This study was undertaken to investigate how individual teachers' opinions and beliefs serve as a basis for classroom practice and curriculum decision making. United States history teachers are not passive transmitters of knowledge; they bring their own experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of looking at the world to the classroom. The findings discussed here are based on information gained from a previous study, and from a current study using interviews and classroom observations. Teachers participated in interviews focusing on their conception of the subject matter, the courses they were teaching, students in the class, and their individual approaches to transforming content knowledge. Findings suggest that a better understanding of these factors and the role they play in shaping curriculum would help teachers understand what they choose to teach, why they do it, and how it affects student education. Teacher education programs need to emphasize moral, social, political, and cultural dimensions of education. Teacher educators must provide prospective teachers with the skills and knowledge necessary to uncover the values embedded in pedagogical content knowledge. Since community and class background are such major influences in the classroom, it is important that teachers have a firm grasp on the socio-cultural factors on teaching and learning. (Contains 50 references.) (LH)
Teachers' Lives and Beliefs: Influences That Shape the U. S. History Curriculum.

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I would like to begin this discussion by drawing upon my personal experiences as a supervisor of student teachers. In particular, I want to describe a classroom observation that vividly demonstrates how a teacher's personal life, experiences, and beliefs play an integral role in shaping the manner in which U. S. history is taught. The following scenario illustrates how the above factors can directly influence the content, class discussion, and pedagogical practices.

During a recent class observation, I was suddenly struck by a particular statement made by the student teacher. At the beginning of a lesson while passing out a handout on political party platforms, the student teacher attempted to place herself in a neutral space by stating that she neither favored nor opposed any of the parties' positions. She informed the class that her views were unimportant and her goal was simply to discuss how the individual political parties platforms differed.

The lesson began and the student teacher quickly omitted the areas regarding the current state of the economy and taxes and chose the abortion issue to start class discussion. Leading questions soon revealed this teacher's acceptance of abortion in cases of rape and incest. Gun control was next on the agenda, and as the discussion progressed, one student who opposed any type of weapons restrictions was asked by the student teacher “how often do you need assault weapons to kill deer?” When affirmative action surfaced, the class was introduced to a California case where a qualified white male was refused admission to medical school because of the use of quotas. A personal experience was introduced to further illustrate her point. Finally, additional issues such as funding for the arts and homosexual rights were dismissed as unimportant and the class moved to a videotape dealing with the presidential election.

Not bad for a brief lesson. Powerful messages were communicated to students through interaction with their student teacher. Students learned that abortion was acceptable in certain circumstances, government control of weapons was a good thing, affirmative action was not working, and other political issues such as taxes, state of the economy, funding for the arts and homosexual rights were not important enough to merit class discussion. More importantly, students learned that the teacher's views are of the highest value since these views
dominated the direction of class discussion. Although the student teacher claimed to be neutral and none of the above messages were listed in her lesson plan, these and other messages did nonetheless flow predictably and consistently from her teaching and questioning strategies.

Clearly, this scenario confirms that the individual teacher's "personal theories and beliefs serve as the basis for classroom practice and curriculum decision making" (Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon 1992, p. 3). The manner in which teachers experience and understand the world plays a significant role in defining, selecting, and organizing information in their classroom. This, in turn, constructs the version of U. S. history that students have the opportunity to learn. In the following discussion, I addresses the complicated process of teaching U. S. history in secondary classrooms and the role that teacher's lives and beliefs play in shaping the U. S. history curriculum.

The Role of Beliefs and Life Experiences in Teaching

Few would argue that teaching is not an extremely complicated task that is saturated with both explicit and implicit personal values and beliefs. Since teaching requires evaluation, interpretation, and choice, the process is never value-free or neutral. Located beneath the classroom practice of every teacher is an elaborate set of beliefs that are interwoven into the fabric of one's personal and professional life. This belief system serves as an organizing framework that establishes patterns of meaning, determines right and wrong, aids in historical interpretation, informs evaluations, and more or less forms a coherent picture or argument. These beliefs and values guide teachers' decisions regarding curriculum and instruction.

This complex belief system includes individual life philosophies, habits, personal experiences, and social histories all of which permeate every teacher's understanding of their work, their students, the subject matter, and their roles and responsibilities as classroom teachers. In order to better understand the role beliefs play in teaching, these systems "may be conceived as minitheories of the mind, ways of characterizing language and behavior. . . they are part of the social and cultural truths to which
individuals try to adhere in daily living” (Horowitz 1994, p. 3). They can be better understood as “mental constructions of experience” (Sigel 1985, p. 351) which are organized into concepts that are considered to be true and used to guide behavior (Pajares 1992). Furthermore, belief systems serve as an individual’s view of reality that holds enough truth to guide his or her thoughts and behavior (Harvey 1986).

Belief systems are essential because not only do they shape the way teachers define and understand physical and social realities, but beliefs foster schools of thought and are unavoidably intertwined with knowledge. Teachers’ beliefs have been the center of much research, and the concept has been labeled with a variety of terms. For example, Clark (1988) called teachers’ beliefs preconceptions and implicit theories while Goodman (1988) terms them the “teachers’ perspectives.” In addition, the concept of “frame” is often used to describe the underlying assumptions that influence the teachers’ actions in the classroom and their interaction with subject matter (Minsky 1975; Schon 1983; Wyer and Srull 1984; Barnes 1992). This refers “to the clustered set of standard expectations through which all adults organize, not only their knowledge of the world but their behavior in it. We might call them the default settings of our daily lives” (Barnes 1992, p. 16).

