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Editors' introduction:

Welcome to this inaugural issue of the new *Canadian Social Studies*! This issue constitutes a re-emphasis of the *CSS* mission. Since its inception, *CSS* has both drawn from and pointed to the multiple historical, sociological, geographical, and philosophical/theoretical/political perspectives that constitute the field of social studies education. Its purpose has been to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas, research, and classroom activities. With this issue we seek to re-focus *CSS* to emphasize original, peer reviewed conceptual and empirical studies. While *CSS* has always and continues to look for contributions that make strong connections between theory and practice, we hope to provide a scholarly outlet that will enhance the depth and breadth of ways we can interpret and enact social studies education. This issue we believe provides a fine example of the mission.

As scholars and teachers, we live in interesting times. How do we help students make sense of what (many) adults cannot? To cite but one example, massive government monies were recently required across the globe to bail out corporate debt accumulated in the speculative arts of casino financial malfeasance. Now, according the G-20 meeting in Toronto (June, 2010), it is the public's educational, health, and various insurances that must carry the resulting cuts allegedly required of a monetary accounting system inherited from the age of imperialism. In such circumstances, are we really served in trying to make sense of our present circumstances by media commentary about socialism and free-markets debates/terrorists versus law? In short, inherited political-economic curricular maps need re-drawing to match emergent realities and to help us to distinguish between possible, probable, and preferable personal and collective journeys.

Re-drawing the maps by which we make historical-contemporary sense of our shared lives is indeed the task taken up by Samantha Cutrara in her piece working with youth exploring historic space. Cutrara reports on her work with adolescents mapping together historical events, people, and place to those identified concepts that serve to connect the particular of their lives to more general: the synthetical moment of doing history. We believe readers will (or, should) be intrigued by the unique combination of literature deployed by Cutrara, combining as it does work from the curricularist Hilda Taba with important insights from those associated with postie theorizing (e.g., Foucault, Derrida) and the psychoanalytically informed scholarship of Joan W. Scott.

Aviv Cohen's piece works with another sense of mapping, the marking of a space without a specific location. Cohen deductively produces a set of paradigmatic ideal types to identify conceptually pure markers that might guide specific enactments of civic education. In doing so, he explores the epistemological and ontological assumptions about individuals, societies, and political action that underwrite classroom work. Readers will be able to use the useful chart of these ideal types to plot where their teaching might be located; although as Cohen notes, no one lives as any one pure type. We should ask, however, whether the assumptions Cohen identifies about people and their societies upon which these types are based should themselves be explicitly explored with students as such are, arguably, the fertile points of inquiry for history and social studies education.

In contrast to Cohen's work on ideal types, Walter Gershon, Carrie Bilinovich, and Amanda Peel direct readers to the entwined messiness of people struggling with the place of race in teacher candidates lives (and the lives of their future students) and in a teacher education classroom. Deploying a methodology of "discensus," the authors – a professor and two of his former students – write about their individual challenges presented by race, specifically the ways in which race always refuses a tidy definition, its tendency to raise the emotional aspects of thinking and identifications and its refusal to be simply "covered" as a topic before moving on to other issues. The authors' frank engagement with their struggles with race match the complexity of the contested concept itself. We invite readers to submit response submissions for publication on this crucial issue that extend and, or challenge the insights provided here by the authors. We will consider such under the section title "loose threads" as we provide a place for entwined conversations lasting over many issues.

Using Collingwood's concepts of the "inside" and "outside" of historical thinking and analysis, Lynn Lemisko invites readers to map the different social, political, cultural and intellectual historical contexts of historical actors' lives. Using youths' diaries, Lemisko demonstrates how teachers can get "inside" the perspective of the diaries' authors to understand classed, gendered and/or ethnic/religious ideologies of the authors' respective historical milieux. Lemisko's use of critical inquiry questions provides a useful framework for educators (and their students) who wish to more deeply interrogate the historical perspectives embedded in first-hand accounts of the past.

Finally, we wish to express our gratitude for the guidance provided by our editorial board, both in terms helping us to articulate *CSS* possibilities, their timely reviews, and in sharing the work of authors collected here with their colleagues.*

The Editors…
Kent den Heyer, Carla Peck, George Richardson

* CSS considers special issues about topics pertinent to history and social studies education broadly construed. Interested guest editors can submit a proposal to one of the editors that includes a working title, a brief abstract (150 words) of the proposed issue, a two-page elucidation of the issue, and a timeline towards publication. Guest editors are encouraged to solicit authors for contributions. All articles will be peered reviewed.

Transformative History: The possibilities of Historic Space

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Abstract

Until the grand narrative is recognized as a product and process of power and privilege it can never do the transformational work that it can, and should, do in education. In this paper, I argue that concept learning can be a practical strategy for exploring and deconstructing power that is structured through the grand narrative and manifested in the nation. In particular, I introduce my pedagogical model of Historic Space as a transformative tool for having these discussions and support this approach by discussing students' interactions with it.

Grand Narrative as a System

Every good historian knows that history is not the past but merely a tool for making meaning from past events. By arbitrarily designating significance and highlighting the progression one significant person or event has from another, the past becomes a structure we call history. Although all types of history structure the past, grand national narratives are a particular type of structure that "explains the culture to itself and expresses its overriding purpose" (Francis, 1998, p. 1). As a result, it is important to take the power of the grand narrative seriously and understand how its components work to establish and naturalize meaning in our contemporary world.

Despite the best pedagogical intentions, shallow grand narratives filled with names and dates pulled from the past, deemed important for (re)telling, and situated within a mythical narrative structure, remain the most salient type of history learnt in schools. In these grand narratives, "the actual histories that people live, their complex interactions with others, are obscured and eventually forgotten" (Stanley, 2003, p. 38). People in history become presented as "simplistic, one-dimensional, and truncated portraits" of themselves (Alridge, 2006, p. 663) and events in history become reduced to "their essential traits, their final meaning or their initial and final value" (Foucault, 1980, p. 154).

Following from postmodern and poststructural theory (see for example the work of Derrida, 1967 (2003); Foucault, 1980; Scott, 1997), I see political possibility in history education for using the grand narrative to (re)claim and deconstruct that which is left unsaid in popular history and in the process (re)invent that which is possible for the future. According to Paulo Freire, the key to an emancipatory structure of education is emphasizing that grand narratives, like history, are sources of "possibility and not as *predetermination*" (2004, pp. 59-60). Thus, although postmodern and poststructural theory has been accused of "assaulting" the promise of history education (Barton, 2006; Seixas, 2000), these claims have failed to take into account how breaking open narratives can allow young people to imagine possibilities otherwise unavailable in their understanding of the future.

Thinking of the grand narrative as a structure makes it easier to separate the complexity of people and events in history from their one-dimensional representation in the grand narrative. Ferdinand de Saussure's work on language as a semiological system is aptly suited for understanding how the grand narrative works as a system (1915 (2008)) because his articulation of "signs" provides parallels to the distilled representation of people and events in history. Just as words within language consist of the sign and the signified, which has both an actual meaning and a network of values that work to support and affirm the larger structure, people and events in the grand narrative consist of the name of the actual event that happened or the actual person that lived (*the meaning*) and the role the event or person plays in the grand narrative (*the value*). For example, although Laura Second was a real person, her meaning in popular national history acts as a sign for the tide-turning moment of telling the British troops of the American invasion during the War of 1812 and saving the day. Her value, however, lies in the ideals of patriotic womanhood, sacrifice for the nation, and in some cases manifest destiny, insinuated through her representation (Morgan, 1994).

When thinking of the grand narrative as a structure, and historical events and people as signs, we can use poststructural deconstruction to ferret out the values implicit in the signs that support the structure (Biesta, 2009; Derrida & Weald, 2001). Because deconstruction provides a "way of analyzing constructions of meaning and relationships of power that called unitary, universal categories into question" (Scott, 1997, p. 258), deconstructing the symbols of history in a history classroom allows students to think about the values insinuated in the grand narrative and think about what history could look like when their own values are privileged.

Concept learning, a pedagogical strategy that encourages students to attain and formulate their understanding of the "building blocks of communication" (Bennett & Rolheiser, 2001, pp. 190-191), is a practical way to translate these ideas for a classroom environment because the "concept" and the "sign" share many similarities. Just as a sign signifies, a concept acts as a label for "regularities of experience" (Novak, 1998, p. 22). For historical concepts, the "regularities of experience" consist of the actual person or event (meaning) and the values is promotes through its retelling. Like in deconstruction, concept learning encourages a deeper understanding of what and how we know by focusing on how knowledge is constructed. This type of learning supports the emancipatory literacy advocated by Freire (2004; Freire & Macedo, 2003).

Historic Space

Thinking about and teaching history as signs and concepts requires a different conceptualization of history than the typical and predictable structure of the grand narrative often implied through a timeline. It requires a metaphoric shift away from the imposed logic of the grand narrative and toward a rearticulation of what history can do and say when not bound to the exaltation of fact. A graphic novel and a short story can tell the same story as a novel but, borrowing from Marshall McLuhan, the message changes with the medium. By reimagining grand national narratives as Historic Spaces, a different reading of what history is and can do, can open doors for students to explore different ways of understanding and being in the world.

Historic Space is a way of conceiving history so that the semiological structure of the grand national narrative is emphasized. Historic Space focuses on re-conceptualizing the simplistic,

one-dimensional grand narrative popularly taught in schools as maps of key concepts free from narrative fixity and linear logic. Historic Space as a conceptual model would give students the opportunity to organize historical data, pull it apart, and reorganize it to search for new ideas; essentially refining what is known and applying critical subjectivity to it (Gannaway, 1994; Joyce, Weil, & Calhoun, 2004). This model can allow national history to be a backdrop for discussing internalized judgments dictated by hegemonic understanding and practices and give students space for exploring how and why these judgments are made. By moving away from history that claims myth as fact and toward history as an accessible collection of concepts in space that can be challenged, moved around, or replaced based on evidence, research, and discussion, means that history education can go from rote, memorisable information to a purposeful, design-based knowledge (Perkins, 1986) in which students actively think about how the positioning of experiences in popular history has an influence on their lives.

The obvious question is why *space*? Despite the obvious links between history and geography to create boarders that keep "us" from "them" (Lawrence, 1995; McEachern, 1998; McKittrick, 2006; Razack, 1995), "space" insinuates an openness and possibility to chart new ways of reading history and reading the world. Space is social relations "spread out" (Massey, 1994, p. 2) and thus thinking of history as space allows students to understand the social relations that are structured through the narrative and (re)create the types of social relations they want to see.

Conceptualizing history as space provides the *space* to build and rebuilt the narrative of history, just like the floor of a playroom. A playroom can have a library of books and walls full of visual stimuli, but these tools of learning do not encourage a malleable interaction between the child and their learning. A child can use a book or a picture to think about how a house or castle could be constructed, but when sitting down with their blocks, they are in control of which area to build first, what types of blocks they will use, and when they are done. Historic Space applies this principle to the substantive concept of history (Lee & Ashby, 2000) and encourages students to play with history in ways they determine as meaningful.

Working with Historic Space

In 2007, I lead eleven grade 11 and 12 students through two interview/activity sessions in which Hilda Taba's Concept Formation model was used to articulate history through Historic Space for the post-World War II period, a period in Canadian history they should have studied in Ontario's mandatory Grade 10 history curriculum (Bennett & Rolheiser, 2001; Taba, 1966). The random sample of students from the Greater Toronto Area, recruited by word-of-mouth, participated in the research outside of school. They came from different neighbourhoods and schooling styles, and all had varying interests in history. This research was not connected to their formal schooling, nor did their past grades act as a factor in their participation. All the students were born and raised in Canada, although many of their parents and grandparents were born elsewhere, and all the students identified themselves as Canadian or hyphenated Canadians. The interview/activity sessions were audio-recorded and later transcribed, and student-produced work was photographed and then digitally recreated using concept mapping software. The transcriptions and digital maps were the main data sources for analysis and students were later contacted for any clarification of their maps (more details on student profiles and methodology can be found in Cutrara, 2007).

This research aimed to answer two questions: Are students comfortable thinking of history using Historic Space, and if they were, can this conceptualization of history be harnessed to encourage students to think about the power structured through grand narratives? The results of this research affirms that students were able to use concept learning strategies to think about history organized through Historic Space and that this approach allowed them to think about and discuss issues of inequity inscribed within historical representation.

