, and a Gallery Walk. The focus on a discrete component of practice coupled with opportunities for PSTs to engage in professional discourse with practicing teachers could have heavily influenced the development and utilization of these two tools (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Grossman & McDonald, 2008). Teacher preparation has traditionally involved competing discourses between university faculties and practicing teachers; therefore, it has seemed logical to maintain the traditional divide between campus and field-based education. However, this study may demonstrate the power of rethinking this separation and reimagining spaces where PSTs, veteran teachers, and university instructors come together in creative ways to co-construct PCK—what Zeichner (2010) referred to as third spaces. Organizations such as TPSNVA have the potential to provide such spaces and enhance the development of ss PCK development for all involved.

**Using a PCK Framework to Monitor and Transform Practice.** Using a PCK framework of tools within the methods course prompted a reflective stance on teaching for the participants during their year-long residency that involved monitoring their practice. For example, Kandace referenced an article I provided on powerful ss teaching and learning—a conceptual tool—when she questioned her ss instructional choices. She shared, “I kind of felt like my ss lessons weren’t powerful for lack of a better word. So I referenced that article.” Eve referred to the PCK framework that was explicitly shared with all participants: “I will pull the sheet out that had all of them on it and I will ask myself what could I do...they are kind of my go to as opposed to getting up there and doing direct instruction...and I pull them out and say which ones haven’t I done

in a while.” And this monitoring of one’s practice in authentic context—as demonstrated above—serves to further PCK development of PSTs (Blomberg et al., 2014; Naidoo & Kirch, 2016).

Furthermore, perhaps a PCK framework could engender continued use and transformation of the knowledge learned within an elementary ss methods course once PSTs start their career—a point Grossman et al. made in 2000. Unfortunately, the scant research on elementary ss PCK, provides methods instructors with limited guidance on what tools to include within a PCK framework for their elementary ss methods courses—resulting in what Cohen (2010) refers to as “the teaching of no particular version of their subjects” (p. 45). Though my work holds implications for PCK development, as discussed above, perhaps, the relevance and importance of this work rests with the PCK framework I developed to teach an elementary ss methods course—albeit an inchoate, first attempt. I am hopeful

that my transparency in developing this PCK framework will spark conversation between and among ss methods instructors and practicing elementary teachers about PCK and its relationship to elementary ss—a much needed dialogue if we are to expand the research base in this area (Kreber, 2002). And, developing such a framework that explicitly names PCK in elementary ss will require method instructors to conceptualize the field of elementary ss in more specific ways. Doing so, will position method instructors as PCK researchers that could strongly contribute to the transformation of teacher education curriculum as well as the elementary ss curriculum via the new graduates who enter the profession (Powell, 2017). Referring to the PCK framework I provided in my course, Jason’s words capture the start of such a transformation: “So, I think there are a lot of resources I have from your class and from my other classes that I will certainly utilize in the beginning when I start teaching.”

## Appendix A

Teachers use tools to create and carry out teaching plans. **Conceptual tools** are principles, frameworks, and ideas about teaching and learning. These serve useful for broad understandings of teaching and learning. **Practical tools** are classroom practices, strategies, and resources that guide teaching decisions; they have more local and immediate utility. (Grossman et al., 2000).

Conceptual Tools	Practical Tools
Student-Centered Instruction / Constructivism / Inquiry	Structured Inquiry Model 5Es Model Concept Attainment Model Concept Development Model
Direct Instruction	Gradual Release Model (I Do; We Do; You Do)
Social Constructivism / Cooperative Learning	Jigsaw Model 4 Cs (Connect, Challenge, Change, Concepts) Carousel Brainstorm Gallery Walk Concentric Circles Structured Academic Controversy (SAC) Think / Pair / Square
Controversial Issues	Critical Literacy (5 criteria)
Classroom Community as Microcosm of Society	Classroom Meetings / Modeling / Rule Setting / Analogies
Purposeful & Powerful SS (NCSS, 2007): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Active</li> <li>2. Meaningful</li> <li>3. Values-Based</li> <li>4. Challenging</li> <li>5. Integrative</li> </ol>	Chalk Talk / Paper Pass I used to think...now I think...and why See-Think-Wonder Simulation Historical Method <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Contextualizing</li> <li>2. Sourcing</li> <li>3. Corroborating</li> <li>4. Comprehension Strategies</li> <li>5. Interpreting</li> </ol> Primary Sources Library of Congress Perspective Taking Poetry Slam Activity Thinking Hats Tableau

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“WE ARE THE BEST KILLERS”:  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOK DEPICTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR

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Only about one percent of Americans have served actively in the U.S. military (“National Security and Veterans Affairs: Military Personnel and Expenditures,” 2012). In 2011, Admiral Mike Mullen, then the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, acknowledged that while Americans “appreciated” those that served, most citizens “do not know us... I fear they do not comprehend the full weight of the burden we carry or the price we pay when we return from battle.” This lack of comprehension about the nature of war is evident in what we teach, and how, and impacts the ability of our students to make informed decisions about national policy. This article examines how the subject of war appears in history classrooms—specifically, the Civil War.

What most American students think or understand about war is not well documented. We know more about what *teachers* think; according to one recent study, 76% of surveyed teachers say that high schools “should impart respect for military service” (Farkas & Duffett, 2010, p. 5). The Civil War, too, has overwhelming support as a topic of study among teachers. Sixty-three percent of teachers claimed it was “absolutely essential” that their students understand the Civil War (Farkas & Duffett, 2010, p. 30). In a similar survey of eighth-grade history teachers, 70% believed their students should know about the Civil War (Barnes, 2002, p. 15).

The Civil War holds a singular and exalted place in most American history classrooms. It is often presented, in textbooks and in our collective memory, as a nationally defining event, one that shaped the American body politic into a unified entity. Dionne (2010) refers to the Civil War as a “mass democratic experience...the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s great social revolution” (p. A15). Winik (2001) characterizes the Civil War as the forge in which the concept of “nation” left undefined by the Constitution was ultimately created—the “embodiment of a sturdy people...the stitch in the fabric that even the Founders missed” (p. 387).