It is vital to understand that U. S. history teachers are not merely “passive transmitters of knowledge” (Elbaz 1981, p. 43). Rather, each teacher brings his or her own individual experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of looking at the world to the classroom. All teachers become “curriculum choice makers” who apply their beliefs and perspectives in making decisions about the particular content that they will teach (Ben-Peretz 1990). These pedagogical decisions require that teachers engage in “a dialogue between the textbook, their own version of the subject matter, and the class” (Gudmundsdottir 1990, p. 48). This belief guided works to select, organize, and frame materials to form a coherent picture or argument of a particular content area (Wade, Thompson & Watkins 1994). The end result is the
manipulation of knowledge and curriculum to fit the individual teacher's orientation toward the subject matter (see Figure 1).

![Diagram showing the relationship between pedagogical content knowledge, teacher's voice, teacher's orientation toward U.S. history, school climate, beliefs & life experiences, and assorted influences.]

**Figure 1: Teachers’ Understandings of the Influences Shaping the U. S. History Curriculum**

As Figure 1 demonstrates, there are multiple influences that play critical roles in the dialogue that teachers engage regarding students, instruction, and subject matter. This dialogue is a complex process that continually constructs and reshapes a teacher's orientation toward his or her subject matter. This orientation is then articulated to students through the teacher's voice.

The concept of orientation can be referred to as "the specific ways in which an individual looks at the world" (Van Manen 1977, p. 211). Often described as a world view, a "point of view, perspective, a person's way of looking at things, outlook, standpoint and so on" (Van Manen 1977, p. 211), a person's orientation is composed of what he or she believes to be true, to
be valuable, and to be real. As Figure 1 demonstrates, an individual's orientation always surfaces in the classroom as the teacher's voice or personal curriculum.

Dialogue occurs differently for every teacher. Some teachers consciously design an orientation while others develop an orientation by default. For example, experienced teachers are possibly more aware of these influences, more attentive to the role that their voices play in the classroom and therefore play an active role in constructing their orientation. On the other hand, a novice teacher's orientation might be shaped by default with little consciousness on the part of the individual. Hence, this teacher may believe that he or she is objective and see little affect of his or her beliefs voice on the U. S. history curriculum.

The concept of voice has been central to the research on teacher knowledge, and it should be noted that other researchers have employed terms similar in meaning, such as personal or teacher's perspective, personal theory, implicit theory, personal practical knowledge, personal curriculum, and teacher's lives (see Butt et al 1988; Clark & Peterson 1985; Clandinin & Connelly 1987; Gilligan 1982; Goodson 1991; McDonald 1988; Symth 1987). This type of research centers on the idea that teachers bring their lives to the classroom and these lives are made up of a cluster of complex experiences, beliefs, and worldviews. More importantly, the teacher's life and belief system are instrumental in defining, selecting and organizing information in which students have the opportunity to learn.

The end result of this process is termed pedagogical content knowledge. As Figure 1 indicates, a teacher's orientation played out in the classroom surfaces as the teacher's voice or personal curriculum. This, in turn, becomes pedagogical content knowledge which contains two components, content and pedagogy (Grossman 1989; Shulman 1987). Pedagogical content knowledge is subject matter that has been reorganized with consideration of students, pedagogical strategies, and curriculum. This reorganization revolves around a teacher's orientation and includes not
only selecting and omitting knowledge but also adopting teaching methods that are in line with the knowledge they believe students should learn.

From my own research experiences, when talking with secondary social studies teachers about their own teaching of U. S. history, they regularly introduce information about their own lives and beliefs into the discussion. Their descriptions illustrate how important experiences and beliefs are to the teaching process. Through this interaction with teachers, it becomes evident that the experiences and beliefs of teachers play a fundamental role in constructing their orientation toward U. S. history and their interpretation of the texts they teach. The point I am making here is that in order to understand the influences that shape teachers’ approaches to the teaching of U. S. history, we need to know more about teachers’ lives. The following study discusses how experiences and beliefs play a role shaping a teacher’s approach to the teaching of U. S. history, thus, determining the version of U. S. history students have the opportunity to learn.

Data Collection and Analysis

The findings discussed in this study are based upon information gained from a previous research study that addresses the multiple and complex issues and influences that shape the teaching of U. S. history (Romanowski 1996) and a current study which uses both interviews and classroom observations. This research advances previous work by presenting findings from interviews and classroom observations of six secondary U. S. history teachers. The data consists of transcribed interviews, transcribed classroom observations, and observer’s notes.

Prior to the initial interview, teachers were asked to reflect upon, record notes, and provide examples regarding the possible factors that influenced their approach to the teaching of U. S. history. Individual teachers then participated in a fifty to seventy-five minute interview. Each interview focused on the teachers’ conception of subject matter, the current courses they were teaching, students in the class, and their individual
approaches to transforming content knowledge (the U. S. history curriculum).

Every interview began with a teacher initiated conversation based on their previous reflection, thoughts, and notes regarding their teaching. This increased the chance that information came from the respondent rather than solely being determined by the researcher's questions. Participants were also asked to supply examples from their teaching to solidify their points. Based on the information individual teachers presented, the researcher used probing questions that extended the information and allowed additional questions to emerge from the context. This permitted a more thorough understanding of the respondent's opinions and the reasoning behind them. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed.

In order to complement the interviews, each participant was observed teaching U. S. history during several class periods. In several cases, classrooms were videotaped but when this was impossible, ethnographic field notes were taken. At the completion of each observation, all participants were interviewed for approximately 15-25 minutes. Each teacher was then asked to reflect on the lesson citing examples of factors and/or beliefs that might have shaped the particular content or approach to the topic. A brief dialogue occurred between teacher and researcher centering on information from the interviews and the observed lesson.