Attaining Historical Concepts

Taba's concept formation strategy is a three step process that involves concept attainment, interpretation, and application. In Historic Space, the first step, attainment, involves students using a textbook or similar resource to list the events and people commonly associated with the historical period being studied, and then grouping and labelling them according to themes they see (Taba, 1966). This step allows students to outline what they will be studying in the upcoming unit by defining the parameters of the historic space and by doing so begin to take control over the content of their learning.

In my research, participants used their familiarly with the logic of the textbook to identify the important concepts of the post-World War II period even if, as many of them reiterated, they did not know anything about it (Alridge, 2006; Wiersma, 2008). One research participant "Brenda," flipped through the textbook and asked her partner "Leanne" to add *prosperity* to their list, "cuz I read a lot about it here." Although listing the "usual suspects" in history can be interpreted as lacking engagement with the material, by discussing concepts with her partner and rationalizing her choice to me, participants such as Brenda demonstrated that there "exists the strong possibility that their choices derived from their active pursuit of meaning" rather than simple memorization of facts (Terzian & Yeager, 2007, p. 72).

Similarly, when faced with a concept they were unfamiliar with, participants used their "frameworks of understanding" (Seixas, 1997, p. 22) to group and label concepts in a context that made them familiar. Leanne added *Diefenbaker* to her list of concepts although she admitted that she did not "know who he was [or] what he did." Nevertheless, when Leanne was grouping and labelling, she put *Diefenbaker* in a group with other figures she recognized as important and labelled the group as *Government*. Thus, in this step, Leanne could acknowledge that she knew he was a significant person even if she did not (yet!) know why.

Although in this step students are working with fairly shallow concepts, it is here where teachers can increase students' knowledge of the historical material by encouraging them to focus on learning the essential characteristics of historical concepts through class lectures, readings, and primary sources. The Historic Space strategy is not about learning an abbreviated national history, but building a usable and meaningful national narrative. Thus throughout, teachers should encourage students to gather information about the historical concepts from the textbook, popular and educational media, their family, archived primary sources, the landscape, literature, museums, and any other sites of learning they come across. Most importantly however, by attaining the relevant concepts in a historic space, students begin to build and organize the dominant narrative in ways that make sense to them and in doing so gain control and confidence over concepts they previously understood as irrelevant and untouchable.

Interpreting History

The strategy of Historic Space is intended to allow students to deconstruct the grand narrative to see the power structured within it, all while learning mandated curriculum and exploring narratives that may challenge, contradict, and complement one another. To do this using Taba's strategy, once historical concepts are gathered and classified, students interpret them by identifying, exploring, and inferring relationships between them (Taba, 1966).

I use spatial theory to articulate history as Historic Space because space highlights "the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions" (Massey, 1994, p. 2). Similarly, expressing the relationships between concepts in either a simple "note-making and note-taking" mind map (Buzan & Buzan, 2000, see Figure 1) or a complex and hierarchical concept map (Novak, 1998, see Figure 2) allow students to meaningfully visualize the "interrelations and interactions" amongst concepts by interpreting, and in the process controlling, concepts related to their subjects (Novak, 2002). By building and exploring relationships in maps of historic space, students can think about how and why historical concepts are connected and if there are any limitations to these relationships. In doing so, students begin to explore various ways history can be *routed* to tell different stories.

In my research, I found that once they were comfortable with mapping, participants had fun exploring the period by building relationships between historical concepts (Taber, 1994, pp. 279-280). One participant, "Julie," said that in creating relationships between historical concepts she could "get out every idea I had in my head and connect it somehow. And there is no right or wrong answer, no one can tell me I'm wrong about it." This allowed her to "think outside what you would necessarily think" and give "a new perspective on what we already learned." In other words, she was able to take the static material she previously learnt and mobilize it in ways meaningful for her (Novak, 1998). With mapping she could think about the subject, think about her thinking, and think about her feelings in doing so (Taber, 1994, p. 280).

Julie was not alone. Other participants clarified their understanding of concepts by building and expanding connections amongst them. For "Brenda" and "Leanne," the map allowed them to detach from the dates and names privileged in traditional history instruction and move toward a connected and meaningful collection of concepts that they *wanted* to build on. During the listing step, the girls kept asking each other "what else happened?" However, when making their map, they repeatedly, and excitingly, inquired, "what else can go under *technology*?" or "what about *fashion*?" and added an additional thirty-three concepts to their map (Figure 3). This supports the premise that "once the human brain realizes that it can associate anything with anything else, it will almost instantaneously find associations, *especially when given the trigger of an additional stimulus*" (Buzan & Buzan, 2000, p. 87). Thus, when mapping history, students began to take ownership of the period and define it ways significant to them, all while expanding the breadth and depth of historical concepts that could be associated with their topic.

Applying this Knowledge

After building a list of historical concepts and exploring relationships between them, can students apply this knowledge to confront inequitable realities in the nation and reconstruct

alternative possibilities for the future? Although a sophisticated question, because participants had been thinking about the historical material as meaningful concepts in space, rather than irrelevant facts fixed to a timeline, they drew on their newly developed confidence with the material to explore this question within their maps.

To begin, I gave participants images, videos, and personal reflections that were intended to challenge or confirm popular presentations of the period and asked them to predict the most suitable place for these histories, explain their easy or uneasy fit, and validate their choices by linking them to the rest of the map (Taba, 1966). Using primary sources to challenge students understanding of history has shown to be both entertaining and engaging while providing evidence for historical accounts that may not correspond to the popular narrative (Barton, 2001, p. 108; Sandwell, 2004). Although half the resources I had chosen were intended to challenge the popular narrative, participants showed a commitment to working with these challenges and added all the histories to their maps.

For example, for most of the participants connecting a 1967 CBC video on the destruction of Africville to their map was difficult ("'Africville is Destroyed,' *Gazette*,") since the history of Africville is rarely given space to be adequately discussed in popular narratives of the period (for more critical discussion of Africville see Nelson, 1995). One pair of students, "Chantal" and "Charles," had to add a new concept to their map, *Racism*, in order to link *Africville* in a way that satisfied them. Afterwards, Charles gestured toward *Racism* on the previously empty side of the map and said: "We are not learning enough about this in school because…the whole mind map is taken up by things we learned… when really, some of the most important things would be more to this side with *Racism*" (see Figure 4). For Charles, it was not just knowing this history that made him take note of the injustice, but confronting that this history was literally "off side" or "to the side" of dominant history that made him frustrated with what he had been learning.

Similarly, after watching the video, "Julie" said that since she had known about Africville, she felt "so broken inside that I didn't mention this." When comforted by her partner, Julie reiterated that it was "so sad" that there was no place on the map that represented this event accurately. By looking at the exclusion of this history from her map, Julie recognized that she exercised the power to choose what and whose histories were going to illustrate the period and, like in the dominant narrative, these choices can have ramifications for how people are understood in the present. Of course, not every story can be told and Julie knew that, but it was seeing that the map she created supported the exclusion of this experience from dominant cultural capital that made Julie question her own implication in sustaining inequitable social relations.

As educators, we can encourage students to counter these injustices by researching other histories left out of popular telling of the period and (re)create a history they want to see. Research shows that students are interested in learning about difficult histories especially in school, even if teachers are not up for the challenge (Lazare, 2005, p. 51; Levstik, 2000). Rather than leaving students angry or despondent, a commitment to dealing with issues of power in history education has been shown to encourage students to learn more about history outside of school as well have a positive effect on their identity and peer relationships (Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001; Terzian & Yeager, 2007). Thus, by first deconstructing the dominant narrative, reconstructing it in their concept map, and then attempting to fit "alternative" experiences from

the period into their map, my research participants were able to confront the difficulties in reconciling that which challenge the "truth" structured through history, and hypothesize about the implications of historical representation for the present.

Conclusion

This research has shown that students can think about the construction of historical narratives and became increasingly comfortable deconstructing them by using Historic Space as a theoretical organizer for approaching history. Through the Concept Formation strategy, Historic Space provided a way for students to recognize and confront how "justice is consigned to the grand narrative in the same way as truth" (Lyotard, 1997, p. 36). By reconstructing the narrative and working to add "new" challenging histories into it, my research participants were able to confront a different truth about the post-World War II period and, in doing so, became committed to defining a new kind of justice. This, combined with the confidence students gained from the activities (Mitsoni, 2006), means that Historic Space has transformative possibilities when applied to history education.

Figure 1: Sample Mind Map
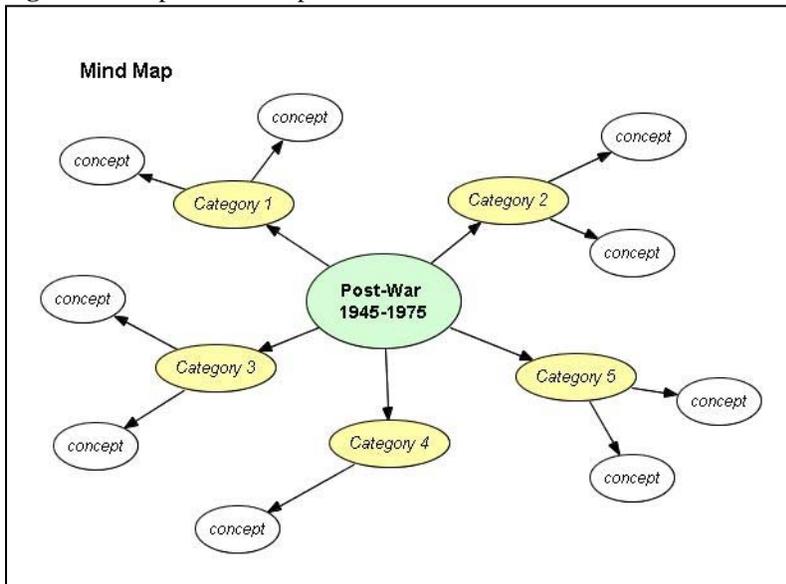
*Mind Maps are intended for brainstorming and work as a
visual "note-making and note-taking" strategy for students.*

Figure 2: Sample Concept Map
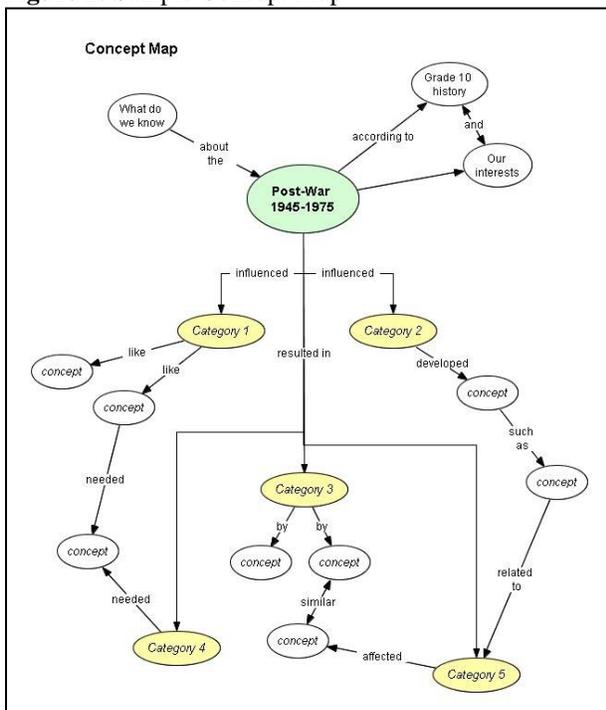
*Note that this map is organized hierarchically, has
linking terms between concepts, and depends on the
categories students' developed in concept attainment.
These attributes force a greater engagement with the
material than the Mind Map.*