The textbooks featured in this article uniformly present the Civil War as a unique and defining national event. Lapansky-Werner, et al. (2010), in Prentice Hall’s *United States History*, characterize the war as a struggle for “national survival” (p. 360), one which led to a gestalt shift in our national self-image: “Americans would see themselves as citizens not just of a state but of a unified nation” (p. 394-396). Cayton, et al. (2007), in *America: Pathways to the Present*, note that Americans, through the Civil War, had “gained an undivided nation, a democracy that would continue to seek the equality Lincoln had promised for it” (p. 417). And Danzer, et al. (2005), in McDougal Littell’s *The Americans*, comments that “the Civil War caused tremendous political, economic, technological, and social change in the

United States. It also exacted a high price in the cost of human life" (p. 366). The unanimity of historians and textbook authors signal the unique curricular status of the Civil War in American history narrative.

The singular historical status of the Civil War is mirrored by the popular unanimity it enjoys as a war that, simply put, *had* to be fought. McPherson (1988) describes the impact of the war as a "great flood that caused the stream of American history to surge into a new channel" (p. 861-862), a channel that ultimately expanded democracy and civil rights to marginalized populations (Foner, 1988). This unifying sense of purpose makes the war, for students, worth investigation. Taken together with the enormous bloodshed of the conflict—and the concomitant belief that such loss was worthwhile—our collective memory of the war, and the "official" history of it enshrined in textbooks, merits scrutiny.

This study focuses on the resources available to social studies instructors about U.S. armed conflicts, primarily textbooks. Here, I analyzed six U.S. history textbooks, using a critical analysis methodology in considering how we present the subject of war to our students. The textbook, despite many efforts to dislodge it, occupies a hardened position in curriculum and instruction. Teachers (especially inexperienced ones) are frequently handed texts which, though they are often advertised as resources, often seem to be the main source of a curriculum. Despite claims that the textbook's impact would wane in the dominant era of technology, textbooks form the standard by which most teachers, even experienced ones, conceptualize their instruction, especially

in terms of topic selection (McPherson, 2008, p. 215). Chappell (2010) points to the manner in which materials frame student performances in the classroom, "asking students to embody certain information and perspectives... through writing, reading, and kinesthetic activities" (p. 251). Levstik and Barton (2005) highlight how such materials influence teachers' perspective on their own jobs, in that "a curriculum exists (whether in textbooks, district curriculum guides, or state standards), and the teacher's primary job is to ensure that students are exposed to that curriculum" (p. 252).

Textbooks, by their nature, vary little in their style or graphic representation, and are generally similar in breadth, length, and scope. Ironically, textbook analyses vary considerably in their sample size—some use as few as five (Su, 2007; Watkins, 2008), while some choose much larger samples (e.g., Harrison-Wong, 2003; Tompkins, Rosen & Larkin, 2006). The textbooks featured in this article are all produced by national publishing houses and are on the approved textbook lists of several of the largest states for textbook adoption (specifically, California, Texas, and Florida).

This study adopts a historical narrative analysis, in which textbook accounts are compared to relevant historiography. This includes well-regarded generalist works: James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* (1988) and Christopher Olsen's *The American Civil War: A Hands-On History* (2006). For the specific experiences of combat, I utilize more narrowly-drawn texts, especially Gerald Linderman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the*

*American Civil War* (1987), Earl J. Hess' *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (1997), Reid Mitchell's *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (1993), and Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering* (2008).

The remainder of this article is organized into three different sections: *The Experience of Battle*, which addresses historio-graphical and textbook versions of casualties, death, and dying; *The Moral Conclusions of Textbooks*, which considers the latent inferences and judgments present in textbooks about the conduct of war; and *Discussion and Recommendations*, in which I propose how textbooks might more accurately reflect war in their narratives.

### **The Experience of Battle**

The 19th-century notion of war as a glorious adventure was quickly dashed by the Civil War. Most Americans know it was the bloodiest conflict in U.S. History; the implication of this knowledge is that killing in combat was both common and easily accomplished. In this section, I consider historiographical and textbook accounts of the following topics: casualties in battle, and death and dying.

**Casualties in Battle: Historians' View.** Death in the Civil War could occur without warning; even more troubling, though, was the horror of the event. Linderman (1987) points out that "few soldiers died with tidy holes through the chest" (p. 125) The combination of outdated tactics and advanced technology led to a disastrous result on the battlefield. Olsen (2006) provides a succinct description of the new weaponry and its likely effect:

Muskets fired a round shell that came out with no spin (think of a knuckleball pitch in baseball) and were accurate to about 60 yards; rifles, with grooves inside the barrel, fired conical-shaped shells that spun in a spiral (imagine a football pass) and were accurate to about 350 yards. In the hands of trained men, muzzle-loading rifles could be shot twice about every minute or so. This made infantry charges over open ground nearly suicidal [...] (p. 117)

The gore of the battlefield was a tremendous shock for most combatants, as was the stunning magnitude of such devastation; both challenged traditional notions of heroism, courage, and respect.

The impact of these experiences has been interpreted in various ways by historians. Linderman (1987), for example, holds that the majority of soldiers found the dissonance between their expectations and the reality of battle too difficult to encompass, resulting in a "deeply depressive condition arising from the demolition of soldiers' conceptions of themselves and their performance in war" (p. 240). Hess (1997) argues that Northern soldiers were not subject to "the modernist view," the "assumption that all wars are equally disastrous to victor and defeated alike" (p. 197). Hess believes that, contrary to Linderman's emphasis on disillusionment, the Union soldier was generally able to make a lasting connection between sacrifice and patriotism, and was thus able to move beyond the horror of war into emotional stability.

**Casualties in Battle: Textbook Accounts.** Most textbooks relate the hardships faced by soldiers, especially poor food, lack of hygiene, and the

boredom of camp life. *The Americans* (Danzer, et al., 2010) includes a bit of doggerel about camp food—"The soldiers' fare is very rough/The bread is hard, the beef is tough/If they can stand it, it will be/Through love of God, a mystery" (p. 354). The actual threat of death and mutilation that most soldiers faced on daily basis is mitigated with the comparatively antiseptic term "casualties." *America: History of Our Nation* (Davidson & Stoff, 2009) goes so far as to provide a definition of the word—"the military term for persons killed, wounded, or missing in action" (p. 520).