There is no easy way to analyze information produced in conversations among people. Such is the nature of this type of research. Therefore, this paper focuses on what teachers said about what they thought influenced their decisions and approaches to the teaching of the U. S. history curriculum. Each analysis began by listening to the taped conversation and then conducting a careful reading of interview transcripts and field notes. Based on this reading, initial analysis consisted of coding the conversations using categories from the theoretical framework.
developed in the previous study\textsuperscript{1}. These four theoretical categories were particularly relevant for the information and served as a starting point for the analysis.

After close analysis of the language that teachers use, their own reflection about teaching, and classroom observations, various implicit beliefs and influences that shaping their teaching emerged. Several categories were constructed and are as follows: schooling influences, individual beliefs, and life experiences. The categories are further broken down to specific areas and are explained during the discussion of results (See Figure #1).

Although as a construct beliefs and life experiences do not easily lend themselves to empirical investigation, they serve as key ingredients of the people that we are and of our sense of self and our ideas about knowledge, students, and schooling. Many view beliefs and experiences as being steeped in mystery and that they can never be clearly defined. However, the factors that shape individuals' lives are a subject of legitimate inquiry when appropriately studied and can aid in understanding the actions of teachers.

The following discussion centers on these teachers' understanding of what they believe to be the issues and factors in their lives that play a role, either directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously in shaping their teaching of U. S. history. These are the elements that make up a teacher's orientation toward their subject matter which eventually surfaces as a personal curriculum that creates value-laden impressions for students to learn. These elements include both the beliefs and life experiences of teachers and the school climate.

\textsuperscript{1} This study used the following categories: 1) Community Expectations and Beliefs; 2) Student Beliefs and Issues of Resistance; 3) U. S. History Textbooks; and 4) Teacher's Voice/Personal Curriculum. For a further description see Romanowski, M. H. (1996). Issues and Influences That Shape the Teaching of U. S. History. In J. Brophy (Ed.), Advances in Research on Teaching, Vol. 6. History Teaching and Learning (pp. 291-312). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
The Impact of Beliefs and Life Experiences

Religion and Morality

According to the teachers in this study, it is clear that the beliefs they hold and their life experiences play an significant role in shaping their teaching of U.S. history. Since the teaching process is an extremely value-laden endeavor, teachers can never claim to be morally neutral or value free. Whether one realizes this or not, all teachers "cannot avoid imparting values in one way or another in the normal course of their activities... What we consider 'good,' 'right,' or 'important' constantly guides our practice, whether consciously or not" (Carbone 1987, p. 10).

In this study, teachers indicated that religion and issues of morality seem to be determining factors on how they approach various historical events. The following dialogue demonstrates one teacher's awareness of his religious convictions that surface in the classroom.

Interviewer: What other factors influences the way you approach U.S. history?

Teachers: Certainly my Christian faith... that influences my outlook. I think it is important to get students to see the role that religion has played in people's lives. I can give you a specific example. In Lincoln's second inaugural address, he is famous for having said malice toward none and charity for all. Historians quote the first and last parts of that address but few historians concentrate on the middle portion where he talks about why the Civil War happened. In that second inaugural address he says that that war was proof of a just God because both sides prayed to the same God and neither prayers were answered. Lincoln goes on to say that maybe we had this war because God was punishing the south for having slavery and he was punishing the north for having allowed slavery. Lincoln espouses the view that God plays a role in history. Few modern historians will recognize Lincoln's faith and his strong belief. You don't have to acknowledge a belief in a God but obviously Lincoln believed in a God or he wouldn't have spoke in
those terms. It surely affected his view of that war. . . I think my students should be aware of those things and that is not preaching a view of religion, its just showing that the founders were religious. They have a view of God’s work in the world. We [teachers] are afraid because of church and state today to address those kind of things in American history, but I think this is important for students to be exposed to.

Interviewer: Does your religious beliefs influence your teaching in other ways?

Teacher: I think, on the other hand, there has been a lot of bad things done in the name of religion. You equally need to talk about in the south during the 20s, 30s, and 40s how white Christians advocated the KKK because they had equally racist beliefs and they were big supporters of all that. . . they [students] need to see the negative side of religion to. . . I don’t think I teach this but God’s hand is in every great historical event I don’t know if I teach that but I believe that to be true. This probably affects many parts of my teaching. I might not be conscious of all this.

It is evident that this teacher’s “Christian upbringing” plays a important role in his orientation toward U. S. history. Not only does he acknowledge the role religion plays in his pedagogical decisions about Lincoln and the civil war, but he is also aware that his belief that “God’s hand is in every great historical event” might possibly shade his teaching of other historical events.

Although religion was not discussed by each participant, every teacher in this study expressed a concern for raising ethical issues, discussing what is right or wrong, or addressing morality within the history curriculum. The following comments by various teachers describes how issues of right and wrong shape their approach to U. S. history.

Teacher: Religious background makes a difference. What you think is morally right or morally wrong. The moral judgments you are passing on societies plays a role on how you teach.
Teacher: I guess learning from my dad the attitude of taking care of the poor... I think maybe this unselfish attitude. I want the kids to be aware of this. Yeah I bring this in. You owe it to get through the curriculum, you owe it to teach the course but you also owe to this dialogue [on moral issue].

Teacher: If we're talking about the depression and we want to understand what life was like during the depression, do we see how some Ph.D. economist looked at it or do we look at it from those people who were picking up coal chunks that were being thrown off the train purposefully or the train would slow down so those people could hop on the train and get those coal chunks. Then is that justifiable, is that stealing, is that survival. This is how I deal with questions of right and wrong.