Figure 3: A reproduction of Brenda and Leanne's Mind Map
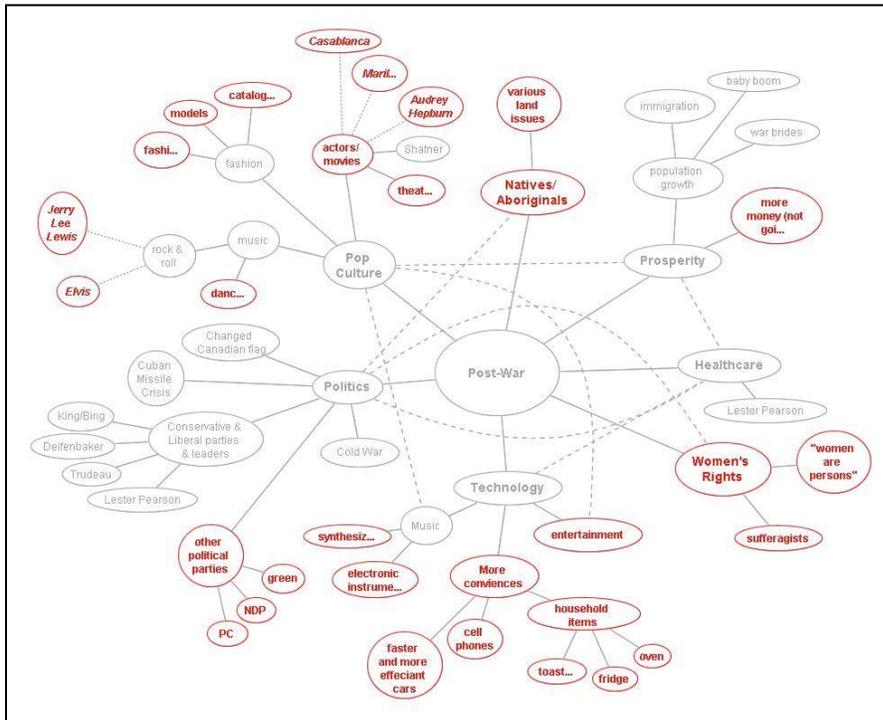
All the bolded concepts are ones Brenda and Leanne added
during the mapping process

Figure 4: *Reproduction of Chantal and Charles' Concept Map after adding "challenging" histories*

Like all the participants, Chantal and Charles recreated their mind map
into a hierarchal concept map in the second part of the interview.
When I asked them to create the map based on
"importance" they chose their concept of "Political Changes"
as the main factor and all their concepts flowed from there.
When asked to reconcile the "challenging" histories (the images in the
map above), they placed "Racism" further up than
"Political Changes" (circled above) indicating the importance they felt
this concept had for understanding the period

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A Theoretical Model of Four Conceptions of Civic Education

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Abstract

The field of civic education is one that encompasses an abundance of topics and issues. In an attempt to bring some much needed clarity to this field, this conceptual study will question the way different epistemological conceptions of citizenship and education influence the characteristics of civic education. Offering a new conceptual framework that concentrates on the different undercurrent conceptions that lay at the base of the civic education process, a new typology of the term civic education will be presented. With the use of the methods of ideal types, four conceptions of civic education will be brought forth: *Liberal Civic Education*; *Diversity Civic Education*; *Critical Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education*. After describing these conceptions and the theoretical field on which they are based, the potential applications of these conceptions in the classrooms and in research will be presented.

Introduction

The last decade of the 20th century and the beginning years of the third millennium have shown a rise of the ongoing discourse regarding the meaning of the term 'citizenship'. The challenge of the fundamental position of the nation-state has turned this debate to a vital one. The collapse of the former USSR, the further establishment of the European Union, and the declaration of war on terror organizations, as opposed to sovereign states have all contributed to this ongoing debate. In respect to this reality, the question of how to educate the young citizens of the state emerges (Heater, 2004b). Although the question of what kind of citizen is promoted in this educational process is as old as the term citizen itself (Heater, 2004a), it is still cardinal specifically in the context of education for citizenship in a democratic state.

When engaging in the field of civic education one may be overwhelmed by the abundance of topics and issues that this field encompasses (Levstik & Tyson, 2008). Numerous studies have attempted to bring some clarity to this convoluted field, based both on its theoretical aspects (Parker, 2008) and on the evaluation of empirical case studies (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The purpose of this study is to advance the discourse even further, by offering a new conceptual framework that concentrates on the different underlying conceptions influencing the ways we think and enact civic education process. Therefore, the main research question may be framed as what different conceptions of citizenship and civic education influence the contemporary discourse of this field? This question will be answered with the use of the methodology of ideal types. A new typology of the term civic education will be presented encompassing four conceptions of civic education: *Liberal Civic Education*; *Diversity Civic Education*; *Critical Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education*. After describing these conceptions and the theoretical field on which they are based, the potential applications of these conceptions in the classrooms and in research will be presented.

In general, the common denominator across studies dealing with the field of civic education is the interest in examining what types of citizens the state wants to cultivate, and how to implement that concept within an educational framework (Parker, 2008). National and cross-national studies have concentrated mainly on the tasks of stimulating civic engagement amongst the youth by the means of instilling democratic knowledge, values and beliefs (Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008). Nevertheless, although all agree about the importance of this topic, in fact this field encompasses various ideological conceptions regarding citizenship in the democratic state, conceptions that produce significantly differing educational plans.

This state of affairs may be seen as what Dewey (1927, as cited by Parker 2008) described as "the great bad," referring to "the mixing of things which need to be kept distinct" (p. 83). In the contemporary discourse regarding civic education this "great bad" occurs when different fundamental conceptions of citizenship are translated into educational practices that are incompatible with one another at best and contradictory at worst. Based on the notion of instructional program coherence (Newmann, Smith, Allensworth, & Bryk, 2001), which stresses the importance of holding a solid and coherent educational plan, not holding a coherent conception of citizenship while engaging in the civic education process may be counterproductive. Although one may claim that this abundance of topics may be seen in a positive light, this reality may lead to a situation in which different components of several conceptions of citizenship exist parallel to one another producing unhelpful contradictions. In addition, as noted by the Hebrew Talmudic proverb "if you have seized a lot, you have not seized", in this situation the teachers and students may be supplied with more than they can actually grasp, which may potentially lead them to abandon any civic aspect what-so-ever.

The Methodology of Ideal Types

The term ideal type has been brought forth by the founder of the field of Euro-American social sciences, the German sociologist Max Weber (1949). He explains that these types may be seen as an attempt to create "a mental construct for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of individual concrete patterns which are significant in their uniqueness" (p. 100). It is important to point out that the use of ideal types should not be seen as a method of describing reality, but rather as an intellectual tool manifesting the portrayal of a phenomenon.

Ideal types have been used before as a research method in the general field of educational research (Banks, 1998) and specifically in the field of civic education (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Sears and Hughes (1996) researched the existing conceptions of civic education in the Canadian curriculum. In the same manner, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) surveyed the different undercurrent beliefs of good citizenship in educational programs aimed at promoting democracy in the USA. In these two cases the researchers implemented the idea of composing ideal types based on specific points of view, while questioning the different educational aspects of each type. Nevertheless, the main flaw of these two studies is the lack of a strong theoretical ground on which the ideal types presented are based. The choice of Sears and Hughes and of Westheimer and Kahne to base their ideal types on the inductive methodology resulted in a creation of types that were created based on a reality at a given place and time. In

other words, these ideal types represent the specific reality of the cases studied by the researcher, be it the curriculum in Canada or the educational programs in the USA.

The ideal types to be presented herein are different in the sense that they are based on a theoretical-philosophical debate rather than on a specific empirical case study. This deductive research method was chosen in order to insure that the ideal types will not represent a particular reality at a given place and time, but rather bring forth the contemporary anthological and epistemological debate in a pristine manner. It is important to point out though that the types produced through a deductive approach may be difficult to implement in research or in a lesson due to their strong theoretical basis. Nevertheless, this approach has merit in understanding the deeper theoretical undercurrents at play in any civic education process.

The Theoretical Field

The four offered conceptions of civic education are rooted in the notion that education may be seen as an aspiration to influence the ways in which the individual behaves in society (Dewey, 1906 / 1990). In addition, these conceptions are based on the widespread agreement (CIRCLE, 2003; Parker, 2002) that the civic educational process may be seen as standing on three main pillars: (1) knowledge (2) values and (3) behavior (see figure 1).

Figure 1 – The Educational Process

The Transmission of Knowledge
+
The Instilling of Values
↓
The Development of Behavior
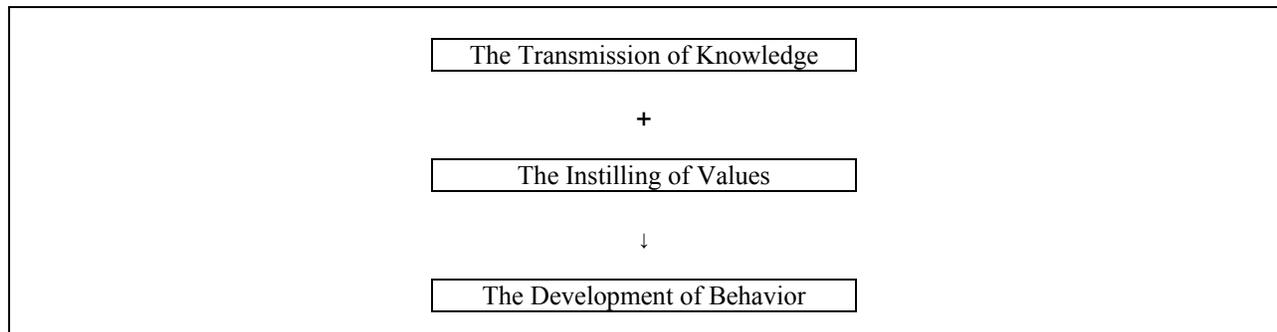
The focus on civic education reveals the normative expected behavior of the citizen in the state. It is assumed that this behavior is an outcome of both the knowledge that has been passed on and the values that have been instilled. These three components of the educational process – political knowledge, normative values and expected behaviors – will stand at the base of the following theoretical matrix from which the four conceptions of civic education will be drawn.

The four suggested conceptions or ideal types of civic education may be set on a theoretical field between the interactions of two axes: political knowledge and normative values. As stated, this is based on the assumption that the civic educational process is mainly composed of the passing on of knowledge and the instilling of values that together promote an expected civic behavior. It is important to acknowledge that additional factors, such as psychoanalytical

aspects, also have influence on this civic behavior. Nevertheless, it is the purpose of this study to illuminate the social arena in which these additional factors exist.

The vertical axis (*y*) of political knowledge relates to what has been phrased as "civic literacy" (Milner, 2002) meaning the process in which specific knowledge is passed on to the student. Political knowledge may be comprised of facts about the state's citizens and its political institutions. The main purpose of this concept is to create a common base of knowledge to be shared by members of society. This knowledge is seen as essential in order to take part in the social sphere and participate in a state's formal political processes (Lam, 2000). It is important to point out that whereas this concept may be interpreted as indoctrination, the main concern is with passing on information regarding everyday life in society rather than a grand ideology. As Milner (2002) explains, this concept of civic education emphasizes "…the knowledge and ability of citizens to make sense of their political world" (p. 1).

A good example of this concept is the demand that students know meanings of several terms which are seen as cardinal to the social sphere. Crick (2000) offers a list of terms seen by him as the keystones of life in the British public sphere, including the terms: "Power, Force, Authority, Order, Law, Justice, Representation, Pressure, Natural Rights, Individuality, Freedom and Welfare" (p. 95). It is interesting to point out that those who advocate for a basic civic literacy most often position their work as enabling students to develop their own decisions rather than any value system clarification (Milner, 2002).[1] In this manner, Crick does not reference the ongoing debate regarding the term "welfare" but rather sees it as a fragment of knowledge that should be taught rather than a term that is connected to specific values.

The continuum of this vertical axis is based on the dichotomy between two types of knowledge regarding life in society – procedural knowledge and substantive knowledge (Bell & Staeheli, 2001; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). The procedural far end represents knowledge regarding the institutions, rules, and practices of governance, such as the understanding of the voting system or the methods with which minority voices are represented in government (Dahl, 1998; Schumpeter, 1947). The other end represents knowledge regarding what is seen as the substantive fundamental principles on which the state exists, such as the social-economic structure of society or information regarding the cultural foundations of the state (Marshal, 1950; Tamir, 1993).

The horizontal axis (*x*) of normative values is based on the assumption that for the sake of the existence of society citizens must possess certain values, aptitudes and dispositions. For example, White (1996) explains that in order for a democratic society to exist, its members must hold a democratic nature. She stresses, therefore, the need for instilling the basic universal values that are perceived as essential to the existence of this democratic society. In the same manner, Avnon (2005) argues that the values that should stand at the center of this educational process are those values that express the complexity of the encounters between the different individuals in the social framework such as equality, freedom and justice. Bottery (2000) explains that such

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[1] Of course this statement itself may be seen as based on a specific value setting. It is important to remember that this description is part of the larger theoretical model.

values are present at several different contexts that should be considered, such as the dominant values of society, the values that guide the school system and the values that are present in the curriculum and the lessons.