The battles at Antietam (in 1862) and Gettysburg (1863) are the topics containing the most hyperbolic description of casualties. *America: History of Our Nation* (Davidson & Stoff, 2009) is succinct in describing the wreckage of Antietam: "This was the bloodiest day of the Civil War. The Union Army attacked again and again. It suffered about 12,000 casualties" (p. 520). *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, et al., 2007) even includes a personal note from a soldier who survived the battle:

In the first three hours of fighting, some 12,000 soldiers from both sides were killed or wounded...**The Battle of Antietam** [sic] became the bloodiest day of the Civil War. "God grant these things may soon end and peace be restored," wrote a Pennsylvania soldier after the battle. "Of this war I am heartily sick and tired." (p. 389)

*United States History* (Lapansky-Werner, et al., 2010) tries to capture the devastation by including a table, together with graphic imagery, that shows how casualties mounted as the battle wore on (see Figure 1).

The descriptions of Gettysburg vary from poetic to clinical in tone. *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, et al., 2007) aims for the former, by quoting a survivor:

"Men fire into each other's faces, not five feet apart. There are bayonet-thrusts, sabre-strokes, pistol-shots...men going down on their hands and knees, spinning round like tops, throwing out their arms, falling; legless, armless, headless. There are ghastly heaps of dead men" (p. 406).

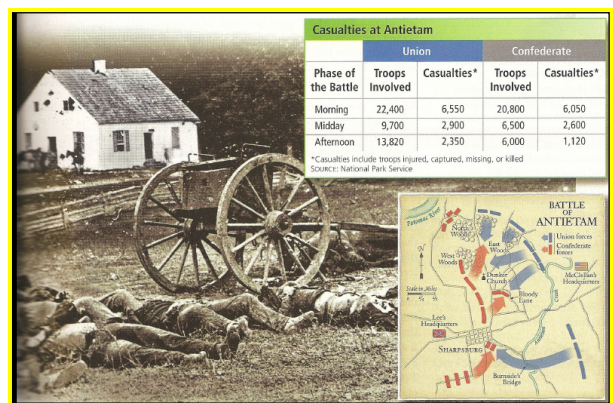


Figure 1: "The Union and Confederate Dead," from *United States History* (Lapansky-Werner, et al., 2010) p. 369

*America: History of Our Nation* (Davidson & Stoff, 2009), however, in describing how "Union losses exceeded 23,000," featured the highlighted word in a side panel, "Vocabulary Builder," and defined as "to go beyond what is expected; to be greater than what was planned" (p. 535). *The Americans* (Danzer, et al., 2010) cites the same number as *America: History of Our Nation*, though it concludes more disturbingly:

The three-day battle produced staggering losses. Total casualties were more than 30 percent. Union losses included 23,000 men killed or wounded. For the Confederacy, approximately 28,000 were killed or wounded. Fly-infested corpses

lay everywhere in the July heat; the stench was unbearable. (p. 360)

Sometimes, descriptions can be disturbing. *America: History of Our Nation* (Davidson & Stoff, 2009) quotes a Confederate veteran—"Our men were vomiting with excessive fatigue, over-exhaustion, and sunstroke; our tongues were parched and cracked for water...our dead and wounded were piled indiscriminately in the trenches" (p. 518). *The American Journey* (Goldfield, et al., 2007) describes the scene at Shiloh: "the dead and dying lying in masses, some with arms, legs, and even their jaws shot off bleeding to death, and no one to wait upon them to dress their wounds" (p. 427).

**Death and Dying: Historians' View.** The passage above alludes to the changing nature of death as a cultural experience. Mitchell (1993) casts the experience of war as a vast "coming of age" experience fueled by the tremendous death toll, "as if the nation could not really mature without a massive bloodletting" (p. 18). Faust (2008) explored how the Civil War redefined death in 19<sup>th</sup> century America. Prior to the war, the *ars moriendi* (the "Good Death") was a commonly understood and hoped-for end, the expectation that one would die at or near home, resigned to death. This was obliterated by the reality of the Civil War. American soldiers died in shocking numbers, their bodies mutilated by powerful new weapons, their corpses unidentified, unclaimed, and buried in mass graves. Indeed, possibly the most calamitous aspect for most families was the inability to recover the bodies of loved ones who died anonymously, far from home. The sheer volume of death created a rent in the

national social fabric, as families struggled to endure the pain of being unable to reconcile within cultural norms. As Faust puts it, "the blow that killed a soldier on the field not only destroyed that man but also sent waves of misery and desolation into a world of relatives and friends, who themselves became war's casualties" (p. 143).

**Death and Dying: Textbook Accounts.** Several textbooks acknowledge the changing nature of death and its impact on noncombatants, but only inferentially. *The American Journey* (Goldfield, et al., 2007) describes civilian suffering after the war: "fatherless children, women who never married, families never made whole" (p. 452). Most textbooks focus on death in battle, and thus tend to minimize their depictions of civilian suffering. This is perhaps understandable—textbooks only have a limited amount of space for any topic, and authors and editors must make decisions about what goes and what stays throughout a given narrative. Yet providing an incomplete description of what the war did to American lives does not adequately equip our students to make informed moral decisions about U.S. policies.

### **The Moral Conclusions of Textbooks**

Textbooks are, by nature, mechanisms of subtle, almost passive influence. Since textbooks are written to be adopted, there is little value in overt (and potentially controversial) statements. Still, in spite of this, there is considerable evidence that textbooks do contain moral conclusions, especially with regard to the Civil War's impact on our national unity.

The Battle of Gettysburg is often depicted in textbooks as a sort of moral transition point, from the battle itself to the evocative language of the Gettysburg Address. In this, *The American Journey* (Goldfield, et al., 2007) is fairly typical; after relating the failure of Pickett's Charge—the last Confederate attempt, on July 3, 1863, to break the Union lines—the authors illustrate the importance of the event with the picture below (see Figure 2), with this accompanying text:

The Union and Confederate dead at Gettysburg represent the cost of the war, the price of freedom. President Lincoln transformed the battleground from a killing field to a noble symbol of sacrifice for American ideals. Gettysburg continues to occupy a special place in our nation's history and in the memory of its citizens. (p. 437)

In these descriptions, there is a latent moral conclusion—the battles, while brutal and bloody, were necessary, and soldiers were willing to lay down their lives in combat. An example of this phenomenon can be found in *America: Pathways to the Present* (Cayton, et al., 2007), in which the authors highlight the role of drummer boys, “usually only 12 to 16 years old,” who “were so important that they were often purposely fired on by the enemy, and hundreds were killed in battle.” This disturbing thought is followed by a quotation from one drummer boy that presents both courage and an implicit model of appropriate behavior:

A cannon ball came bouncing across the corn field, kicking up dirt and dust each time it struck the earth. Many of the men in our company took shelter behind a stone wall, but I stood where I was and never stopped drumming. An officer

came by on horseback and chastised the men, saying ‘this boy puts you all to shame. Get up and move forward’...Even when the fighting was at its fiercest and I was frightened, I stood straight and did as I was ordered...I felt I had to be a good example for the others. (p. 402)



Figure 2: “The Union and Confederate Dead,” from *The American Journey* (Goldfield, et al., 2007), p. 437

*The American Journey* (Goldfield, et al., 2007) includes a poetic, emotional letter from Sullivan Ballou, a Union army officer, to his wife, written in 1861. In it, Ballou remarked candidly on the prospects of his own death and his willingness to face it:

If it is necessary that I should fall on the battle-field for my Country I am ready. I have no misgivings about, or lack of confidence in the cause in which I am engaged, and my courage does not halt or falter. I know how American Civilization now leans upon the triumph of the government...I am willing, perfectly willing, to lay down all my joys in this life, to help maintain this government, and to pay that debt. (p. 420)

This degree of commitment is admirable and accompanied by this characterization: “Sullivan Ballou’s letter to his wife on the eve of the First Battle of Bull Run typified the sentiments of the

civilian armies raised by both North and South” (p. 421). The message is that sacrifice of soldiers like Ballou (who died shortly after writing this letter) was tragic, but necessary. By presenting the war itself as a tragic necessity, textbooks themselves provide a form of intellectual reconciliation. Yet, there is no opportunity for readers to critique this stance. It is passively rendered and thus passively accepted. The sentiment is echoed in *United States History* (Lapansky-Werner, et al., 2010), quoting a soldier’s mother:

War, I know is very dreadful, but if, by the raising of my finger, I could prevent my sons from doing their duty to their country now, though I love them as my life, I could not do it. I am no coward, nor have I brought up my boys to be cowards. They must go if their country needs them. (p. 360)

### Discussion and Recommendations

The Civil War is, for many Americans, one of the few “necessary” conflicts in our history. After all, there are comparatively few today who would endorse the Confederacy’s defense of the institution of slavery, or consider the North’s fight to restore the Union immoral. Moreover, the nature of the Civil War—seemingly quaint in light of the murky complexity of more modern conflicts—may seem to limit the impact of a discussion on the nature of warfare. However, the Civil War occupies a conceptual space that makes it uniquely valuable for such analysis. The war has become a touchstone for nearly all Americans, a conflict enshrined in Abraham Lincoln’s pronouncement that its central theme—the defense of “government of the people, by the

people, for the people”—was nationally defining. We must guard against the possibility that we may inadvertently lead students to believe that our wars are *always* necessary, and thus *always* justifiable. If this is the case, we are failing to foster skills like critical thinking and the examination of multiple perspectives. More importantly, however, we may be missing an opportunity to make war less likely.

War, ultimately, is the mass murder of a nation’s citizens in order to promote political change. The impact of this killing is depicted in textbooks in those terms—the degree to which it effects historical change. The individual and psychological impact of such violence, however, is rarely explored in textbooks. One of the most disturbing aspects of war is the transformation of soldiers’ attitudes toward killing. Ernie Pyle, in World War II, wrote that “the most vivid change” was the “transition from the normal belief that taking human life is sinful, over to a new professional outlook where killing is a craft. To them now there is nothing morally wrong about killing. In fact it is an admirable thing” (Pyle & Nichols, 1986, p. 103).

We should consider the degree to which war is presented to students as an option of last resort. In truth, there are many individuals who want war, whether for “financial gain, national dominance, or personal glory” (Noddings, 2006, p. 36). Chris Hedges, in “War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning” (2002) wrote that some individuals who lack “purpose, meaning, a reason for living” find in war an addictive culture (p. 10):

The rush of battle is a potent and often lethal addiction, for war is a drug...It is

peddled by myth-makers, historians, war correspondents, film-makers, novelists and the state—all of whom endow it with qualities it often does possess: excitement, exoticism, power, chances to rise above our small stations in life, and a bizarre and fantastic universe that has a grotesque and dark beauty... (p. 13)

Civil War soldiers often spoke the same way. Stonewall Jackson talked of the “delightful excitement” of combat. Phillip Kearny, a Union general, remarked, “I love war. It brings me indescribable pleasure.” He even wrote a poem that captured the same view: “Let us fight for fun of fighting/without thought of ever righting/Human Wrong” (as cited in Linderman, 1987, p. 74).

Perhaps more importantly, such behavior among soldiers is still present in modern conflicts. A 2009 *Newsweek* article described how one veteran of the war in Iraq “would rather be in a war zone than at home,” and revels in what he considers to be war’s freedom—in Iraq, “[you can] do whatever you want...You can go into people's houses without being invited in. It's like you own their house." A general officer was more blunt: “Soldiers want to fight...that’s why they signed up” (Stone, Conant, & Barry, 2009). This modernist view is both difficult and vital for our students to grasp so that they might know what war is and the damage it can inflict.

Just as intriguing, however, is another truth about war—that many soldiers resist killing. Civil War soldiers often established informal truces between lines, exchanging foodstuffs, small gifts, and gossip. Linderman (1987) depicts how soldiers on both sides would give warnings prior to attacks—“Are you dressed yet?” “Look out, Yanks, we’re going to shoot” (p. 67). If an opponent

seemed brave or commendable in behavior, a soldier might hold off firing. Linderman called this “the ability of courage even to suspend the soldier’s sense of killing as the first necessity” (p. 69). For instance, a Union soldier described sighting Stonewall Jackson across a riverbank in 1863: “General Jackson took his field glasses and coolly surveyed our party. We could have shot him...but we have an agreement that neither side will fire, as it does no good, and in fact, is simply murder” (Rhodes & Rhodes, 1991, p. 103).

There is considerable evidence that men will go to extraordinary lengths to avoid killing, even in the heat of battle. Griffith (1989) shows how the Union Army salvaged over 27,000 Confederate rifles abandoned at Gettysburg. Of these, “24,000 were loaded, including 12,000 loaded twice, 6,000 loaded between three and ten times, one with twenty-three charges and one with twenty-two balls and sixty-six buckshot” (p. 86). This is striking, given the repetitive nature of Civil War military training. The idea that so many soldiers would load their weapons, fail to fire, and then load again, is an anomaly that signals their willingness to subvert their own training in an effort to avoid killing (Grossman, 1995, p. 25). This behavior—even to the point of deliberately aiming to miss the enemy—has been profiled in modern conflicts, as well, like World War II (Marshall, 2000). The complexity of human behavior, in this regard, is absent from our textbook narratives.

