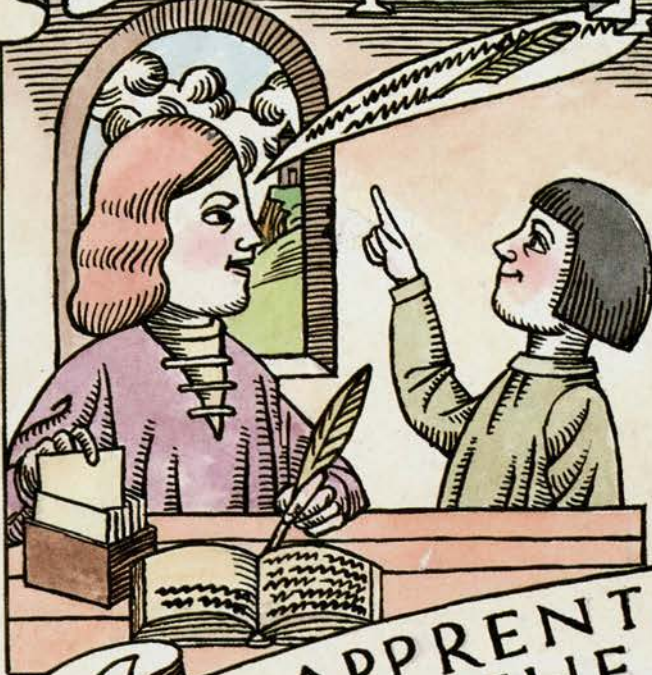


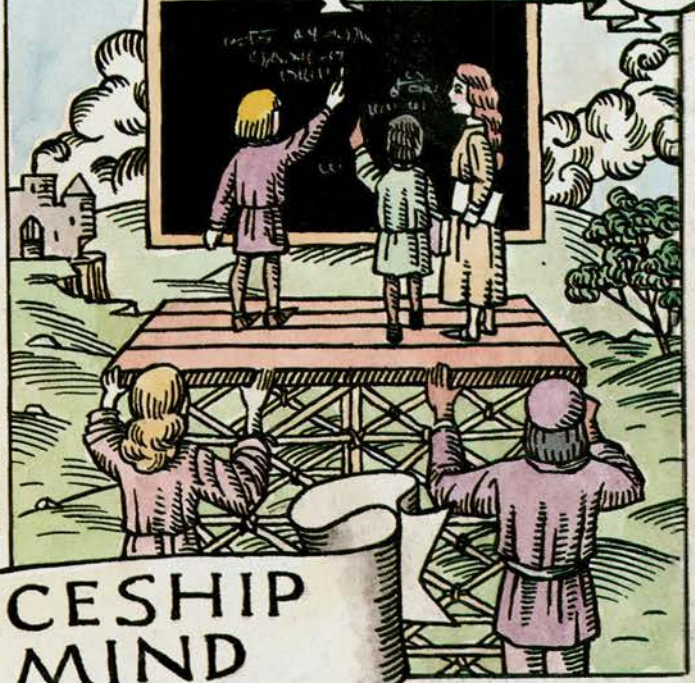
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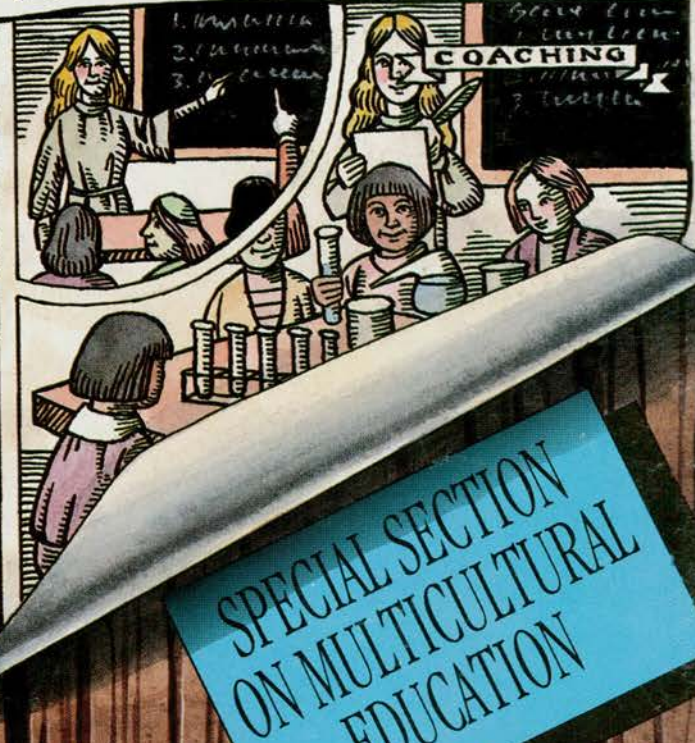


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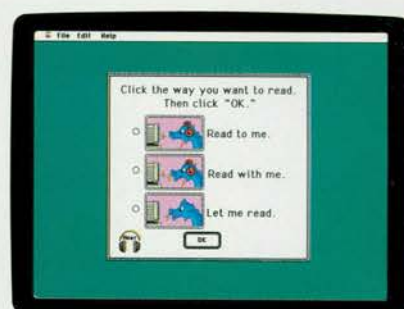
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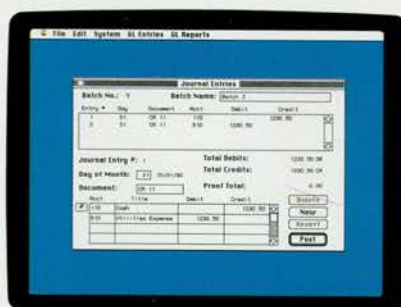
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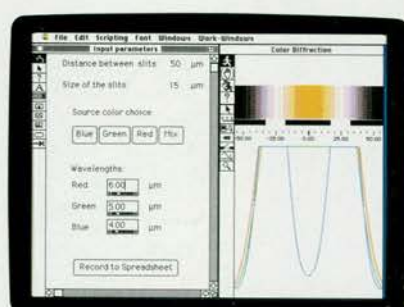
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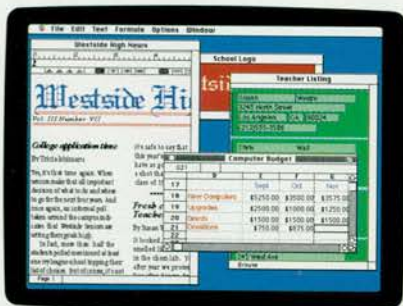
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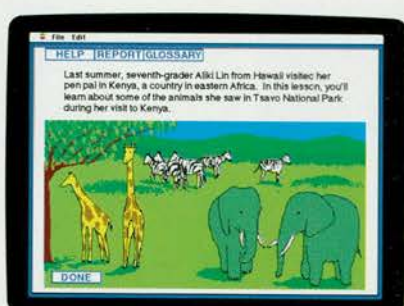
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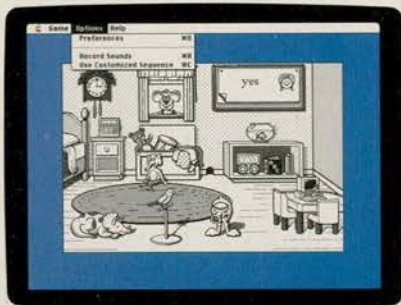
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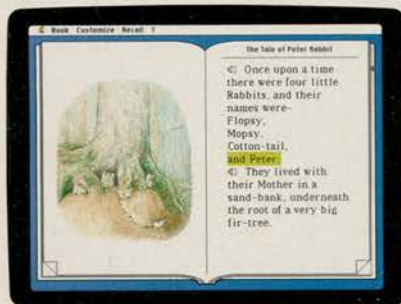
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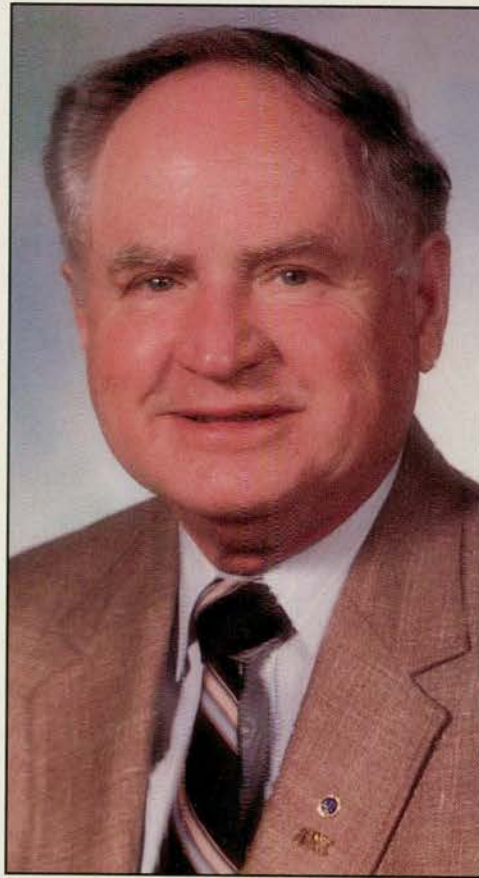
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Robert G. Porter
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The American Federation of Teachers mourns the death of Robert G. Porter, our beloved Secretary-Treasurer for 28 years. Bob began his career as a civics teacher in East St. Louis, Illinois, where he helped win one of the first collective bargaining elections for American teachers, and for the rest of his generous life he exemplified the civic virtues he taught and the trade union principles he helped establish. A decent man, an honorable man, a committed man, Bob was one of the rocks upon which the AFT was built. We honor our great teacher and friend and pledge ourselves to live by and further the principles and values he embodied.

—ALBERT SHANKER
*President
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of Teachers*

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By Allan Collins, John Seely Brown, and Ann Holum

Teaching and learning existed long before there was formal schooling. In ancient times, apprenticeship was the vehicle for transmitting the knowledge required for expert practice in fields from cabinet making and tailoring to medicine and law. An important new theory of learning shows how we might adapt some of the features of apprenticeship to the teaching of reading, writing, and math—with some dramatic examples of success.

A MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM WORTHY OF OUR MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY 12

America is a multicultural society. Our children need a multicultural education. What should that education look like? In developing it, what pitfalls must we avoid? This special section looks at both questions.

SPECIAL SECTION

THE DISUNITING OF AMERICA: WHAT WE ALL STAND TO LOSE IF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TAKES THE WRONG APPROACH . . . 14

By Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Our country's many ethnic and racial groups are bound together as one nation by a powerful idea—designated by Gunnar Myrdal as the American Creed. Certain approaches to multicultural education, says the author, will erode commitment to that Creed, to the detriment of us all.

. . . AND IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO DO IT RIGHT 15

Robert Cottrol leads this section with a statement about the ideas and concerns that would animate a worthy multicultural education—one that imparted to students an appreciation for our unique diversity as well as for the ideas that bind us. Then, a look at how the new California history/social science framework has been expanded to include time for both these goals. We also include a comparison between a 1940's textbook and a new one; AFT's resolution on the topic; and a bibliography of additional readings.

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By Beverly Kobrin

As someone put it, nonfiction sounds as if it had been in a contest with fiction—and lost. Not so, says the author, whose classroom came alive when she filled it with good books about real people, places, and things.

COGNITIVE APPRENTICESHIP: MAKING THINKING VISIBLE

BY ALLAN COLLINS, JOHN SEELY BROWN, AND ANN HOLUM

IN ANCIENT times, teaching and learning were accomplished through apprenticeship: We taught our children how to speak, grow crops, craft cabinets, or tailor clothes by showing them how and by helping them do it. Apprenticeship was the vehicle for transmitting the knowledge required for expert practice in fields from painting and sculpting to medicine and law. It was the natural way to learn. In modern times, apprenticeship has largely been replaced by formal schooling, except in children's learning of language, in some aspects of graduate education, and in on-the-job training. We propose an alternative model of instruction that is accessible within the framework of the typical American classroom. It is a model of instruction that goes back to apprenticeship but incorporates elements of schooling. We call this model "cognitive apprenticeship" (Collins, Brown, and Newman, 1989).

While there are many differences between schooling and apprenticeship methods, we will focus on one. In apprenticeship, learners can see the processes of work: They watch a parent sow, plant, and harvest crops and help as they are able; they assist a tradesman as he crafts a cabinet; they piece together garments under the su-

*Allan Collins is principal scientist at Bolt Beranek and Newman, Inc., and professor of education and social policy at Northwestern University. He is also the co-director of the Center for Technology in Education. John Seely Brown is corporate vice president and director of the Palo Alto Research Center for Xerox Corporation. Ann Holum, a former teacher, is a graduate student in education and social policy at Northwestern University. A different version of this essay was published as a chapter in *Knowing, Learning, and Instruction: Essays in Honor of Robert Glaser*, edited by Lauren Resnick (Erlbaum: 1989).*

per vision of a more experienced tailor. Apprenticeship involves learning a physical, tangible activity. But in schooling, the "practice" of problem solving, reading comprehension, and writing is not at all obvious—it is not necessarily observable to the student. In apprenticeship, the processes of the activity are visible. In schooling, the processes of thinking are often invisible to both the students and the teacher. Cognitive apprenticeship is a model of instruction that works to make thinking visible.

In this article, we will present some of the features of traditional apprenticeship and discuss the ways it can be adapted to the teaching and learning of cognitive skills. Then we will present three successful examples—cases in which teachers and researchers have used apprenticeship methods to teach reading, writing, and mathematics.

In the final section, we organize our ideas about the characteristics of successful teaching into a general framework for the design of learning environments, where "environment" includes the content taught, the pedagogical methods employed, the sequencing of learning activities, and the sociology of learning.

TOWARD A SYNTHESIS OF SCHOOLING AND APPRENTICESHIP

Although schools have been relatively successful in organizing and conveying large bodies of conceptual and factual knowledge, standard pedagogical practices render key aspects of expertise invisible to students. Too little attention is paid to the reasoning and strategies that experts employ when they acquire knowledge or put it to work to solve complex or real-life tasks. Where such processes are addressed, the emphasis is on formulaic

S CAFFOLDING



AND FADING



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methods for solving "textbook" problems or on the development of low-level subskills in relative isolation.

As a result, conceptual and problem-solving knowledge acquired in school remains largely inert for many students. In some cases, knowledge remains bound to surface features of problems as they appear in textbooks and class presentations. For example, Schoenfeld (1985) has found that, in solving mathematics problems, students rely on their knowledge of standard textbook patterns of problem presentation rather than on their knowledge of problem-solving strategies or intrinsic properties of the problems themselves. When they encounter problems that fall outside these patterns, students are often at a loss for what to do. In other cases, students fail to use resources available to them to improve their skills because they lack models of how to tap into those resources. For example, students are unable to make use of potential models of good writing acquired through reading because they have no understanding of how the authors produced such text. Stuck with what Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985) call "knowledge-telling strategies," they are unaware that expert writing involves organizing one's ideas about a topic, elaborating goals to be achieved in the writing, thinking about what the audience is likely to know or believe about the subject, and so on.

To make real differences in students' skill, we need both to understand the nature of expert practice and to devise methods that are appropriate to learning that practice. To do this, we must first recognize that cognitive strategies are central to integrating skills and knowledge in order to accomplish meaningful tasks. They are the organizing principles of expertise, particularly in such domains as reading, writing, and mathematics. Further, because expert practice in these domains rests crucially on the integration of cognitive strategies, we believe that it can best be taught through methods that have traditionally been employed in apprenticeship to transmit complex physical processes and skills.

Traditional Apprenticeship

In traditional apprenticeship, the expert shows the apprentice how to do a task, watches as the apprentice practices portions of the task, and then turns over more and more responsibility until the apprentice is proficient enough to accomplish the task independently. That is the basic notion of apprenticeship: showing the apprentice how to do a task and helping the apprentice to do it. There are four important aspects of traditional apprenticeship: modeling, scaffolding, fading, and coaching.

In modeling, the apprentice observes the master demonstrating how to do different parts of the task. The master makes the target processes visible, often by explicitly showing the apprentice what to do. But as Lave and Wenger (in press) point out, in traditional apprenticeship, much of the learning occurs as apprentices watch others at work.

Scaffolding is the support the master gives apprentices in carrying out a task. This can range from doing almost the entire task for them to giving occasional hints as to what to do next. Fading is the notion of slowly removing the support, giving the apprentice more and more responsibility.

Coaching is the thread running through the entire ap-

Coaching is the thread running through the entire apprenticeship experience.



apprenticeship experience. The master coaches the apprentice through a wide range of activities: choosing tasks, providing hints and scaffolding, evaluating the activities of apprentices and diagnosing the kinds of problems they are having, challenging them and offering encouragement, giving feedback, structuring the ways to do things, working on particular weaknesses. In short, coaching is the process of overseeing the student's learning.

The interplay among observation, scaffolding, and increasingly independent practice aids apprentices both in developing self-monitoring and correction skills and in integrating the skills and conceptual knowledge needed to advance toward expertise. Observation plays a surprisingly key role; Lave (1988) hypothesizes that it aids learners in developing a conceptual model of the target task prior to attempting to execute it. Giving students a conceptual model—a picture of the whole—is an important factor in apprenticeship's success in teaching complex skills without resorting to lengthy practice of isolated subskills, for three related reasons. First, it provides learners with an advanced organizer for their initial attempts to execute a complex skill, thus allowing them to concentrate more of their attention on execution than would otherwise be possible. Second, a conceptual model provides an interpretive structure for making sense of the feedback, hints, and corrections from the master during interactive coaching sessions. Third, it provides an internalized guide for the period when the apprentice is engaged in relatively independent practice.

Another key observation about apprenticeship concerns the social context in which learning takes place. Apprenticeship derives many cognitively important characteristics from being embedded in a subculture in which most, if not all, members are participants in the target skills. As a result, learners have continual access to models of expertise-in-use against which to refine their understanding of complex skills. Moreover, it is not uncommon for apprentices to have access to several masters and thus to a variety of models of expertise. Such richness and variety help them to understand that there may be multiple ways of carrying out a task and to recognize that no one individual embodies all knowledge or expertise. And finally, learners have the opportunity to observe other learners with varying degrees of skill; among other things, this encourages them to view learning as an incrementally staged process, while providing them with concrete benchmarks for their own progress.

From Traditional to Cognitive Apprenticeship

There are three important differences between traditional apprenticeship and the kind of cognitive apprenticeship we propose.

As we said, in traditional apprenticeship, the process of carrying out a task to be learned is usually easily observable. In cognitive apprenticeship, one needs to deliberately bring the thinking to the surface, to make it visible, whether it's in reading, writing, problem solving. The teacher's thinking must be made visible to the students and the student's thinking must be made visible to the teacher. That is the most important difference between traditional apprenticeship and cognitive appren-

ticeship. Cognitive research, through such methods as protocol analysis, has begun to delineate the cognitive and metacognitive processes that comprise expertise. By bringing these tacit processes into the open, students can observe, enact, and practice them with help from the teacher and from other students.

Second, in traditional apprenticeship, the tasks come up just as they arise in the world: Learning is completely situated in the workplace. When tasks arise in the context of designing and creating tangible products, apprentices naturally understand the reasons for undertaking the process of apprenticeship. They are motivated to work and to learn the subcomponents of the task, because they realize the value of the finished product. They retain what they must do to complete the task, because they have seen the expert's model of the finished product, and so the subcomponents of the task make sense. But in school, teachers are working with a curriculum centered around reading, writing, science, math, history, etc. that is, in large part, divorced from what students and most adults do in their lives. In cognitive apprenticeship, then, the challenge is to situate the abstract tasks of the school curriculum in contexts that make sense to students.

Third, in traditional apprenticeship, the skills to be learned inhere in the task itself: To craft a garment, the apprentice learns some skills unique to tailoring, for example, stitching buttonholes. Cabinetry does not require that the apprentice know anything about buttonholes. In other words, in traditional apprenticeship, it is unlikely that students encounter situations in which the transfer of skills is required. The tasks in schooling, however, demand that students be able to transfer what they learn. In cognitive apprenticeship, the challenge is to present a range of tasks, varying from systematic to diverse, and to encourage students to reflect on and articulate the elements that are common across tasks. As teachers present the targeted skills to students, they can increasingly vary the contexts in which those skills are useful. The goal is to help students generalize the skill, to learn when the skill is or is not applicable, and to transfer the skill independently when faced with novel situations.

In order to translate the model of traditional apprenticeship to cognitive apprenticeship, teachers need to:

- identify the processes of the task and make them visible to students;
- situate abstract tasks in authentic contexts, so that students understand the relevance of the work; and
- vary the diversity of situations and articulate the common aspects so that students can transfer what they learn.

We do not want to argue that cognitive apprenticeship is the only way to learn. Reading a book or listening to a lecture are important ways to learn, particularly in domains where conceptual and factual knowledge are central. Active listeners or readers, who test their understanding and pursue the issues that are raised in their minds, learn things that apprenticeship can never teach. To the degree that readers or listeners are passive, however, they will not learn as much as they would by apprenticeship, because apprenticeship forces them to use their knowledge. Moreover, few people learn to be active readers and listeners on their own, and that is where

cognitive apprenticeship is critical—observing the processes by which an expert listener or reader thinks and practicing these skills under the guidance of the expert can teach students to learn on their own more skillfully.

Even in domains that rest on elaborate conceptual and factual underpinnings, students must learn the practice or art of solving problems and carrying out tasks. And to achieve expert practice, some version of apprenticeship remains the method of choice.