Not only is it evident from these teachers' comments that issues of right and wrong influence their teaching of U. S. history but the concern for morality became evident in several classroom observations. For example, one lesson on the dropping of the atomic bomb centered on issues of right and wrong behavior; a lesson on life in the 1950's raised questions regarding the moral aspects of income distribution; and a lesson on the cold war also encouraged students to reflect upon the morality of decisions made at that time.

Exactly how teachers' religious and moral convictions affect their approach to teaching is still not very well understood, but we can be sure that all teachers impart morals and values upon their students. These examples demonstrate that the moral dimensions of teaching are inescapable and play a major role in determining what is considered legitimate or accepted views and understandings of U. S. history. The teacher's decisions as to what is morally appropriate shapes the teaching
process by determining the perspectives and knowledge students have access to.

History Professors

All participants described their own schooling experiences as a factor that influenced their teaching, especially the role of professors of history. While in college, when pre-service history teachers study the subject matter that they will eventually teach high school students, they are not simply learning a body of facts. As they engage textbooks and class lectures, they are acquiring a particular understanding of the world. FitzGerald (1979) states that what students remember from history textbooks “is not any particular series of facts but an atmosphere, an impression, a tone. And this impression may be all the more influential just because one cannot remember the facts and the arguments that created it (p.18).

Gudmundsdottir (1990) argues that after teachers have forgotten the facts of U. S. history learned in college, they still retain value-laden impressions. In turn, the impressions play an active role in shaping their pedagogical content knowledge and their interpretation of secondary U. S. history textbooks. These “value-laden impressions become their personal curriculum, the most hidden and least studied of all school curricula, yet it is the slice of secondary education that is most likely to remain with the student” (p. 47).

It is apparent that the impressions created by university U. S. history classes and professors not only remain with these teachers but play an active role in their current teaching, thus shaping the U. S. history curriculum. The following comments made by teachers demonstrate how university professors play a role in shaping their approach to U. S. history.

Teacher: In college, I found out that there was another whole history that I didn’t know existed. For a long time, I resented that and thought why do they [college professors] dig up all the dirt and why is there always the negative. Sure it affects me now, I feel compelled to talk about some of the lesser noble qualities of many of our presidents and
maybe other people. You might as well not have them go out of here with a rose color view that is not true, it just is not true. . . I certainly have a broader view of history. There are still things that I learned in college classes that I bring into my classes today.

Teacher: I am a story teller and I try to use that narrative approach in looking at it [history] and I guess I got this from one of my college professors. . . during class all of a sudden this [question] I wonder I wonder how would this and that be if. So you use that how type of thinking. All of sudden your looking at a scenario. So now your just thinking how would people approach this or that in both the past and future. . . I want that student to simply think. . . that professor played a big role.

Teacher: I think one that stands out in my mind. . . he had a strong influence because he willing to share his view on the insides of history. For example, he would point out that our leaders had a few sins in their lives and acknowledge that that went on but he didn’t make a big deal about it. I guess it was a respectful acknowledgment of the problems of the country and I think that is important for students to see that there are skeletons in the closet. So I often use this to explain history.

Teacher: I guess probably a big change for me was going to college during the sixties and being in the history and political science department. If there was anybody down there that was not a liberal democrat, I didn’t meet any of them if they were there. They [professors] had a huge impact on me and I guess I could consider myself more of a liberal ever since. They [professors] certainly had a huge impact on me because it [college] totally changed my way of thinking about things.

It seems rather evident that college professors influence the teaching of secondary U. S. history. Certainly the degree of influence would depend
on both the individual professor and teacher. Not only did teachers describe this influence but it became obvious in several classroom observations. For example, one particular teacher described the NATO and Warsaw Pact by using an example given to him by a college professor. He added that this professor also taught ROTC classes and how this provided him with insight to this topic.

In addition the teacher quote above who adapted the narrative or story telling approach from a college professor, demonstrated this approach when he gave a comprehensive lecture/story about his life growing up in the 1950's and this experience of seeing his family going through the process of becoming middle class. He certainly has perfected the story telling technique which he learned in his undergraduate studies.

Social Class and Family

According to Bourdieu (1977, 1984), human thought is a form of socialized knowledge which is conditioned by cultural surroundings. Therefore, teachers' epistemologies reflect their cultural history and family social class background. Teachers enter the classroom with an understanding of the world, subject matter, and school that is filtered through beliefs, images, and myths which they have acquired from families, peers, media, and other life experiences.

Based on this process, teachers in this study indicated that the family and social class structure in which they were raised played an intricate role in constructing their identities, thus maintaining a significant role in shaping their teaching and views toward various historical events. The following excerpts demonstrate how parents and social class upbringing plays a role in their selection, organization, and actual teaching of historical events.

Teacher: I think that family influences and values influence your political views, social and economic backgrounds. . . When it comes to teaching the industrial revolution and similar events, I know that I am pretty much a pro-labor person. Why? I grew up in a working
class family were my father was a tire builder, my grandfather was a tire builder, I worked my way through college a member of United rubber workers. When I came here [the school] I got involved in union activities. That comes from my family background and that gets brought into my lessons, I think quite often. For example, I would say I am rather opinionated when it comes to students who grew up in families where their dads are in management and doesn’t like unions. They [students] come in here and listen to me and I paint a nice rosy picture of unions and what great things they did for the average American person.

Teacher: I try to rely on strengths from experiences that I have had. I can related back to my family... my family is a blue-collar family and my dad never had much until he went to work in a plant. He was in UAW and as a kid I can remember the strikes and not having much work and trying to take extra jobs to make ends meet till the strike was over. I can see how my dad was a strong union background because he owes everything he has to that movement [labor union movement] and the gains that were provided for him. So it [blue collar family background] does influence how you think and I try to bring some objectivity to it but yet you have that personal experience.