As teachers, we should be concerned about textbook narratives which do not fully represent the psychological impact of war or infer a lack of agency or the inevitability of war.



Given the restrictions and parameters facing authors and publishers, such a shift in tone is unlikely. Teachers should consider ways in which such materials, given their limitations, may be used to help students engage in thoughtful analysis of the moral implications of human conflict.

Generally, textbooks are a poor device for transmitting complex ideas, because of the restrictions on space and the demand for more universal coverage of subject matter. The picture of war that our textbooks present to students is one where the experience of battle is often brutal and vicious, but soldiers behave mostly the same—stoic acceptance of the necessity to fight, kill, and possibly die. In truth, however, men and women in battle react differently, across a wide spectrum of behaviors. And students should be aware of this. This is a difficult task—teenagers are, of course, still children, and the degree to which we expose them to challenging content should be measured. Such reluctance, however, allows us to escape a decidedly unpleasant truth—most of the soldiers who go to fight on our nation’s behalf are barely older than the children in our schools. If children do not learn about war in schools, there are few other avenues or opportunities for such lessons.

If we choose to teach about war, though, what is our aim? If our goal is to encourage our students to admire soldiers’ sacrifice and valor, then showing the costs incurred is necessary. If our goal is to make war less likely, then exposing our students to its reality is equally important. As a result, they might be better equipped, as adults, to judge American policies which may have led to our involvement in such conflagrations.

Linderman (1987) quotes an Illinois volunteer who thought of killing as his “duty,” and who described his “business” in frightening terms—“We won it fairly. We are the best killers...that establishes the righteousness of any cause” (p. 150). This is assuredly not the conception of war we wish our students to internalize—but it is, doubtlessly, a common refrain from those we as a society send to fight for us. It is vitally important that we allow our students to see what our wars do—to participants, to victims, and to each other.

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## EXPANDING HISTORICAL NARRATIVES: USING SOURCES TO ASSESS THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF OPERATION ANTHROPOID

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Far too often, students see history as one giant timeline. Whether studying world or American history, students perceive that each event can be plugged into a timeline and simplified to items of limited importance and only worthy of rote memorization. One of the major perpetuators of this line of thinking has been the overutilization of textbooks (Marino, 2011). There are several limitations with the exclusive use of narratives provided in common history textbooks, including that textbooks can be difficult to read, superficial, inaccurate, irrelevant, and devoid of primary sources (Roberts, 2013). Additionally, studies have shown that schools traditionally use textbooks written two or more years above the average grade level of their students, which causes many students, especially in grades 5-12, to “struggle to learn from content-area textbooks” (Allington, 2002, p. 16). If textbooks are too advanced for the majority of the students in the class, this only increases the disconnect between students and the content. Furthermore, social studies textbooks contain an enormous amount of information, which makes it difficult to provide a narrative that goes beyond the surface.

Students can have a difficult time making meaningful connections to historical events through textbook narratives. This creates a challenge for

teachers. According to Kaiser (2010), the three most challenging tasks for history teachers are (a) engaging students in the study of history, (b) helping students to find relevance in the events of the past, and (c) encouraging students to analyze the effects of change over time.

One way to combat superficial understanding of historical events is to authenticate students’ learning experiences by looking beyond the scope of textbook narratives and supplement the linear outline with pivotal details, especially by augmenting instruction with related primary sources. With the limitations of the exclusive use of textbooks, primary sources are effective in supplementing the student learning experience by providing various perspectives and information textbooks leave out. According to the National Museum of American History (2015), engaging students with primary sources can help them foster critical thinking and deductive reasoning skills and allow instructors an opportunity to address different learning preferences, appeal to students, and make learning active. Making learning active is a critical component of student learning because it is how students construct meaning and shape (and reshape) their understanding of historical events. Therefore, teachers can utilize primary sources to expand the narratives of historical events and

provide students with opportunities to authentically construct historical narratives (Frost, 2012).

Students are intrigued by the scandalous and unusual, because it often triggers inquiry and authentic questioning. Lessons that focus on historical people help students “develop a better understanding of the past and how ‘ordinary’ people impact the course of history” (Waring & Scheiner-Fisher, 2014, p. 3). It can be fruitful to incorporate events that are frequently left out of history textbooks but can help strengthen students’ knowledge.

One topic that is not always treated adequately within textbooks is the Holocaust. Lindquist (2009) noted that there are problems in the coverage of the Holocaust that can foster inaccurate perspectives about the event. Based on his study of six textbooks, he concluded that the majority of them provide only a general account that “makes it difficult for students to develop valid judgments” (Lindquist, 2009, p. 301). One of the biggest misconceptions students conclude is that Hitler was the sole perpetrator of the Holocaust. However, with a more in depth narrative, this assumption can easily be discredited.

In this article, we will focus on how to expand the narrative of World War II in secondary-level history classes, to include the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, the architect of the Final Solution. We will also provide instruction on how to assess the successes and failures of this operation, by investigating this event through the use of primary sources. The goal is to help students create their own historical narratives, by analyzing a variety of primary source documents, which will, in

turn, help them to understand the impact of crucial events. Furthermore, we wish to compel teachers to venture beyond the superficial narratives outlined in textbooks and redefine the curriculum with the inclusion of more meaningful narratives.