COGNITIVE APPRENTICESHIP: TEACHING READING, WRITING, AND MATHEMATICS

In this section, we will briefly describe three success models of teaching in the foundational domains of reading, writing, and mathematics and how these models embody the basic methods of cognitive apprenticeship. These three domains are foundational not only because they provide the basis for learning and communication in other school subjects but also because they engage cognitive and metacognitive processes that are basic to learning and thinking more generally. Unlike school subjects such as chemistry or history, these domains rest on relatively sparse conceptual and factual underpinnings, turning instead on students' robust and efficient execution of a set of cognitive and metacognitive skills. As such, we believe they are particularly well suited to teaching methods modeled on cognitive apprenticeship.

Reading

Palincsar and Brown's (1984) *reciprocal teaching* of reading exemplifies many of the features of cognitive apprenticeship. It has proved remarkably effective in raising students' scores on reading comprehension tests, especially those of poor readers. The basic method centers on modeling and coaching students in four strategic skills: formulating questions based on the text, summarizing the text, making predictions about what will come next, and clarifying difficulties with the text. Reciprocal teaching was originally designed for middle school students who could decode adequately but had serious comprehension problems; it can be adapted to any age group. The method has been used with groups of two to seven students, as well as individual students. It is called reciprocal teaching because the teacher and students take turns playing the role of teacher.

The procedure is as follows: Both the teacher and students read a paragraph silently. Whoever is playing the role of teacher formulates a question based on the paragraph, constructs a summary, and makes a prediction or clarification, if any come to mind. Initially, the teacher models this process and then turns the role of teacher over to the students. When students first undertake the process, the teacher coaches them extensively on how to construct good questions and summaries, offering prompts and critiquing their efforts. In this way, the teacher provides scaffolding for the students, enabling them to take on whatever portion of the task they are able to. As the students become more proficient, the teacher fades, assuming the role of monitor and providing occasional hints or feedback. The transcript below shows the kind of scaffolding and group interaction that occurs with children during reciprocal teaching.

SAMPLE RECIPROCAL TEACHING DIALOGUE

(from Palincsar, 1986)

Text from which students are working:

Crows have another gift. They are great mimics. They can learn to talk and imitate animal sounds. Some have been known to learn 100 words and even whole phrases. They can imitate the squawk of a chicken, the whine of a dog, or the meow of a cat.

Games have a certain fascination to crows. In a game of hide and seek, a crow hides in the hollow of a tree and then sounds a distress caw. The others rush to the spot, look around, then flap away. This may be done over and over, after which the young crow pops out of its hiding place and caws gleefully. Far from being annoyed at this, the flock bursts into loud cawing themselves. They seem to like the trick that has been played on them.

T: Chantel, you're our teacher, right? Why don't you summarize first? Remember, just tell me the most important parts.

S1: Crows have a hundred words they can learn by imitation. They can imitate chickens, the whine of a dog, and cats.

T: Okay. We can shorten that summary a bit.

S2: You could say they can imitate other animals.

T: Oh! Good one! There's a list there, Chantel, did you notice that? It says they can imitate the squawk of a chicken, the whine of a dog or the meow of a cat; and you could call that "animal sounds." Can you ask us a question?

S1: Ain't no questions in here.

S3: The words (sic) that need to be clarified are (sic) "mimics."

S4: That means imitate, right?

T: Right. How did you figure that out, Shirley?

S4: The paragraph.

T: Show us how somebody could figure out what "mimic" means.

S5: They are great mimics. They can learn to talk and imitate animal sounds.

T: Yes, so the next sentence tells you what it means. Very good, anything else needs to be clarified?

All: No.

T: What about that question we need to ask? (pause) What is the second paragraph about, Chantel?

S1: The games they play.

S3: They do things like people do.

S4: What kinds of games do crows play?

S3: Hide and seek. Over and over again.

T: You know what, Larry? That was a real good comparison. One excellent question could be, "How are crows like people?"

S4: They play hide and seek.

T: Good. Any other questions there?

S2: How come the crows don't get annoyed?

S5: Because they like it, they have fun. If I had a crow, I'd tell him he was it and see what he'd do.

T: Let's summarize now and have some predictions.

S1: This was about how they play around in games.

T: Good for you. That's it. Predictions anyone?

S2: Maybe more tricks they play.

S4: Other games.

T: Maybe. So far, they have told us several ways that crows are very smart; they can communicate with one another, they can imitate many sounds, and they play games. Maybe we will read about another way in which they are smart. Who will be the next teacher?

Reciprocal teaching is extremely effective. In a pilot study with individual students who were poor readers, the method raised their reading comprehension test scores from 15 percent to 85 percent accuracy after about twenty training sessions. Six months later the students were still at 60 percent accuracy, recovering to 85

In classroom studies with groups of four to seven students, reading comprehension test scores increased from about 40 percent to 80 percent correct, with only a slight decline eight weeks later.



percent after only one session. In a subsequent study with groups of two students, the scores increased from about 30 percent to 80 percent accuracy, with very little change eight weeks later. In classroom studies with groups of four to seven students, test scores increased from about 40 percent to 80 percent correct, again with only a slight decline eight weeks later. These are very dramatic effects for any instructional intervention.

Why is reciprocal teaching so effective? In our analysis, which reflects in part the views of Palincsar and Brown, its effectiveness depends upon the co-occurrence of a number of factors.

First, the method engages students in a set of activities that help them form a new conceptual model of the task of reading. In traditional schooling, students learn to identify reading with the subskills of recognizing and pronouncing words and with the activities of scanning text and saying it aloud. Under the new conception, students recognize that reading requires constructive activities, such as formulating questions and making summaries and predictions, as well as evaluative ones, such as analyzing and clarifying the points of difficulty. As Palincsar points out (1987), working with a text in a discussion format is not the same as teaching isolated comprehension skills—like how to identify the main idea. With reciprocal teaching, the strategies students learn are in the service of a larger purpose: to understand what they are reading and to develop the critical ability to *read to learn*.

The second factor that we think is critical for the success of reciprocal teaching is that the teacher models expert strategies in a shared problem context. What is crucial here is that students listen in the context of knowing that they will soon undertake the same task. After they have tried to do it themselves, and perhaps had difficulties, they listen with new knowledge about the task. That is, they can compare their own questions or summaries with the questions or summaries generated by the group. They can then reflect on any differences, trying to understand what led to those differences. We have argued elsewhere that this kind of reflection is critical to learning (Collins and Brown, 1988).

Third, the technique of providing scaffolding is crucial in the success of reciprocal teaching for several reasons. Most importantly, it decomposes the task as necessary for the students to carry it out, thereby helping them to see how, in detail, to go about it. For example, in formulating questions, the teacher might want to see if the student can generate a question on his or her own; if not, she might suggest starting with a "Why" question about the agent in the story. If that fails, she might generate one herself and ask the student to reformulate it in his or her own words. In this way, it gets students started in the new skills, giving them a "feel" for the skills and helping them develop confidence that they can do them. With successful scaffolding techniques, students get as much support as they need to carry out the task, but no more. Hints and modeling are then gradually faded out, with students taking on more and more of the task as they become more skillful. These techniques of scaffolding and fading slowly build students' confidence that they can master the skills required.

The final aspect of reciprocal teaching that we think
(Continued on page 38)

A MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM WORTHY OF OUR MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

SPECIAL SECTION

FOR MOST of American history, school textbooks—indeed the whole curriculum—put forward a view of America that at best neglected and, at worst, distorted and misrepresented the role and contributions of America's racial and ethnic minorities. And, until recently, most students studied little about the non-Western world.

Since the 1960s and the civil rights movement, there has been a steady effort among historians to research and revise history and to reflect more accurately the role of nonwhites in American and world history. In turn, schoolpeople have worked to revise history curricula and textbooks. But despite much progress (see sidebar, p. 18), the typical American textbook does not yet offer students an authentic, organically multicultural story of America. As the AFT's convention resolution on this topic notes, "the changes are often 'squeezed in' as sidebars, peripheral to the main story. This is not good enough."

The AFT resolution (see p. 19) argues that "the story of America is a multicultural one from the start. We interacted with and were built and shaped and inspired by people of every immigrant stream, of many races, cultures, and religions. . . . We need a cohesive, inclusive curriculum in which the main story—how we built this nation and its pluralistic institutions—is understood to have been the work of many different people of diverse races, classes, and religions."

Such a curriculum does not exist in the typical American school. In the absence of good curricular solutions, bad ones have emerged. These new curriculum approaches—some of which offer ethnic myth as history; which effectively recommend separate curricula for children of different ethnic groups; and which belittle the shared democratic heritage of all Americans—have the potential to further damage the prospects for building an amicable multicultural society. They also have the potential to so politicize and corrupt the public school curriculum that the institution will lose its claim to public support and public funds.

In thinking about what kind of multicultural education is right for America, a number of questions must be asked: Is America—or should it be—one nation, unified by a common political and civic culture, or a collection of distinct ethnic groups occupying a common piece of land, each group with its own culture and history un-

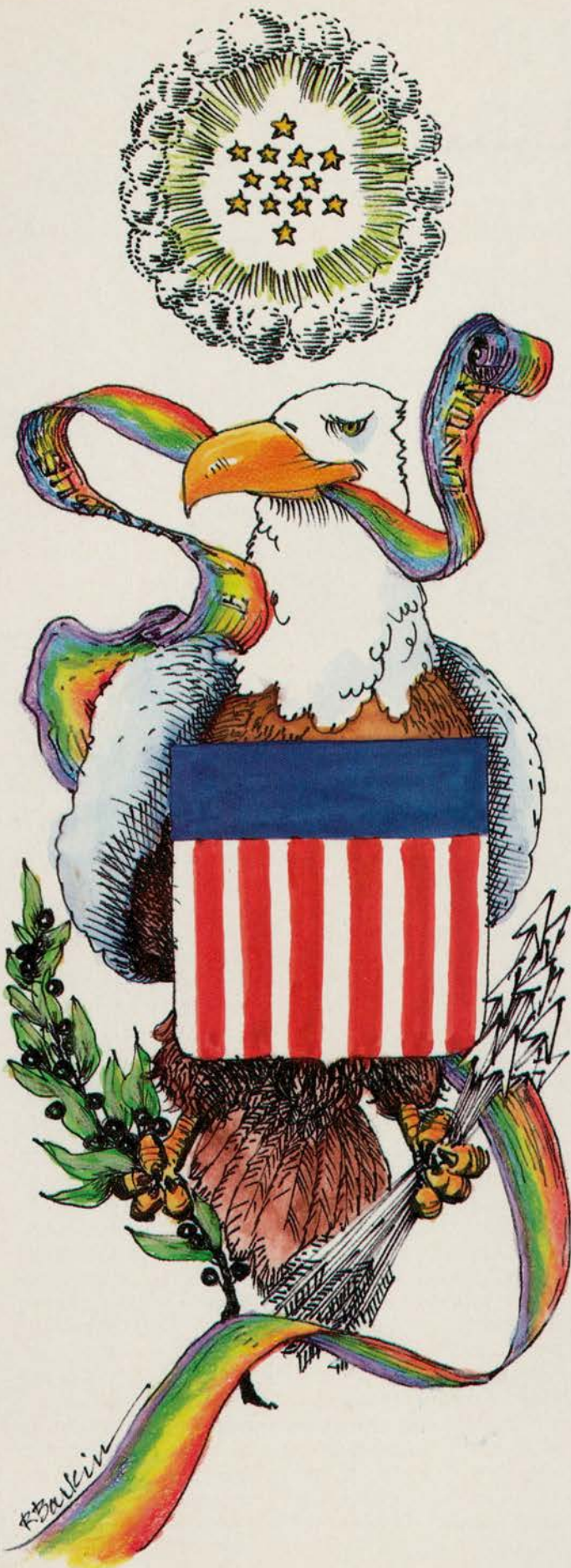
shared by others, perhaps even incomprehensible to others? Which America do we want? Which should we educate our children to join?

Do children need a strong ethnic identification and pride to perform well in school? If so, is it up to the public schools to inculcate that identity? Does that, in turn, mean students from different ethnic backgrounds should each study a different curriculum—one specially oriented to their "group" and providing their own "group's" perspective? Who will define what is deemed to be the perspective of a given ethnic group? And what if in a given class there are children from many different backgrounds—how is the teacher to manage the varied curricula? And what of the children of mixed heritage—will they be required to choose between their parents' racial and ethnic identities?

And if we say "no" to this ethnocentric conception of multicultural education, if we say all students should be taught a similar curriculum, how much time should this curriculum devote to the ideas, history, and values that are common to all Americans and how much to exploring all the ways in which we are different from each other? How, as some have put it, do we balance in our society and in our schoolbooks America's *pluribus* and its *unum*?

How we answer these questions will influence the kind of multicultural society America will become. Will we end up essentially as a collection of equal but alien groups? Or will we end up a society in which our diverse people are able to live together, learn about and from each other, and aspire together to achieve Martin Luther King, Jr.'s vision of a democratic multicultural America—a place where each of us is judged by the content of our characters, not by our colors, customs, religions, or accents.

In this special section, we try to familiarize you with the state of the current debate on this topic. In reading the various pieces, be aware that there is no clear and universally accepted definition of "multicultural education"; the term refers to anything from the most pluralistic to the most ethnocentric curricular prescriptions. Likewise, "Afrocentric" education can refer to anything from a curriculum based on a separatist ideology and centered around a specified historical doctrine to a call for a much-expanded treatment of Africa and African-Americans in a pluralistic curriculum. Because these terms



ILLUSTRATED BY ROBERT BARKIN

have no set meaning, it is important to look beyond the labels and to understand what is being proposed in each case.

The fullest analysis of the emerging ethnocentric curriculum proposals, and the strongest argument that they will hurt prospects for building a less fractured, less segregated, more tolerant society has been made by the distinguished historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. We reprint here a long excerpt from his recent book *The Disuniting of America*.

We also offer two sidebars to the Schlesinger article. The first is from Ronald Walters, who offers a different definition of Afrocentric and multicultural education. The second is from Dinesh D'Souza, who argues that much of what travels under the label "multicultural education" is a highly distorted view of the Third World.

A critique of the new curriculum proposals—such as the one Schlesinger puts forward with such force—is necessary but not sufficient. In addition, we must seek concrete ideas that offer promise for creating the long-awaited, genuinely multicultural curriculum. We believe there are some good ideas on the table, some excellent starting points for moving this old agenda forward. We include these ideas in the tan-colored *Ideas* section. Robert Cottrol leads off with a statement of the perspective and concerns he believes would shape a multicultural curriculum that cared about imparting to students an appreciation for both our *pluribus* and our *unum*.

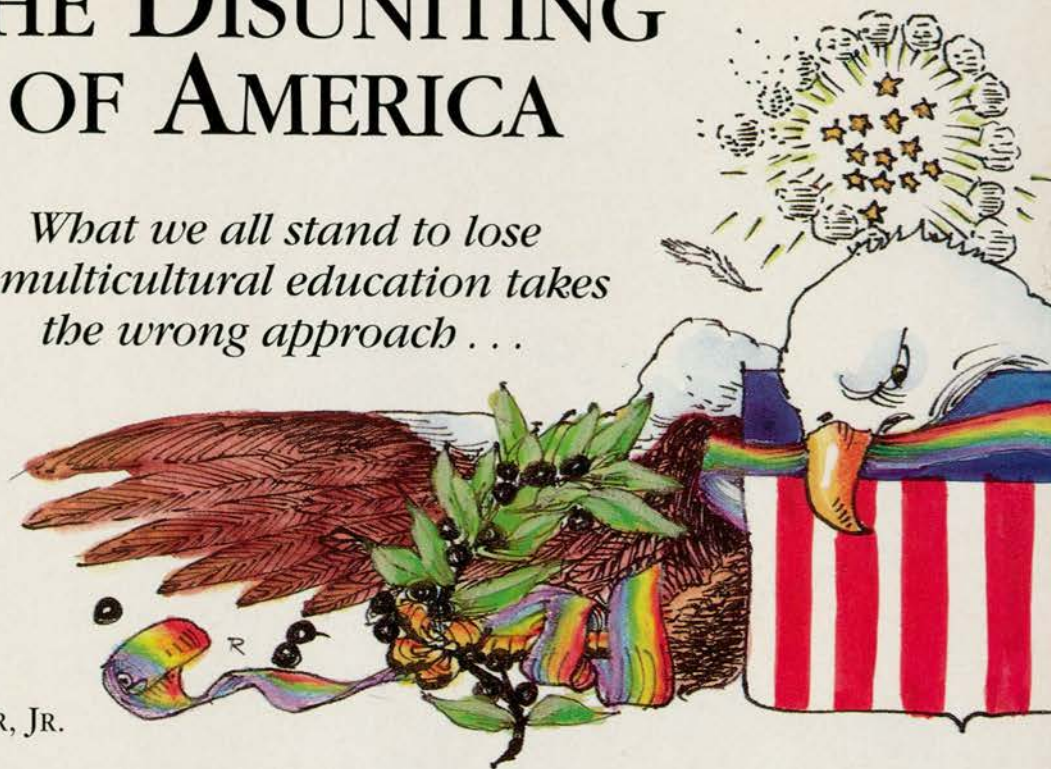
Gilbert Sewall compares how a typical textbook from 1947 and an exceptionally good textbook from 1991 treat the conditions of slavery, providing a dramatic illustration of how awful our textbooks were not so many years ago and of how far textbook reform has come. But while the most egregious distortions and omissions of yesterday's textbooks have been corrected, most current books still fall short of a worthy multicultural approach.

What would such a K-12 social studies curriculum look like? The state of California has attempted an answer to that with its breakthrough K-12 history/social-science framework, an outline of which we provide. Finally, in our *Ideas* section, we include the AFT resolution on multicultural education and a short bibliography of additional readings.

—Editors

THE DISUNITING OF AMERICA

What we all stand to lose if multicultural education takes the wrong approach . . .



BY ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

“WHAT THEN, is the American, this new man?” This was the question famously asked two centuries ago by French immigrant J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur in his book *Letters from an American Farmer*:

Crevecoeur ruminated over the astonishing diversity of the settlers—“a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes,” a “strange mixture of blood” that you could find in no other country. “From this promiscuous breed,” he wrote, “that race now called Americans has arisen.”

What, Crevecoeur mused, were the characteristics of this suddenly emergent American race? He provided a classic answer to his own question: “He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles. . . . *Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men.*”

Crevecoeur’s conception was of a brand-new nationality created by individuals who, in repudiating their homelands and joining to make new lives, melted away ancient ethnic differences. Most of those intrepid Europeans who had torn up their roots to brave the wild Atlantic saw America as a transforming nation, banishing old loyalties and forging a new national identity based on common political ideals.

This conception prevailed through most of the two centuries of the history of the United States. But lately a new conception has arisen. The escape from origins has given way to the search for roots. The “ancient prejudices

and manners” disclaimed by Crevecoeur have made a surprising comeback.

The new gospel condemns Crevecoeur’s vision of individuals of all nations melted into a new race in favor of an opposite vision: a nation of groups, differentiated in their ancestries, inviolable in their diverse identities. The contemporary ideal is shifting from assimilation to ethnicity, from integration to separatism.

The ethnic upsurge has had some healthy consequences. The republic has at last begun to give long-overdue recognition to the role and achievements of groups subordinated and ignored during the high noon of male Anglo-Saxon dominance—women, Americans of South and East European ancestry, black Americans, Indians, Hispanics, Asians. There is far better understanding today of the indispensable contributions minorities have made to American civilization.

But the cult of ethnicity, pressed too far, exacts costs. Instead of a transformative nation with an identity all its own, America increasingly sees itself as preservative of old identities. Instead of a nation composed of individuals making their own free choices, America increasingly sees itself as composed of groups more or less indelible in their ethnic character. The national ideal had once been *e pluribus unum*. Are we now to belittle *unum* and glorify *pluribus*? Will the center hold? Or will the melting pot yield to the Tower of Babel?

A struggle to redefine the national identity is taking place in many arenas—in our politics, our voluntary organizations, our churches, our language—and in no arena more crucial than our system of education. The schools and colleges of the republic train the citizens of the future. They have always been battlegrounds for debates over beliefs, philosophies, values.

(Continued on page 21)

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... AND IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO DO IT RIGHT



BY ROBERT COTTROL

GET TOGETHER with any modern group of university educators and, sooner or later, the discussion invariably turns to an exchange of academic horror stories.

My horror story occurred as I was teaching the first-year course in constitutional law. The subject for the day was the Fourteenth Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause. I thought a short lecture on the history of segregation would be an appropriate introduction. I launched into a discussion of the Jim Crow laws that existed in the southern states until quite recently and remarked that these were quite similar to the Nuremberg laws of Nazi Germany. A woman raised her hand and said, "I know something happened at Nuremberg, but I don't know what."

I was astounded. How could someone be a university graduate and be admitted to a major law school and not know about Nuremberg? I was even more astounded to find later that she was the graduate of a major northeastern university, with a degree in political science. Something was wrong and it was not—at least entirely—her fault.

If this story disturbs you, as it does me, I think it is because we realize that if an individual lacks the basic

historical and cultural frame of reference that provides an understanding of the society and the world of which he is a part, he has missed something important to his development as a person and as a citizen in a democratic society.

How can one be a parent and teach one's children the important lessons concerning the world they will inherit without that frame of reference? How can one participate in democracy—as a juror, as a voter in an election, as the champion of a cause, great or small—without some sense of one's society and world and the forces that shape them? And how can the society, particularly a democratic one, survive if large numbers of citizens are ignorant of the lessons that history has to teach? At the heart of our discussions on multicultural education should be the realization that we must educate students for a common American citizenship and that our students and our society will be impoverished if our schools do not provide certain intellectual experiences.

The idea that we should move away from what was once the norm in American education, that is, an almost exclusive focus on the history of white Americans and Western Europe, is disputed by few serious students of American society. But, if we agree on what we should move from, there is sharp disagreement concerning what we should move toward.

Today, we see in America people whose origins stem from every inhabited continent. We are a multiracial and multiethnic society, and, I would argue, despite the society's many faults, the world's most successful one, certainly of modern times.