The continuum of this horizontal axis is based on the dichotomy between two valued based perceptions of society – an individualistic perception and a communal one (Habermas, 1994). On the individualistic side of this debate one may find the liberal point of view that emphasizes the place of the individual in the social setting (Rawls, 1971), and promotes values such as productiveness or critical thinking. The communal end represents the republican point of view which stresses the communal meanings of citizenship in society and the affiliation of the individual to a larger social group such as a community or the state (Sandel, 1984). Thus, values such as national solidarity will be endorsed.

The interaction between these two axes creates the theoretical plane on which the four conceptions of civic education emerge. It is suggested that these conceptions are determined by the combination of what type of knowledge and which perception of values are emphasized in the educational process, influencing the civic behavioral outcome (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Four Conceptions of Civic Education on Two Axes
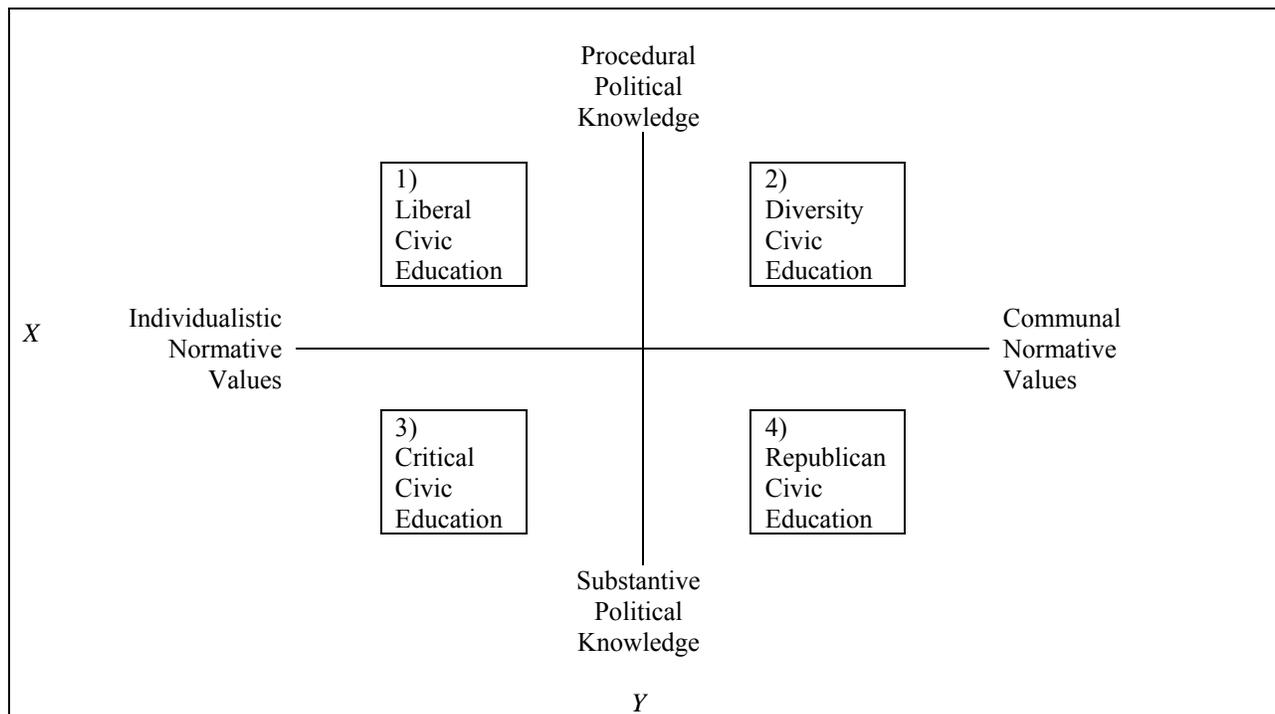
The choice of knowledge and values place the expected civic behavior at a point on the theoretical matrix. For example, if the desired civic behavior is of a liberal character the knowledge that will be passed on will include the procedural ways in which the individual can

act in the social sphere and in the same manner, the values to be instilled will stress the importance of the acts of the individual. On the other hand, if the desired outcome is of a republican nature, the knowledge to be passed on will reference content regarding the philosophical foundations of the larger national entity and communal values such as solidarity will be stressed.

Four Conceptions of Civic Education

The four conceptions of civic education that emerge from this theoretical field may be seen as ideal types due to the fact that *de facto* not one of them exists in its full form in reality. This model, therefore, may be seen as an analytical heuristic device in order to assist teachers, practitioners, scholars and researchers in understanding the complex process of civic education. To follow is a detailed illustration of each one of these conceptions based on significant sources that best exemplify the particular conception and the main arguments that it brings forth. First a description of each conception's main educational goal will be stated.

1. Liberal Civic Education – the student will develop the individualistic skills needed in order to take part in the political process

2. Diversity Civic Education – the student will understand the ways in which the different social groups that compose society may receive recognition and take part in the national field

3. Critical Civic Education – the student will develop individual analytical skills needed in order to better understand the unjust reality of society

4. Republican Civic Education – the student will possess a feeling of belonging and solidarity to the national entity

1. Liberal Civic Education - The assumption of this conception of civic education is that society is composed of individuals, and thus civic education should cultivate the role that the individual takes in the public sphere (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). In order to develop this role, supporters of this concept ask two main questions: (1) does the individual hold the required knowledge regarding her/his function in society and (2) is the individual competent to act in this public sphere. It is important to point out that based on this concept's assumption the individual is seen as an autonomous being, aimed at achieving her/his own personal goals. Therefore, the ability of the individual to be active in the public sphere is seen as essential in order to reach these personal goals.

In this sense, this conception of civic education emphasizes the required intellectual and practical tools necessary for life in a democratic state (Lawry, Laurison, & VanAntwerpen, 2006). Thus, emphasis is placed on procedural knowledge and individualistic values such as personal behavior, independence and responsibility. Such behaviors may include acquaintance with the different opportunities for political involvement such as voting, connecting to representatives and understanding the main issues being debated. As stated, all these factors are

aimed at enhancing the individual's personal situation within a pre-given social, political, and economic situation.

2. Diversity Civic Education - The main assumption that stands at the base of this conception of civic education is the salience of the social constructs on the citizen's life. Therefore, the main goal may be seen as the need to raise awareness regarding the social reality and in particular to the oppression of different social groups by the stronger forces of society (Adams, Bell & Griffin 2007; Banks, 2004).

This conception of civic education will concentrate on the ability of the individual to evaluate the social framework in which the individual exists. In this manner this conception is different than *Liberal Civic Education* due to the shift of emphasis from the factor of individual actualization to the scrutiny of the social surroundings. The purpose of this shift is to reevaluate the ability of different social groups to overcome different circumstances, and to supply a greater understanding of the social forces that are put to work in order to maintain the given reality. Thus, the emphasis in the classroom is on the development of a thoughtful, active, and effective citizenry that relates to this social reality (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Marri, 2005), which therefore too may be seen mainly as procedural knowledge as well.

3. Critical Civic Education - This conception of civic education is rooted in the assumption that the world may be portrayed as a battle ground between social forces, where the dominant hegemonic powers work in both exposed and hidden ways in order to oppress the weaker players. Thus, the supporters of this point of view critique the idea of generalization and objective knowledge, and call to emphasize the historical and social context of knowledge and of social issues (Kincheloe, 2007), which thus may be seen as substantive knowledge.
    The role of education is seen as a means of promoting social justice and democracy by empowering the students and cultivating their intellect. For example, based on this conception the standard curriculum is seen as a part of the power structure, and thus must be constantly scrutinized. Whereas the conception of *Diversity Civic Education* emphasized the awareness to the communal forces that compose society, this approach stresses the importance of developing personal individualistic skills, such as critical thinking, in order to better understand and react to the unjust reality of society (Apple, 1993).

4. Republican Civic Education - At the basis of this conception of civic education stands the fundamental question that asks why are individuals willing to give up some elements of their personal freedom as part of their life in a larger community? An answer to this question is presented by Taylor (1996) who explains that the feeling of belonging to a larger social entity is a natural human will. Rousseau's (1762 / 1947) suggested term "the general will," also relates to this question, explaining the natural perception of goods shared by all human beings who live in a society. Thus, through the general will, it is possible to create a feeling of genuine belonging and unconditional devotion of the individual to the larger social entity.

This conception of civic education will emphasize the ways in which to arouse feelings of membership and affiliation to the larger community, thus relating to the substantive elements of

society (Ravitch, 1988). In addition, this conception will stress the commitment of each individual to societies shared goals (Ben Porath, 2007).

We can further understand these four conceptions of civic education by comparing each conception's undercurrent assumptions (see table 1). For instance, for both *Liberal Civic Education* and *Diversity Civic Education* political knowledge is the understanding of the procedural means in which to take part in the public sphere. On the other hand, *Critical Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education* define political knowledge as the understanding of the deeper principles that are set at the base of society and of the state. Regarding the social values being instilled, both *Liberal Civic Education* and *Critical Civic Education* see society as a mere gathering of individuals. On the other hand, *Diversity Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education* see man as a social creature that can fulfill her/himself only when taking part of a larger social entity, and thus, society is defined based on the a priori connections between the individuals that compose it, either at the community or the state levels.

The role of education and the specific goals of civic education are seen by the different conceptions in a diverse manner as well. *Liberal Civic Education* and *Diversity Civic Education* put emphasis on the process of the **transmission** of knowledge as opposed to *Critical Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education* that emphasize the **instilling** of values and principles. Whereas it is enough in the framework of *Liberal Civic Education* and *Critical Civic Education* to **develop** individual skills, *Diversity Civic Education* and *Republican Civic Education* strive to **promote** a feeling of possession. The distinct differences between the verbs "pass on," "instill," "develop," and "promote" contributes to our understanding of the complexity of this topic.

Table 1: Conceptions of Civic Education – A Comparison

	Liberal Civic Education	Diversity Civic Education	Critical Civic Education	Republican Civic Education
Nature of Man	Individual	Affiliated to a social group	Individual that is juxtaposed to other individuals and groups	Affiliated to the nation/state
Nature of Society	A gathering of individuals	A gathering of social groups	A reality in which power structures maintain oppression	The nation as a whole that is worth more than the sum of its parts
Perception of Knowledge	Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the individual act in the public sphere	Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the social groups act in the public sphere	A tool in the hands of the oppressors that can be utilized in order to question reality	Emphasizes knowledge regarding the larger social entity
Perception of Attitudes	Emphasizes the individualistic values	Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the social group	Can be manipulated in order to maintain social reality	Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the larger social entity
Role of Education	Develop individual skills	Develop skills in order to enhance the reality of the social group and its place in society	Develop critical abilities	Promote a feeling of belonging to the larger social entity
Normative Goals of Civic Education	The student will develop the skills essential for acting as a participating citizen	The student will understand the ways in which the different social groups that compose society may receive recognition and take part in national field	The student will develop individual analytical skills needed in order to better understand the unjust reality of society	The student should possess an authentic feeling of belonging to the state

Utilizing the Four Conceptions of Civic Education

This review of the existing literature regarding the field of civic education may be utilized due to the use of the method of ideal types, which enabled the arrangement of the various themes on the theoretical matrix. This yielded four conceptions of civic education that in reality do not occur separately but rather relate to one another in varying manners, ranging from harmonious to discordant, thus the advantage of this model as an analytical device.

For example, one may utilize these four conceptions in order to gain a better understanding of the characteristics of civic education at a given place and time. This comparison to the four conceptions may reveal that one conception is emphasized more than the others, thus determining the character of civic education at that given case. On the other hand, one may find that different components of several conceptions exist parallel to one another, a reality that may result in unproductive contradictions. In the same manner, future policy may be determined based on a desired conception.

In addition, these conceptions may be utilized in historical studies as well, aimed at understanding the development of civic education at a given setting throughout the years. One may find for example that the character of civic education shifted and thus, the historical roots of the subject are no longer of use to the contemporary reality. An additional avenue of research is

the comparison between different national and cross-national settings. In this manner, the influence of different factors on a national dominant civic education conception may be compared and evaluated.