## Historical Content

After being granted the Czechoslovakian region known as the Sudetenland through an agreement made in Munich that included no Czech representatives, Adolf Hitler extended the German Reich territory beyond agreed borders and established rule over the entire Bohemian and Moravian territory. In the process, Czech government officials were ousted and Konstantin von Neurath was named the Reich Protector for the newly formed Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For more information about Czechoslovakia, Reinhard Heydrich, the Final Solution, and Reinhard Heydrich see:

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- Heydrich, R. (2010). On the elimination of the Czech nation. In an Bažant, Nina Bažantová, & Frances Starn (Eds.), *The Czech Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (pp. 321-326). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
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After rule that was deemed by Hitler to be ineffective and not tough enough, von Neurath was replaced with Reinhard Heydrich, also known as “Hitler’s Hangman” due to his role in developing the Final Solution for exterminating the Jews (Gerwarth, 2011). It was immediately clear that Heydrich’s rule would be swift and cruel. Heydrich was given the title of the Protector of Bohemia and Moravia and would begin his reign of terror over the Czechs on September 27, 1941. While in power, Heydrich maintained Hitler’s decrees, forcing German as the official language, devaluing the Czech currency (koruna), and making efforts to eliminate all Jews and others deemed to be undesirable from society (Burian, Knizek, Rajlich, & Stehlik, 2002). Naturally, resistance against Nazi Germany grew not only in Czechoslovakia but also across the rest of Europe. Heydrich’s reign continued and increased in ferocity. From his quarters in Czernin Palace on October 2, 1941 Heydrich made the following announcement:

I must unambiguously and with unflinching hardness bring the citizens of this country, Czech or otherwise, to the

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*Heydrich: Operation Anthropoid.*  
<http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/nazioccupation/heydrichkilling.html>.

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understanding that there is no avoiding the fact they are members of the Reich and as such they owe allegiance to the Reich... This is a task of priority required by the war. I must have peace of mind that every Czech worker works at his maximum for the German war effort... This includes feeding the Czech worker - to put it frankly - so that he can do his work... To be able to make a decision as to who is suited to be Germanized, I need their racial inventory... We have all kinds of people here, some of them are showing racial quality and good judgment. It’s going to be simple to work on them - we can Germanize them. On the other hand, we have racially inferior elements and, what’s worse, they demonstrate wrong judgment. These we must get out. There is a lot of space eastwards. Between these two extremes, there are those in the middle that we have to examine thoroughly. We have racially inferior people but with good judgment, then we have racially unacceptable people with bad judgment. As to the first kind, we must resettle them in the Reich or somewhere else, but we have to make sure they no longer breed, because we don’t care to develop them in this area... One group remains, though, these people are racially acceptable but hostile in their thinking - that is the most dangerous group, because it is a racially pure class of leaders. We have to think through carefully what to do with them. We can relocate some of them into the Reich, put them in a purely German environment, and then Germanize and re-educate them. If this cannot be done, we must put them against the wall (Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, 2015, para. 17).

Immediately upon hearing this, Former Czechoslovak President Edvard Benes decided, with others in exiled in London, that a plan was needed to eliminate the most dangerous man after Adolf Hitler, Reinhard Heydrich (Ivanov, 1973).

**Operation Anthropoid.** In 1941, various members of the Czechoslovak

and British army masterminded a plan to assassinate Reinhard Heydrich. The two main goals of the assassination were to fuel Czech resistance and, in turn, break free from Nazi rule. After extensive training and planning in the United Kingdom, two Czech soldiers by the names of Jan Kubiš and Josef Gabčík were assigned to carry out the mission. On May 27, 1942, the two men waited near a tram station in Prague, prepared to ambush Heydrich's car as it approached the corner. As his car turned the corner, Operation Anthropoid was underway. Gabčík pulled out a Sten gun and prepared to shoot Heydrich. However, in that moment the gun jammed, and Gabčík was unable to use it. Kubiš carried a modified grenade with him and quickly launched it at the Mercedes 320C. The bomb exploded and immobilized the vehicle, along with the target. Although Heydrich did not die instantly from the explosion, he was carted off to the hospital, where he most probably died of infection eight days later, likely from horsehair used in the seat cushioning that became lodged in his lower back. Gabčík and Kubiš were able to escape, leaving behind the briefcase, machine gun, and a bicycle.

**St. Cyril and Methodius Cathedral.** Weeks later, the two assassins, along with five other Czech collaborators, found refuge in the crypt of St. Cyril and Methodius Cathedral. The Nazis began savagely searching for the assassins and other parties involved. There was a substantial monetary reward for any information on the location of the assassins. In order to gather information, Nazi troopers began killing individuals and families believed to have assisted the soldiers. Despite the growing number of

deaths, the Nazis were not making any headway in the investigation. The fear instilled by the Nazis finally broke one of the accomplices to the assassination, Karel Čurda, who betrayed his fellow soldiers by fleeing to his mother's house after the assassination and then contacting the Gestapo, providing them with information that would lead them to the Czech soldiers. On June 18, 1942, the St. Cyril and Methodius Cathedral was surrounded by the Gestapo and other SS forces. The Nazis entered the church in search of the accused. In order to reach the men, the Nazis threw grenades and tear gas, as well as flooded the crypt with water through a small open window facing the street. The soldiers refused to surrender. Several of the Czech soldiers were able to fight to the bitter end, until they reached their last bullets, which they used on themselves.

**Retribution.** After Heydrich's funeral, the Nazis sought retribution for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. Hitler issued destruction orders for the small towns of Lidice and Ležáky, as he believed inhabitants in these towns had major involvement in the planning of the assassination and in hiding the assassins. Hitler gave explicit orders to have all male inhabitants rounded up and shot. The women were sent to concentration camps, and the children, if "Germanizable," were to be sent to foster parents in Germany to be raised as Germans (Vanezia, 2013). Once the people of Lidice were removed, the town was then razed to the ground. The same fate was issued for the town of Ležáky. In all, it is estimated that over 5,000 Czechs died as a result of the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich.

## **SOURCES Framework: Using Primary Sources to Assess the Successes and Failures of Operation Anthropoid**

Once students have obtained relevant background knowledge, they can be introduced to primary sources related to the subject. The SOURCES Framework (see below) is utilized to scaffold the historical inquiry process outlined in this article.

- S**crutinize the Fundamental Source(s)
- O**rganize Thoughts and **U**nderstand the Context
- R**ead Between the Lines
- C**orroborate and Refute
- E**stablish a Plausible Narrative
- S**ummarize Final Thoughts

In the first stage of the SOURCES framework, students are given one or two fundamental sources that will help them begin to think about fundamental questions focusing the investigation. Thus, the students are asked to scrutinize the fundamental source(s), by reading, viewing, or listening to the source(s) with which they are provided. Next, students should organize thoughts and understand the context. As sources can often be difficult to understand, we ask students to think carefully about the subject and what knowledge they feel they are lacking. Students are provided with a limited number of primary and secondary sources to help develop a rudimentary understanding of the topic being investigated. Once they have a better understanding of the subject, they are asked to revisit the fundamental sources and read between the lines to gain a deeper and better understanding of why these sources were chosen.