It is the very diversity of America that makes multicultural education at once imperative and difficult. We can fashion a multicultural education that replaces the

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ethnocentrism of the past with a new ethnocentrism, a Balkanized education that provides separate visions of the nation's past for black and white, Asian and Hispanic, native and immigrant. Each group can be taught to see itself through a veil of comforting myths, rarely encountering the experiences of others, rarely challenging conventional wisdom.

But, if we do that, we may lose much of what is unique and most valuable about this nation: the realization that diverse peoples can share a common national identity and can participate, or, at least, aspire to participate, in a common culture.

The alternative is to attempt the hard task of telling the story of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the United States and how that diversity has helped shape the nation politically and culturally. That story is an important one that all American students should learn. But it is a story that must be told honestly, warts and all.

IF A STUDENT leaves school without an awareness of the tremendous importance of English culture to American society, that student, regardless of racial or ethnic background, leaves school ill prepared to function as a citizen of American democracy. It is important for all students to know that many of our basic conceptions of what constitutes individual liberty—trial by jury, the freedom against self-incrimination, the right to keep and bear arms, the prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment, requirements for warrants and due process, the view that the home is one's castle and that it provides a sanctuary from the government—are English in origin.

But, an education that simply reminds us of that English cultural and constitutional heritage, one that simply tells us of Locke and Madison and how the predominantly English-descended leaders of the nation struggled with and modified that heritage, which is the most crucial element in the foundation of American democracy, is not enough. For it is not the English cultural and constitutional legacy that has made this nation unique. It is, instead, the fact that this English legacy, and the ideals it represented, has been severely tested and then reshaped by the demands for justice made by peoples long excluded from the blessings of American liberty. *That* is what has forged the modern American nation.

Students must know that many of our basic conceptions of individual liberty are English in origin. But it is not the English legacy that has made this nation unique. It is, instead, the fact that this English legacy, and the ideals it represented, has been severely tested and then reshaped by the demands for justice made by peoples long excluded from the blessings of American liberty.

All American students need to be made aware that the Founding Fathers betrayed, as they themselves admitted, their own better instincts by permitting slavery under the Constitution. We should teach students that Madison and Jefferson are an important part of the story of American freedom. We must also teach them that the Seminole Chief Osceola's war against the United States and *Frederick Douglass's* courageous contribution to the anti-slavery cause are also important chapters in the history of the struggle for liberty in this nation. Asian-American students need to be made aware of the significant contribution that blacks in the 19th century made toward placing the ideal of equality before the law in the United States Constitution. Black students must learn that the struggles of Chinese immigrants and their often-skillful use of the legal system helped fashion some of the earliest jurisprudence that helped turn this grand concept into a workable reality.

And it is not just Asian-American students who need to learn of the internment of Japanese-Americans during the second world war. That is a story that has much to tell all of us. For it raises questions, not only concerning race and racial prejudice, but also universal questions concerning constitutional ideals and principles and how even the highest court in the land can abdicate its responsibilities in the face of hysteria. As a story, it serves as a potent modern reminder that even the courts, which are designed to be immune from the passions of the day, are nonetheless informed by those passions. It serves as a useful reminder that, ultimately, the people themselves

must deeply value individual liberties or they are likely to be lost, our institutions notwithstanding.

If a multicultural education is essential for understanding the story of American democracy, it is also necessary in order to appreciate the diverse perspectives of the different peoples of the nation. Black students should read Abraham Cahan's semi-autobiographical novel, *The Rise of David Levinsky*, to understand the differences and similarities of another people's experiences with discrimination and ghetto life. The descendants of recent European immigrants should learn about slavery, Jim Crow, and the history of blacks in America's cities and find why many black people do not find the comparison between the experience of European immigrants and black migrants in urban areas particularly compelling.

In summation, we must develop a multicultural education for all our students, for only by doing so can we paint an accurate portrait of the American future that they will inherit and shape. □

HOW CALIFORNIA MAKES TIME FOR PLURIBUS AND UNUM

SCHLESINGER AND Cottrol argue that American students must learn about both our largely Western derived political ideals and about the broadly multicultural effort to realize those political ideals. Students must learn about all the world's greatest civilizations, not just the West, not just the non-West—and they need to learn about the good and the evil wrought and practiced by all the societies they study. A good education includes the perspectives of the powerful and the victimized, history's winners and its losers.

Easily said—but how to fit it all into an already overpacked social studies curriculum? Answering that question has led to divisive debates, as advocates of one or another view have argued to include “their stories” and delete the “other guy’s.” Educators in California have avoided many of these debates simply by making available the curricular time necessary to do it all. Between grades five and twelve, California students now take three years of world history/geography; in contrast, most states only recommend (let alone require!) one or two years. The California framework also divides American history into three eras, each taught in a different grade. This sequence eliminates repetition and allows much more time for teaching depth and breath.

In addition, California exposes students to the history and culture of America and the world in a K-3 curriculum laden with folklore, myths, and biographies drawn from across the globe and the centuries. Here is the outline of California's post-primary history/geography syllabus. (In grade nine, students take electives; in grade twelve, they take a semester each of economics and principles of American democracy.)

Grade Five—*United States History and Geography: Making a New Nation*

- The Land and People before Columbus
- Age of Exploration
- Settling the Colonies
- Settling the Trans-Appalachian West
- The War for Independence
- Life in the Young Republic
- The New Nation's Westward Expansion

Grade Six—*World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations*

- Early Humankind and the Development of Human Societies
- The Beginnings of Civilization in the Near East and Africa: Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Cush
- The Foundation of Western Ideas: The Ancient Hebrews and Greeks
- West Meets East: The Early Civilizations of India and China
- East Meets West: Rome

Grade Seven—*World History and Geography:*

Medieval and Early Modern Times

- Growth of Islam
- African States in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times
- Civilizations of the Americas
- China
- Japan
- Medieval Societies: Europe and Japan
- Europe During the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution
- Early Modern Europe: The Age of Exploration to the Enlightenment

Grade Eight—*United States History and Geography: Growth and Conflict*

- The Constitution of the United States
- Launching the Ship of State
- The Divergent Paths of the American People: 1800—1950

Grade Ten—*World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World*

- Unresolved Problems of the Modern World
- The Rise of Democratic Ideals
- The Industrial Revolution
- The Rise of Imperialism and Colonialism: A Case Study of India
- World War I and Its Consequences
- Totalitarianism in the Modern World: Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia
- World War II: Its Causes and Consequences
- Nationalism in the Contemporary World
- The Soviet Union and China
- The Middle East: Israel and Syria
- Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana and South Africa
- Latin America: Mexico and Brazil

Grade Eleven—*United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*

- The Progressive Era
- The Jazz Age
- The Great Depression
- World War II
- The Cold War
- Hemispheric Relationships in the Postwar Era
- The Civil Rights Movement in the Postwar Era
- American Society in the Postwar Era
- The United States in Recent Times

To order a copy of the California History/Social Science Framework, send \$6 (California residents must also include sales tax) with a written request to: Bureau of Publications Sales, California State Department of Education, P.O. Box 271, Sacramento, CA 95802-0271 (916/445-1260). □

TEXTBOOKS PAST AND PRESENT

BY GILBERT SEWALL

CONCERTED EFFORTS by publishers, scholars, and textbook reformers began to reshape the social studies—and more particularly the American history textbook—during the 1970s. As early as 1978, in the celebrated *New Yorker* magazine series published as *America Revised*, Frances FitzGerald registered these changes. During the 1980s, global studies received much attention in counterpoint to Western civilization courses. Today all major American and world histories for elementary and high school classes include new materials that avoid the narrow treatments of the past.

If we look back forty years, we can easily see just how far social studies textbooks have come in rethinking and dealing candidly with the past, even in primary grades. *My Country* (1947), a fifth-grade textbook published by the state of California and used during the 1950s, provides a striking example. The book characterizes antebellum plantation life by saying:

Perhaps the most fun the little masters and mistresses have comes when they are free to play with the little colored boys and girls. Back of the big house stand rows of small cabins. In these cabins live the families of Negro slaves. The older colored people work on the great farm, or help about the plantation home. The small black boys and girls play about the small houses. They are pleased to have the white children come to play with them.

In this section on colonial America, *My Country* gives no indication of how the slaves came to live in

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the rural southern provinces or of the chattel system that deprived slaves of their humanity. Much later, in discussing the advent of the Civil War, the book explains:

The Negroes were brought from Africa and sold to the people of our country in early times. After a while there came to be thousands and thousands of these Negro slaves. Most of them were found in the southern states. . . . On the southern plantations, where tobacco and cotton and rice were grown, they work away quite cheerfully. In time many people came to think that it was wrong to own slaves. Some of them said that all the Negro slaves should be freed. Some of the people who owned slaves became angry at this. They said that the black people were better off as slaves in America than they would have been as wild savages in Africa. Perhaps this was true, as many of the slaves had snug cabins to live in, plenty to eat, and work that was not too hard for them to do. Most of the slaves seemed happy and contented.

These outrageous passages not only constitute historiography that is offensive, they also present bad his-

tory.

In 1990, California adopted Houghton Mifflin's *America Will Be* for fifth-grade classes, a book developed under the direction of a respected historian of black history at the University of California at Los Angeles. *America Will Be* considers pluralism, the Middle Passage, plantation society, slavery and slave cul-



ture, abolitionism, and the advent of the Civil War, reflecting on the harsh lives of black people and the national divisions engendered by a loathsome institution, vitalized by an industrial revolution and King Cotton.

The textbook tries to bring the horror of slavery to life with graphics—such as the tags slaves were forced to wear and a poster advertising a slave auction—and with excerpts from slave narratives; for example, this one from the escaped slave, the Reverend Josiah Henson, about how he was sold at auction:

My brothers and sisters were bid off first, and one by one, while my mother, paralyzed with grief, held me by the hand. Her turn came and she was bought by Isaac Riley of Montgomery County. Then I was offered. . . . My mother, half distracted with the thought of parting forever from all her children, pushed through the crowd while the bidding for me was going on, to the spot where Riley was standing. She fell at his feet, and clung to his knees, entreating [begging] him in tones that a mother only could command, to buy her baby as well as herself, and spare to her one, at least, of her little ones.

Here is an excerpt from the textbook's narrative:

Most slaves lived in drafty, one-room cabins with dirt floors. Many times, two or more families would live together in one cabin. They slept on the ground on mattresses filled with cornhusks. Northrup described his bed as "a plank 12 inches wide and 10 feet long." His pillow was a stick. Slaves wore shabby cotton or wool clothing, which was provided by the master twice a year. They ate pork fat, molasses, and cornmeal. Sometimes they could raise vegetables. But often the food did not have important nutrients.

The Houghton Mifflin books are not alone in exploring the horrors of slavery and past discrimination. Fifth-grade American histories recently published by Macmillan and D.C. Heath are not as extensive, well crafted, or as interesting as the Houghton Mifflin series. But they do present black history with some detail and finesse. □

AFT RESOLUTION ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

THE UNITED States is one of the world's most diverse multicultural societies. To appreciate this inheritance and all who contributed to it, our children need a multicultural education. In the past, our schools taught only what was perceived as mainstream, and sought to minimize controversies over race, religion, and ethnicity by ignoring them. But without knowledge of the many streams that nourish the general society, the "mainstream" cannot be properly studied or understood. This is why our children need a multicultural curriculum, one in which the contributions and roles of African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and other minorities are fairly and accurately depicted, and one in which the history of non-Western societies is part of the required curriculum.

As a multicultural people, we are also, however, a single nation bonded by a common set of democratic principles, individual rights and moral values. To understand and defend the very principles and institutions that provide our society its common aspirations, and allow us in our multicultural society to live together in relative peace—as compared to the constant warfare that tears apart so many other non-homogeneous societies—our children need an education in the humanities that imparts to them the values of tolerance, freedom, equality, pluralism and common human dignity. This also is part of a multicultural education; and while such values and principles can be conveyed using ideas and documents from a range of cultures, such education also requires, unavoidably, a special emphasis on the history and legacies of those societies that have been most important in developing democratic ideals and practices.

In recent years, history and literature textbooks have been revised to be more inclusive of America's minorities and non-Western civilizations. However, as documented by Paul Gagnon in the AFT-commissioned *Democracy's Half-Told Story*, these changes are often "squeezed in" as sidebars, peripheral to the main story. This is not good enough. The story of America is a multicultural one from the start. We interacted with and were built and shaped and inspired by people of every immigrant stream, of many races, cultures and religions. Both because we do not want to be a fragmented people and because our children cannot learn from a fragmented curriculum, we do not want a curriculum in which each culture is merely allocated its share of sidebars and fragments. We need a cohesive, inclusive curriculum in which the main story—how we built this nation and its pluralistic institutions—is understood to have been the work of many different people of diverse races, classes, and religions. . . .

In bringing about these curricular revisions, we should be guided, as in all curriculum development, by the standards of quality and accuracy defined by the relevant disciplines and by the recognition that, given limited curricular time, we want to include that which is most essential and valuable to our children's learning—to all of our children's learning. We are not talking here of creating segregated curricula—one for minorities that features just minority heroes and another for whites that focuses on just white heroes; our children need the full picture, the whole truth, as best it is understood, so that they can understand the potential for good and for evil in all cultures and in each individual. We are talking about an integrated multicultural curriculum that's worth teaching to everyone—one that has integrity, quality, and rigor—one that offers all of our children what they all need to know: the strengths of diversity, the values that allow diversity to flourish, the history and literature that have shaped our country and our world. □

Excerpted from AFT convention resolution on multicultural education, adopted July 1990.

MORE TO READ

THERE IS an enormous amount of material available on this subject. We suggest just a few items that further develop the ideas put forward by what we will call the "pluralistic" and the "ethnocentric" multiculturalists.

For a fuller presentation of the argument for a pluralistic approach to a multicultural curriculum and against an ethnocentric, separatist one, see Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Disuniting of America*, from which this article is condensed. Also, see "Diversity and Democracy," by Diane Ravitch in the Spring 1990 *American Educator* and "America the Multicultural" by Robert Cottrol in the Winter 1990 *American Educator*. For a fuller critique of how the Third World is often distorted under the label of multiculturalism and for recommended readings to include in an authentic curriculum on non-Western civilization, see "Multiculturalism 101," by Dinesh D'Souza, in the Spring 1991 issue of *Policy Review*. The Winter 1991 issue of *Social Studies Review* includes a well-edited collection of short articles and excerpts from documents on the topic. See also the *California History-Social Science Framework* for a model of a pluralistic multicultural curriculum.

The Afrocentric perspective is put forward by Molefi Kete Asante in *The Afrocentric Idea* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1988). See also the *Proceedings of the First National Conference (October 1989) on the Infusion of African and African American Content in the School Curriculum*, (Aaron Press, Morristown, NJ, 1990), which includes a series of essays. Two reports published by task forces of the New York State Education Department (*A Curriculum of Inclusion; One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence*) set forth the arguments and general prescriptions of the ethnocentric tendencies of multiculturalism that Schlesinger criticizes. The *African-American Baseline Essays* published by the Portland, Oregon,

schools are to date the fullest, most popular curricular incarnation of these ideas.

Much of the argument over Afrocentric curricular materials is based on disagreements over the history and racial makeup of ancient Egypt and the extent to which the ancient Egyptians influenced the development of ancient Greece and Rome. The revisionist case is best made by Sinologist Martin Bernal in his two-volume *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (Rutgers University Press, Piscataway, NJ 1987 and 1991). The case is also made in Portland's Baseline Essays. The most concise refutation of the case made in the Essays is provided by Egyptologist Frank Yurco in "An Evaluation of Portland Social Studies Essays" in the March 1991 "Network News and Views," published by the Educational Excellence Network. But perhaps the most definitive work on the subject so far has been done by Frank M. Snowden, professor emeritus of classics at Howard University, who initiated historical research into the role of blacks in Greece and Rome several decades ago. He has written two highly regarded books on this now-controversial subject: *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1970) and *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1983).

For a comprehensive and fascinating look at the history of American ethnicity, see Lawrence Fuchs' *American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity and the Civic Culture* (University Press of New England, Hanover, NH, 1990).

Two reports that suggest what a fuller, more multicultural history curriculum should look like are *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools*, published by the Bradley Commission on History in Schools, and *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the Twenty-first Century*, published by the National

Commission on Social Studies in the Schools.

To order a videotape of the AFT QuEST panel discussion on "A Multicultural Education for All Our Children," which includes the full presentations of Ronald Walters, Robert Cottrol, and Dinesh D'Souza, as well as a presentation on the subject by assistant U.S. education secretary Diane Ravitch, send \$30 to:

American Federation of Teachers, QuEST 91, 555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20001. □

Ordering Information:

Building a History Curriculum
Send \$3 to National Council for History Education
26915 Westwood Road B-2
Westlake, Ohio 44145

California History-Social Science Framework
California State Department of Education
P.O. Box 271, Sacramento, CA 95802-0271

Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century
Call the National Council for the Social Studies 1-800-683-0812.

An Evaluation of Portland Social Studies Essays
Available for free from the Educational Excellence Network
1112 16th St. N.W. #500
Washington, DC 20036
Or call (202) 785-2985

One Nation, Many People
Available free while supply lasts.
Call the New York State Department of Education, 518-474-6569.
(The Department's first report, *A Curriculum of Inclusion*, is currently out of print.)

Portland Baseline Essays
Send \$25 per copy to Educational Media, Portland Public Schools, Portland, OR 97227.

The Social Studies Review
Send \$2, request Winter '91 issue
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, NY 10115. □

What students learn in schools vitally affects other arenas of American life—the way we see and treat other Americans, the way we conceive the purpose of the republic. The debate about the curriculum is a debate about what it means to be an American. What is ultimately at stake is the shape of the American future.

I.

HOW COULD Crevecoeur's "promiscuous breed" be transformed into a "new race"? This question preoccupied another young Frenchman who arrived in America three quarters of a century after Crevecoeur. "Imagine, my dear friend, if you can," Alexis de Tocqueville wrote back to France, "a society formed of all the nations of the world . . . people having different languages, beliefs, opinions: in a word, a society without roots, without memories, without prejudices, without routines, without common ideas, without a national character, yet a hundred times happier than our own." What alchemy could make this miscellany into a single society?

The answer, Tocqueville concluded, lay in the commitment of Americans to democracy and self-government. Civic participation, Tocqueville argued in *Democracy in America*, was the great educator and the great unifier. Immigrants, Tocqueville said, become Americans through the exercise of the political rights and civic responsibilities bestowed on them by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Half a century later, when the next great foreign commentator on American democracy James Bryce wrote *The American Commonwealth*, immigration had vastly increased and diversified. What struck Bryce was what had struck Tocqueville: "the amazing solvent power

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Arthur Schlesinger is one of America's preeminent American historians. His publications include the Pulitzer prize-winning books *The Age of Jackson* and *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. He wrote a three-volume sympathetic history of the New Deal, *The Age of Roosevelt*, and the biography of Robert Kennedy, *Robert Kennedy and his Times*. He was a member of the executive council of the *Journal of Negro History*, in which he wrote twenty years ago that black history is "essential if we are to know in its majesty and terror the real history of the United States."

As befits the biographer of the nation's great Democratic presidents, Schlesinger was also a founding member of Americans for Democratic Action, the leading organization of American liberalism in the post-World War II era. He was an advisor to Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson and a campaign speech writer and then presidential assistant to John F. Kennedy. He was an advisor to and close friend of Robert Kennedy.

Myrdal saw the Creed as the bond that links all Americans, including nonwhite minorities, and as the spur forever goading Americans to live up to their principles.



which American institutions, habits, and ideas exercise upon newcomers of all races . . . quickly dissolving and assimilating the foreign bodies that are poured into her mass."

A century after Tocqueville, another foreign visitor, Gunnar Myrdal of Sweden, called the cluster of ideas, institutions, and habits "the American Creed." Americans "of all national origins, regions, creeds, and colors," Myrdal wrote in 1944, hold in common "the *most explicitly expressed* system of general ideals" of any country in the West: the ideals of the essential dignity and equality of all human beings, of inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and opportunity.

The schools teach the principles of the Creed, Myrdal said; the churches preach them; the courts hand down

judgments in their terms. Myrdal saw the Creed as the bond that links all Americans, including nonwhite minorities, and as the spur forever goading Americans to live up to their principles. "America," Myrdal said, "is continuously struggling for its soul."

The new race received its most celebrated metaphor in 1908 in a play by Israel Zangwill, an English writer of Russian Jewish origin. *The Melting-Pot* tells the story of a young Russian Jewish composer in New York. David Quixano's artistic ambition is to write a symphony expressing the vast, harmonious interweaving of races in America, and his personal hope is to overcome racial barriers and marry Vera, a beautiful Christian girl. "America," David cries, "is God's crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming! . . . God is making the American."

Yet even as audiences cheered *The Melting-Pot*, Zangwill's metaphor raised doubts. One had only to stroll around the great cities to see that the melting process was incomplete. Ethnic minorities were forming their own *quartiers* in which they lived in their own way—not quite that of the lands they had left but not that of Anglocentric America either: Little Italy, Chinatown, Yorkville, Harlem, and so on.

In having his drama turn on marriage between people of different races and religions, Zangwill, who had himself married a Christian, emphasized where the melting pot must inexorably lead: to the submergence of separate ethnic identities in the new American race. Soon ethnic spokesmen began to appear, moved by real concern for distinctive ethnic values and also by real if unconscious vested interest in the preservation of ethnic constituencies. Even some Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent deplored the obliteration of picturesque foreign strains for the sake of insipid Anglocentric conformity. The impression grew that the melting pot was a device to impose Anglocentric images and values upon hapless immigrants—an impression reinforced by the rise of the "Americanization" movement in response to the new polyglot immigration.