Furthermore, these conceptions may be of use in studies aimed at attaining a better understanding of the ways in which civic education plans are implemented in the classrooms. For example, based on Thornton's (1991) notion of the teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeepers, one may ask of the connection between the teachers' holding of a solid and coherent conception of civic education and the enhancement of the teaching of civics and government studies. Another avenue of research may travel beyond the realm of civics, citizenship and government lessons. Based on the assumption adopted by the US National Council for the Social Studies (Schneider & National Council for the Social Studies., 1994) that civic education should be seen through a wide lens relating to numerous subject matters, the distinction between these different conceptions of civic education may be crucial when utilized across the social studies curriculum in subjects such as history, geography and economics.

In sum, with the use of the method of ideal types and the construction of the four conceptions of civic education, I hope to offer a means to further clarify crucial distinctions in the logic underlying research and practice. This new conceptual framework may be seen as the starting point for additional much needed empirical studies in this important field. I am hope that this will enhance the education of the world's future generation of democratic citizens.

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Race, Social Studies Content, and Pedagogy: Wrestling through Discomfort Together

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Introduction (Walter Gershon)

This autobiographical piece of collaborative discensus (Gershon, 2008; Gershon, Peel & Bilinovich, 2009) presents our interwoven perspectives about the challenges we faced as we talked about race in a pre-service social studies class. Race is not only a concept central to social studies content in Canada (cf. Solomon, 1997; Wright & Sears, 1998) and the United States (Ladson-Billings, 2003; www.socialstudies.org), it is of particular importance for pre-service teachers in Northeast Ohio because the majority of jobs available to students upon graduation are in our urban centers with large if not majority African American populations (e.g., Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown).

As the literature in suggests, in spite of the many ways in which race impacts all classrooms (e.g. Banks, 1986; Liggett, 2008; Lipman, 1998; Valenzuela, 2005), teaching about race to pre-service teachers is often fraught with difficulties in both the United States and Canada (e.g. Daniel, 2008, Ellsworth, 1989; Solomon, 1997). This is particularly the case when either most students in the class are Anglo (e.g. Chaisson, 2004; Delpit, 2005; Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005).

Our composite inquiry here builds on this literature in two key ways. First, there is a tendency for educators to talk to student teachers *about* the difficulties of teaching the ways in which race shapes identities, practices, and so on rather than *with* student teachers about the difficulties they are having in conducting such lessons. This topic is of particular importance when suburban, Anglo students with limited experience either in cities or with students of color are assigned or request to teach in urban schools with majority non-Anglo populations (see Sleeter, 2001). Second, there is little talk about contexts in which pre-service teachers use their available agency (Metz, 1978; Pace & Hemmings, 2006; Page, 1991; Gershon, 2007) to skillfully negotiate *not* having to talk about race.

Our work here, then, is an explicit effort to reveal the ways in which we each negotiated these issues during a shared semester of pre-service course work in social studies methods (a second methods course for students which meets concurrently with students' practicum). To this end, we utilize a framework called collaborative discensus (Gershon, 2008; Gershon, Peel & Bilinovich, 2009). This faming is a process that enables each of us to speak to and with one another in such a way that we do not need to compromise on language, content, or concepts; yet, we have opportunities to respond to one another.

Where Carrie represents the majority voice in our room – students who were very disgruntled with the course's content and pedagogy – Amanda voices the minority student perspective as one troubled by her peers' lack of inquiry about social studies concepts and their delivery in daily lessons. Not only do we have contrasting perspectives and roles but we are also markers of differences in social capital and status. For example, I am the only male, their former professor, the only one of us with an advanced degree, and have considerably more teaching experience.

Our talk in this piece is more akin to uses of autobiography in curriculum studies (Casemore, 2007; Pinar, 1994; Whitlock, 2007) employed as a form of *currere* (Pinar, 1994)—in which our stories explicate our ideas, ideals, emotions, and interactions so that the might be both critically examined for their meanings and serve as an exemplar of given ways of knowing—than it is an instance of narrative inquiry (e.g. Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). However, this work is inherently narrative in nature as we thread our individual perspectives to form a rich narrative tapestry.

In sum, our work here serves two main purposes. First it is an opportunity for a teacher and two former students to think about the difficulties pre-service social studies teachers had in conceptualizing and talking about the relationship between race and social studies content. Second, this transparent discussion also serves as an opportunity to consider what such understandings of social studies might mean in practice.

Carrie's Experience

In all my previous social studies and education courses, race and social studies were presented as separate from one another and race was considered as something "different" to be accounted for in school settings. Additionally, I was always given the impression that talking about race made it "an issue;" if you as a teacher recognized race but did not dwell on it then there would not be a problem. For example, I was told to not look at a class by the racial make up but, instead, rather look at the class in the aspect of qualities such as performance and attendance. While student academic performance and attendance are important, this way of thinking did not prepare me for Walter's class or the situations I was faced with during student teaching.

In terms of the class, none of my other education professors challenged me to think or guided me (and my classmates) to answer our own questions as Walter did. From the very first session, he wanted to have discussions not only about teaching practice but more open-ended thinking about ideas, like how race and social studies are related. As with most of my classmates I was reluctant to do so, both because I did not feel comfortable talking about topics in this way with people I did not know well and I did not want Walter challenging my ideas about race. While I usually had no problem sharing my ideas in class, I was intimidated by this inquiry-based teaching style and was hesitant to share my thoughts because I was afraid of his questions.

I became annoyed rather quickly and did not even want to hear anything about race because I believed that this was not a topic worthy of so much conversation, that

Walter was making a bigger deal out of the topic than necessary. I did not understand why he was trying so hard to engage us in talk about race—my understanding of his persistence did not become clear until months after the course ended.

However, one incident in Walter's class that related to my student teaching changed how I experienced my semester there. As a student teacher, I tried to "fold" racial diversity into my lessons in a surface kind of way, mention a couple of key points or ideas about how race impacted historical events and move on. I thought this was how you related race and social studies together, an idea that did not seem difficult until I was faced with a very uncomfortable situation in the classroom where I student taught.

I was teaching a lesson about the working conditions for slaves on plantations in the South and factory conditions for women in the North and tried to present these two topics in an equal manner in order to show the harshness both populations faced. When I created my lessons, I did not account for the fact, or even consider, that African American students might ask different questions than the ones I had in mind about the topic and was unprepared for the question one of my African American male students asked.

In the middle of the lesson, this young man raised his hand and asked about the inappropriate relationships slave owners had with their female slaves. I was stunned and did not know what to make of the situation; I wondered how I was to answer his question and concluded that he asked this question just to show off to his friends and/or to disrupt the lesson. As a result, I blew him off as being a troublemaker without considering the legitimacy of the question or how race might help me understand his actions.

I talked about this in Walter's class one night because one of my classmates was faced with a similar situation and was looking for a way to handle it, a decision I soon regretted. Walter shortly followed my response by asking me if the student in question was African American. At the time, I did not feel the student's race was relevant to the discussion, I was just trying to share how I "handled" the "situation."

I did not understand why Walter chose to keep asking me about the student's race, and, as a result of this experience, I became very upset with him and disconnected from the class. I wanted nothing more to do with Walter or his class. I just wanted to get through the semester and move on with my career, felt like he was trying to make what was supposed to be a happy time for me miserable, and finished the semester still confused state about what happened and how that would impact me as a teacher.

However, I started to come to terms with the semester as Walter, Amanda, and I began to write together (Gershon, Peel & Bilinovich, 2009). As I reflect back on my college course, I now see why discussing social studies and race was so important. When teaching social studies, it is not enough to simply note racial diversity in the lessons. Instead, teachers need to take into account the racial composite of students and take the time to consider how a given lesson might affect students as well as thinking about the kinds of questions the discussion might raise. Not only does race impact all classrooms

and content but it is of particular importance to the questions about economy, history, and geography that are social studies education.

Amanda's Experience

At first I was excited. It was the last semester…student teaching. I had been considering all that I learned in the last year about what it means to be a "powerful" social studies teacher. When Walter approached the subject of race as it relates to content during the second week of class, I was ready for the discussion. I knew from meeting with my cooperating teacher that I would be responsible for teaching the 1960s and 1970s in my U.S. History classes, two decades where the textbook we used was loaded with discussions of race, class, gender and other concepts central to social studies. However, I was not necessarily surprised when none of my classmates were eager to participate in the discussion.

I knew that we had all read Loewen (2008), Zinn (2005), and other authors that challenge the dominant narrative in American history as we had discussed how race, class and gender operate in the content and in our classrooms with previous professors. I thought my classmates and I had a pretty good grasp of these concepts, although arriving at these understandings had been difficult and uncomfortable for most of us.

This was a new semester with a new professor, and no one wanted to be the first speak to this difficult topic, myself included. I remember talking with my peers after that first attempt at a discussion. They all seemed very annoyed that Walter had even broached the subject of race (Do we really have to talk about this again? Who is this guy anyway?). They doubted that this topic had anything to do with student teaching. Although I disagreed, I decided not to say anything at the time. I considered these people to be friends and I did not want to put them in an awkward situation in class thinking my peers be more willing to discuss the topic when it came up in their classrooms. This is social studies, I thought, it has come up sooner or later. I had no idea that the stony silence would last an entire semester.

Over the next couple of weeks, Walter attempted to have discussions about race and content to no avail. In my student teaching experience, my students and I were having frequent discussions not only of race, class, and gender, but also about citizenship, social change, and personal agency. I found these discussions to be difficult and was often in need of support yet received very little response from my peers in class or via the class blog that Walter had established for the class to communicate while we were in the field.

This was a very isolating experience, especially because my peers had always been supportive in the past. We had frequently traded advice about professors, assignments and difficult experiences in the field, but now it seemed as if we were total strangers. I often felt like I had missed something in those previous classes and experiences. How was it that I seemed to have such a different idea of what it means to

teach social studies? What did they know that I did not? I couldn't understand how I was suddenly the "odd girl out," and it was not long before my isolation turned to frustration.

It was around this time that I began meeting with Walter during office hours and after class in order to help me better understand and contextualize my experience. I first met with Walter during his office hours because I needed guidance on some of the assignments for the course and the lessons I was planning. Our talk inevitably turned to my frustration with the class' refusal to discuss not only race but also other concepts central to social studies. If we could not discuss these topics as peers, then how would we discuss them with our students? How would we, as teachers, guide students toward complex understandings if we could not have a constructive discussion of race? I often wondered if my students would be better served if I simply prepared them for the Ohio Graduation Test required for graduation.

Meanwhile, most of my classmates never did make the connection between issues involving race, class and gender in their questions about management, how to make content more meaningful for students, or which instructional strategies were appropriate in different situations. During these discussions, the class seemed to be saying, "Tell me what to do. Tell me how to teach. Tell me what to think." They did not seem to realize the impossibility of their request, that how one teaches is a choice informed by one's own values and what one perceives to be most beneficial for students. My peers did not want to hear that they must decide on their own what kind of teachers they would become, an understanding that meant they needed to have a clear conceptualization of their own values and beliefs. Instead, the more Walter asked them to think about such relationships, the more resistant and angry they became.

By the end of the semester, I had resigned myself to the fact that I was not going to get support from my classmates when it came to discussing the relationships between social studies content and aspects of society and culture like race, class, and gender—I relied heavily on Walter for these discussions and he helped me through some of the more difficult days I had in my own classroom.

I am of two minds as reflect on my experiences in my program. On one hand, I loved the program because it had a great impact on how I perceive what it is to be a social studies teacher and how I choose to live in the world. On the other, my classmates did not seem to be similarly inspired. When placed side-by-side, my experiences in this class raises questions about of the possibilities of teacher education programs to provide future educators the necessary ideas and skills to teach against their privilege, convincing them that it is possible, and helping them navigate between theory and practice. I think that it this was a large part of the difference between my classmates' experience in Walter's class and my own.

Walter's Experience

As Carrie and Amanda have presented, their class had a very difficult time thinking and talking about race, a position that is in many ways contrary to national

understandings meaningful social studies teaching and learning (www.socialstudies.org). The majority of students' perspectives generally fell into two oppositional perspectives, creating a vortex of possibility for talk about race. On one hand, students stated they had "covered" race in their previous classes and any discussion of race was redundant. On the other, when asked open-ended questions about race—what is the relationship between race and education, how might one approach questions of race in lessons about slavery— students claimed to be uncomfortable talking about race, some going so far as to say they were "tired of being blamed for race problems." It is important to note that although the presentation of race and social studies may have been more in terms of questions of content, my colleagues did indeed introduce connections between race and social studies in previous classes, discussions that helped students construct their paradoxical heard-it-already/am-uncomfortable-with-the-topic position.