Students are asked to share some thoughts and initial answers regarding the fundamental question(s) to lead them into the next stage of the framework. Students are asked to provide sources to corroborate and refute their thoughts related to the fundamental source(s) and their answer to the question(s). Typically, students can be provided with a set of sources and/or links to web-based resources where they can solidify thoughts and thesis statements to be made in the next stage, establish a plausible narrative. In this stage, students are asked to construct some sort of narrative to answer the fundamental question(s). This can be done in the form of a written essay, a documentary movie, a web site that attends to the question(s), or whatever form deemed most appropriate by the teacher. The last stage is for the students to summarize final thoughts and consider any lingering questions that they were unable to answer.

In the following example, students analyze each of the sources provided and are prompted to think about the successes and failures of the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich (Operation Anthropoid). They should think about the following question: to what extent would you consider the operation a success or a failure? Guiding questions and analysis sheets should be provided to help students analyze each source and facilitate the investigation.

**Scrutinize the Fundamental Source(s).** The first step is to select a source that is considered fundamental to understanding the successes and failures of Operation Anthropoid. The sole purpose of Operation Anthropoid was to assassinate Reinhard Heydrich.

Therefore, we chose the New York Times edition from June 5, 1942, as the fundamental source (New York Times, 1942). Students read the article by Daniel T. Brigham entitled, "Heydrich is Dead; Czech Toll at 178." Students may be tempted to make a judgment regarding the fundamental question after only reading the short title. Others will read into the article and read statements, such as "Czech Officials Jubilant" and "Czech official spokesman warned: 'Let Himmler, Goering, Hitler, and others bear in mind that what happened to Heydrich can happen to them'" (para. 21). Few will read additional information about the controversial and still hazy details and question whether the act was worth the deaths of 178 individuals found "guilty" of involvement or knowledge of this mission. If further scrutiny is desired, a teacher can utilize one of many source analysis sheets available on the Internet, such as those provided by the National Archives and Records Administration (see, for example, <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets>). However, we prefer to wait until the read between the lines stage to provide the analysis sheets.

Along with the analysis of the New York Times article, students can be shown the image of the aftermath of Heydrich's Mercedes (Figure 1). This source largely focuses on the outcome of the operation. To help students analyze this image, an analysis sheet created by the Library of Congress (see Appendix A), encourages them to observe, reflect, and question the source. Students are asked to first observe the image by recording what they see; details such as the car's flat tire may be listed.

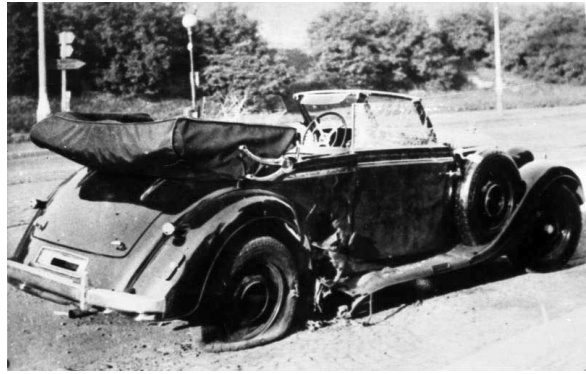


Figure 1: Aftermath of Reinhard Heydrich's Mercedes 320C

Next, students should reflect on those observations by considering what each observation means. Under reflection, students should make inferences based on what they observed. For example, since students may observe that the car has a flat tire, a possible reflection could be that the car was in an accident. Last, students should think about and record any questions they may have about the fundamental source. A student may wonder what actually caused the car to get a flat tire. This process will help students think historically by collecting evidence for which they will eventually find supporting sources. Students will also begin to think critically about the successes and failures of Operation Anthropoid. The questions recorded will help students further investigate additional sources.

**Organize Thoughts and Understand the Context.** Once students have analyzed the fundamental source, it is important for them to think critically about what they know about the image of Heydrich's damaged Mercedes and Operation Anthropoid. Although many students know about the Holocaust, they typically do not have any previous knowledge regarding Reinhard Heydrich



or Operation Anthropoid. To provide more context, students can view the film *Nazi Hunters – Killing Rein* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M9Q5B5U47II>). The documentary explains the role of Reinhard Heydrich and his involvement in the eradication of the Jews and outlines the turn of events before and after Operation Anthropoid. Students can also view *Killing Heydrich* to obtain further information (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83dyz75XIA8>). By watching these video segments, the majority of the students will gain a better understanding of Heydrich's influence and the mission to assassinate him. While viewing pieces such as these, students can be working on constructing questions, determining various points of view, and evaluating the accuracy of the video. At this point, students will start to better understand why a plan to assassinate Heydrich was created. Moreover, students will acquire an account of the assassination plan Operation Anthropoid. Now that students are provided with the outcome, they can begin to assess the successes and/or failures of Operation Anthropoid.

**Read Between the Lines.** Once students have gained a better understanding of the context of Operation Anthropoid, they can now refer back to the fundamental sources and apply the new information to what has already been observed, reflected upon, and questioned. We suggest providing students with the written document analysis sheet provided by the National Archives and Records Administration (see Appendix B) to help them to garner additional information.

**Corroborate and Refute.** Based on what students have learned thus far, they may consider Operation Anthropoid a success, since Reinhard Heydrich died in the attack. However, it is important for students to engage with other primary sources that would corroborate or refute this conclusion. At this point, students should make a list of what they would determine to be successes and failures regarding to Operation Anthropoid. Next, students are given additional sources and links to web-based resources that corroborate or refute what they have listed. Students can use the new information and apply it to their understanding of Operation Anthropoid. In order to continue this investigation, students should ask themselves, "Was their mission necessary?" One specific example to help students answer this question could be the cover of Time Magazine from February 23, 1942. It includes a headshot of Heydrich with nooses in the background to illustrate one of his many nicknames, "Hitler's Hangman." Further information about his role in the Holocaust and the subjugation of countless individuals across Europe could be found in other articles about him published in 1941 and 1942. Additionally, students could study images of the aftermath of the massacre of Lidice (see Figure 2).