GUNNAR MYRDAL in 1944 showed no hesitation in declaring the American Creed the common possession of all Americans, even as his great book, *An American Dilemma*, provided a magistral analysis of America's most conspicuous failure to live up to the Creed: the treatment by white Americans of black Americans.

Noble ideals had been pronounced as if for all Americans, yet in practice they applied only to white people. White settlers had systematically pushed the American Indians back, killed their braves, seized their lands, and sequestered their tribes. They had brought Africans to America to work their plantations and Chinese to build their railroads. They had enunciated glittering generalities of freedom and withheld them from people of color. Their Constitution protected slavery, and their laws made distinctions on the basis of race. Though they eventually emancipated the slaves, they conspired in the reduction of the freedmen to third-class citizenship. Their Chinese Exclusion acts culminated in the total prohibition of Asian immigration in the Immigration Act of 1924. It occurred to damned few white Americans in these years that Americans of color were also entitled to the rights and liberties promised by the Constitution.

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Yet what Bryce had called "the amazing solvent power" of American institutions and ideas retained its force, even among those most cruelly oppressed and excluded. Myrdal's polls of Afro-America showed the "determination" of blacks "to hold to the American Creed." Ralph Bunche, one of Myrdal's collaborators, observed that every man in the street—black, red, and yellow as well as white—regarded America as the "land of the free" and the "cradle of liberty." The American Creed, Myrdal surmised, meant even more to blacks than to whites, since it was the great means of pleading their unfulfilled rights.

The second world war gave the Creed new bite. Hitler's racism forced Americans to look hard at their own racial assumptions. Emboldened by the Creed, blacks organized for equal opportunities in employment, opposed segregation in the armed forces, and fought in their own units on many fronts. After the war, the civil rights revolution, so long deferred, accelerated black self-

reliance. So did the collapse of white colonialism around the world and the appearance of independent black states.

Across America minorities proclaimed their pride and demanded their rights. Women, the one "minority" that in America constituted a numerical majority, sought political and economic equality. Jews gained new solidarity from the Holocaust and then from the establishment of a Jewish state in Israel. Changes in the immigration law dramatically increased the number arriving from Hispanic and Asian lands, and, following the general example, they asserted their own prerogatives. American Indians mobilized to reclaim their rights and lands long since appropriated by the white man; their spokesmen even rejected the historic designation in which Indians had taken deserved pride and named themselves Native Americans. The civil rights revolution provoked new expressions of ethnic identity by the now long-resident "new migration" from southern and eastern Europe—Italians, Greeks, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians.

The pressure for the new cult of ethnicity came less from the minorities en masse than from their often self-appointed spokesmen. Most ethnics, white and non-white, saw themselves primarily as Americans. Still, ideologues, with sufficient publicity and time, could create audiences. Spokesmen with a vested interest in ethnic identification turned against the ideal of assimilation. The melting pot, it was said, injured people by undermining their self-esteem. It denied them heroes—"role models," in the jargon—from their own ethnic ancestries. Praise now went to the "unmeltable ethnics."

In 1974, after testimony from ethnic spokesmen denouncing the melting pot as a conspiracy to homogenize America, Congress passed the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act—a statute that, by applying the ethnic ideology to all Americans, compromised the historic right of Americans to decide their ethnic identities for themselves. The act ignored those millions of Americans—surely a majority—who refused identification with any particular ethnic group.

The ethnic upsurge (it can hardly be called a revival because it was unprecedented) began as a gesture of protest against the Anglocentric culture. It became a cult, and today it threatens to become a counter-revolution against the original theory of America as "one people," a common culture, a single nation.

II.

WRITING HISTORY is an old and honorable profession with distinctive standards and purposes. The historian's goals are accuracy, analysis, and objectivity in the reconstruction of the past. But history is more than an academic discipline up there in the stratosphere. It also has its own role in the future of nations.

For history is to the nation rather as memory is to the individual. As an individual deprived of memory becomes disoriented and lost, not knowing where he has been or where he is going, so a nation denied a conception of its past will be disabled in dealing with its present and its future. As the means of defining national identity, history becomes a means of shaping history. The writing of history then turns from a meditation into a weapon.

"Who controls the past controls the future," runs the Party slogan in George Orwell's *1984*; "who controls the present controls the past."

Historians do their damndest to maintain the standards of their trade. Heaven knows how dimly we fall short of our ideals, how sadly our interpretations are dominated and distorted by unconscious preconceptions, how obsessions of race and nation blind us to our own bias.

The spotlight we flash into the darkness of the past is guided by our own concerns in the present. When new preoccupations arise in our own times and lives, the spotlight shifts, throwing into sharp relief things that were always there but that earlier historians had casually excised from the collective memory.

Historians must always strive toward the unattainable ideal of objectivity. But as we respond to contemporary urgencies, we sometimes exploit the past for nonhistorical purposes, taking from the past, or projecting upon it, what suits our own society or ideology. History thus manipulated becomes an instrument less of disinterested intellectual inquiry than of social cohesion and political purpose.

OFTEN HISTORY is invoked to justify the ruling class. This is top-dog history, designed to show how noble, virtuous, and inevitable existing power arrangements are. Other times history is invoked to justify the victims of power, to vindicate those who reject the status quo. This is underdog history, designed to demonstrate what Bertrand Russell called the "superior virtue of the oppressed" by inventing or exaggerating past glories and purposes. It may be called compensatory history.

America's ethnic enclaves typically have developed such a compensatory literature. Professor John V. Kelleher, Harvard's distinguished Irish-American scholar, provided gently satiric testimony about the Irish case:

My earliest acquaintance with Irish-American history of the written variety was gained from the sort of articles that used to appear in minor Catholic magazines or in the Boston Sunday papers. They were turgid little essays on the fact that the Continental Army was 76 percent Irish or that many of George Washington's closest friends were nuns or priests, or that Lincoln got the major ideas for the Second Inaugural Address from the Hon. Francis P. Mageghegan of Alpaca, New York, a pioneer manufacturer of cast-iron rosary beads.

This is what Professor Kelleher called the there's-always-an-Irishman-at-the-bottom-of-it-doing-the-real-work approach to American history.

Such ethnic chauvinism was largely confined, however, to tribal celebration. Even in Boston and environs where the Irish dominated school and library boards, they made no effort to impose their compensatory history on the public school curriculum.

But the situation of the Irish and other European ethnics was radically different from that of nonwhite minorities who faced not snobbism but racism. Most white Americans through most of American history simply considered colored Americans inferior and unassimilable. Not until the 1960s did integration become a widely accepted national objective. Even then, even after legal obstacles to integration fell, social, economic, and psychological obstacles remained. Both black Americans and red Americans have every reason to seek redressing of

the historical balance. And indeed the cruelty with which white Americans have dealt with black Americans has been compounded by the callousness with which white historians have dealt with black history.

Even the best historians: Frederick Jackson Turner, dismissing the slavery question as a mere "incident" when American history is "rightly viewed"; Charles and Mary Beard in their famous *The Rise of American Civilization*, describing blacks as passive in slavery and ludicrous in Reconstruction and acknowledging only one black achievement—the invention of ragtime; Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, writing about childlike and improvident Sambo on the old plantation. One can sympathize with W.E.B. Du Bois's rage after reading white histories of slavery and Reconstruction; he was, he wrote, "literally aghast at what American historians have done to this field . . . one of the most stupendous efforts the world ever saw to discredit human beings. . . ."

The job of redressing the balance has been splendidly undertaken in recent years by both white and black historians. Meticulous and convincing scholarship has reversed conventional judgments on slavery, on Reconstruction, on the role of blacks in American life.

III.

BUT SCHOLARLY responsibility was only one factor behind the campaign of historical correction. History remains a weapon. "History's potency is mighty," Herbert Aptheker, the polemical chronicler of slave rebellions, has written. "The oppressed need it for identity and inspiration." (Aptheker, a faithful Stalinist, was an old hand at the manipulation of history.)

For blacks the American dream has been pretty much of a nightmare, and, far more than white ethnics, they are driven by a desperate need to vindicate their own identity. "The academic and social rescue and reconstruction of Black history," as Maulana Karenga put it in his influential *Introduction to Black Studies* ("a landmark in the intellectual history of African Americans," according to Molefi Kete Asante of Temple University), "is . . . [an] indispensable part of the rescue and reconstruction of Black humanity. For history is the substance and mirror of a people's humanity in others' eyes as well as in their own eyes . . . not only what they have done, but also a reflection of who they are, what they can do, and equally important what they can become. . . ."

One can hardly be surprised at the emergence of a there's-always-a-black-man-at-the-bottom-of-it-doing-the-real-work approach to American history. "The extent to which the past of a people is regarded as praiseworthy," the white anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits wrote in his study of the African antecedents of American blacks, "their own self-esteem would be high and the opinion of others will be favorable."

White domination of American schools and colleges, some black academics say, results in Eurocentric, racist, elitist, imperialist indoctrination and in systematic denigration of black values and achievements. "In the public school system," writes Felix Boateng of Eastern Washington University, "the orientation is so Eurocentric that white students take their identity for granted, and

African-American students are totally deculturalized"—deculturalization being the "process by which the individual is deprived of his or her culture and then conditioned to other cultural values." "In a sense," says Molefi Kete Asante, the Eurocentric curriculum is "killing our children, killing their minds."

In history, Western-civilization courses are seen as cultural imperialism designed to disparage non-Western traditions and to impress the Western stamp on people of all races. In literature, the "canon," the accepted list of essential books, is seen as an instrumentality of the white power structure. Nowhere can blacks discover adequate reflection or representation of the black self.

Some black educators even argue ultimate biological and mental differences, asserting that black students do not learn the way white students do and that the black mind works in a genetically distinctive way. Black children are said, in the jargon of the educationist, to "process information differently." "There are scientific studies that show, at early ages, the difference between Caucasian infants and African infants," says Clare Jacobs, a teacher in Washington, D.C. "Our African children are very expressive. Every thought we have has an emotional dimension to it, and Western education has historically subordinated the feelings." Charles Willie of Harvard finds several distinct "intelligences" of which the "communication and calculation" valued by whites constitute only two. Other kinds of "intelligence" are singing and dancing, in both of which blacks excel.

Salvation thus lies, the argument goes, in breaking the white, Eurocentric, racist grip on the curriculum and providing education that responds to colored races, colored histories, colored ways of learning and behaving. Europe has reigned long enough; it is the source of most of the evil in the world anyway; and the time is overdue to honor the African contributions to civilization so purposefully suppressed in Eurocentric curricula. Children from nonwhite minorities, so long persuaded of their inferiority by the white hegemony, need the support and inspiration that identification with role models of the same color will give them.

The answer, for some at least, is "Afrocentricity," described by Asante in his book of that title as "the centerpiece of human regeneration." There is, Asante contends, a single "African Cultural System." Wherever people of African descent are, "we respond to the same rhythms of the universe, the same cosmological sensibilities. . . . Our Africanity is our ultimate reality."

THE BELATED recognition of the pluralistic character of American society has had a bracing impact on the teaching and writing of history. Scholars now explore such long-neglected fields as the history of women, of immigration, of blacks, Indians, Hispanics, and other minorities. Voices long silent ring out of the darkness of history.

The result has been a reconstruction of American history, partly on the merits and partly in response to ethnic pressures. In 1987, the two states with both the greatest and the most diversified populations—California and New York—adopted new curricula for grades one to twelve. Both state curricula materially increased the time allotted to non-European cultures.

The New York curriculum went further in minimizing

The belated recognition of the pluralistic character of American society has had a bracing impact on the teaching and writing of history.



Western traditions. A two-year global-studies course divided the world into seven regions—Africa, South Asia, East Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe—with each region given equal time. The history of Western Europe was cut back from a full year to one quarter of the second year. American history was reduced to a section on the Constitution; then a leap across Jefferson, Jackson, the Civil War, and Reconstruction to 1877.

In spite of the multiculturalization of the New York state history curriculum in 1987—a revision approved by such scholars as Eric Foner of Columbia and Christopher Lasch of Rochester—a newly appointed commissioner of education yielded to pressures from minority interests to consider still further revision. In 1989, the

Task Force on Minorities: Equity and Excellence (not one historian among its seventeen members) brought in a report that argued: the “systematic bias toward European culture and its derivatives” has “a terribly damaging effect on the psyche of young people of African, Asian, Latino, and Native American descent.” The dominance of “the European-American monocultural perspective” explains why “large numbers of children of non-European descent are not doing as well as expected.”

Dr. Leonard Jeffries, the task force’s consultant on African-American culture and a leading author of the report, discerns “deep-seated pathologies of racial hatred” even in the 1987 curriculum. The consultant on Asian-American culture called for more pictures of Asian-Americans. The consultant on Latino culture found damning evidence of ethnocentric bias in such usages as the “Mexican War” and the “Spanish-American War.” The ethnically correct designations should be the “American-Mexican War” and the “Spanish-Cuban-American War.” The consultant on Native American culture wanted more space for Indians and for bilingual education in Iroquois.

A new curriculum giving the four other cultures equitable treatment, the report concluded, would provide “children from Native American, Puerto Rican/Latino, Asian-American, and African-American cultures . . . higher self-esteem and self-respect, while children from European cultures will have a less arrogant perspective.”

The report views division into racial groups as the basic analytical framework for an understanding of American history. Its interest in history is not as an intellectual discipline but rather as social and psychological therapy whose primary function is to raise the self-esteem of children from minority groups. Nor does the report regard the Constitution or the American Creed as means of improvement.

Jeffries scorns the Constitution, finding “something vulgar and revolting in glorifying a process that heaped undeserved rewards on a segment of the population while oppressing the majority.” The belief in the unifying force of democratic ideals finds no echo in the report. Indeed, the report takes no interest in the problem of holding a diverse republic together. Its impact is rather to sanction and deepen racial tensions.

THE RECENT spread of Afrocentric programs to public schools represents an extension of the New York task force ideology. These programs are, in most cases, based on a series of “African-American Baseline Essays” conceived by the educational psychologist Asa Hilliard.

Hilliard’s narration for the slide show “Free Your Mind, Return to the Source: The African Origin of Civilization” suggests his approach. “Africa,” he writes, “is the mother of Western civilization”—an argument turning on the contention that Egypt was a black African country and the real source of the science and philosophy Western historians attribute to Greece. Africans, Hilliard continues, also invented birth control and carbon steel. They brought science, medicine, and the arts to Europe; indeed, many European artists, such as Browning and Beethoven, were, in fact, “Afro-European.” They also discovered America long before Columbus, and the original name of the Atlantic Ocean was the Ethiopian Ocean.

Hilliard’s African-American Baseline Essays were introduced into the school system of Portland, Oregon, in

1987. They have subsequently been the inspiration for Afrocentric curricula in Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Richmond, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Camden, and other cities and continue at this writing to be urged on school boards and administrators anxious to do the right thing.

John Henrik Clarke's Baseline Essay on Social Studies begins with the proposition that "African scholars are the final authority on Africa." Egypt, he continues, "gave birth to what later became known as Western civilization, long before the greatness of Greece and Rome." "Great civilizations" existed throughout Africa, where "great kings" ruled "in might and wisdom over vast empires." After Egypt declined, magnificent empires arose in West Africa, in Ghana, Mali, Songhay—all marked by the brilliance and enlightenment of their administrations and the high quality of their libraries and universities.

Other Baseline Essays argue in a similar vein that Africa

was the birthplace of science, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and art and that Europe stole its civilization from Africa and then engaged in "malicious misrepresentation of African society and people . . . to support the enormous profitability of slavery." The coordinator of multicultural/multi-ethnic education in Portland even says that Napoleon deliberately shot off the nose of the Sphinx so that the Sphinx would not be recognized as African.

Like other excluded groups before them, black Americans invoke supposed past glories to compensate for real past and present injustices. Because their exclusion has been more tragic and terrible than that of white immigrants, their quest for self-affirmation is more intense and passionate. In seeking to impose Afrocentric curricula on public schools, for example, they go further than their white predecessors. And belated recognition by white America of the wrongs so viciously inflicted on

A DIFFERENT VIEW: 'AFROCENTRISM' MEANS PROVIDING THE NEGLECTED BLACK P

BY RONALD WALTERS

AS I have listened to the national debate on multicultural education, I have been aware of the extent to which it really is about belief. It is not so much about footnotes and quotation marks, as some people claim, because for every footnote or quotation mark that I can conjure up to prove my point, there are a hundred on the other side. It is not about the extent to which, for example, we can prove that there were black pharaohs in Egypt or who did what to whom historically.

As a political scientist and not a historian, I am not equipped to enter into the debate about the place of Egypt in Greek and Roman civilization. But I think that many who protest the inclusion of such facts in the curriculum have hidden agendas; the pretension to objectivity in this whole debate is a bit

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overblown.

I would argue that many who are prepared and armed to do battle against the new Afrocentric and multicultural curricular ideas and to raise the flag of objectivity

and factuality are doing the same as those who are attempting to assert the integrity of African civilization in the world. Which is to say that on both sides the advocates are partisans in an intellectual struggle that has gone on for a long, long time—pious pretense to the contrary.

The curriculum that we have today in American society is a by-product of power. The effort to change the current curriculum is an effort to destroy the political orthodoxy, an orthodoxy which has established itself through power.

In this regard, I would say that it is this *current* curriculum that is the "politically correct" construct. I think we have to step back from the pretense that somehow we have arrived at the current curriculum in a wholly objective fashion, and therefore that it is the best curriculum that we could possibly have. It is a curriculum that emerged from a historical force,

and it has been maintained in place by power. This is not, therefore, simply an intellectual struggle. It is a manifestation of a larger conflict between and among ethnic groups as they all seek to develop a dignified place within American society.

I think that if we look closely at the current curriculum, we have to agree with Afrocentric curriculum critics like Asa Hilliard. Even if we reject his view of Egypt, you have to agree with him that there is very little history taught in schools about African-Americans before the slave trade. We would have to agree that, even when such history is taught, it is generally about a few exemplary individuals—there is, indeed, no "people history." There is very little, if anything at all, said about the existence of an African diaspora—which is to say that African people in this country are linked to a global people around the world. There is very little to suggest that we African-Americans dignified ourselves by attempting to struggle against the slave system and other subordination. And there is very little at all about the last 30 years of American history.

As a result, there are many young people, black and white, emerging from school systems in this country who have very little knowledge of the African-American experience except the rhetoric of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. But what lay behind that speech, what were the forces that

black Americans has created the phenomenon of white guilt—not a bad thing in many respects, but still a vulnerability that invites cynical exploitation and manipulation.

IV.

I AM CONSTRAINED to feel that the cult of ethnicity in general and the Afrocentric campaign in particular do not bode well either for American education or for the future of the republic. Cultural pluralism is not the issue. Nor is the teaching of Afro-American or African history the issue; of course these are legitimate subjects. The issue is the kind of history that the New York task force, the Portland Baseline essayists, and other Afrocentric ideologues propose for American children. The issue is the teaching of *bad* history under whatever ethnic banner.

One argument for organizing a school curriculum around Africa is that black Africa is the birthplace of science, philosophy, religion, medicine, technology, of the great achievements that have been wrongly ascribed to Western civilization. But is this, in fact, true? Many historians and anthropologists regard Mesopotamia as the cradle of civilization; for a recent discussion, see Charles Keith Maisels' *The Emergence of Civilization*.

The Afrocentrist case rests largely on the proposition that ancient Egypt was essentially a black African country. I am far from being an expert on Egyptian history, but neither, one must add, are the educators and psychologists who push Afrocentrism. A book they often cite is Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, a vigorous effort by a Cornell professor to document Egyptian influence on ancient Greece. In fact, Bernal makes no very strong claims about Egyptian pigmentation; but, citing Herodotus, he does argue that several Egyptian dynasties "were made

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prompted it, and how did it help to open up this society? This is almost wholly missing from the curriculum. And, so, young people emerge from these schools without the information that they could use to dignify individuals who are different from them.

I think that we have to strike a compatibility between Afrocentricity and multiculturalism. I don't believe that they are mutually exclusive. Afrocentrism should be one aspect of a multicultural curriculum. I believe that a multicultural curriculum talks about the integrity of diverse cultures, and, therefore, builds mutual respect among the various cultures. In doing so, I think such a curriculum contributes to the richness and the coherence of our society. It is not just a question of teaching the core values of the majority American experience. We need to realize that in each of the ethnic and racial experiences there are core values, and they have to be linked to the larger experience and to our common values.

Finally, the multicultural curriculum also contributes to political democracy because it makes everyone see that every group has a right to participate on a basis of equality in all that is American.

AFROCENTRICITY IS not to me a mysterious substance. I don't stand behind all of the claims that have been put forth in the name of Afrocentricity, because I am aware that there are different degrees and

definitions of it. For me, Afrocentrism means seeing the world and history through the eyes of black people. The events that were important to the development of our African-American culture and attitudes are not precisely the same as those that influenced others, although there is substantial overlap. And, clearly, the way we experienced many events of American history was different from how the majority population experienced them.

The public school curriculum can't be entirely Afrocentric. It needs to be multicultural, meaning that it must deal with some number of the important events, personalities, and ideas of the major racial and ethnic minorities in this country—topics that are neglected if one bases a curriculum solely on the events that turned out to be important for the majority population.

But those aspects of a multicultural curriculum that relate strongly to black Americans must have an Afrocentric perspective—one that emerges from how African-American people see the world. That is certainly what the struggle is all about.

I think that the question of fact ought to be honored, certainly, as far as possible. I am one of those who doesn't believe that teaching the view of African-Americans requires factually unwarranted cheerleading or ethnic pride exercises. After all, there are entire libraries about the history and culture of

African-American people. We have an intellectual tradition which has yet to be incorporated into the school curriculum and about which there is little dispute.