As Amanda and Carrie note, the duality of their position (already know about race/don't want to talk about race) created a context in which any move to discuss race could be quickly discounted. Foley (1990) refers to these kinds of student tactics as "make out games" (p. 112), a term he borrows from Burawoy (1979) who uses it to describe how workers elude the constraints of their jobs on the factory floor. Similar to other discussions about students' classroom interactions (e.g. Mulooley & Varenne, 2006; Willis, 1977), Foley argues that students use make out games to get the teacher off task or otherwise derail daily lessons. I unwittingly played into students' make out games, consistently returning to questions about race in order to fulfill what I saw (and see) as my pedagogical obligation to assist students in considering key subject matter concepts. The result was a semester-long discussion *around* rather than *about* race.

Students wanted answers, not questions. As Carrie and Amanda indicate, the majority of students believed there were indeed always correct answers in approaches to classroom interactions, content and its delivery. What students often did not see was how their quest for correctness erased most of the very social studies curriculum they sought to deliver to their students. For example, as Carrie notes, at no time were questions of race positively connoted; race was always an "issue" that needed a solution.

That students would actively seek to circumvent formal and informal curriculum is not surprising. Not only have I often experienced students' skillful negotiation around, under, and in between the content I sought to deliver (in P-12 classrooms, universities, and in community settings) but it is also a central aspect of many empirical, qualitative studies of classrooms (cf. Erickson, 2004; Metz, 1978; Pace & Hemmings, 2006; Shor, 1996). Instead, what troubled me throughout the semester we spent together, and gnaws at me still, is that this was a group of soon-to-be-teachers worked very hard at not-teaching while explicitly and implicitly demonstrating their distaste for the concepts and constructs central to their future profession (e.g., race as – and its intersections with – social studies content and classrooms contexts). In other words, the very people on whom much of the responsibility to teach core ideas of citizenship will rest—local and non-local historical perspectives, the relationships of individuals to the state and those between nations, societies and cultures, the sociocultural contexts and precepts that inform our norms and values, as well as notions of economy and finances—would prefer to provide

relatively narrow, single correct answers to America's next generation of thinkers. What I thought I heard in our classroom was an opening to discuss key social studies ideas and ideals; what students were looking for was another set of interlocking beads that would add to their linear and sequential understanding of social studies content.

A Reflective Conclusion (Walter, Carrie & Amanda)

In light of the spatial constraints of this article, rather than each reflectively respond to each other in an individual or dialogic (e.g. scripted) fashion, we sat down together for a recorded conversation about how we thought and felt after reading each other's writing. Over the course of our conversation, three central themes emerged.

The first theme regards questions of the role of comfort in discussions of social studies content. All three of us, for different reasons, were uncomfortable with talking about race during our semester together. For Amanda it was the topic in general. For Carrie it was the topic and that she had come from a regional campus, her lack of time with her peers adding to her discomfort. For Walter it was this group of future social studies teacher's lack of engagement and willingness to think about race. In terms of these difficulties, we would like to echo one of Amanda's thoughts during our discussion, "just because something's uncomfortable doesn't mean it's not important to think or talk about."

Second, we all found this article somewhat difficult to write, in part because of the ways in which our talk intersects with the personal and the professional, and in part because we have all grown much since this experience. Finally, and in keeping with the previous two themes, all three of us feel strongly that more discussions of this nature are not only important but also vital to growth in understanding social studies content, guiding others through that content, and in our selves as educator's and individuals. It is our hope that the kind of candid, transparent talk we present here can serve as one possible model for others to wrestle with difficult educational interactions rather than sweep such misgivings and discomfort under the proverbial rug.

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The Inside, Out: Diaries as entry points to historical perspective-taking
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> *The historian, investigating any event in the past, makes a*
> *distinction between what may be called the outside and the*
> *inside of an event. By the outside of the event I mean*
> *everything belonging to it which can be described in terms*
> *of bodies and their movements... ...By the inside of the event*
> *I mean that in it which can only be described in terms of*
> *thought...* R.G. Collingwood

Diaries can serve as meaningful entry points for advancing historical consciousness and develop historical thinking (Seixas, 2002) because they can connect readers/learners with the diverse emotions, thoughts and motivations of the people who wrote them in particular times and particular places. According to philosopher and historian, R.G. Collingwood (1994/1946), historical thinking and meaning-making involves exploration of both the 'outside' (that which would have been observable: "bodies and their movements") and the 'inside' (that which would have been unobservable: thoughts, emotions, motivations) of past human actions. One of the tasks and tensions of historical work is to get to the 'inside' – to bring out (reveal or reconstruct) and contextualize ways of thinking and feeling represented in documents and artifacts left behind, so that we can understand both the similarities and differences in how people viewed the world.

In this paper I will (a) briefly discuss the importance of historical perspective-taking as an aspect of historical thinking and the obligation of educators to assist learners in developing their capacity to engage; (b) outline why and how teachers could assist learners in using diaries as evidence for reconstructing historical perspectives; (c) layout excerpts from three published diaries to demonstrate how these provide evidence of classed, gendered, ethnic/religious points of view within the time periods they were written; and (4) provide some specific suggestions as to how teachers can use examples from these diaries to spark deeper probing of ideas and time periods.

The Importance of Historical Perspective-taking: Why Get 'Inside'?

Schools need to assist learners in developing their capacities to think historically. Historical thinking involves both an understanding of concepts that underpin such thinking and the ability to use complex processes including: establishing historical significance; using primary source evidence; identifying continuity and change; analyzing cause and consequence; taking historical perspectives; and understanding the ethical dimension of historical interpretations (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, http:// www. histori.ca/ benchmarks/concepts).

As a historian and teacher educator with special interest in history and social studies education, I write with the underpinning assumption that teachers have the obligation to assist learners in developing their ability to critically reconstruct the past by

developing their capacities to engage with and in the processes outlined above. However, for the purpose of this paper, I will focus particularly on how teachers could assist students in understanding historical perspective so that learners might come to understand and reconcile differing and often conflicting accounts of the past that surface and become obvious in a multicultural society (Seixas, 2002). Children and youth need to be supported in learning and practicing how to interpret sources and use these as evidence to understand and discuss multiple historical perspectives because there is pressing need for them to learn to deal with the inconsistent narratives they will run into in their lives outside of the classroom. Seixas (2002) suggests, "This is the promise of critical *historical* discourse: that it provides a rational way, on the basis of evidence and argument, to discuss the differing accounts that jostle with or contradict each other" (http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_36_2/ARpurposes_teaching_canadian_history.htm)

Historical perspective-taking engages students in the effort to understand the 'inside' of events. But, understanding or reconstructing the thoughts, emotions, and motivations of people who lived in the past requires thoughtful and skilled engagement with, and critical questioning of a variety of sources.   Historical perspective-taking means development of the ability to examine sources as evidence of worldviews that are not our own (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Developing such perspective consciousness assists children and youth in understanding that they hold a view of the world that is not universally shared and that this view of the world has been and continues to be shaped by influences that often escape conscious detection (Hanvey, 1976). Such awareness is vital for an empathic understanding of the past and for promoting respectful approaches to dealing with present-day concerns.

To help students engage in historical perspective-taking teachers must assist learners in developing understanding of the social, political, cultural and intellectual historical contexts in which people lived. Various accounts as told by historians and textbooks writers can be employed to assist learners in coming to understand the historical contexts and events that were unfolding during the time period under study. This reconstruction of the historical context can also include an examination of conflicting beliefs and ideologies that were in circulation at the time using accounts and textbooks and could involve examination of various opposing sources created in the time period, like political cartoons, paintings or newspaper editorials. However, if students are to more deeply understand the perspectives, thoughts and experiences of people in the past, there is no doubt that learners need to engage with sources like diaries and letters so that they can build more detailed, complex and nuanced understandings of how people lived their lives (Barton, 2005). The questions for many teachers are: How does this work; and what kinds of perspectives are revealed? In the remainder of this paper, I will provide examples and explanations to address these questions.

Diaries as Entry Points and Evidence for Historical Perspective–taking.

For the purposes of this paper I will focus particularly on dairies as rich sources of evidence and opportunities for insight. While arguments might be made that diaries are

'unreliable' sources because they are written from particular points of view, it is clear that coming to understand what people in the past thought and believed requires use of biased sources "…because that bias constitutes evidence of peoples' ideas" (Barton, 2005, p. 748). When diaries are used by teachers and learners in conjunction with other primary and secondary sources, students not only enrich their understanding of historical events, they also develop insight into the meaning these events held for the people who lived though them (Barton, 2005, p.753).

At the same time as teachers help students construct an understanding of contexts in which historical events unfolded, teachers can also work with students in developing their capacities to use diaries as evidence of thoughts, emotions and motivations of historical actors. Convinced that history is the study of both the inside and outside of human action, R.G. Collingwood (1994/1946), devised a critical questioning methodological approach to analyzing and interpreting historical documents that teachers can facilitate students in learning and practicing. At heart, Collingwood's method involves close and careful reading of documents, focused and guided by an overall research question and sets of related critical questions. According to Collingwood (1994/1946) a document - or any other artifact created in the past - does not become 'evidence' until an inquirer approaches it with a question - "…nothing is evidence except in relation to some definite question" (p. 281).   Because I have previously written about why and how Collingwood's suggested approach can be adapted and used by teachers and learners (Lemisko, 2004), I will not detail this here. Rather, I will provide insight into the suggested questioning approach and show the kind of evidence that diaries can hold which teachers and students can use their efforts to engage in historical perspective-taking.

To demonstrate how diaries can be entry points for exploring historical perspectives, I devised a main inquiry question that could be used in examining three published diaries that were written by females during times of conflict in the twentieth century (specifically, between 1939 and 2004) – that is: What beliefs attitudes, biases and ideologies did the diary writers hold and did their perspectives (for example, but not limited to, class, gender, race and ethnic perspectives) influence their lived experiences of conflict? To address this main question, the following sub-questions can be used as an initial set to help students dig deeply into the dairies as they mine for evidence of the thoughts and beliefs of the diary writers:

- What do the diaries reveal about the concerns of the diary writers? Do they write about social, economic, political and/or intellectual worries or issues?
- What do the dairies reveal about women's work (roles), men's work (roles) both inside and outside of the family? And, what do the diaries reveal about the diary writers' attitudes toward these roles?
- What do the diaries reveal about the wealth/poverty of the diary writers? And, what do the diaries reveal about the diary writers' attitudes toward wealth/poverty?
- What do the diaries reveal about the ethnicity, religious beliefs, and/or cultural traditions of the diary writers? And, what do the diaries reveal about the diary writers' attitudes toward their traditions, ethnicity, and/or religious beliefs?

- What do the diaries reveal about relationships between family members and between family members and other people? And, what do the diaries reveal about the diary writers' attitudes toward these relationships?

As indicated, these are only an initial set of questions. As students engage with the diaries as evidence, additional questions should arise and other critical questions can be posed by teachers to support learners in determining how the evidence revealed in these documents might mesh with or contradict interpretations of events and contexts of a time period which they learned about through other sources.

As indicated above, I examined three published diaries written by females during times of conflict in the twentieth century. I chose these diaries for this demonstration because teachers have easy access to these sources. I have included a brief description of each of the diaries, below.

While many teachers and students are familiar with the story of Anne Frank, I decided to include her diary as an example for this demonstration because I am not convinced that teachers and students have often engaged in critical reading of her diary as a piece of evidence to understand historical perspectives. The original version of her diary was published in 1947, but I chose to read the version titled, *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl,* published by Bantam Books (1993 edition), which is 283 pages in length. The diary covers the German occupation of the Netherlands during World War II, particularly the period of June 1942 to August 1944, through the eyes of Anne, who was thirteen years old when her Jewish family went into hiding to avoid Nazi incarceration.

For this demonstration, I also examined the writing of Zlata Filipović, whose diary was originally published in 1994. I read the version titled, Zlata's *Diary: A Child's Life In Wartime Sarajevo*, which was published by Penguin Books (1995 edition) and is 197 pages in length. This diary covers life in Sarajevo during the Bosnian War, particularly the period between September, 1991 and October, 1993, through the eyes of Zlata, who celebrated her eleventh birthday a few months before the conflict in Sarajevo became a full fledged war.