Growing up in working class families with parents active in labor unions, these teachers are certainly aware of how those experiences influence their teaching. Although this discussion is limited to the teaching of the labor union movement, each teacher understands how that parental influence based on working class values plays out in their classrooms, especially during class discussion when they address "white collar" or upper class students. Their professionalism enables them to be aware of the need for "objectivity" but as one teacher stated "you have that personal experience" and that personal experience shades their presentation of labor unions and management. Not only does this aspect of their identities effect the presentation of labor unions, it also dictated the amount of time spent on labor and
management issues. Two teacher indicated that they enjoyed and spend significant time on these and related issues during the school year, both feeling that maybe they place too much emphasis on this area.

Other historical events that teachers felt were influenced by their family and class background were, the Great Depression, the New Deal, and the Japanese Internment. Furthermore, one teacher stated that "I often teach from the disaffected point of view... I guess that is my background." This individual's social class background surfaced when he had the opportunity to teach from what is termed "bottom up history" where the emphasis is on social history or the history from the perspective of the "average" American. Similar comments were made by another teacher.

Teacher: I came from a working class relatively poor background and I think it is important that we understand history from the ideas of those who lived it those who were a part of history not just necessarily from those people writing from their ivory towers in some fourth floor building on some college campus. I often share stories from my parents and grandparents who were hardworking people... you never get rid of that family upbringing.

This teacher demonstrates how stories from the "common people" and social history are important in his teaching. More importantly, these stories evolve from his own life experiences growing up working class. At times during our conversations, this individual expressed some degree of anger toward what he termed "privilege upper class" which I believe would clearly surface in his classroom.

Furthermore, another teacher continued to reinforce the influence of social class upbringing and how this shades many areas of history when his overall view of U. S. centers on "those who lived it." This teacher incorporates his family background into lessons when appropriate. For example, during one class observation I witnessed this same teacher provide students with a lecture on his own personal life experiences growing up in the 1950's and experiences with new technology, i.e. refrigerator.
Throughout the lecture, one could see the family and class influences as he shared these experiences but also in the questions raised.

Finally, two teachers echoed similar thoughts but these teachers moved beyond discussion of content area and addressed how "working class values" play a role in other aspects of their teaching.

Teacher: My family came out of that lower class and in teaching economics or history I believe in the old commitment thing... that strong code of hard work, you got to be willing to be committed to get anywhere. That was part of that my story line and I saw that happen in my family and I am sure it surfaces in my lessons and certainly in my expectations of students, grading, and even simply issues like homework.

Hard work and commitment are the values that this teacher embraces and were learned from his family upbringing. Through a hidden curriculum, students are taught that hard work and commitment pays off and this teacher encourages these values through his high expectations for students (especially low tracked students), homework, and even the grades he assigns. Clearly the values and beliefs of his class background can never be left at the classroom door.

The Impact of School Climate
Community and Students

According to the teachers in this study, it is clear that there are multiple issues related to school climate that play an integral role in shaping their approach to the teaching U. S. history. First, the community in which the school is embedded plays a major role in influencing curriculum. Garcia (1991) argues that "what is taught and what is learned in any classroom is tremendously influenced by the community’s beliefs and values" (p. 45). Thornton (1988) states that community pressures have a discernible influence on teachers and their curriculum decision making. Furthermore, I argue elsewhere that that secondary U. S. history teachers are
clearly "influenced by the community as they slowly became conscious of
the community’s beliefs and expectations through personal and classroom
interaction with students (Romanowski 1996, p. 299).

It seems that the beliefs and expectations of the residents in the local
community play a significant role in setting the climate regarding what is
desirable or undesirable within a school and classrooms. The following
dialogue between myself and one particular teacher continues to
demonstrate the direct role that the community and parental expectations of
teachers play on shaping the U. S. history curriculum.

Interviewer: You briefly mentioned early about teaching in this particular school
district. Does teaching at Westwood [name changed] affect the manner
in which you teach U. S. history?

Teacher: Sure! This community has a certain expectations of us. Sometimes
that is frustrating but I know that this is a conservative community. I
don’t think I consciously think about that when I am teaching
students, but some of the things that I teach or try to get across in
history is almost in spite of this being a conservative community. In
general, these students have such a limited view of the world and
their opinions are very strongly shaped in part by what they hear at
home and in their churches. Their world view is very narrow. I
think that because I teach in a community like this, I work hard to try
to bring in opposing views and to challenge them by playing the
devil’s advocate. They [students] need to be aware that there is a
variety of opinions out there about many issues.

Interviewer: Then this awareness of the community must affect the curriculum?

Teacher: Yes, my courses try to show students some of those different
experiences and views so that their view of history and life is not just
that rural conservative view. So I think that [the community] does
influence how I teach both because I am aware of what the community's expectations are and also because they [students] come from this kind of community. I try to work harder at bringing in more kind of things that you would experience in a bigger city school because it would naturally come in your class because you would have students from a variety of backgrounds. . . So, if I think of anything, I think about that kind of thing [community expectations] more than almost anything else.

It is apparent from this particular teacher's response that the beliefs and values of the community play a significant role in his decisions regarding curriculum and instruction. This awareness of the "conservative" community beliefs influenced this particular teacher to use opposing viewpoints which challenge student's "limited view of the world."

Furthermore, one particular lesson he taught dealing with the dropping of the Atomic bomb during World War II reflects this approach toward US. history. Students developed papers based on their reactions to Truman and the use of the atomic bomb. After sharing their views, the teacher used a Newsweek article that raised questions about possible U. S. apologies for the atomic bombing. Student resistance soon surfaced as this opposing perspective challenged the community and students' conservative pro-American view which argued that the dropping of the atomic bomb was justified. Hints of racism were evident and quickly challenged by the teacher. Others teachers echoed similar thoughts regarding the expectations of the community.