The proper balance of multicultural education versus Afrocentrism in a given curriculum should relate to the specifics of each situation. It has to do with demography and the fact that we are becoming a different society. All students, regardless of their race or ethnicity, need a certain common education about the history of America and the world. But it is also true that students from different backgrounds may be especially interested in pursuing in more depth the history of their own cultural identity. Just as teachers would adapt their lessons to reflect the special interests of students on any number of topics, teachers will likely want to emphasize African and African-American history or some other history, depending on the ethnic background of their students.

We are becoming a different society. If you look at the latest census, no one will be surprised by the fact that we have to redo our history and we have to redo our curriculum—because we are redoing ourselves. I believe that these diverse people have a right to see their experience reflected in the curriculum. I believe that a curriculum of integrity can be constructed from these diverse elements. That belief, it seems to me, gets us farther down the road than the pieties. □

up of pharaohs whom one can usefully call black.”

Frank M. Snowden Jr., the distinguished black classicist at Howard University and author of *Blacks in Antiquity*, is most doubtful about painting ancient Egypt black. Bernal’s assumption that Herodotus meant black in the 20th-century sense is contradicted, Snowden demonstrates, “by Herodotus himself and the copious evidence of other classical authors.”

Frank J. Yurco, an Egyptologist at Chicago’s Field Museum of Natural History, after examining the evidence derivable from mummies, paintings, statues, and reliefs, concludes in the *Biblical Archaeological Review* that ancient Egyptians, like their modern descendants, varied in color from the light Mediterranean type to the darker brown of upper Egypt to the still darker shade of the Nubians around Aswan. He adds that ancient Egyptians would have found the question meaningless and wonders at our presumption in assigning “our primitive racial labels” to so impressive a culture.

After Egypt, Afrocentrists teach children about the glorious West African emperors, the vast lands they ruled, the civilization they achieved; not, however, about the tyrannous authority they exercised, the ferocity of their wars, the tribal massacres, the squalid lot of the common people, the captives sold into slavery, the complicity with the Atlantic slave trade, the persistence of slavery in Africa after it was abolished in the West. As for tribalism, the word *tribe* hardly occurs in the Afrocentric lexicon; but who can hope to understand African history without understanding it.

The Baseline Essay on science and technology contains biographies of black American scientists, among them Charles R. Drew, who first developed the process for the preservation of blood plasma. In 1950 Drew, grievously injured in an automobile accident in North Carolina, lost quantities of blood. “Not one of several nearby white hospitals,” according to the Baseline Essay, “would provide the blood transfusions he so desperately [*sic*] needed, and on the way to a hospital that treated Black people, he died.” It is a hell of a story—the inventor of blood-plasma storage dead because racist whites denied him his own invention. Only it is not true. According to the biographical entry for Drew written by the eminent black scholar Rayford Logan of Howard for the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, “Conflicting versions to the contrary, Drew received prompt medical attention.”

Is it really a good idea to teach minority children myths—at least to teach myths as facts?

THE DEEPER reason for the Afrocentric campaign lies in the theory that the purpose of history in the schools is essentially therapeutic: to build a sense of self-worth among minority children. Eurocentrism, by denying nonwhite children any past in which they can take pride, is held to be the cause of poor academic performance. Race consciousness and group pride are supposed to strengthen a sense of identity and self-respect among nonwhite students.

Why does anyone suppose that pride and inspiration are available only from people of the same ethnicity? Plainly this is not the case. At the age of twelve, Frederick Douglass encountered a book entitled *The Columbian Orator* containing speeches by Burke, Sheridan, Pitt, and

The use of history as therapy means the corruption of history as history.



Fox. “Every opportunity I got,” Douglass later said, “I used to read this book.” The orations “gave tongue to interesting thoughts of my own soul, which had frequently flashed through my mind, and died away for want of utterance. . . . What I got from Sheridan was a bold denunciation of slavery and a powerful vindication of human rights. The reading of these documents enabled me to utter my thoughts.” Douglass did not find the fact that the orators were white an insuperable obstacle.

Or hear Ralph Ellison: “In Macon County, Alabama, I read Marx, Freud, T. S. Eliot, Pound, Gertrude Stein, and Hemingway. Books that seldom, if ever, mentioned Negroes were to release me from whatever ‘segregated’ idea I might have had of my human possibilities.” He was freed, Ellison continued, not by the example of Richard Wright and other black writers but by artists who offered a broader sense of life and possibility. “It requires real poverty of the imagination to think that this can come to

a Negro only through the example of other Negroes.”

Martin Luther King, Jr. did pretty well with Thoreau, Gandhi, and Reinhold Niebuhr as models—and remember, after all, whom King (and his father) were named for. Is Lincoln to be a hero only for those of English ancestry? Jackson only for Scotch-Irish? Douglass only for blacks? Great artists, thinkers, leaders are the possession not just of their own racial clan but of all humanity.

As for self-esteem, is this really the product of ethnic role models and fantasies of a glorious past? Or does it not result from the belief in oneself that springs from achievement, from personal rather than from racial pride?

Columnist William Raspberry notes that Afrocentric education will make black children “less competent in the culture in which they have to compete.” After all, what good will it do young black Americans to hear that, because their minds work differently, a first-class education is not for them? Will such training help them to understand democracy better? Help them to fit better into American life?

Will it increase their self-esteem when black children grow up and learn that many of the things the Afrocentrists taught them are not true? Black scholars have tried for years to rescue black history from chauvinistic hyperbole. A. A. Schomburg, the noted archivist of black history, expressed his scorn long ago for those who “glibly tried to prove that half of the world’s geniuses have been Negroes and to trace the pedigree of nineteenth-century Americans from the Queen of Sheba.”

The dean of black historians in America today is John Hope Franklin. “While a black scholar,” Franklin writes, “has a clear responsibility to join in improving the society in which he lives, he must understand the difference between hard-hitting advocacy on the one hand and the highest standards of scholarship on the other.”

V.

THE USE of history as therapy means the corruption of history as history. All major races, cultures, nations have committed crimes, atrocities, horrors at one time or another. Every civilization has skeletons in its closet. Honest history calls for the unexpurgated record. How much would a full account of African despotism, massacre, and slavery increase the self-esteem of black students? Yet what kind of history do you have if you leave out all the bad things?

“Once ethnic pride and self-esteem become the criterion for teaching history,” historian Diane Ravitch points out, “certain things cannot be taught.” Skeletons must stay in the closet lest outing displease descendants.

No history curriculum in the country is more carefully wrought and better balanced in its cultural pluralism than California’s. But hearings before the State Board of Education show what happens when ethnicity is unleashed at the expense of scholarship. At issue were textbooks responsive to the new curriculum. Polish-Americans demanded that any reference to Hitler’s Holocaust be accompanied by accounts of equivalent genocide suffered by Polish Christians. Armenian-Americans sought coverage of Turkish massacres; Turkish-Americans objected. Though black historians testified that the treat-

ment of black history was exemplary, Afrocentrists said the schoolbooks would lead to “textbook genocide.” Moslems complained that an illustration of an Islamic warrior with a raised scimitar stereotyped Moslems as “terrorists.”

“The single theme that persistently ran through the hearings,” Ravitch writes, “was that the critics did not want anything taught if it offended members of their group.”

In New York the curriculum guide for eleventh-grade American history tells students that there were three “foundations” for the Constitution: the European Enlightenment, the “Haudenosaunee political system,” and the antecedent colonial experience. Only the Haudenosaunee political system receives explanatory sub-headings: “a. Influence upon colonial leadership and European intellectuals (Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau); b. Impact on Albany Plan of Union, Articles of Confederation, and U. S. Constitution.”

How many experts on the American Constitution would endorse this stirring tribute to the “Haudenosaunee political system”? How many have heard of that system? Whatever influence the Iroquois confederation may have had on the framers of the Constitution was marginal; on European intellectuals it was marginal to the point of invisibility. No other state curriculum offers this analysis of the making of the Constitution. But then no other state has so effective an Iroquois lobby.

President Franklin Jenifer of Howard University, while saying that “historical black institutions” like his own have a responsibility to teach young people about their particular history and culture, adds, “One has to be very careful when one is talking about public schools. . . . There should be no creation of nonexistent history.”

Let us by all means teach black history, African history, women’s history, Hispanic history, Asian history. But let us teach them as history, not as filiopietistic commemoration. When every ethnic and religious group claims a right to approve or veto anything that is taught in public schools, the fatal line is crossed between cultural pluralism and ethnocentrism. An evident casualty is the old idea that whatever our ethnic base, we are all Americans together.

VI.

THE ETHNICITY rage in general and Afrocentricity in particular not only divert attention from the real needs but exacerbate the problems. The cult of ethnicity exaggerates differences, intensifies resentments and antagonisms, drives ever deeper the awful wedges between races and nationalities. The end game is self-pity and self-ghettoization. Afrocentricity as expounded by ethnic ideologues implies Europhobia, separatism, emotions of alienation, victimization, paranoia.

If any educational institution should bring people together as individuals in friendly and civil association, it should be the university. But the fragmentation of campuses in recent years into a multitude of ethnic organizations is spectacular—and disconcerting.

Stanford University, writer Dinesh D’Souza reports in his book *Illiberal Education*, has “ethnic theme houses.” The University of Pennsylvania gives blacks—6 percent

of the enrollment—their own yearbook. Campuses today, according to one University of Pennsylvania professor, have “the cultural diversity of Beirut. There are separate armed camps. The black kids don’t mix with the white kids. The Asians are off by themselves. Oppression is the great status symbol.”

Oberlin was for a century and a half the model of a racially integrated college. “Increasingly,” Jacob Weisberg, an editor at *The New Republic*, reports, “Oberlin students think, act, study, and live apart.” Asians live in Asia House, Jews in “J” House, Latinos in Spanish House, blacks in African-Heritage House, foreign students in Third World House. Even the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Union has broken up into racial and gender factions. “The result is separate worlds.”

Huddling is an understandable reaction for any minority group faced with new and scary challenges. But institutionalized separatism only crystallizes racial differences and magnifies racial tensions. “Certain activities are labeled white and black,” says a black student at Central Michigan University. “If you don’t just participate in black activities, you are shunned.”

Militants further argue that because only blacks can comprehend the black experience, only blacks should teach black history and literature, as, in the view of some feminists, only women should teach women’s history and literature. “True diversity,” according to the faculty’s Budget Committee at the University of California at Berkeley, requires that courses match the ethnic and gender identities of the professors.

The doctrine that *only* blacks can teach and write black history leads inexorably to the doctrine that blacks can teach and write *only* black history as well as to inescapable corollaries: Chinese must be restricted to Chinese history, women to women’s history, and so on. Henry Louis Gates of Duke University criticizes “ghettoized programs where students and members of the faculty sit around and argue about whether a white person can think a black thought.” As for the notion that there is a “mystique” about black studies that requires a person to have black skin in order to pursue them—that, John Hope Franklin observes succinctly, is “voodoo.”

The separatist impulse is by no means confined to the black community. Another salient expression is the bilingualism movement. The presumed purpose of bilingualism is transitional: to move non-English-speaking children as quickly as possible from bilingual into all-English classes.

Alas, bilingualism has not worked out as planned: rather the contrary. Testimony is mixed, but indications are that bilingual education retards rather than expedites the movement of Hispanic children into the English-speaking world and that it promotes segregation more than it does integration. Bilingualism “encourages concentrations of Hispanics to stay together and not be integrated,” says Alfredo Mathew Jr., a Hispanic civic leader, and it may well foster “a type of apartheid that will generate animosities with others, such as Blacks, in the competition for scarce resources and further alienate the Hispanic from the larger society.”

“The era that began with the dream of integration,” author Richard Rodriguez has observed, “ended up with scorn for assimilation.” The cult of ethnicity has reversed the movement of American history, producing a nation

of minorities—or at least of minority spokesmen—less interested in joining with the majority in common endeavor than in declaring their alienation from an oppressive, white, patriarchal, racist, sexist, classist society. The ethnic ideology inculcates the illusion that membership in one or another ethnic group is the basic American experience.

The contemporary sanctification of the group puts the old idea of a coherent society at stake. Multicultural zealots reject as hegemonic the notion of a shared commitment to common ideals. How far the discourse has come from Crevecoeur’s “new race,” from Tocqueville’s civic participation, from Bryce’s “amazing solvent,” from Myrdal’s “American Creed”!

Yet what has held the American people together in the absence of a common ethnic origin has been precisely a

‘BOGUS’ MULTICULTURALISM: HOW NOT TO TEACH

BY DINESH D’SOUZA

AT STANFORD University a couple of years ago, Jesse Jackson led protesting students who chanted, “Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture has got to go.” Ultimately, the university administration acquiesced to the call for the abolition of Stanford’s so-called “Great Books” course, which had focused on the classics of Western civilization, and installed a new requirement called “Cultures, Ideas, and Values,” which emphasized non-Western and minority cultures. Stanford’s example has been inspirational and has been emulated by many other schools and colleges across the country as well.

I have spent some time over the last couple of years auditing Stanford’s new non-Western curriculum to see what it was that Stanford professors were teaching about the Third World, which is my place of origin and of birth. I realized that Stanford professors were presenting a picture of the Third World that bore no resemblance to what I, as a native of the Third World, knew. Something very funny seemed to be going on. What could this be? What was the shape that multicultural education was taking in practice?

I would like to illustrate this problem briefly by talking about one book that I see as a kind of emblem for the new multicultural curriculum at Stanford. The book is called *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, and is subtitled, “The Story of a Young Woman in Guatemala.” In the introduction, Rigoberta, who is a young woman, says, “I am speaking not for myself, I am speaking for the people, the oppressed people of Latin America.”

Rigoberta does not claim any individual distinction, but she is speaking on behalf of minority oppression. This is the significance of her book. One might expect that it is a valuable perspective.

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common adherence to ideals of democracy and human rights that, too often transgressed in practice, forever goad us to narrow the gap between practice and principle.

America is an experiment in creating a common identity for people of diverse races, religions, languages, cultures. If the republic now turns away from its old goal of "one people," what is its future?—disintegration of the national community, apartheid, Balkanization, tribalization?

VII.

SELF-STYLED "multiculturalists" are very often ethnocentric separatists who see little in the Western her-

itage beyond Western crimes. The Western tradition, in this view, is inherently racist, sexist, "classist," hegemonic; irredeemably repressive, irredeemably oppressive. Such animus toward Europe lay behind the well-known crusade against the Western civilization course at Stanford ("Hey-hey, ho-ho, Western culture's got to go!").

According to the National Endowment for the Humanities, students can graduate from 78 percent of American colleges and universities without taking a course in the history of Western civilization. A number of institutions—among them Dartmouth, Wisconsin, Mt. Holyoke—require courses in Third World or ethnic studies but not in Western civilization. The mood is one of divesting Americans of the sinful European inheritance and seeking redemptive infusions from non-Western cultures.

CH ABOUT THE THIRD WORLD



Rigoberta further says that because she is "in the oral tradition," she has narrated this book to a French feminist writer, Elisabeth Burgos Debray.

One interesting question that occurred to me at the outset was where did young Rigoberta meet Elisabeth Burgos Debray, the French feminist writer? In reading the book's acknowledgments, you realize that they met in Paris, where Rigoberta was apparently attending a socialist conference. Paris, I need not remind you, is not a venue to

which many of the Third World's poor routinely travel. Therefore, one might suspect that Rigoberta is not typical of the Latin American or Third World peasantry. As you read the book, this impression is reinforced. You run across a chapter, for example, that is titled "Rigoberta Renounces Marriage and Motherhood." The book describes in some detail Rigoberta's sequential embrace of socialism, of Marxism, of feminism, of gay rights, and so on. This is her story. It dawns on the critical reader that Rigoberta does not, by any stretch of the imagination, represent the poor people or the peasants of Guatemala or of the Third World. This raises the interesting question: Why read this book? Whom does Rigoberta represent? Whom does she speak for?

Perhaps she speaks for the political prejudices of some Stanford professors and Stanford students, who are very interested in her embrace of Marxism, of socialism, of feminism, and so on. The Third World is not like that, but that is the way that some people at Stanford would like to see it. Rigoberta represents, in short, a projection of Western ideological predilections and prejudices onto the Third World.

Multicultural education, in general, is inspired by po-

litical activists who are alienated from what they see to be the racism, the sexism, and homophobia of the West. They would like to find in other cultures a better alternative to this terrible Western way of life. But, anybody who looks carefully and critically at non-Western cultures, at Third World cultures, realizes that the Third World cultures are generally quite inhospitable to the basic passions of these multicultural activists. There is not a strong tradition of racial equality in many parts of the Third World. In India, for example, there is the terrible legacy of the caste system. Women are treated very badly in many non-Western cultures. Homosexuality is often a crime, if not a medical ailment, in many Third World countries.

The classics of non-Western cultures have produced important works. But, for example, the *Koran* evinces a notion of male superiority. The great Japanese classic *The Tale of Genji* is a celebration of courtship and of hierarchy. The Indian classics, the *Bhagavad-Gita* and so on, are a rejection of Western materialism and atheism.

The multicultural activists, when they look abroad, don't like what they see and so they engage very routinely in what one may call the *Rigoberta* model: They put aside the reality and great works of non-Western cultures; then they ransack these cultures to find utterly nonrepresentative figures like Rigoberta, figures who reflect not the temper or the accomplishment of their own cultures, but who reflect the political prejudices of Western culture. This is what I call a bogus multiculturalism.

There is no reason that we can't have a curriculum that emphasizes what Matthew Arnold once called "the best that has been thought and said." Arnold had in mind Western culture, but there is no reason we can't apply his criterion to non-Western cultures, as well. If we take a critical and honest look at both Western and non-Western cultures, we can then arrive at a sensible basis for the norms according to which we would like to live our lives and shape this multiracial society. Multicultural education is too important, in short, to leave to multicultural ideologues and activists. □

When Irving Howe [the editor of the democratic socialist *Dissent* magazine], hardly a notorious conservative, dared write, "The Bible, Homer, Plato, Sophocles, Shakespeare are central to our culture," an outraged reader wrote, "Where on Howe's list is the *Quran*, the *Gita*, Confucius, and other central cultural artifacts of the peoples of our nation?" No one can doubt the importance of these works nor the influence they have had on other societies. But on American society? It may be too bad that dead white European males have played so large a role in shaping our culture. But that's the way it is. One cannot erase history. Would anyone seriously argue that teachers should conceal the European origins of American civilization?

Radical academics denounce the literary "canon" as an instrument of European oppression enforcing the hegemony of the white race, the male sex, and the capitalist class, designed, in the words of one professor, "to rewrite the past and construct the present from the perspective of the privileged and the powerful."

The poor old canon is seen not only as conspiratorial but as static. Yet nothing changes more regularly and reliably than the canon: compare, for example, the canon in American poetry as defined by Edmund Clarence Stedman in the *Poets of America* (1885) with the canon of 1935 or of 1985 (whatever happened to Longfellow and Whittier?); or recall the changes that have overtaken the canonical literature of American history in the last half-century (who reads Beard and Parrington now?). And the critics clearly have no principled objection to the idea of the canon. They simply wish to replace an old gang by a new gang. After all, a canon means only that because you can't read everything, you give some books priority over others.

Oddly enough, serious Marxists—Marx and Engels, Lukacs, Trotsky, Gramsci—had the greatest respect for what Lukacs called "the classical heritage of mankind." Well they should have, for most great literature and much good history are deeply subversive in their impact on orthodoxies. Consider the present-day American literary canon: Emerson, Jefferson, Melville, Whitman, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Lincoln, Twain, Dickinson, William and Henry James, Henry Adams, Holmes, Dreiser, Faulkner, O'Neill. Lackeys of the ruling class? Apologists for the privileged and the powerful? Agents of American imperialism? Come on!

IS THE Western tradition a bar to progress and a curse on humanity? Would it really do America and the world good to get rid of the European legacy?

No doubt Europe has done terrible things, not least to itself. But what culture has not? The sins of the West are no worse than the sins of Asia or of the Middle East or of Africa.

There remains, however, a crucial difference between the Western traditions and the others. The crimes of the West have produced their own antidotes. They have provoked great movements to end slavery, to raise the status of women, to abolish torture, to combat racism, to defend freedom of inquiry and expression, to advance personal liberty and human rights.

Whatever the particular crimes of Europe, that continent is also the source—the *unique* source—of those liberating ideas of individual liberty, political democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and cultural freedom that

constitute our most precious legacy and to which most of the world today aspires.

It was the French, not the Algerians, who freed Algerian women from the veil (much to the irritation of Frantz Fanon, who regarded de veiling as symbolic rape); as in India it was the British, not the Indians, who ended (or did their best to end) the horrible custom of *suttee*—widows burning themselves alive on their husbands' funeral pyres. And it was the West, not the non-Western cultures, that launched the crusade to abolish slavery—and in doing so encountered mighty resistance, especially in the Islamic world (where Moslems, with fine impartiality enslaved whites as well as blacks).

The Western commitment to human rights has unquestionably been intermittent and imperfect. Yet the ideal remains—and movement toward it has been real, if sporadic. Today it is the Western democratic tradition that attracts and empowers people of all continents, creeds, and colors. When the Chinese students cried and died for democracy in Tiananmen Square, they brought with them not representations of Confucius or Buddha but a model of the Statue of Liberty.

THE GREAT American asylum, as Crèvecoeur called it, open, as George Washington said, to the oppressed and persecuted of all nations, has been from the start an experiment in a multi-ethnic society. This is a bolder experiment than we sometimes remember. History is littered with the wreck of states that tried to combine diverse ethnic or linguistic or religious groups within a single sovereignty. Today's headlines tell of imminent crisis or impending dissolution in one or another multi-ethnic polity—the Soviet Union, India, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Belgium, Canada, Lebanon, Cyprus, Israel, Ceylon, Spain, Nigeria, Kenya, Angola, Trinidad, Guyana. . . . The list is almost endless.

