

SOCIAL STUDIES COUNCIL of the ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION



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On the cover: The Historial de la Grande Guerre in Péronne, France (photo by Craig Harding)

Inaugurated in 1992 the museum combines history and memorial (historial) to show the impact of war on both combatants and civilians. Significantly, the unique presentation of artifacts encourages reflection on the consequences of the Great War and the material traces that survived. Yet for many reasons the Historial is controversial, ranging from the selection and presentation of artifacts to the message it presents. The collection of articles in this issue seeks to mirror the Historial—they encourage us to reflect on the consequences of our past actions and what and how we should best teach our students.





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A Message from the Editor

Craig Harding



This issue of *One World in Dialogue* provides an interesting consideration of what makes the Alberta social studies curriculum a dynamic leader in the international social studies world. With our focus on essential qualities, including attitudes, knowledge and skills that combine to

help students understand identity and become actively engaged citizens, Alberta is a vanguard of the primary subject that encourages and affirms students' place as empowered agents in a pluralistic yet inclusive democratic society. Using inquiry germane to social science disciplines, including history, economics, political science and others, students investigate meaningful and significant issues relevant not only to Canada but in a global context. Through these inquiries students acquire a deeper understanding of how they can contribute to a world that benefits all and that is fair for all.

Much is made by educators of the need to teach for the 21st century. While this concept lacks definitive clarity, the qualities mentioned above necessarily lie at the heart of such an idea. Developing skills such as critical, creative and analytic thinking while promoting dispositions such as respect for diversity is an important component of the cohesive glue that binds our civic nation. Within such a society we seek to make room for the multiple voices that are essential for our liberal democracy.

This issue of *One World in Dialogue* provides readers with a jumping-off point for teachers to engage colleagues in discussions about what kind of Canada we aspire to build and what must be done to achieve such lofty goals.

We start our conversation with an article by Jean Parker and Bailey Almberg. During a reflective teacher/student teacher discussion, the authors considered the ineffective way in which they connected Aboriginal current issues with post-Confederation Canadian history in the Grade 7 classroom. The dominance of the usual stories of historical nationbuilding events and people left First Nations in the margins, rarely acknowledging the explicit challenges to be overcome and contributions made to Canada. Inspired by Gail Jardine's article "An Invitation to Explore the Roots of Current Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Relations in Canada," in Volume 2, Number 1, Parker and Almberg sought to develop an understanding of the current issues facing Aboriginal people, then investigate the antecedents of these issues.

Using bills, policies, acts, Supreme Court rulings and treaties, this approach engaged students in an authentic inquiry that went beyond the simple, single narrative we want to give to students about our past. The activity developed by Parker and Almberg helped students understand the complexity of issues facing all Canadians. It opened the door to voices not yet fully included in media and government. Liberal democracy thrives by including these voices in a meaningful manner. Such investigations open the door for students' greater understanding not only of peoples seeking to reclaim their identity and culture but also of Canada itself.

David Jardine provides an intriguing introduction to the next article. Jardine notes that while social studies proclaims to investigate our social life, we often neglect to remember that this social life is deeply personal and is actually being lived by those in the past and especially in our current midst. Such intimacy requires different investigative strategies more appropriate to the object of inquiry. Introducing Jodi Latremouille's "A Modern Hunting Tradition," Jardine observes that this different investigation makes visible the unexamined life in ways that can reveal great truths. Yet Jardine explains that such an act must maintain rigour in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions of inquiry to make the work move beyond mere nostalgic reminiscence. Articulate and evocative, this introduction compels readers to explore the intimacy of Latremouille's article with a sense of urgency so that "we understand something of ourselves and our own frail passings."

And what Jodi Latremouille offers is fascinating. Latremouille's compelling narrative speaks to the need to incorporate multiple perspectives to gain a deeper understanding of our world. In the intergenerational conversation between young and old one notices the unspoken expectation that youth pay close attention to and learn from the elders. Yet, at the same time, there is a mutual pedagogical openness of the elders to welcoming the young and learning from them, paralleling the relationship that exists in the classroom that would have teachers and students coming together in taking seriously the responsibility of what political theorist Hannah Arendt calls "the task of renewing a common world."¹

Reflecting on the e-mail exchange with her father that provides the basis for the article, Latremouille admittedly embellishes the conversation that ultimately speaks to the reflexive, recursive and multivocal nature of the stories that we tell. That is, a story is never told the same way twice, and Latremouille's relationships with those who cohabitate the conversation—the audience, her own personal experiences, the situation within which the story is being retold affect the story in ways that we cannot foresee.