Finally, I read the writing of Thura Al-Windawi titled, *Thura's Diary: A Young Girl's Life in War-Torn Baghdad*, which was published by Puffin Books in 2004 and is 144 pages in length. (Another version was also published in 2004 by Viking, under the title, *Thura's Diary: My Life in Wartime Iraq*). This diary covers the American invasion of Iraq and the immediate aftermath, particularly the period between March and December, 2003, through the eyes of Thura, who was nineteen years old at the time of the invasion.

In the following sections of this paper, examples will be provided to demonstrate how close, careful and critical reading of these diaries using guiding questions, can provide evidence that allows students to engage in historical perspective-taking. Excerpts from the diaries will show that these sources can be used as entry points to explore classed, gendered and ethnic/cultural perspectives, as well as religious diversities. I have

also included some specific suggestions as to how teachers can use examples from these diaries to spark deeper probing of the evidence and ideas revealed.[1]

Evidence of Class Perspectives

Excerpts drawn from the writings of Anne, Zlata and Thura demonstrate that all three belonged to families that were clearly members of the 'middle classes' – that is, their social ranking was based on mid-range levels of wealth/income and, generally, white-collar status.

Thura's commentary about how the people in Baghdad reacted to rumours of invasion, and her family's position in this, captures the idea of 'mid-range' nicely. Thura wrote, "*The affluent parts of the city are deserted – the people who lived there were among the first to go, either to neighbouring countries or else to their country houses. But the poor areas are still packed with people. My family aren't rich or poor.* (p. 60)

Anne's family had enough wealth and status that they were able to move from Frankfurt (where Anne was born) to Holland, where her father was able to re-establish a business, and they were able to use their wealth and status to prepare a place of hiding. In her diary, Anne clearly indicates her family's middle class status in comments like, "*We often discuss post-war problems, for example, how one ought to address servants.*" (p. 30)

Zlata's family was wealthy enough to have a residence in the city of Sarajevo, as well as owning property in the countryside. We learn about Zlata's family's country property from a diary entry recorded before the outbreak of the war, when Zlata writes, "*We're going to Crnotiana (our place about fifteen kilometers away) –it has a big orchard with a house that's about 150 years old –a cultural monument under the protection of the state – Mommy and Daddy restored it. Grandma and Granddad are still there*." (p. 4)

Using the initial guiding questions suggested above, these diaries provide evidence that diary writers were members of middle class families, therefore teachers can use these sources as entry points for exploring class perspectives. Teachers could help learners practice selecting evidence to support claims about socio-economic class, but perhaps more importantly, Anne, Zlata and Thura express particular ways of thinking that allow teacher to use their diaries as entry points into understanding classed attitudes. For example, teachers could help learners explore the idea embedded in Anne's entry above, regarding appropriate ways to address servants. This represents the pre-World War II middle class assumption that certain kinds of work should be done by certain kinds of people and that class status should regulate forms of communication. When discussing the costs of acquiring medical treatment for her sister who had diabetes, Thura writes: "*It was very expensive, but we don't care about the money we have to spend to get what my sister needs, because money comes and goes, but who will replace my sister if I lose her?*" (p. 21) Using this example, teachers could assist learners in exploring the notion

that monetary considerations are different for those who have a certain degree of wealth or reliable income, as compared to those who do not.

Overall, these diaries could be used to provoke interesting questions about class perspectives. For example, teachers might pose the question: In what ways did the diary writers' middle class perspectives contribute to their writing of diaries in the first place? For example, a quotation like this: "*That's my life!... ...A child without games, without friends, without the sun, without birds, without nature, without fruit, without chocolate or sweets, with just a little powdered milk. In short, a child without a childhood. A wartime child.*" (pp. 61 -62), drawn from Zlata's diary, could trigger a question like: Did Zlata's middle class perspective affect her judgment about the harshness of her life during wartime? (After all, it is likely safe to say that children living in poverty or in lower class families in pre-war Sarajevo did not assume they should have continual access to fruit, chocolate and sweets before or after the conflict.)

Religious Diversity

These diaries could be used by teachers to inspire learners to explore questions about diverse religious perspectives. Evidence from these sources show how such perspectives influenced the lived experience of the diary writers.

It should not be surprising to discover that Anne's diary includes references to religious differences, considering that her family was forced into hiding because they were Jewish. What is intriguing is the variety of perspectives recorded in her writing that could spark for teachers and learners a variety of interesting questions about religious diversity. For example, in one instance Anne seems to expresses sarcasm and a degree of despair related to religious differences. Here, Anne records her thoughts about a copy of a bishop's letter to churchgoers that a visitor to the family's hiding place (Henk) brought for them to read. She wrote,

> *It was very fine and inspiring. "Do not rest, people of the Netherlands, everyone is fighting with his own weapons to free the country, the people and their religion."   "Give help, be generous, and do not dismay!" is what they cry from the pulpit, just like that. Will it help? It won't help the people of our religion.* (p. 67)

However, in another example, Anne demonstrates interest in and a sense of humor about religious differences when she wrote,

> *To give me something new to begin as well, Daddy asked Koophuis* [another visitor to the family's hiding place] *for a children's Bible so that I could find out something about the New Testament at last.*
> *"Do you want to give Anne a Bible for Chanuka?" asked Margot* [Anne's elder sister]*, somewhat perturbed.*

> *"Yes—er, I think St. Nicholas Day is a better occasion,"*
> *answered Daddy, "Jesus just doesn't go with Chanuka".*
> (p. 114)

With the revelation of these kinds of excerpts from Anne's diary, students might be intrigued to discover more about perspectives on religious diversity in Europe during the Second Word War.

In her diary, Thura provides insight into her own religious faith, writing, for example:

> *One thing that's been happening lately is that whenever the*
> *bombing starts, dozens of people go to the mosques and call*
> *out Allah's name and shout 'God is great' from the tops of the*
> *minarets right until the attacks are over. Everyone can hear*
> *them, and we all find it reassuring – it gives us the feeling that*
> *God's watching over us.* (p. 53)

In another example, Thura provides insights into her understanding of the practices of other religions, recording: *We usually sleep in on Friday, because for us it's the start of the weekend. It's also a special day for Muslims, because it's the day when we go to pray in the mosque – like Christians go to church on Sundays, and Jews go to the synagogue on Saturdays.* (p. 65) Teachers could use such examples as an entry point into exploring contemporary Islamic religious perspectives, helping students pose questions about how Thura's point of view fits within the broader ideological context.

Despite the notion that the Bosnian war was, at least in part, the result of religious differences, Zlata's diary shows how, at least for her, and her family and friends, religious diversity was normalized. Zlata casually alludes to the multiple religions practiced in her country. For example, she writes about sending packages to family and friends using "*Caritas (The Catholic humanitarian aid and relief organization.)*" (p. 9); she indicates that her family and friends normally celebrate a Muslim holy day, writing "*Today is Bairam (a Muslim religious holiday). There aren't many people in the streets. I guess it's fear of the stories about Sarajevo being bombed*" (p. 29); and she talks about the plans of a family friend to escape the city using a Jewish convoy, writing, *"It looks like she's really going to Zagreb. There's a Jewish convoy leaving at the beginning of October and she's trying to get on it*" (p. 84) Teachers could not only use Zlata's diary as an entry point to explore religious diversity, but could also use her writing to show how people living within a particular circumstance can hold perspectives that are not well represented in media stories shared in other parts of the world.

Gender Perspectives

Three main ideas about gender emerged as I used the guiding questions above, in the critical examination of the three diaries. All three diary writers wrote about (1) parental/family attitudes toward gender equity; (2) societal opinions regarding gender differences; and (3) personal 'gendered', beliefs, hopes, and dreams. Each diary writer

addressed these ideas out of her particular historical and cultural context, so it makes sense to examine examples drawn from each diary separately.

Evidence from Zlata's diary reveals an almost nonchalant attitude about gendered roles. The notion that males and females are capable in both the private and public spheres seems normalized within Zlata's family. For example, Zlata wrote, in an offhand fashion, *"Mommy goes to work at her new office. … Daddy doesn't go to work. The two of us stay at home, waiting for Mommy. When the sirens go off we worry about how and when and if she'll get home. Oh, the relief when she walks in!"* (pp. 62-63) In terms of her personal beliefs, hopes and dreams, Zlata writes about her *"responsibilities — school, music lessons, I study, practice the piano"* (p. 24), without comment about gender expectations. When she discusses 'unfairness', or the disruption of her hopes and dreams, her main complaint is about the war, writing comments such as, *"I just know that the war is stealing years of our life and childhood from us."* (p.118). However, Zlata's diary does make it clear that there are societal opinions in circulation in Sarajevo about the proper behaviours expected of girls. In describing her attendance at a United Nations Protection Force Christmas show, Zlata wrote: *"…they gave out the Christmas presents and sweets. The children stared pushing, almost fighting over them. I wasn't one of the lucky ones to get anything, because I didn't elbow my way through. What can I say? A nice little girl from a nice family. The "little lady" didn't get her present."* (p. 106) The contrast between Zlata's family's perspectives related to gender and her society's opinions, could be used by teachers and learners as an entry point for exploring diverse gendered perspectives.

Thura's diary expresses a fascinating blend of progressive and traditional perspectives on gender. For example, on the one hand, her parents were willing to pay large fees to support Thura's education, which seems to indicate a positive attitude toward gender equity (or at least support for enhanced status for women). On Saturday, 17 May 1001, Thura wrote, *"All the students at my college have to pay fees, and Mum and Dad have sacrificed a lot to pay for me to go there. For a girl like me, studying at a place like that will give me a much more secure future."* (p. 126) On the other hand, Thura's commentary goes on to indicate that a good education might be more about securing a good marriage than enhancing gender equity. In the diary entry recorded on 17 May 2001, Thura continues, *"…a much more secure future. Being a chemist is seen as a respectable job for women in my country, and lots of women prefer to go to chemists run by other women too. And as well as all that, girls who've been to the College of Pharmacology have better chances of making a good marriage.* (p.126).

Societal perspectives related to gender are also complicated. For example, women living in large urban centres during Saddam's regime appear to have had quite a bit of freedom in the public sphere, while women living in rural areas did not. Thura wrote about her experience when her family stayed with cousins in a village during the bombing of Baghdad. The excerpt clearly shows that Thura, a 'city girl', is not used to living with the restrictions now imposed upon her in the village, demonstrating the complexity of gender perspectives that exist(ed) within Iraqi society.

Here in the village I have to dress differently when I go out.
My whole body has to be covered and I have to walk in a way
that is not natural to me. Usually I walk with my head held
high, not like I'm hiding. But here I can't lift my eyes to
somebody's face – I have to behave like someone who is shy or
embarrassed. And I find it odd that women are expected to
stay indoors looking after the children, rather than going out.
This is a way of killing a woman's personality, but I have no
choice, I have to do it. (pp. 81-82)

Thura's personal perspectives on gender are also fascinating blend of progressive and traditional. On the one hand she expresses the belief that women should be free and indicates some resentment toward the patriarchy in her country: *"…we do want freedom for women – they shouldn't have to just stay at home. But we haven't got any choice – a man's opinion always counts for more than a woman's. In my country there's no such thing as women's liberation – even though women make up half of society.* (p. 115). At the same time, Thura questions the notion that women should serve in the armed forces. She expressed her astonishment at seeing female American soldiers, asking "*How could the Americans send women to fight in a war?*(p. 50) and then later wrote:

We have heard about two women who have sacrificed
themselves for their country. For us, this is a new thing. We've
never heard of that before - women sacrificing themselves,
fighting for their country, their land, their people. I believe
that in a war, women must be strong if they lose a son or
husband. But I don't believe women should fight. I have never
understood why women go into the military in other countries.
Women are best at giving love and kindness, not killing. (P. 72)

The notions expressed in Thura's diary, including the idea that women should be free, but not free to chose to fight for their country - that it is somehow 'okay' for men to fight while women should not - can provide intriguing divergences that can become entry points into the exploration of gendered perspectives.