The ethnic revolt against the melting pot has reached the point, in rhetoric at least, though not I think in reality, of a denial of the idea of a common culture and a single society. If large numbers of people really accept this, the republic would be in serious trouble. The question poses itself: how to restore the balance between *unum* and *pluribus*?

The old American homogeneity disappeared well over a century ago, never to return. Ever since, we have been preoccupied in one way or another with the problem, as Herbert Croly phrased it eighty years back in *The Promise of American Life*, "of keeping a highly differentiated society fundamentally sound and whole."

The genius of America lies in its capacity to forge a single nation from peoples of remarkably diverse racial, religious, and ethnic origins. It has done so because democratic principles provide both the philosophical bond of union and practical experience in civic participation. The American Creed envisages a nation composed of individuals making their own choices and accountable to themselves, not a nation based on inviolable ethnic communities. The Constitution turns on individual rights, not on group rights. Law, in order to rectify past wrongs, has from time to time (and in my view often properly so) acknowledged the claims of groups; but this is the exception, not the rule.

Our democratic principles contemplate an open soci-

The Creed has been the means by which Americans have haltingly but persistently narrowed the gap between performance and principle.

It is what all Americans should learn, because it is what binds all Americans together.



ety founded on tolerance of differences and on mutual respect. In practice, America has been more open to some than to others. But it is more open to all today than it was yesterday and is likely to be even more open tomorrow than today. The steady movement of American life has been from exclusion to inclusion.

Historically and culturally this republic has an Anglo-Saxon base; but from the start the base has been modified, enriched, and reconstituted by transfusions from other continents and civilizations. The movement from exclusion to inclusion causes a constant revision in the texture of our culture. The ethnic transfusions affect all aspects of American life—our politics, our literature, our music, our painting, our movies, our cuisine, our customs, our dreams.

Black Americans in particular have influenced the ever-changing national culture in many ways. They have lived here for centuries, and, unless one believes in racist mysticism, they belong far more to American culture than to the culture of Africa. Their history is part of the Western democratic tradition, not an alternative to it. No one does black Americans more disservice than those Afrocentric ideologues who would define them out of the West.

The interplay of diverse traditions produces the America we know. "Paradoxical though it may seem," Diane

Ravitch has well said, "the United States has a common culture that is multicultural." That is why unifying political ideals coexist so easily and cheerfully with diversity in social and cultural values. Within the overarching political commitment, people are free to live as they choose, ethnically and otherwise. Differences will remain; some are reinvented; some are used to drive us apart. But as we renew our allegiance to the unifying ideals, we provide the solvents that will prevent differences from escalating into antagonism and hatred.

One powerful reason for the continuing movement in America from exclusion to inclusion is that the American Creed facilitates the appeal from the actual to the ideal. When we talk of the American democratic faith, we must understand it in its true dimensions. It is not an imperious, final, and complacent orthodoxy, intolerant of deviation and dissent, fulfilled in flag salutes, oaths of allegiance, and hands over the heart. It is an ever-evolving philosophy, fulfilling its ideals through debate, self-criticism, protest, disrespect, and irreverence; a tradition in which all have rights of heterodoxy and opportunities for self-assertion. The Creed has been the means by which Americans have haltingly but persistently narrowed the gap between performance and principle. It is what all Americans should learn, because it is what binds all Americans together.

Americans of whatever origin should take pride in the distinctive inheritance to which they have all contributed, as other nations take pride in their distinctive inheritances.

Our schools and colleges have a responsibility to teach history for its own sake—as part of the intellectual equipment of civilized persons—and not to degrade history by allowing its contents to be dictated by pressure groups, whether political, economic, religious, or ethnic. The past may sometimes give offense to one or another minority; that is no reason for rewriting history. Properly taught, history will convey a sense of the variety, continuity, and adaptability of culture, of the need for understanding other cultures, of the ability of individuals and peoples to overcome obstacles, of the importance of critical analysis and dispassionate judgment in every area of life.

IT HAS taken time to make our values real for all our citizens, and we still have a good distance to go, but we have made progress. If we now repudiate the quite marvelous inheritance that history bestows on us, we invite the fragmentation of the national community into a quarrelsome spatter of enclaves, ghettos, tribes. The bonds of cohesion in our society are sufficiently fragile, or so it seems to me, that it makes no sense to strain them by encouraging and exalting cultural and linguistic apartheid.

The question America confronts as a pluralistic society is how to vindicate cherished cultures and traditions without breaking the bonds of cohesion—common ideals, common political institutions, common language, common culture, common fate—that hold the republic together. Our task is to combine due appreciation of the splendid diversity of the nation with due emphasis on the great unifying Western ideas of individual freedom, political democracy, and human rights. These are the ideas that define the American nationality and that today empower people of all continents, races, and creeds. □

AN EDUCATION REFORMER'S NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION

Ten Lies I'm Going To Resist

BY ADAM URBANSKI

"THINGS ARE more like they are today than they have ever been before," said Dwight D. Eisenhower in another context (really, it wasn't Dan Quayle, like you think . . .). After nearly a decade of education reform rhetoric, not much has changed. Many kids are still not ready for school, and most schools are still not ready for kids.

While reforms are getting broader, they sure aren't getting deeper. The initiatives we have tried thus far seem necessary but not sufficient to significantly affect children's success.

As the New Year's cleansing winds blow in, it seems a good time to examine why this is so and to clear the deck of last year's debris. I've spent half of my life (22 1/2 years) in education, half of that time in full-time teaching. As a teacher, a representative of teachers, and an advocate for change in education, I've learned a lot; I have the lumps and scars to show for it.

I've learned that there are many formidable reasons why unexamined tradition is not yielding much to reflective practice: lack of resources, lack of support, lack of passion. But along the way, I've also noted that we often get ambushed by the lies about education and reform that we continue to tell ourselves. Here are my favorite top ten:

- *There is no problem here.* The nation's schools are in a big mess, but my school is doing just fine. Or, the problem exists only for poor children in urban schools. If that is so, why do America's children rank near the bottom compared to children of other industrialized countries? Why can only 30 percent of our seventeen-year-olds write an adequate paragraph and a staggeringly low 2.6 percent a good, persuasive letter? Why are fewer than 5 percent of our high school seniors prepared for entry-level college math? Not recognizing that a problem exists is the main reason reform is pursued casually. If you believe this first lie, read no further.

- *The problem with today's schools is that they are not as good as they once were.* The problem with today's schools is that they are precisely as they always were, but the needs of our students and the needs of society have changed significantly. Deep down, most people hold suspect any school that does not resemble the school they

remember. But schools that were designed for the needs of an earlier time are a mismatch with modern times. It is not enough to send half-literate children to the farms and factories. The farms aren't there, and the factories that remain have learned (the hard way) from the Japanese that they, too, need workers who can think. We romanticize our memory of the past. Many of our grandparents and great-grandparents never made it through the school door, and many of those who did make it through didn't stay for very long.

- *Change means doing harder or longer what we already do.* Not quite. Change means doing things differently. If we always do what we've always done, we will always get what we always got. Just more of the same won't help. If we reduce class size but then lecture to fifteen kids rather than thirty, nothing will change. Rather than merely buttressing the schools we now have, we must invent schools we've never had. That's tough because letting go is more difficult than adding on. Yet, switching from one version of passive learning to another is not meaningful change.

- *Restructuring can succeed without top-down support for bottom-up reform.* Reform is a search, and therefore can thrive best in an environment safe for innovation. Along the way there may be false starts, wrong turns, or negative findings. Such "failures" may be a natural part of the process. Winston Churchill defined success as "going from failure to failure with undiminished enthusiasm." However, it's not enough for school managers to just get out of the way. Central Headquarters must become a service center, not a center to service. Arbitrary and bureaucratic rules and regulations have to yield to the judgments of those who work with children.

- *Real change doesn't have to take real time.* I still get stopped regularly by Rochester citizens: "What have you got to show for the big, fat contract you got the teachers, Urbanski?" "Well, real change is real hard," I defend myself. "That's real nice, but you took the money real quick," they retort skeptically.

Too bad nobody reads Plato much anymore. "Never discourage anyone who makes progress, no matter how slowly," he cautioned. As former *New York Times* education writer Fred Hechinger puts it, insisting on dramatic results too soon is like planting a young tree and then pulling it up once a week to see how the roots are taking to the soil.

- *Teaching is "telling" and knowledge is facts.* Neither

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ILLUSTRATED BY PETER ALSBERG

is true. The new definition of knowledge is the ability to apply information in a useful way. The question is no longer just "What do students know?" but also "What are they able to do?" We already know that students retain approximately 5 percent to 15 percent of what they hear (lectures) and 75 percent to 90 percent of what they do (active learning). Yet, learning by doing is the exception, not the norm, in our schools. If schools were organized more for the needs of students than for the convenience of adults, learning would be structured to be more experiential, meaningful to the learner, engaging, real to life, productive, and cooperative. Ask children why they like school and they'll tell you it's because "we do stuff"; conversely they hate school because "it's boring" (not meaningful to me). Or read John Dewey—same difference.

- *Schools alone can fix the lot of children.* Unless we expect children to be naturally schizophrenic, we cannot ignore the non-school aspects of their lives. Schools won't be safe until the streets are; learning readiness cannot be divorced from the issue of children's poverty. Education reform is doomed unless and until it is accompanied by reform in health care, housing, social welfare, child care, job training, and juvenile justice. Indeed, schools cannot become oases of accountability in a desert of apathy and indifference.

- *Unionism and professionalism are mutually exclusive.* Dal Lawrence, the president of the Toledo Federation of Teachers, puts it best: "There is absolutely no reason why we shouldn't use the collective bargaining process to build a more genuine profession for teachers." Teachers must become the agents of reform, he argues, or they will remain the targets of reform. A teachers' union, therefore, should also be the voice of the profession and the guardian of professional standards of practice. Thus, unionism and professionalism are complementary; not two hats, but two aspects of one hat.

- *Common sense is common.* Wish it were so. Maybe then we would recognize that status quo is merely a euphemism for "the mess we're in"; that change is inevitable and only growth is optional; that radical problems require radical solutions; that we cannot teach what we do not model; and that because something sounds good doesn't necessarily mean it's good and sound. But then, George Bernard Shaw did warn us that "reformers have the [wrong] idea that change can be achieved by brute sanity."

- *George Bush is the education president.* In his dreams, maybe. □

DON'T NEGLECT NONFICTION



ILLUSTRATED BY SUSAN DAVIS

BY BEVERLY KOBRIN

“MRS. KOBRIN! Mrs. Kobrin! You know that book I read? My dad and I went out after dark to look for the North Star like it said and . . .”

“Mrs. Kobrin! Mrs. Kobrin! They ate the whole thing! I picked one of the recipes from that cookbook and made it for my family last night. Mom says . . .”

“Mrs. Kobrin! Mrs. Kobrin! . . .”

I didn't always have kids bursting into my classroom, erupting with excitement about books, homework, or what we'd read in class. I used to be greeted by rather stoical children prepared for another day (yawn!) with paper, pencil, and texts.

On a warm fall day in 1969, I'd walked into Whisman Elementary School in Mountain View, California, enthusiastic about inspiring kids to read and learn. I began teaching the fourth grade the way I had been taught to teach: use textbooks and workbooks. For everything. Ad infinitum.

After a few weeks on the job, I found that textbook-per-topic teaching unrealistically separated each area of the curriculum into periods regulated by the clock: Reading Time, Math Time, Social Studies Time, Science Time. Related workbook assignments conditioned my children to strive for “right” answers, rather than to think creatively. And the whole process meant hour after hour of Correcting Time for me! What had seemed practical in college theory proved impractical in classroom practice.

So I abandoned the routine. Little by little, I replaced textbooks with trade books. I surrounded my students with an ever-changing assortment I'd perused and picked especially for them. My classroom bulged with

From Eyeopeners! How To Choose and Use Children's Books about Real People, Places, and Things, by Beverly Kobrin. © Beverly Kobrin, 1988. Reprinted by arrangement with Penguin Books USA, Inc. Eyeopeners includes an annotated guide to more than 500 children's nonfiction books reviewed and recommended by the author, plus ideas for book-related activities for the classroom.

books borrowed from nearby public libraries. Books about motorcycles, mummies, dinosaurs, Disneyland, and Big Foot. Baseball, popcorn, pirates, space ships, and whatever else they expressed interest in.

The effect was electric.

Enthusiasm replaced ennui. My children demanded more reading time. They simply couldn't wait to open the books I'd brought. And once opened, they were read—by those who requested them and others who caught their excitement. Nothing is as effective as kids' personal endorsements in a classroom. Every time one child said, “Wow! Mrs. Kobrin, look at this!” or “That was baaaad!” (read: “not to be missed”), everyone else wanted the book. The room buzzed with energy and book talk.

I did away with workbooks. Each week my youngsters reported on at least one of the books they read. I read every one, then created Non-book Reports, assignments designed to use each book as a stepping stone to other books and subject areas. Assignments that involved the youngsters' families, whenever possible.

By 1977, I had been teaching by the book—library book, that is—for almost a decade. During the summer, while at Brigham Young University completing requirements for my doctorate, I registered for Children's Literature #628.

The first morning of class, Dr. James Jacobs, Associate Professor of Elementary Education, asked us to sign up for a small group project. We were to select one category from his list (fantasy, folktales, historical fiction, and the like) and, at the end of the term, “sell” our choice to the class as a whole.

I was fourth from last when the sign-up sheet reached me. Every topic was spoken for but one. Surprised, I raised my hand. “Dr. Jacobs, no one has chosen nonfiction . . .”

Before I could finish the sentence, my classmates, experienced teachers all, reacted as though I'd nicked a nerve. “Nonfiction? It's so BORING!”

I was amazed. Nonfiction was the backbone of my

teaching. We couldn't have been thinking about the same thing. When I asked why they'd reacted so strongly, I learned, sadly, that they equated nonfiction with textbooks.

Even then, there were few activities I enjoyed more than talking about teaching with good books—particularly nonfiction. I signed my name under nonfiction and persuaded the three still-undeclared teachers to join me. Seven weeks later, our eye-opening presentation received a standing ovation from our classmates. They were sold on nonfiction.

I returned to California after my summer at BYU. In 1979, in addition to teaching in elementary school, I began teaching university extension classes, speaking at reading and library association conferences, and conducting workshops for teachers, librarians, and parents. Each presentation had a single focus: how to use children's nonfiction literature in school and at home.

Don't misunderstand me. Although I espouse nonfiction, I do not believe it better or more valuable than fiction. They are literary co-equals. Children need both. I concentrate on nonfiction in order to redress a historical imbalance. My goal is to persuade everyone who links children and books to give equal time to nonfiction and fiction. I call that linkage TLC—the Total Literature Connection.

CHILDREN ARE fascinated by the real world. As infants, they reach out and touch—everyone and everything. They explore, taking things out of whatever they're in and putting them into whatever they're out of. As soon as children speak, they're a fountain of questions. I often thought my son, David, was born with a silver question mark in his mouth. He was a steady stream of whos, whats, wheres, whens, and whys. As author Anne Weiss once said, "Kids are born hungry to learn. That's why the word *why* was invented!"

Eye-opening nonfiction books, books about real people, places, and things, begin to satisfy that curiosity. The best nonfiction answers questions and inspires even more.

Nonfiction books made my students and me cry over Christa McAuliffe's death, become angry over hunger in America, find ourselves helpless in the face of California condors' impending extinction, feel on top of the world because we'd solved a tough puzzle, marvel at the belly of a rattler magnified 9,000 times, and fall in love with pandas. You do not have to read make-believe to entrance children. By their very nature, they are information sponges. They want to know about the real world.

(Continued on page 47)

THE NON-BOOK REPORT

WHY DO I call this a Non-Book Report? Because just plain book report brings to mind those everyone-does-the-same-thing, nonfiction-allowed-unless-it's-a-biography, describe-the-setting-who-are-the-main-characters-what-is-the-plot, paper-and-pencil assignments that children anticipate with as much pleasure as adults contemplate root canal work.

Non-book reports are assignments children thoroughly enjoy. Everyone does something different, all books are allowed, and the reports are not necessarily written.

HOW NON-BOOK REPORTS WORK

1. Upon completion of any book they choose, my students pick up one of these forms and fill in the

THE NON-BOOK REPORT	
Name	_____
Date	_____
Title	_____
Author	_____
Illustrator	_____
Publisher	_____
Date of copyright	_____
Project	_____

blank spaces after name, date, title, author, illustrator, publisher, and date of copyright.

2. They slip the form into the book and put both on top of the piano in my classroom. (The only horizontal surface not otherwise occupied!)

3. I take book and form home, read the book, and write on the form directions for a "project." I try to link what I read with what I know about the child's interests and academic strengths and weaknesses.

4. Back in the classroom, I return the book to the child, who completes the project, slips it or a note saying it is finished into the book, and returns it to the piano top.

5. I arrange a conference time and the two of us check out the work together.

Occasionally I assign different children similar projects, but usually each child has a different one. The last few years I taught full time, my youngsters were responsible for one book and one project a week. By June, almost every student had fulfilled that requirement and most of my youngsters had far exceeded it—some reading between seventy-five and more than a

hundred books during the nine months. And many of them had created their own projects, more challenging than any I might have originated.

My youngsters thrive on the challenges I set them. I might ask a youngster with reading difficulties, for example, to pick a few paragraphs or pages (depending upon the size of the book) and practice until she or he can read them aloud to me, fluently. I've asked children to read aloud to me or the class, memorize poetry, build dioramas, locate on a map the places mentioned in the book, prepare a recipe for their family (cookbooks are popular), write to an author, or make up their own assignments.

They've interviewed parents or other relatives on book-related topics, polled the school for opinions, made a life-size image of an animal or a person, conducted experiments, made a five-minute audiocassette about the book (my school didn't have a video camera), visited another classroom and "sold" them on the book or demonstrated or taught them something they had learned from it. As often as not, I have used each book as a stepping stone to another one. □

COGNITIVE APPRENTICESHIP

(Continued from page 11)

is critical in having students assume the dual roles of producer and critic. They not only must produce good questions and summaries, but they also learn to evaluate the summaries or questions of others. By becoming critics as well as producers, students are forced to articulate their knowledge about what makes a good question, prediction, or summary. This knowledge then becomes more readily available for application to their own summaries and questions, thus improving a crucial aspect of their metacognitive skills. Moreover, once articulated, this knowledge can no longer simply reside in tacit form. It becomes more available for performing a variety of tasks; that is, it is freed from its contextual binding and can be used in many different contexts.

Writing

Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985; Scardamalia, Bereiter, and Steinbach, 1984) have developed an approach to the teaching of writing that relies on elements of cognitive apprenticeship. Based on contrasting models of novice and expert writing strategies, the approach provides explicit procedural supports, in the form of prompts, that are aimed at helping students adopt more sophisticated writing strategies. Like other exemplars of cognitive apprenticeship, their approach is designed to give students a grasp of the complex activities involved in expertise by explicit modeling of expert processes, gradually reduced support or scaffolding for students attempting to engage in the processes, and opportunities for reflection on their own and others' efforts.

According to Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987), children who are novices in writing use a "knowledge-telling" strategy. When given a topic to write on, they immediately produce text by writing their first idea, then their next idea, and so on, until they run out of ideas, at which point they stop. This very simple control strategy finesses most of the difficulties in composing. In contrast, experts spend time not only writing but also planning what they are going to write and revising what they have written (Hayes and Flower, 1980). As a result, they engage in a process that Scardamalia and Bereiter call "knowledge transforming," which incorporates the linear generation of text but is organized around a more complex structure of goal setting and problem solving.

To encourage students to adopt a more sophisticated writing strategy, Scardamalia and Bereiter have developed a detailed cognitive analysis of the activities of expert writers. This analysis provides the basis for a set of prompts, or *procedural facilitations*, that are designed to reduce students' information-processing burden by allowing them to select from a limited number of diagnostic statements. For example, planning is broken down into five general processes or goals: (a) generating a new idea, (b) improving an idea, (c) elaborating on an idea, (d) identifying goals, and (e) putting ideas into a cohesive whole. For each process, they have developed a number of specific prompts, designed to aid students in their planning, as shown below. These prompts, which are akin to the suggestions made by the teacher in reciprocal teaching, serve to simplify the complex process of elaborating on one's plans by suggesting specific lines

of thinking for students to follow. A set of prompts has been developed for the revision process as well (Scardamalia and Bereiter, 1983, 1985).

PLANNING CUES FOR OPINION ESSAYS

(From Scardamalia et al., 1984)

NEW IDEA

An even better idea is . . .
An important point I haven't considered yet is . . .
A better argument would be . . .
A different aspect would be . . .
A whole new way to think of this topic is . . .
No one will have thought of . . .

IMPROVE

I'm not being very clear about what I just said so . . .
I could make my main point clearer . . .
A criticism I should deal with in my paper is . . .
I really think this isn't necessary because . . .
I'm getting off the topic so . . .
This isn't very convincing because . . .
But many readers won't agree that . . .
To liven this up I'll . . .

ELABORATE

An example of this . . .
This is true, but it's not sufficient so . . .
My own feelings about this are . . .
I'll change this a little by . . .
The reason I think so . . .
Another reason that's good . . .
I could develop this idea by adding . . .
Another way to put it would be . . .
A good point on the other side of the argument is . . .

GOALS

A goal I think I could write to . . .
My purpose . . .

PUTTING IT TOGETHER

If I want to start off with my strongest idea, I'll . . .
I can tie this together by . . .
My main point is . . .