Teacher: I think it [concern for the family] probably shaped the way I taught more when I was a younger teacher when I worried more about offending the community or whatever. I don't think I worry about it as much anymore. . . I still try to be sensitive to things like my example of teaching labor unions. I try also to be sure to point out to the kids the ugly side of both and also the sadness that they [unions] have to exist. That is my attempt to maybe reach out and say wait a
minute I don’t want to say that your dad who is always telling you he
doesn’t like labor unions is off the wall. . .

Teacher: that [community influence] plays a big role because it determines how
the discussion comes out. Sometimes you bring up a topic and the
next thing you know you are getting racist responses from the kids or
you’re getting responses that are completely opposite of what you
expect or opposite your beliefs. The next thing you know you find
yourself saying wait a minute maybe we [students] need to know more
about things than what you [students] know.

Teacher: I think this community has racial bias. So I try to address some of
those prejudices in class if you can, tactfully. They’re [students] going
to need some multicultural skills. . . I don’t think we necessarily want
to perpetuate that racial bias that we sometimes fine among people.

Teacher: I think it [racial bias community] makes me teach the
perspective that everything in history was not done by a
white person and that minorities played roles. You try to talk
about this such as the black units serving in World War I or
maybe Truman trying to integrate the military service. I try
to point out these issues such as blacks as second class
citizens. . . probably more in this community than in other
places. . . that plays a large part in my teaching.

Teachers slowly become conscious of the community’s beliefs and
expectations through personal and classroom interaction with the students.
Students are often viewed as “representatives of parental thinking”
(Romanowski 1996, p. 297), and this understanding of students influences
both the teachers’ approach to the history lesson and the classroom
discussion that evolves which often sparks controversy.
Concerning controversy, Loewen (1995) argues "most teachers do not like controversy. A study some years ago found that 92 percent of teachers did not initiate discussion of controversial issues, 89 percent didn’t discuss controversial issues when students brought them up, and 79 percent didn’t feel they should" (p.280). My concern with the issue of controversy in the class deals with two important points. First, these teachers certainly do not raise controversy every class, but their orientation toward U. S. history and their knowledge of the community provides them with many opportunities in which they can challenge students’ thinking. It is teachers’ individual decisions if they want to pursue the controversy in any given class. It is also their decision, based on their understanding of the community, as to what issues they want to raise and how far they can “push” these issues with students.

Second, we must consider how controversy is defined and how students respond to that controversy. For these teachers, the community defines what is controversial and sets the boundaries for appropriate classroom discussion. For example, the following excerpt from one teacher describes how the community defines the controversy and sets the boundaries.

Interviewer: Lets say you raise these additional issues and bring up opposing ideas, how do students react to that?

Teacher: Sometimes they get angry--you know how dare you talk about that. They do not want to hear anything about gays and lesbians in this community--in this school--in this classroom. So you bring up anything about that no matter what my personal opinion is about that issue--you cannot ignore the fact that today they are relatively influential in our government and pushing their agenda. I don’t have to agree or disagree but there is a voice there that is dominant and our students do not want to hear... it almost borders on intolerance, and I don’t want to teach my students intolerance.
Interviewer: How do you deal with an issue if students get "angry?" Do you drop it?

Teacher: No! I just keep right on asking them. But sometimes I have to be careful because all it takes it that particular view and they think that is what I really think. So you have to say we are just presenting these views. This school has never taught me not to teach anything I have never had anyone tell me to steer clear of the subject sometimes I wonder if they [administration] squirm a little bit. We would be doing them [students] a disservice if we did not at least make them aware [certain issues]. That would be terrible. We cannot just present a singular view but I don't need to advocate a particular view.

This excerpt demonstrates that the community beliefs are embedded in students, define the boundaries of accepted classroom topics. In this case, any discussion revolving around gay and lesbian issues seems to move beyond the boundaries. This teacher believes that it is appropriate to teach a controversial view as long as you are not advocating or promoting that view. He is aware that students go home and talk to parents about the classroom, so he certainly does not want to allow students to leave with the impression that he is advocating an unpopular viewpoint.

All this raises an important concern which deal with student resistance. Many educational theorists have addressed the concept of student resistance and the role resistance plays in the schooling process (Erikson 1987; Fine 1991; Giroux 1981, 1983, & 1988; McLaren 1986; Willis 1977). Student resistance can be defined as "behavior that takes a conscious, principled, and active stand contrary to the dictates of authority figures of social systems" (Bennett deMarrais & LeCompte 1995, p. 321). The act of resistance should be viewed as student nonconformity which is based upon philosophical differences between the students and teachers.

Students enter the classroom with an understanding of the world that is based upon their cultural and family background. Students attach meaning to classroom knowledge and events which is shaped to fit their knowledge of the world (Bourdieu 1977; Young 1990). Resistance behaviors are consciously chosen as
a result of the formation of students' identity in relation to beliefs, family background, and schooling experiences. Regarding U. S. history classrooms and curriculum, students often engage in resistant behavior when the views of the teacher come in conflict with those of the students. In this case, student resistance involves "withholding assent" (Erickson 1987, p. 337), and such resistive behavior often plays a role in shaping the manner in which history is presented.

The following comment made by one teacher demonstrates that teachers are aware of community beliefs and that students resist.

Interviewer: You said earlier that you teach what you see as the "truth." What if students don't see issues in the same view? What do you do?