Anne's parents appear to have a fairly progressive view of gender equity, especially considering the general point of view of their contemporaries. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt where Anne's mother stands up to one of the bossier members of the group who went into hiding with the Frank family. Anne recorded this conversation:

There is a great difference, Mrs. Van Daan," said Mummy,
"between Margot and Peter [Van Daan's son]. *In the first*
place Margot is a girl and girls are always more grownup than
boys, secondly, Margot has read quite a lot of serious books
and does not go in search of things that are forbidden her, and

> *thirdly, Margot is far more developed and intelligent, shown*
> *by the fact of her being in the fourth form at school.* (p. 26)

However, Anne's diary also includes examples demonstrating the more usual societal opinions about gender differences. In another instance, Anne records an attack on her by Mrs. Van Daan, and Dussel [another resident of the Secret Annex], which demonstrates their opinion about what young women should want. Anne wrote: "*Now Dussel and Mrs. Van Daan continued together: "You know much too much about things that are unsuitable for you, you've been brought up all wrong. ...You had better make haste, if you want to get a husband or fall in love."* (pp. 93-94) Examples such as these can prove to be interesting points of entry for learners to question the variety of ways in which girls were viewed and treated in mid-twentieth century Europe.

In her diary, Anne records her determination to have a life different from the women who are her role models. In one example, she wrote, "*I want to get on; I can't imagine that I would have to lead the some sort of life as Mummy and Mrs. Van Daan and all the women who do their work and are then forgotten. I must have something besides a husband and children, something that I can devote myself to!*" (p. 197). In another statement of her personal gendered goals and dreams, Anne expresses her hopes with passionate and heartbreaking clarity:

> *I am becoming still more independent of my parents, young as*
> *I am, I face life with more courage than Mummy; my feeling*
> *for justice is immovable, and truer than hers. I know what I*
> *want, I have a goal, an opinion, I have a religion and love. Let*
> *me be myself and then I am satisfied. I know that I'm a woman,*
> *a woman with inward strength and plenty of courage. If God*
> *lets me live, I shall attain more than Mummy ever has done, I*
> *shall not remain insignificant, I shall work in the world and for*
> *mankind!* (p. 208)

Anne was clearly a feisty individual who wrote eloquently about goals she set for herself as a female living in mid-twentieth century Europe. Reading her diary was often heartbreaking because we know what she did not – that the fates would not let her live. With both its humor and its tragedy, Anne's diary also provides a powerful entry point that teachers can use for helping learners pose questions about the gendered perspectives in circulation during this time period.

…ETHNIC/CULTLURAL DIVERSITITIES

The three diaries I examined provide insight into perspectives on ethnic/cultural diversities in two ways - they provide insights into family/cultural traditions and practices; and insights into views about how ethnic/cultural difference caused, or was manipulated to cause, conflict.

Family/Cultural Traditions & Practices

Each diary writer I examined provides evidence for intimate insights into family and cultural practices. This evidence can act the basis for teachers and learners in ethnic/cultural perspective-taking. For example, Anne tells about how her family celebrated St. Nicholas Day (usually considered a Christian holiday) for the first time while living in the Secret Annex:

> *We didn't make much fuss about Chanuka: we just gave each*
> *other a few little presents and then we had the candles.*
> *Because of the shortage of candles we only had them alight for*
> *ten minutes, but it is all right as long as you have the song....*
> *...Saturday, the evening of St. Nicholas Day, was much more*
> *fun. ...A large basket decorated with St. Nicholas paper stood*
> *in the corner and on top there was a mask of Black Peter.*
> *...There was a nice little present for everyone, with a suitable*
> *poem attached. ...as none of us had ever celebrated St.*
> *Nicholas, it was a good way of starting.* (pp. 57-58)

On the surface, this excerpt provides description of the 'observable' part of the Frank family's ethnic/cultural practices. However, teachers can use this to spark questions about beliefs that lie behind the traditions – for example, What beliefs lie behind Chanuka? - as well as questions that ask learners to ponder the 'unusual' aspects of the event – for example: Why did the Jewish families decide to celebrate St. Nicholas Day and why did they choose to do this for the first time while in hiding?

Zlata recorded family practices around birthday celebrations, which can be used as an entry point for young learners to compare and contrast personal practices/ perspectives with those of other people. Zlata wrote: *It's my birthday tomorrow. Mommy is making a cake and all the rest, because we really celebrate in our house. One day is for my friends, that's December 3, and the next day is for family friends and relatives. Mommy and I are getting a tombola [a basket of party favors] together, and thinking up questions for the children's quiz. This year we have birthday cups, plates and napkins all with little red apples on them.* (p. 12)

Thura described a game familiar to members of her culture, which she played with friends to ease tension as they dealt with fears about the coming attack on Baghdad: *I sat with some of my friends and played beatha – a name game played with fast-moving hands and strips of papers – so we could forget our pain. In the game, our hands end up stacked one upon the other, so we took this as a sign that we would always be together.* (p. 17). Again, along with attending to the description of the 'observable' aspects of this game (perhaps comparing it to games played in other cultures), teachers can use this to spark conversations about beliefs and values - for example, about the meaning of 'hands stacked together'. Thura also provides insight into Iraqi cultural practices related to family good fortune. When her aunt and uncle, who had been out of touch for several days, join Thura's family in the village to which they had fled in the days leading up to the bombing of Baghdad, Thura wrote: *"...we decided to celebrate and give thanks to God by killing a lamb and giving the meat to the different families. In my culture,*

sacrificing a lamb in the name of God is a tradition after something good has happened to a family." (pp. 75-76) This description offers another entry point into exploring diverse ethnic/cultural perspectives.

Ethnic/Cultural Differences as Cause of Conflict

One of the most poignant aspects of the diaries written by these girls as they lived through conflict is the insights they provide into their feelings about the ways in which ethnic/cultural difference caused or was manipulated to cause, conflict. Evidence drawn from their diaries provides powerful commentary to demonstrate this, so I include the following excerpts to exemplify this point, without much elaboration from me.

Expressing her sorrow and frustration about the conflict and persecution resulting from ethnic/cultural differences, Anne Frank wrote these entries in her diary:

Wednesday, 13 January, 1943
    It is terrible outside. Day and night more of those poor miserable people are being dragged off, with nothing but a rucksack and a little money. On the way they are deprived even of these possessions. Families are torn apart, the men, women, and children all being separated. Children coming home from school find that their parents have disappeared. Women return from shopping to find their homes shut up and their families gone.

    The Dutch people are anxious too, their sons are being sent to Germany. Everyone is afraid. … And every night hundreds of planes fly over Holland and go to German towns, where the earth is plowed up by their bombs, and every hour hundreds and thousands of people are killed in Russia and Africa. No one is able to keep out of it, the whole globe is waging war and although it is going better for the Allies, the end is not yet in sight. (p. 63)

Tuesday, 11 April 1944

    We have been pointedly reminded that we are in hiding, that we are Jews in chains, chained to one spot without any rights, but with a thousand duties. We Jews mustn't show our feelings, must be brave and strong must accept all inconveniences and not grumble, must do what is within our power and trust in God. Sometime this terrible war will be over. Surely the time will come when we are people again, and not just Jews. (p. 207)

Even at her young age, Zlata eloquently expresses her puzzlement, anger, and frustration over the politics of ethnic/cultural conflict. (Please note: when Zlata uses "kids" with quotation marks, she is referring to politicians and military decision-makers.)

Thursday, November 19, 1992
    Nothing new on the political front. They are adopting some resolutions, the "kids" are negotiating, and we are dying, freezing, starving, crying, parting

with our friends, leaving our loved ones. I keep wanting to explain these stupid politics to myself, because it seems to me that politics caused this war, making it our everyday reality…   It looks to me as though these politics mean Serbs, Croats and Muslims.   But they are all people. They are all the same. They all look like people, there's no difference. They all have arms, legs and heads, they walk and talk, but now there's "something" that wants to make them different.

Among my girlfriends, among our friends, in our family, there are Serbs and Croats and Muslims. It's a mixed group and I never knew who was a Serb, a Croat or a Muslim. Now politics has started meddling around. It has put an "S" on Serbs, an "M" on Muslims and a "C" on Croats, it wants to separate them.…

Why is politics making us unhappy, separating us, when we ourselves know who is good and who isn't? We mix with the good, not with the bad. And among the good there are Serbs and Croats and Muslims, just as there are among the bad. I simply don't understand it. Of course, I'm "young," and politics are conducted by "grown-ups." But I think we "young" would do it better. We certainly wouldn't have chosen war.

The "kids" really are playing, which is why us kids are not playing, we are living in fear, we are suffering, we are not enjoying the sun and flowers, we are not enjoying our childhood. WE ARE CRYING. (pp. 96-97)

Thura expressed her fears and puzzlement about conflict and political wrangling, and provides powerful insights into her fears about colonization, in the following excerpts from her diary.

Tuesday, 1 April 2003
They are showing films on the TV about the war between the Iranians and the Iraqis. They show how people get killed, and how they lose their arms and their legs and how they suffer. They show the bodies in the desert. All these are innocent people who get involved in war. They die because of people with big egos who are looking for power. Innocent people have to kill each other for this reason; this stupid reason. (p. 52)

Wednesday, 9 April 2003
Today's been a really exceptional day: the biggest statue of Saddam in Baghdad was pulled down. I had a kind o f empty feeling inside, and tears in my eyes. I watched as an American soldier climbed up on top of the statue and wrapped the American flag round its head.   No, I thought, it can't be true: Iraq an American colony. … …The end came on Wednesday 9 April 2003. I'll never forget it. It had a huge impact on the rest of the world too, like 11 September 2001 did, when the Twin Towers fell in New York. And just like the Americans will never forget that day, no Iraqi will ever forget 9 April, either. The strange thing is that there's a nine in both dates, which is one thing the Iraqis and the Americans have in common. (pp. 84-85)

Saturday, 12 April 2003

We saw plenty of Americans close up. One was around my age.   He had beautiful sunglasses, and when I got close I could see he was really handsome. I don't know why this soldier in particular caught my eye - it wasn't just the colour of his skin, it was something about him, his way of standing.   I had all sorts of questions I wanted to ask him, to do with the way we saw him and the way he saw us. Will we and the Americans ever come to understand each another? Will I be able to talk to that soldier one day - that soldier, who's free to go wherever he likes in my country now? Are they more afraid of us than we are of them? (p. 91)

In this last excerpt, Thura provides compelling and intriguing questions. Teachers and students could use these as ponder points for students to contemplate comparing Thura's Iraqi perspective with other contemporary ethnic/cultural perspectives. .

Pondering the circumstances that generated the fear, frustration, anger, and puzzlement expressed by Anne, Zlata and Thura will certainly assist teachers and learners in entering into historical perspective-taking. Questions can be raised about the power of differing ideologies and ethnic/cultural perspectives in causing conflict and students can explore the degree to which evidence indicates that such perspectives influenced how the diary writer experienced the conflicts occurring around them.

CONCLUSION

I believe these examples demonstrate that diaries can offer powerful insights for teachers and learners. But thoughtful and skillful de- and re-construction of the thoughts, emotions and motivations of diary writers is necessary if learners are to develop meaningful understanding of historical perspective. Teachers will need to spend time helping learners develop critical knowledge construction skills. Teachers can utilize the adaptation of Collingwood's method, mentioned above (Lemisko, 2004), or other similar inquiry approaches can be used.

Teachers must also help learners come to understand the tensions involved historical work. While it is the case that in trying get to the 'inside', readers/learners need to link to that which is familiar in diaries to feel some sense of relationship with the document creator (Collingwood, 1993/1946; Reeves, 1980), readers/learners cannot let familiarity blind them to that which is different.   Wineburg (1999) cautions "On the one hand, we need to feel kinship with the people we study, for this is exactly what engages our interest and makes us feel connected. [On the other hand we must recognize] the strangeness of the past" (p. 490) so that we can acknowledge differences. This is a tricky balance which requires explicit recognition of contextual and cultural similarities and differentiations so that learners can develop perspective consciousness – that recognition that our personal view of the world is not universally shared (Hanvey, 1976). As Wineburg (1999) notes, it is the strangeness of the past that "offers the possibility of surprise and amazement, of encountering people, places, and times that spur us to

reconsider how we see ourselves as human beings. An encounter with this past can be mind-expanding in the best sense of the term" (p. 490).

Diaries can be examined using critical inquiry processes to explore classed, gendered, religious and ethnic/cultural perspectives through the eyes of the diary writers. When used thoughtfully and skillfully diaries help us gain access to the inside of human actions, helping us develop empathetic understandings of people in all our glorious complexity.

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Notes

[1] Please note: rather than using formal APA style repetitively for citing examples drawn from the three diaries, I have simply included the page number on which the quotations can be found.