Scardamalia and Bereiter's teaching method, like reciprocal teaching, proceeds through a combination of modeling, coaching, scaffolding, and fading. First, the teacher models how to use the prompts, which are written on cue cards, in generating ideas about a topic she is going to write on. The example below illustrates the kind of modeling done by a teacher during an early phase of instruction. Then the students each try to plan an essay on a new topic using the cue cards, a process the students call "soloing." While each student practices soloing, the teacher as well as other students evaluate the soloist's performance, by, for example, noticing discrepancies between the soloist's stated goals (e.g., to get readers to appreciate the difficulties of modern dance) and their proposed plans (to describe different kinds of dance). Students also become involved in discussing how to resolve problems that the soloist could not solve. As in the reciprocal teaching method, assumption of the role either of critic or producer is incremental, with students taking over more and more of the monitoring and

problem-solving process from the teacher as their skills improve. Moreover, as the students internalize the processes invoked by the prompts, the cue cards are gradually faded out as well.

A TEACHER MODELS GETTING STARTED

ASSIGNMENT

(Suggested by students)

Write an essay on the topic "Today's Rock Stars Are More Talented than Musicians of Long Ago."

THINKING-ALoud EXCERPT

I don't know a thing about modern rock stars. I can't think of the name of even one rock star. How about, David Bowie or Mick Jagger . . . But many readers won't agree that they are modern rock stars. I think they're both as old as I am. Let's see, my own feelings about this are . . . that I doubt if today's rock stars are more talented than ever. Anyhow, how would I know? I can't argue this . . . I need a new idea . . . An important point I haven't considered yet is . . . ah . . . well . . . what do we mean by talent? Am I talking about musical talent or ability to entertain—to do acrobatics? Hey, I may have a way into this topic. I could develop this idea by . . .

Note: Underlined phrases represent selection from planning cues similar to those shown in the outline for opinion essays.

Scardamalia and Bereiter have tested the effects of their approach on both the initial planning and the revision of student compositions. In a series of studies (Bereiter and Scardamalia, 1987), procedural facilitations were developed to help elementary school students evaluate, diagnose, and decide on revisions for their compositions. Results showed that each type of support was effective, independent of the other supports. And when all the facilitations were combined, they resulted in superior revisions for nearly every student and a tenfold increase in the frequency of idea-level revisions, without any decrease in stylistic revisions. Another study (Scardamalia, et al., 1984) investigated the use of procedural cues to facilitate planning. Students gave the teacher assignments, often ones thought to be difficult for her. She used cues like those shown above to facilitate planning, modeling the process of using the cues to stimulate her thinking about the assignment. Pre- and post-comparisons of think-aloud protocols showed significantly more reflective activity on the part of experimental-group students, even when prompts were no longer available to them. Time spent in planning increased tenfold. And when students were given unrestricted time to plan, the texts of experimental-group students were judged significantly superior in thought content.

Clearly, Scardamalia and Bereiter's methods bring about significant changes in the nature and quality of student writing. In addition to the methods already discussed, we believe that there are two key reasons for their success. First, as in the reciprocal teaching approach to reading, their methods help students build a new conception of the writing process. Students initially consider writing to be a linear process of knowledge telling. By explicitly modeling and scaffolding expert processes, they are providing students with a new model of writing that involves planning and revising. Most students found this view of writing entirely new and showed it in their comments ("I don't usually ask myself

those questions," "I never thought closely about what I wrote," and "They helped me look over the sentence, which I don't usually do."). Moreover, because students rarely, if ever, see writers at work, they tend to hold naive beliefs about the nature of expert writing, thinking that writing is a smooth and easy process for "good" writers. Live modeling helps to convey that this is not the case. The model demonstrates struggles, false starts, discouragement, and the like.

Second, because writing is a complex task, a key component of expertise are the control strategies by which the writer organizes the numerous lines of thinking involved in producing high-quality text. A clear need of student writers, therefore, is to develop more useful control strategies than evidenced in "knowledge telling." Scardamalia and Bereiter's methods encourage this development in an interesting way: The cue cards act to externalize not only the basic processes involved in planning but also to help students to keep track of the higher-order intentions (such as generating an idea, elaborating or improving on an idea, and so on) that organize these basic processes.

Mathematical Problem Solving*

Our third example is Schoenfeld's (1983, 1985) method for teaching mathematical problem solving to college students. Like the other two, this method is based on a new analysis of the knowledge and processes required for expertise, where expertise is understood as the ability to carry out complex problem-solving tasks. And like the other two, this method incorporates the basic elements of a cognitive apprenticeship, using the methods of modeling, coaching, and fading and of encouraging student reflection on their own problem-solving processes. In addition, Schoenfeld's work introduces some new concerns, leading the way toward articulation of a more general framework for the development and evaluation of ideal learning environments.

One distinction between novices and experts in mathematics is that experts employ heuristic methods, usually acquired tacitly through long experience, to facilitate their problem solving. To teach these methods directly, Schoenfeld formulated a set of heuristic strategies, derived from the problem-solving heuristics of Polya (1945). These *heuristic strategies* consist of rules of thumb for how to approach a given problem. One such heuristic specifies how to distinguish special cases in solving math problems: for example, for series problems in which there is an integer parameter in the problem statement, one should try the cases $n = 1, 2, 3, 4$, and try to make an induction on those cases; for geometry problems, one should first examine cases with minimal complexity, such as regular polygons and right triangles. Schoenfeld taught a number of these heuristics and how to apply them in different kinds of math problems. In his experiments, Schoenfeld found that learning these

* For those of you for whom it has been a while since you grappled with college math, let us assure you that you need not follow the substance of the math in this example in order to understand and appreciate what Schoenfeld is doing pedagogically when he brings to the surface reasoning processes that are normally covert.

strategies significantly increased students' problem-solving abilities.

But as he studied students' problem solving further, he became aware of other critical factors affecting their skill, in particular what he calls *control strategies*. In Schoenfeld's analysis, control strategies are concerned with executive decisions, such as generating alternative courses of action, evaluating which will get you closer to a solution, evaluating which you are most likely to be able to carry out, considering what heuristics might apply, evaluating whether you are making progress toward a solution, and so on. Schoenfeld found that it was critical to teach control strategies, as well as heuristics.

As with the reading and writing examples, explicit teaching of these elements of expert practice yields a fundamentally new understanding of the domain for students. To students, learning mathematics had meant learning a set of mathematical operations and methods. Schoenfeld's method is teaching students that doing mathematics consists not only in applying problem-solving procedures but in reasoning about and managing problems using heuristics and control strategies.

Schoenfeld's teaching employs the elements of modeling, coaching, scaffolding, and fading in a variety of activities designed to highlight different aspects of the cognitive processes and knowledge structures required for expertise. For example, as a way of introducing new heuristics, he models their selection and use in solving problems for which they are particularly relevant. In this way, he exhibits the thinking processes (heuristics and control strategies) that go on in expert problem solving but focuses student observation on the use and management of specific heuristics. The example in the sidebar

provides a protocol from one such modeling.

Next, he gives the class problems to solve that lend themselves to the use of the heuristics he has introduced. During this collective problem solving, he acts as a moderator, soliciting heuristics and solution techniques from the students while modeling the various control strategies for making judgments about how best to proceed. This division of labor has several effects. First, he turns over some of the problem-solving process to students by having them generate alternative courses of action but provides major support or scaffolding by managing the decisions about which course to pursue, when to change course, etc. Second, significantly, he no longer models the entire expert problem-solving process but a portion of it. In this way, he shifts the focus from the application or use of specific heuristics to the application or use of control strategies in managing those heuristics.

Like Scardamalia and Bereiter, Schoenfeld employs a third kind of modeling that is designed to change students' assumptions about the nature of expert problem solving. He challenges students to find difficult problems and at the beginning of each class offers to try to solve one of their problems. Occasionally, the problems are hard enough that the students see him flounder in the face of real difficulties. During these sessions, he models for students not only the use of heuristics and control strategies but the fact that one's strategies sometimes fail. In contrast, textbook solutions and classroom demonstrations generally illustrate only the successful solution path, not the search space that contains all of the dead-end attempts. Such solutions reveal neither the exploration in searching for a good method nor the necessary evaluation of the exploration. Seeing how experts deal

A MATHEMATICIAN THINKS OUT LOUD

(from Schoenfeld, 1983)

Problem

Let $P(x)$ and $Q(x)$ be two polynomials with "reversed" coefficients:

$$P(x) = a_n x^n + a_{n-1} x^{n-1} + \dots + a_2 x^2 a_1 x + a_0,$$

$$Q(x) = a_0 x^n + a_1 x^{n-1} + \dots + a_{n-2} x^2 a_{n-1} x + a_n,$$

where $a_n \neq 0 \neq a_0$. What is the relationship between the roots of $P(x)$ and those of $Q(x)$? Prove your answer.

Expert Model

What do you do when you face a problem like this? I have no general procedure for finding the roots of a polynomial, much less for comparing the roots of two of them. Probably the best thing to do for the time being is to look at some simple examples and hope I can develop some intuition from them. Instead of looking at a pair of arbitrary polynomials, maybe I should look at a pair of quadratics: at least I can solve those. So, what happens if

$$P(x) = ax^2 + bx + c$$

and

$$Q(x) = cx^2 + bx + a?$$

The roots are

$$\frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$$

and

$$\frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2c}$$

respectively.

That's certainly suggestive, because they have the same numerator, but I don't really see anything that I can push or that'll generalize. I'll give this a minute or two, but I may have to try something else. . . .

Well, just for the record, let me look at the linear case. If $P(x) = ax + b$ and $Q(x) = bx + a$, the roots are $-b/a$ and $-a/b$ respectively.

They're reciprocals, but that's not too interesting in itself. Let me go back to quadratics. I still don't have much of a feel for what's going on. I'll do a couple of easy examples, and look for some sort of a pattern. The clever thing to do may be to pick polynomials I can factor; that way it'll be easy to keep track of the roots. All right, how about something easy like $(x + 2)(x + 3)$?

Then $P(x) = x^2 + 5x + 6$, with roots -2 and -3 . So, $Q(x) = 6x^2 + 5x + 1 = (2x + 1)(3x + 1)$, with roots $-1/2$ and $-1/3$.

Those are reciprocals too. Now that's interesting.

How about $P(x) = (3x + 5)(2x - 7) = 6x^2 - 11x - 35$? Its roots are $-5/3$ and $7/2$;

$Q(x) = -35x^2 - 11x + 6 = -(35x^2 + 11x - 6) = -(7x - 2)(5x + 3)$.

All right, the roots are $2/7$ and $-3/5$. They're reciprocals again, and this time it can't be an accident. Better yet, look at the factors: they're reversed! What about

$$P(x) = (ax + b)(cx + d) = acx^2 + (bc + ad)x + bd? \text{ Then}$$

$$Q(x) = bdx^2 + (ad + bc)x + ac = (bx + a)(dx + c).$$

Aha! It works again, and I think this will generalize. . . .

At this point there are two ways to go. I hypothesize that the

with problems that are difficult for them is critical to students' developing a belief in their own capabilities. Even experts stumble, flounder, and abandon their search for a solution until another time. Witnessing these struggles helps students realize that thrashing is neither unique to them nor a sign of incompetence.

In addition to class demonstrations and collective problem solving, Schoenfeld has students participate in small-group problem-solving sessions. During these sessions, Schoenfeld acts as a "consultant" to make sure that the groups are proceeding in a reasonable fashion. Typically he asks three questions: What are they doing, why are they doing it, and how will success in what they are doing help them find a solution to the problem? Asking these questions serves two purposes: First, it encourages the students to reflect on their activities, thus promoting the development of general self-monitoring and diagnostic skills; second, it encourages them to articulate the reasoning behind their choices as they exercise control strategies. Gradually, the students, in anticipating his questioning, come to ask the questions of themselves, thus gaining control over reflective and metacognitive processes in their problem solving. In these sessions, then, he is fading relative to both helping students generate heuristics and, ultimately, to exercising control over the process. In this way, they gradually gain control over the entire problem-solving process.

Schoenfeld (1983) advocates small-group problem solving for several reasons. First, it gives the teacher a chance to coach students while they are engaged in semi-independent problem solving; he cannot really coach them effectively on homework problems or class problems. Second, the necessity for group decision making in

choosing among alternative solution methods provokes articulation, through discussion and argumentation, of the issues involved in exercising control processes. Such discussion encourages the development of the metacognitive skills involved, for example, monitoring and evaluating one's progress. Third, students get little opportunity in school to engage in collaborative efforts; group problem solving gives them practice in the kind of collaboration prevalent in real-world problem solving. Fourth, students are often insecure about their abilities, especially if they have difficulties with the problems. Seeing other students struggle alleviates some of this insecurity as students realize that difficulties in understanding are not unique to them, thus contributing to an enhancement of their beliefs about self, relative to others.

We believe that there is another important reason that small-group problem solving is useful for learning: the differentiation and externalization of the roles and activities involved in solving complex problems. Successful problem solving requires that one assume at least three different, though interrelated, roles at different points in the problem-solving process: that of moderator or executive, that of generator of alternative paths, and that of critic of alternatives. Small-group problem solving differentiates and externalizes these roles: different people naturally take on different roles, and problem solving proceeds along these lines. And here, as in reciprocal teaching, students may play different roles, so that they gain practice in all the activities they need to internalize.

There is one final aspect of Schoenfeld's method that we think is critical and that is different from the other methods we have discussed: What he calls postmortem

roots of $P(x)$ are the reciprocals of the roots of $Q(x)$, in general. (If I'm not yet sure, I should try a factorable cubic or two.) Now, I can try to generalize the argument above, but it's not all that straightforward; not every polynomial can be factored, and keeping track of the coefficients may not be that easy. It may be worth stopping, re-phrasing my conjecture, and trying it from scratch:

Let $P(x)$ and $Q(x)$ be two polynomials with "reversed" coefficients. Prove that the roots of $P(x)$ and $Q(x)$ are reciprocals.

All right, let's take a look at what the problem asks for. What does it mean for some number, say r , to be a root of $P(x)$? It means that $P(r) = 0$. Now the conjecture says that the reciprocal of r is supposed to be a root to $Q(x)$. That says that $Q(1/r) = 0$. Strange. Let me go back to the quadratic case, and see what happens.

Let $P(x) = ax^2 + bx + c$, and $Q(x) = cx^2 + bx + a$. If r is a root of $P(x)$, then $P(r) = ar^2 + br + c = 0$. Now what does $Q(1/r)$ look like?

$$Q(1/r) = c(1/r)^2 + b(1/r) + a = \frac{c + br + ar^2}{r^2} = \frac{P(r)}{r^2} = 0$$

So it works, and this argument will generalize. Now I can write up a proof.

Proof:

Let r be a root of $P(x)$, so that $P(r) = 0$. Observe that $r \neq 0$, since $a_0 \neq 0$. Further,
 $Q(1/r) = a_0(1/r)^n + a_1(1/r)^{n-1} + \dots + a_{n-2}(1/r) + a_n = (1/r^n)(a_0 + a_1r + a_2r^2 + \dots + a_{n-2}r^{n-2} + a_{n-1}r^{n-1} + a_nr^n) = (1/r^n)P(r) = 0$, so that $(1/r)$ is a root of $Q(x)$.

Conversely, if S is a root of $Q(x)$, we see that $P(1/S) = 0$. Q.E.D.

All right, now it's time for a postmortem. Observe that the proof, like a classical mathematical argument, is quite terse and presents the results of a thought process. But where did the inspiration for the proof come from? If you go back over the way that the argument evolved, you'll see there were two major breakthroughs.

The first had to do with understanding the problem, with getting a feel for it. The problem statement, in its full generality, offered little in the way of assistance. What we did was to *examine special cases* in order to look for a pattern. More specifically, our first attempt at special cases—looking at the quadratic formula—didn't provide much insight. We had to get even more specific, as follows: *Look at a series of straightforward examples that are easy to calculate, in order to see if some sort of pattern emerges. With luck, you might be able to generalize the pattern.* In this case, we were looking for roots of polynomials, so we chose easily factorable ones. Obviously, different circumstances will lead to different choices. But that strategy allowed us to make a conjecture.

The second breakthrough came after we made the conjecture. Although we had some idea of why it ought to be true, the argument looked messy, and we stopped to reconsider for a while. What we did at that point was important, and is often overlooked: *We went back to the conditions of the problem, explored them, and looked for tangible connections between them and the results we wanted.* Questions like "what does it mean for r to be a root of $P(x)$?", "what does the reciprocal of r look like?" and "what does it mean for $(1/r)$ to be a root of $Q(x)$?" may seem almost trivial in isolation, but they focused our attention on the very things that gave us a solution. \square

analysis. As with other aspects of Schoenfeld's method, students alternate with the teacher in producing post-mortem analyses. First, after modeling the problem-solving process for a given problem, Schoenfeld recounts the solution method, highlighting those features of the process that can be generalized (see math sidebar). For example, he might note the heuristics that were employed, the points in the solution process where he or the class engaged in generating alternatives, the reasons for the decision to pursue one alternative before another, and so on. In short, he provides what Collins and Brown (1988) have labeled an abstracted replay, that is, a recapitulation of some process designed to focus students' attention on the critical decisions or actions. Postmortem analysis also occurs when individual students explain the process by which they solved their homework problems. Here students are required to generate an abstracted replay of their own problem-solving process, as the basis for a class critique of their methods. The alternation between expert and student postmortem analyses enables the class to compare student problem-solving processes and strategies with those of the expert; such comparisons provide the basis for diagnosing student difficulties and for making incremental adjustments in student performance.

A FRAMEWORK FOR DESIGNING LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Our discussion of cognitive apprenticeship raises numerous pedagogical and theoretical issues that we believe are important to the design of learning environments generally. To facilitate consideration of these issues, we have developed a framework consisting of four dimensions that constitute any learning environment: content, method, sequence, and sociology. Relevant to each of these dimensions is a set of characteristics that we believe should be considered in constructing or evaluating learning environments. These characteristics are summarized in the adjacent sidebar and described in detail below, with examples from reading, writing, and mathematics.

Content

Recent cognitive research has begun to differentiate the types of knowledge required for expertise. In particular, researchers have begun to distinguish among the concepts, facts, and procedures associated with expertise and various types of strategic knowledge. We use the term strategic knowledge to refer to the usually tacit knowledge that underlies an expert's ability to make use of concepts, facts, and procedures as necessary to solve problems and accomplish tasks. This sort of expert problem-solving knowledge involves problem-solving heuristics (or "rules of thumb") and the strategies that control the problem-solving process. Another type of strategic knowledge, often overlooked, includes the learning strategies that experts use to acquire new concepts, facts, and procedures in their own or another field.

We should emphasize that much of experts' strategic knowledge depends on their knowledge of facts, concepts, and procedures. For instance, in the math example discussed earlier, Schoenfeld's students could not

There is one final aspect of Schoenfeld's method that we think is critical: What he calls postmortem analysis.

begin to apply the strategies he is teaching if they did not have a solid grounding in mathematical knowledge.

1. *Domain knowledge* includes the concepts, facts, and procedures explicitly identified with a particular subject matter; these are generally explicated in school textbooks, class lectures, and demonstrations. This kind of knowledge, although certainly important, provides insufficient clues for many students about how to solve problems and accomplish tasks in a domain. Moreover, when it is learned in isolation from realistic problem contexts and expert problem-solving practices, domain knowledge tends to remain inert in situations for which it is appropriate, even for successful students. And finally, although at least some concepts can be formally described, many of the crucial subtleties of their meaning are best acquired through applying them in a variety of problem situations. Indeed, it is only through encountering them in real problem solving that most students will learn the boundary conditions and entailments of much of their domain knowledge. Examples of domain knowledge in reading are vocabulary, syntax, and phonics rules.

2. *Heuristic strategies* are generally effective techniques and approaches for accomplishing tasks that might be regarded as "tricks of the trade"; they don't always work, but when they do, they are quite helpful. Most heuristics are tacitly acquired by experts through the practice of solving problems; however, there have been noteworthy attempts to address heuristic learning explicitly (Schoenfeld, 1985). For example, a standard heuristic for writing is to plan to rewrite the introduction and, therefore, to spend relatively little time crafting it in the first draft. In mathematics, a heuristic for solving problems is to try to find a solution for simple cases and see if the solution generalizes.

3. *Control strategies*, as the name suggests, control the process of carrying out a task. These are sometimes referred to as "metacognitive" strategies (Palinscar and Brown, 1984; Schoenfeld, 1985). As students acquire more and more heuristics for solving problems, they encounter a new management or control problem: how to select among the possible problem-solving strategies, how to decide when to change strategies, and so on. Control strategies have monitoring, diagnostic, and remedial components; decisions about how to proceed in a task generally depend on an assessment of one's current state relative to one's goals, on an analysis of current difficul-

ties, and on the strategies available for dealing with difficulties. For example, a comprehension-monitoring strategy might be to try to state the main point of a section one has just read; if one cannot do so, then one has not understood the text, and it might be best to reread parts of the text. In mathematics, a simple control strategy for solving a complex problem might be to switch to a new part of a problem if one is stuck.

4. *Learning strategies* are strategies for learning any of the other kinds of content described above. Knowledge about how to learn ranges from general strategies for exploring a new domain to more specific strategies for extending or reconfiguring knowledge in solving problems or carrying out complex tasks. For example, if students want to learn to solve problems better, they need to learn how to relate each step in the example problems worked in textbooks to the principles discussed in the text (Chi, et al., 1989). If students want to write better, they need to find people to read their writing who can give helpful critiques and explain the reasoning underlying the critiques (most people cannot). They also need to learn to analyze other's texts for strengths and weaknesses.