Teacher: I love to throw challenges out in these situations. I think you're [student] wrong and your job is to convince me that you're right and my job is to convince you I am right. Let's talk about it. As a teacher, you need to know how to develop a non-threatening classroom so you can talk about it. But you have to learn, maybe with experience that you can only push students so far. Many of our students are very intense on their views... I have learned where to draw the line

This teacher is aware of the pitfalls of introducing controversial issues. She is concerned not only with the issue but the pedagogical aspects of creating safe spaces where students can not only express their views but might be more willing to listen to the other perspective. This view is similar to the teacher quoted above who continues to raise controversy but does not advocate particular positions which may be deemed inappropriate by the community.

Although several teachers were willing to challenge community views and students, many others are reluctant and attempt to avoid controversy by relying on the "objective facts." This approach leaves students' beliefs unchallenged and seldom raises issues that force students to take the other's perspective. The threat of student opposition often forces
teachers to remain neutral by just teaching "objective" facts and allowing students to draw their own conclusions on the controversial issues.

Structural Factors

There are many structural factors in schools that play a role in what occurs in classrooms. Numerous structures that exists within schools clearly affect the manner in which teachers approach their content area. For example, tracking and ability grouping plays a role in shaping the knowledge that students have the opportunity to learn. Many of these structures are so integral to the teaching experience that they are hardly recognized yet questioned. The following discussion is not meant to be all-inclusive but to provide examples that teachers indicated play a role in shaping their teaching.

First of all, tracking and ability grouping seem to have a significant effect on the knowledge presented to students. Oakes (1987) argues that there is "considerable difference in the kinds of knowledge students had access to and the intellectual processes they had the opportunity to develop" (p. 21). Tracking and ability grouping was indicated by these teachers as a factor that shaped their daily approach to U. S. history.

Teacher: I teach the upper track different than the bottom level. Well the top track is smarter and they're more flexible, they can think and write about options. . . I would say that the content is basically the same, the work load for the top would be much more, more outside readings, more writing, more discussion. . . I probably prep less for lower track.

Teacher: I teach two sections of advanced history and three regular sections. Certainly the classes are different. There is much more analytical thinking, more in-depth study. . . these students[advanced] are motivated and can handle this type of study. . . Most of the low track are not interested in being in
school. I just want to keep them on task...more individual desk work.

The type of students, their perceived motivation level and academic abilities all seem to play a part in how teachers instruct these classes. Lower tracked classes seem to focus more on basic facts, less in-depth study and little if any discussion. Others have argued that teachers subsequently reduce their teaching efforts for lower tracked students (Eder 1981; Oakes 1985). This seems to be the case with many of the teachers in this study.

In addition, from my own class observations, it was evident that the levels of thinking and the content coverage varied greatly between the advanced, regular and lower level tracks. Oakes (1987) argues that tracking creates differences in the access to knowledge, opportunities to learn, and the classroom climate. It was obvious that teachers spent less time sparking controversy or challenging low tracked students regarding issues of right and wrong. In addition, the use of textbooks was more rigid in lower tracked classes and teaching to the proficiency test was also an issue discussed. Finally as discussed above, teachers sharing their personal stories and experiences and an emphasis on social history was absent from lower tracked classes. Overall, low tracked students seemed less actively engaged (Clark & Peterson 1985; Good & Brophy 1991). According to these teachers and class observations, these differences certainly exists.

Another structural factor that shapes the teaching of U. S. history is testing. Proficiency testing has a decided effect on the history curriculum. Teachers feel pressure from the community to make sure students do well on the tests and may feel forced to teach the test rather than to create curricula that respond to the needs of learners. We often see a “dumbing down” of curriculum. In this study, teachers pointed out their concern about how proficiency testing played a role in influencing their teaching. The following comments demonstrate this concern.

Teacher: There are so many things that you can get into, just like the Japanese internment...we skim over it. You could spend a lot of time really
getting into that if you had the time. We are pressed for time... by the
time they pull students out for testing [and other activities] you are
lucky if you get 160. I would love to do additional things with
students such as more class writing and discussion but not enough
time.

Teacher: I don’t know how to label it. The whole proficiency test, national
standards, the whole state curriculum model. I am not sure what I
should be teaching... sometimes I feel like I have less control over
what to teach... If I want to get in-depth with a particular area I have
to sacrifice another and what if that sacrificed area shows up on the
test? Test get in the way because you have to cover certain content... often times we feel like we are serving the test.

It seems that proficiency tests have a direct influence on the teaching of U. S.
history and the curriculum itself. Darling-Hammond (1991) maintains that
proficiency testing results in a decline in the use of certain teaching strategies such as
student-centered discussion, essay writing, and research projects. From these
teachers’ responses, that seems to be the case. Teachers feel that they cannot get in-
depth with some topics and simply “skim over it.” Furthermore, they feel that
certain teaching methods, such as discussion and writing, take up too much time
and therefore may affect students’ achievement on the tests. Finally, because of the
emphasis on testing, teachers are forced to make daily decisions concerning content
coverage which gives them the feeling of having “less control over what to teach.”

Assorted Influences

Throughout the study, teachers indicated that there were various
additional influences that shape their teaching of U. S. history. Although
these elements may be common to several teachers, for example the level of
personal interest in U. S. history, the following influences seem to be
unique to the individual and therefore are not categorized, but simply put
forth as assorted influences.
It is apparent that teachers' personal interest in U. S. history plays a role in the U. S. history classroom. This factor, which is directly related to the amount of teacher outside reading in the content area, was indicated by several teachers as influencing their selection of supplemental information they bring into their class lectures and discussions. This also influenced the time and depth of coverage over several historical areas. Furthermore, personal interest seemed to relate to the amount of personal travel teachers experiences. Several teachers explained how their travel to various historical sites were brought into the classroom. For example, one teacher's visit to Illinois has enabled her to teach a more realistic view of Lincoln.