Now that students know that he was the mastermind behind the Final Solution, they can begin to determine, using multiple perspectives, whether or not Operation Anthropoid was necessary. Moreover, the same process can be applied to the information about and the images of the aftermath of the massacre of Lidice, where all male inhabitants were murdered and females and children were

relocated and/or murdered and the town was razed to the ground. The assumption that the mission was a complete success can be refuted by the retaliation taken place at Lidice. This image is typically very moving for students and alters the existing perspectives. Students will further consider whether those behind Operation Anthropoid considered if or how the Nazis would retaliate and, if so, to what extent.



Figure 2: Massacre at Lidice

Lastly, another essential component of the episode was the crypt of St. Cyril and Methodius Cathedral, the hideout for Kubiš, Gabčík, and the other soldiers. If Curda had not given up the location to the Nazis, the soldiers may not have been found, because up to that point, there were not concrete leads. Betrayal and retaliation shape the outcome of Operation Anthropoid and should be considered by students as they assess the successes and failures of this operation. It is often surprising to students that the soldiers behind the assassination were ultimately betrayed by one of their own, Karel Curda. Students may suggest that this betrayal can be

considered a possible failure of Operation Anthropoid.

Students are expected to complete the research process individually or in small groups to gather additional sources to construct a narrative answering the fundamental question(s). With the help of additional sources, students can develop a better understanding of why Operation Anthropoid was organized and possible outcomes. When students were originally presented with the fundamental source, there was not enough evidence to determine whether or not the plan succeeded or failed. They also could not determine why it happened or who was involved. At this stage of the lesson, students should have a clear perception of the whos, whats, whens, wheres, whys, and hows of Operation Anthropoid.

#### **Establish a Plausible Narrative.**

There are several ways to deduce whether or not students can demonstrate historical thinking. We decided to have students complete a video-based essay answering the following prompt: Assess the successes and/or failures of Operation Anthropoid. Throughout the process of analyzing multiple sources, students have recorded observations, reflections, and other notes for each source. Now, they can use these notes to create an outline and, ultimately, a narrative answering the fundamental question(s). Ultimately, students will make an argument for whether Operation Anthropoid was a success or failure as well as determine if the mission was necessary.

#### **Summarize Final Thoughts.**

Finally, it is important for students to continue to investigate this topic. For example, they can consider: If you could

change anything about Operation Anthropoid, what would it be? It is imperative for students to see the true impact of the causes and effects of historical events. Operation Anthropoid does not have the immense amount of accessible information and related sources as one may find on other, well known historical events. Although questions are left unanswered, students can draw their own conclusions through the construction of a narrative. Students might be asked to consider, if your family or life was threatened, would you have taken the same course of action as Karel Curda? These questions can and will have multiple answers but will get students to think critically about decisions made during this point in history.

**Extension Activity.** A simulated museum gallery walk activity with a focus question such as, “what do these sources tell you about the successes and failures of Operation Anthropoid?” would be a great way for students to interact in more depth with the sources and their peers. Teachers could post the primary sources around the room and divide students into groups of 3 or 4. Using post-it-notes, each group can spend between 3 and 5 minutes recording their observations, reflections, and questions. After the allotted time, students rotate to the next source and corroborate or refute what the previous group posted. Students continue this process until the groups are back in their original position. This activity would invite students to engage in dialogue with others in the classroom. At every station, students are shaping and reshaping their understanding of this historical episode.

## Conclusion

It is imperative that we as educators help students to see different aspects and perspectives of the complex tapestry of history (Waring & Robinson, 2010). The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich is one of many interesting and crucial historical events that are often overlooked. Examples such as these help students to better understand that operations such as this one needed to be carefully considered prior to being conducted, especially with the real threat of reprisal. Additionally, the examination of Operation Anthropoid can allow students to consider Heydrich’s plans for the Final Solution, how the use of manpower and railroad weakened their efforts especially on the Eastern Front, and how this operation impacted the overall war effort.

History students should be invited to ask the “what if” questions, in order to see the bigger picture and realize that the past is not a scripted narrative that could have only happened in one particular way. The inclusion of meaningful narratives will help reduce the apathy that many students have towards history. If they are given something that they can connect to, students are more willing to inquire about the topic in depth. Although it can be challenging to find meaningful narratives and primary sources, it is worth the effort to provide students with the wonderful and dynamic aspects of our discipline.

With this investigation, students are required to ask: even though Heydrich died in the attack, was Operation Anthropoid a success? There is no easy answer to this authentic question, which countless politicians and

professional historians have also grappled with. With the knowledge obtained through this inquiry, students can see that despite Heydrich's death, the Nazis' revenge on the Czechs was brutal, and the extent of their brutality may not have been considered as a possible outcome. The perception of the fundamental source and answers to the fundamental questions are likely to change throughout the investigation, and

as they draw conclusions, students are able to weigh the costs and benefits of this mission. Students will realize that there was not just one cause or effect of Operation Anthropoid, and most importantly, with the skills necessary to facilitate this investigation bolstered, students will begin to see other historical and contemporary narratives as being constructed through analysis and perspective.

# Appendix A

## Primary source analysis tool from the Library of Congress



### PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS TOOL



OBSERVE	REFLECT	QUESTION
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### FURTHER INVESTIGATION

## Appendix B

### Written Document Analysis Worksheet from the National Archives and Records Administration

Reset Form		Written Document Analysis Worksheet	Print Form
1.	TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one): <input type="radio"/> Newspaper <input type="radio"/> Map <input type="radio"/> Advertisement <input type="radio"/> Letter <input type="radio"/> Telegram <input type="radio"/> Congressional Record <input type="radio"/> Patent <input type="radio"/> Press Release <input type="radio"/> Census Report <input type="radio"/> Memorandum <input type="radio"/> Report <input type="radio"/> Other		
2.	UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more): <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting Letterhead <input type="checkbox"/> Notations <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten <input type="checkbox"/> "RECEIVED" stamp <input type="checkbox"/> Typed <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> Seals		
3.	DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT:		
4.	AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT:  POSITION (TITLE):		
5.	FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN?		
6.	DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.) <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Limit response for each question to 3 lines of text</span> A. List three things the author said that you think are important:  B. Why do you think this document was written?  C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document.  D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written.  E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document:		
Reset Form		Designed and developed by the Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408	Print Form

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### For more examples of lessons utilizing the SOURCES Framework, please see:

- Cowgill, D., & Waring, S. M. (2015). Using SOURCES to examine the American Constitution and events leading to its construction. *The Councilor: A Journal of the Social Studies*, 76(2), 1-14.
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