Method

Teaching methods should be designed to give students the opportunity to observe, engage in, and invent or discover expert strategies in context. Such an approach will enable students to see how these strategies combine with their factual and conceptual knowledge and how they use a variety of resources in the social and physical environment. The six teaching methods advocated here fall roughly into three groups: the first three (modeling, coaching, and scaffolding) are the core of cognitive apprenticeship, designed to help students acquire an integrated set of skills through processes of observation and guided practice. The next two (articulation and reflection) are methods designed to help students both to focus their observations of expert problem solving and to gain conscious access to (and control of) their own problem-solving strategies. The final method (exploration) is aimed at encouraging learner autonomy, not only in carrying out expert problem-solving processes but also in defining or formulating the problems to be solved.

1. *Modeling* involves an expert's performing a task so that the students can observe and build a conceptual model of the processes that are required to accomplish it. In cognitive domains, this requires the externalization of usually internal processes and activities—specifically, the heuristics and control processes by which experts apply their basic conceptual and procedural knowledge. For example, a teacher might model the reading process by reading aloud in one voice, while verbalizing her thought processes in another voice (Collins and Smith, 1982). In mathematics, as described above, Schoenfeld models the process of solving problems by having students bring difficult new problems for him to solve in class.

2. *Coaching* consists of observing students while they carry out a task and offering hints, scaffolding, feedback, modeling, reminders, and new tasks aimed at bringing their performance closer to expert performance. Coaching may serve to direct students' attention to a previously

unnoticed aspect of the task or simply to remind the student of some aspect of the task that is known but has been temporarily overlooked. The content of the coaching interaction is immediately related to specific events or problems that arise as the student attempts to accomplish the target task. In Palincsar and Brown's reciprocal teaching of reading, the teacher coaches students while they ask questions, clarify their difficulties, generate summaries, and make predictions.

3. *Scaffolding* refers to the supports the teacher provides to help the student carry out the task. These supports can take either the forms of suggestions or help, as in reciprocal teaching, or they can take the form of physical supports, as with the cue cards used by Scardamalia, Bereiter, and Steinbach to facilitate writing, or the short skis used to teach downhill skiing (Burton, Brown, and Fisher, 1984). When scaffolding is provided by a teacher, it involves the teacher in executing parts of the task that the student cannot yet manage. A requisite to such scaffolding

PRINCIPLES FOR DESIGNING COGNITIVE APPRENTICESHIP ENVIRONMENTS

CONTENT types of knowledge required for expertise

Domain knowledge subject matter specific concepts, facts, and procedures

Heuristic strategies generally applicable techniques for accomplishing tasks

Control strategies general approaches for directing one's solution process

Learning strategies knowledge about how to learn new concepts, facts, and procedures

METHOD ways to promote the development of expertise

Modeling teacher performs a task so students can observe
Coaching teacher observes and facilitates while students perform a task

Scaffolding teacher provides supports to help the student perform a task

Articulation teacher encourages students to verbalize their knowledge and thinking

Reflection teacher enables students to compare their performance with others

Exploration teacher invites students to pose and solve their own problems

SEQUENCING keys to ordering learning activities

Global before local skills focus on conceptualizing the whole task before executing the parts

Increasing complexity meaningful tasks gradually increasing in difficulty

Increasing diversity practice in a variety of situations to emphasize broad application

SOCIOLOGY social characteristics of learning environments

Situated learning students learn in the context of working on realistic tasks

Community of practice communication about different ways to accomplish meaningful tasks

Intrinsic motivation students set personal goals to seek skills and solutions

Cooperation students work together to accomplish their goals

folding is accurate diagnosis of the student's current skill level or difficulty and the availability of an intermediate step at the appropriate level of difficulty in carrying out the target activity. Fading involves the gradual removal of supports until students are on their own.

4. *Articulation* involves any method of getting students to articulate their knowledge, reasoning, or problem-solving processes. We have identified several different methods of articulation. First, inquiry teaching (Collins and Stevens, 1982, 1983) is a strategy of questioning students to lead them to articulate and refine their understanding of concepts and procedures in different domains. For example, an inquiry teacher in reading might systematically question students about why one summary of the text is good but another is poor, to get the students to formulate an explicit model of a good summary. Second, teachers might encourage students to articulate their thoughts as they carry out their problem solving, as do Scardamalia, et al. Third, they might have students assume the critic or monitor role in cooperative activities, as do all three models we discussed, and thereby lead students to formulate and articulate their ideas to other students.

5. *Reflection* involves enabling students to compare their own problem-solving processes with those of an expert, another student, and ultimately, an internal cognitive model of expertise. Reflection is enhanced by the use of various techniques for reproducing or "replaying" the performances of both expert and novice for comparison. The level of detail for a replay may vary depending on the student's stage of learning, but usually some form of "abstracted replay," in which the critical features of expert and student performance are highlighted, is desirable (Collins and Brown, 1988). For reading or writing, methods to encourage reflection might consist of recording students as they think out loud and then replaying the tape for comparison with the thinking of experts and other students.

6. *Exploration* involves pushing students into a mode of problem solving on their own. Forcing them to do exploration is critical, if they are to learn how to frame questions or problems that are interesting and that they can solve. Exploration is the natural culmination of the fading of supports. It involves not only fading in problem solving but fading in problem setting as well. But students do not know *a priori* how to explore a domain productively. So exploration strategies need to be taught as part of learning strategies more generally. Exploration as a method of teaching involves setting general goals for students and then encouraging them to focus on particular subgoals of interest to them, or even to revise the general goals as they come upon something more interesting to pursue. For example, in reading, the teacher might send the students to the library to investigate theories about why the stock market crashed in 1929. In writing, students might be encouraged to write an essay defending the most outrageous thesis they can devise. In mathematics, students might be asked to generate and test hypotheses about teenage behavior given a data base on teenagers detailing their backgrounds and how they spend their time and money.

Sequencing

In sequencing activities for students, it is important to

give students tasks that structure their learning but that preserve the meaningfulness of what they are doing. This leads us to three principles that must be balanced in sequencing activities for students.

1. *Global before local skills*. In tailoring (Lave, 1988), apprentices learn to put together a garment from precut pieces before learning to cut out the pieces themselves. The chief effect of this sequencing principle is to allow students to build a conceptual map, so to speak, before attending to the details of the terrain (Norman, 1973). In general, having students build a conceptual model of the target skill or process (which is also encouraged by expert modeling) accomplishes two things: First, even when the learner is able to accomplish only a portion of a task, having a clear conceptual model of the overall activity helps him make sense of the portion that he is carrying out. Second, the presence of a clear conceptual model of the target task acts as a guide for the learner's performance, thus improving his ability to monitor his own progress and to develop attendant self-correction skills. This principle requires some form of scaffolding. In algebra, for example, students may be relieved of having to carry out low-level computations in which they lack skill in order to concentrate on the higher-order reasoning and strategies required to solve an interesting problem (Brown, 1985).

2. *Increasing complexity* refers to the construction of a sequence of tasks such that more and more of the skills and concepts necessary for expert performance are required (VanLehn and Brown, 1980; Burton, Brown, and Fisher, 1984; White, 1984). For example, in the tailoring apprenticeship described by Lave, apprentices first learn to construct drawers, which have straight lines, few pieces, and no special features, such as waistbands or pockets. They then learn to construct blouses, which require curved lines, patch pockets, and the integration of a complex subpiece, the collar. There are two mechanisms for helping students manage increasing complexity. The first mechanism is to sequence tasks in order to control task complexity. The second key mechanism is the use of scaffolding, which enables students to handle at the outset, with the support of the teacher or other helper, the complex set of activities needed to accomplish any interesting task. For example, in reading, increasing task complexity might consist of progressing from relatively short texts, employing straightforward syntax and concrete description, to texts in which complex interrelated ideas and the use of abstractions make interpretation difficult.

3. *Increasing diversity* refers to the construction of a sequence of tasks in which a wider and wider variety of strategies or skills are required. Although it is important to practice a new strategy or skill repeatedly in a sequence of (increasingly complex) tasks, as a skill becomes well learned, it becomes increasingly important that tasks requiring a diversity of skills and strategies be introduced so that the student learns to distinguish the conditions under which they do (and do not) apply. Moreover, as students learn to apply skills to more diverse problems, their strategies acquire a richer net of contextual associations and thus are more readily available for use with unfamiliar or novel problems. For reading, task diversity might be attained by mixing reading for pleasure, reading for memory (studying), and reading

***In tailoring, apprentices
learn to put together a garment
from precut pieces before learning
to cut out the pieces themselves.***

to find out some particular information in the context of some other task.

Sociology

The final dimension in our framework concerns the sociology of the learning environment. For example, tailoring apprentices learn their craft not in a special, segregated learning environment but in a busy tailoring shop. They are surrounded both by masters and other apprentices, all engaged in the target skills at varying levels of expertise. And they are expected, from the beginning, to engage in activities that contribute directly to the production of actual garments, advancing quickly toward independent, skilled production. As a result, apprentices learn skills in the context of their application to realistic problems, within a culture focused on and defined by expert practice. Furthermore, certain aspects of the social organization of apprenticeship encourage productive beliefs about the nature of learning and of expertise that are significant to learners' motivation, confidence, and most importantly, their orientation toward problems that they encounter as they learn. From our consideration of these general issues, we have abstracted critical characteristics affecting the sociology of learning.

1. *Situated learning.* A critical element of fostering learning is to have students carry out tasks and solve problems in an environment that reflects the multiple uses to which their knowledge will be put in the future. Situated learning serves several different purposes. First, students come to understand the purposes or uses of the knowledge they are learning. Second, they learn by actively using knowledge rather than passively receiving it. Third, they learn the different conditions under which their knowledge can be applied. As we pointed out in the discussion of Schoenfeld's work, students have to learn when to use a particular strategy and when not to use it (i.e., the application conditions of their knowledge). Fourth, learning in multiple contexts induces the abstraction of knowledge, so that students acquire knowledge in a dual form, both tied to the contexts of its uses and independent of any particular context. This unbinding of knowledge from a specific context fosters its transfer to new problems and new domains. For example, reading and writing instruction might be situated in the context of students putting together a book on what they

learn about science. Dewey created a situated learning environment in his experimental school by having the students design and build a clubhouse (Cuban, 1984), a task that emphasizes arithmetic and planning skills.

2. *Community of practice* refers to the creation of a learning environment in which the participants actively communicate about and engage in the skills involved in expertise, where expertise is understood as the practice of solving problems and carrying out tasks in a domain. Such a community leads to a sense of ownership, characterized by personal investment and mutual dependency. It can't be forced, but it can be fostered by common projects and shared experiences. Activities designed to engender a community of practice for reading might engage students and teacher in discussing how they interpret what they read and use those interpretations for a wide variety of purposes, including those that arise in other classes or domains.

3. *Intrinsic motivation.* Related to the issue of situated learning and the creation of a community of practice is the need to promote intrinsic motivation for learning. Lepper and Greene (1979) and Malone (1981) discuss the importance of creating learning environments in which students perform tasks because they are intrinsically related to an interesting or at least coherent goal, rather than for some extrinsic reason, like getting a good grade or pleasing the teacher. In reading and writing, for example, intrinsic motivation might be achieved by having students communicate with students in another part of the world by electronic mail (Collins, 1986; Levin, 1982).

4. *Exploiting cooperation* refers to having students work together in a way that fosters cooperative problem solving. Learning through cooperative problem solving is both a powerful motivator and a powerful mechanism for extending learning resources. In reading, activities to exploit cooperation might involve having students break up into pairs, where one student articulates his thinking process while reading and the other student questions the first student about why he made different inferences. Cooperation can be blended with competition; for example, individuals might work together in groups to compete with other groups.

CONCLUSION

Cognitive apprenticeship is not a model of teaching that gives teachers a packaged formula for instruction. Instead, it is an instructional paradigm for teaching. Cognitive apprenticeship is not a relevant model for all aspects of teaching. It does not make sense to use it to teach the rules of conjugation in French or to teach the elements of the periodic table. If the targeted goal of learning is a rote task, cognitive apprenticeship is not an appropriate model of instruction. Cognitive apprenticeship is a useful instructional paradigm when a teacher needs to teach a fairly complex task to students.

Cognitive apprenticeship does not require that the teacher permanently assume the role of the "expert"—in fact, we would imagine that the opposite should happen. Teachers need to encourage students to explore questions teachers cannot answer, to challenge solutions the "experts" have found—in short, to allow the role of "expert" and "student" to be transformed. Cognitive apprentice-

ship encourages the student to become the expert.

How might a teacher apply the ideas of cognitive apprenticeship in his or her classroom? We don't believe that there is a formula for implementing the activities of modeling, scaffolding and fading, and coaching. Ultimately, it is up to the teacher to identify ways in which cognitive apprenticeship can work in his or her own domain of teaching.

Apprenticeship is the way we learn most naturally. It characterized learning before there were schools, from learning one's language to learning how to run an empire. We have very successful models of how apprenticeship methods, in all their dimensions, can be applied to teaching the school curriculum of reading, writing, and mathematics. These models, and the framework we have developed, help point the way toward the redesign of schooling, so that students may better acquire true expertise and robust problem-solving skills, as well as an improved ability to learn throughout life. □

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DON'T NEGLECT NONFICTION

(Continued from page 37)

Children aren't getting enough nonfiction books to read. The adults in kids' lives simply aren't as familiar with nonfiction as they are with fiction. Many hear the negative-sounding term *nonfiction*, think *ugly*, and lose interest. (Imagine naming a daughter "nonSally"!) Author Jane Yolen says the word *nonfiction* sounds as if it had been in a contest with fiction—and lost.

Also, many people, including parents, professional educators, and booksellers, believe "recreational" reading means only make-believe. A 1987 Gallup survey reveals that, while adults buy equal numbers of fiction and nonfiction books for themselves, that's not so for children's books; they buy "predominantly fiction (70 percent), with nonfiction titles representing only 29 percent of purchases."

Teachers and librarians at my workshops describe children's literature courses they've taken that had little or no time set aside for nonfiction. They speak of colleagues who won't let children write book reports on nonfiction and librarians who booktalk only fiction. These are symptoms of the neglect of nonfiction.

Nonfiction has been "literature non grata" when it comes to book awards, too. Of the 125 listed in *Awards and Prizes*, published by the Children's Book Council, nonfiction is eligible for a mere twenty-seven. Humph! But perhaps Russell Freedman's well-deserved 1988 Newbery Medal will now open eyes to the fine art of fiction's counterpart.

(Continued)



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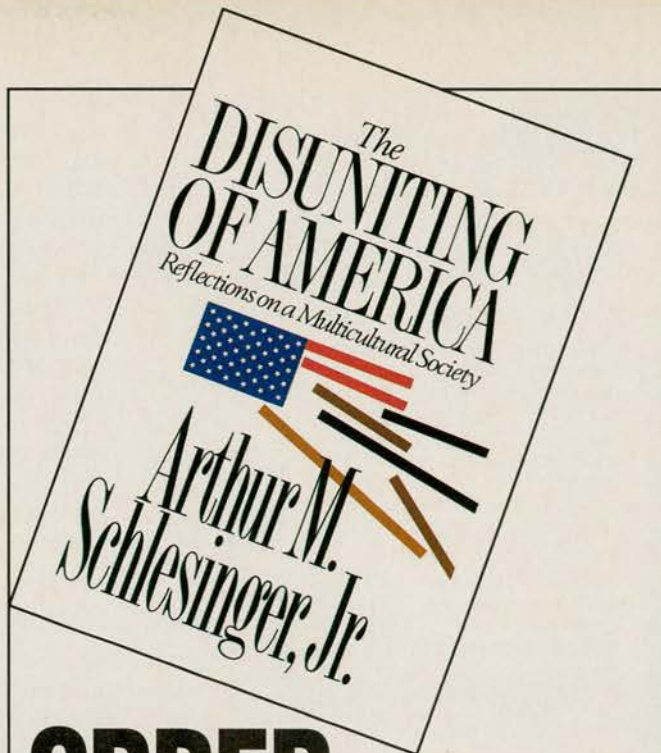
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This strategy works, even for "difficult children." Every year for the past five, a teacher in a small town outside of Anchorage, Alaska, has written to me about projects she has created around topics and books recommended in *The Kobrin Letter*. After the completion of a particularly successful unit, during which youngsters could pick any topic to research, she wrote,

One boy (whose paper from his last school said "To whom it may concern: This boy is incorrigible") picked dinosaurs. I had ordered almost all the books on your list, so he had plenty to choose from. He began the month not able to read or write, took volumes home for his parents to read to him, and by the end of the month could read at least the more elementary ones, and even wrote a one-page report.

I had a similar experience one year with a belligerent eighth-grader. When I learned he had pet rats, I rounded up a few good rat books. The day I took them to school I became ill, so I stopped by his homeroom to explain I'd had to cancel class but wanted to give him the books I'd brought especially for him. This usually antagonistic young man looked at the books, paused a moment, and bent over (he was a head taller than I) to put his arm around me. He hugged me gently and said he was sorry I was sick and hoped I'd feel better soon. He straightened up, re-entered the room, and quietly slid himself into his seat and the books into his desk.

The next time we met, he said that he and his mom had read and re-read the books and could he please keep them for a few more days. He caused no more disturbances. Don't underestimate the power of books!

Nonfiction books help kids learn how to learn. Do you believe everything you read? Neither should chil-

dren.

You don't base your decisions upon an isolated bit of information; why should they? Yet that's what we teach them when we hand them one text and one workbook for each subject. A single source of reference conditions children to assume all the "answers" can be found in one book. If we want them to become critical thinkers, we must teach children how to learn. That means checking and cross-checking what they read.

Set aside the textbook/workbook routine with its right-or-wrong answer activities. Surround your children with many books on the same subject. My rule is At Least Three, whenever possible, on whatever subject, when my students gather together books for reports. I want them to read critically, and chances are three books will present different views of the same subject.

As they do their research, my students and I talk about what one book reports that the other doesn't. We compare photographs and illustrations. Occasionally, we find typographical errors or authors who don't agree. We play the Who's Older? game: Who's older, the reader or the book? (That's a sneaky way to teach kids to look for a book's copyright date and the age of its information.)

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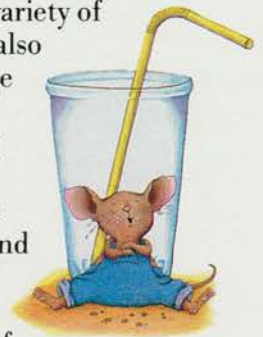
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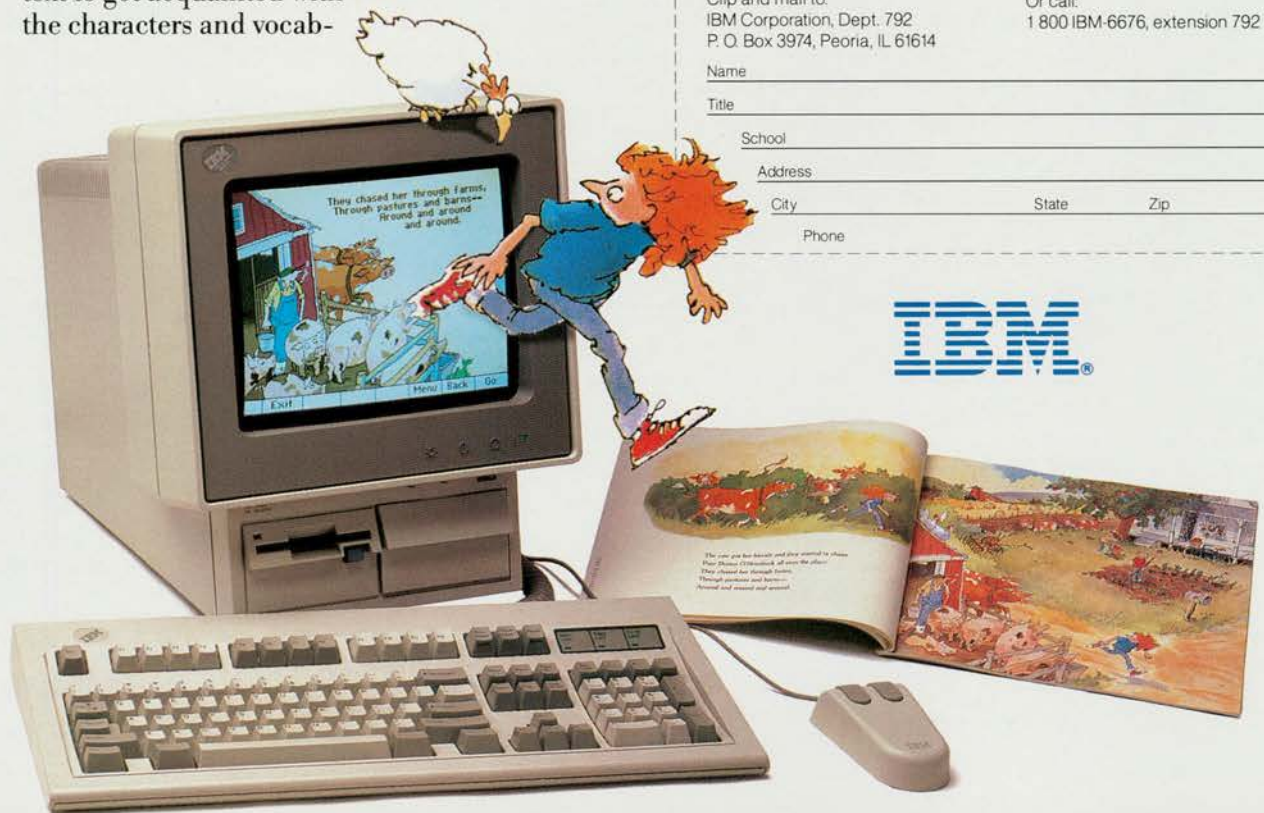
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