Other areas were also mentioned. For example, several teachers indicated that they had to spend more time teaching the JFK assassination, Nixon, Gettysburg, and the Civil War because of films they considered historically inaccurate. Some teachers even showed these films (i.e. Glory) in class in an attempt to demonstrate the historical inaccuracy and attempted to incorporate a form of media literacy into their teaching.

Finally, one teacher explained how his spouse's recent involvement in women's health created an awareness in him that we lived in a male dominated society. This clearly influenced his teaching because he now believes he gives women a voice in American history and also in his class. Although these are experiences of individual teachers, these clearly surface as factors that influence the teaching of U. S.

Implications for Teacher Education

We may not fully understand how an individual teacher's orientation is constructed, but we do know that beliefs and life experiences play a significant role in determining the version of U. S. history students have the opportunity to learn. These findings suggest that a better understanding of these factors and the role they play in shaping the social studies curriculum would help teachers to understand what they do, why they choose to do it, and the educational effects it has on students. I suggest
several ways that teacher education programs can help pre-service teachers lift out and examine the influences that shape the way they see the world and to begin to understand how this shapes their individual classrooms.

First and foremost, we must acknowledge the limitations of most teacher education programs and that is, the lack of rigorous course work and intellectual challenge. Instead of a curriculum that centers on moral, social, political and cultural dimensions of teaching, most teacher education programs are reduced to simply training teachers by making the act of teaching more scientific, predictable and capable of producing desired socially useful outcomes. The tendency is to emphasize the technical or practical aspects of teaching which reduces teachers to simple technicians; "uncritical", "objective," and "efficient" distributors of information" who neglect the more critical aspects of culture and schooling (Giroux & McLaren, 1996, p. 304).

With this in mind, there seems to be little opportunity for pre-service teachers to reflect about themselves regarding their beliefs and experiences and how these play a role in their understanding of schools, teaching, and curriculum. This type of self analysis is vital since teaching "involves knowing oneself well, one's attitudes, beliefs, values and prejudices as well as one's underlying conceptions of knowledge and knowing" (Balaban, 1995, p. 60). In response, teacher education programs must provide formal opportunities for students to reflect upon their own schooling and life experiences and determine their own belief systems and how these have been constructed. Balaban (1995) argues that "facing our biases openly, recognizing our limits imposed by our embeddedness in our own culture and experience, acknowledging the values and beliefs we cherish, and accepting the influence of emotions on our actions are extraordinary challenges" that must be addressed by teachers (p. 49).

Second, it is important for pre-service teachers to understand that there are multiple ways of viewing content knowledge and that these perspectives rely upon one's understanding of the world. Teacher educators must provide prospective teachers with the skills and knowledge necessary to uncover the values embedded in pedagogical content knowledge. For example, this can be accomplished through
Schwab's (1978) "polyfocal conspectus." This is a system of critical reflection of subject matter through multiple perspectives that exposes and "lifts out" the values and ideologies embedded in the varying viewpoints. Each perspective is "studied, interpreted, discussed, and debated" (p. 346). The value-laden perspectives are then compared to give prospective teachers a sense of the many possible interpretations and the strength and weaknesses of their own perspective.

Furthermore, this process begins to clarify for students the meaning of "objectivity" and demonstrates the importance that a frame of reference plays in deciding, selecting, and organizing one's understanding of only U. S. history. Only when students are exposed to multiple interpretations and the other's perspective can they begin to develop complex understandings of historical events. In addition, this type of critical reflection helps teachers and students to raise their consciousness about their own frame of reference, which enables them to make sense of the world and how this shapes their approach to the teaching of U. S. history.

Third, since community is such as big influence on the classroom, it is vital for teachers to develop "a broader understanding of the local community and the social, cultural, and political forces that shape the students in their school district (Romanowski 1996, p. 309). My feeling is that teachers cannot fully understand public schooling or their individual students without a firm grasp of the impact of socio-cultural factors on teaching and learning.

This lack of understanding can be traced to teacher education programs where most examinations of schools are done with little socio-cultural analysis. It is assumed that schools can be separated from American culture or the local community. Pre-service teachers must be given the opportunity to engage in a "critical" cultural analysis of schools where the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions are the fundamental categories for understanding schooling. Students must develop an understanding that schools are embedded in a capitalistic American culture and a local community that often reflects the current economic, political, and social arrangements. Such an analysis is aimed at not only problematizing the current purposes of schooling (what is) but what are the possibilities of schooling (what ought to be). Teacher education courses that center
on cultural analysis provide teachers with a lens that can be used to examine and interact with the politics of education.

Furthermore, since social class is a major factor influencing both teachers and students, pre-service teachers must be given opportunities to develop understandings of the complexities of social class. Most undergraduate students reduce social class to income. Therefore, there is a need to develop complex definitions of social class which includes the issue that social classes are stratified and arranged in a pyramid-shaped hierarchy according to members' wealth, power, and prestige. Furthermore, social class effects the manner in which we see the world and experience school. I suggest extensive readings of the current literature on social class and assignments that encourages pre-service teachers to reflect upon their own social class background and how those experiences shape their view of the world and schools.

Finally, it is important to understand that although this research is limited to secondary social studies teachers, teachers of all levels must develop a critical eye when engaging their subject matter. There must be a strong emphasis on the foundations of education which enable students to reflect upon why they use should not use certain pedagogical approaches. Therefore, I think that it is important to replicate this study with both middle school and elementary school teachers in order to better understand the factors that shape teaching at those levels and then construct teacher education programs that better fit the needs of pre-service teachers.

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