The story also speaks to the complexity of living with ambiguity within unique cultures and contexts how we navigate the difficult and shifting ethical questions around hunting and eating meat, how to treat the environment and our "more-than-human" relations as having inherent value, while also respecting the fact that humans have rights to survival. Thus, Latremouille notices the local, complex and embodied nature of concepts such as environmentalism inherent in a society rapidly being lost, yet still being played out in these family stories, rituals and traditions.

Keeping with the theme of marginalized voices, Michael Kohlman investigates the historical and sociological roots of the eugenics movement in his article on the sociology of eugenics. Kohlman unearths some surprising justifications from the past for eugenics, including demographics, sociobiology (especially fertility and hygiene) and ethnology (racial characteristics). Rooted in the turn-of-the-century theories of Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, this new perspective on science sought to "improve the inborn qualities of a race, also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage." While gaining support from the bioscience community, it also captured the interests of demographers and biometricians who favoured the ideas as a way to transform American society, even gaining support from Canadians such as Nellie McClung.

Kohlman notes that the "Nazi race-hygiene programs served as a brake on eugenics in most democratic countries; it by no means ended all entrenched programs, or support from scientists and other academics, despite some official histories that assert this as the end of the era." In fact, it was not until 1971 that forced sterilizations ended in Alberta; they continued until the '80s in some states. The article, while engaging and informative, offers a cautionary tale. As Kohlman observes, "With the public re-emergence of various forms of neo-Nazis, the Klan and other white-supremacist groups, the end of racial eugenics is nowhere in sight." Concerns about the revival of eugenics are real, asserts Kohlman, who notes that the theme remains common in science fiction, books and, unsurprisingly, the Internet. The right-wing extremism that seems to be gaining support in some parts of the world is best addressed through active and engaged citizenship.

In keeping with the theme of Alberta social studies representing the vanguard of the global field, Pam Adams and Craig Findlay of the University of Lethbridge offer insights into the extent to which inquiry-based pedagogy has transformed practices of high school teachers. By using semistructured interviews with diverse participants, Adams and Findlay seek to investigate "In what ways and to what extent

¹ In her essay "The Crisis in Education," written in 1954.

does a transformative curriculum shift teaching practices?"

Their data indicates that "curricula with transformative characteristics can contribute to movement from didactic to student-centred teaching practices; that is, participants departed from instructional strategies that reflected predominantly Eurocentric narrative and modernist Western pedagogies." As well, the researchers explored the relationship between the transformative curricula and a need for flexible authentic assessment in a way that is mutually promotive. Using emic data—the participants' actual voices— Findlay and Adams weave a narrative of practices that support a constructivist paradigm that enhances students' engagement, conceptual development and social participation for high school students.

With an acknowledgement offered by two pillars of the social studies community, Adams and Findlay implore educators across the province to consider the transformative possibilities of curriculum design through the accomplishments of social studies educators. This is a must-read article for those whose colleagues espouse the tenets of Inspiring Education—it is sure to provide insights into what could be done rather than just what is done.

We conclude this issue with interesting comparative research from Turkey. Professors Filiz Zayimoğlu Öztürk and Talip Öztürk are both assistant professors of elementary education department at Ordu University, Ordu, Turkey. While Albertans may not be familiar with Ordu University, academics at Ordu were recently profiled in *Monthly Review*, an independent socialist magazine, for their resistance to neoliberal edicts of the administration when they hung banners proclaiming "We Want a University for the Benefit of Humanity, Nature, and Society."

Perhaps it was the notion of active citizenship, so central to Alberta social studies and apparently to academia at Ordu University, that led the authors to their "Comparison of the Turkish and Alberta Social Studies Curriculum in Terms of Their Basics." While recognizing that both curricula have been affected by recent trends in American education, the researchers used a document analysis methodology to demonstrate the similarities and differences of the two curricula by exploring such basic elements as definitions, visions, general structures and learning strands. The historical roots of each curriculum are considered as important factors shaping the curricula.

Oztürk and Oztürk conclude with a series of recommendations to both Turkish and Albertan curriculum developers for enhancing future curriculum. The perspectives both offered and taken for improving social studies will intrigue readers. While Albertans may be intrigued, these perspectives are considered both relevant and essential for Turkish curriculum redesign.

Used as a starting point for a rich conversation about our practice, this issue of *One World in Dialogue* spans the scope and sequence of our subject. It highlights the societal challenges we face and how teachers have risen to the challenge of engaging and inspiring students to investigate what it means to be an active citizen. These articles encourage us to consider the unexamined stories that continue to shape our identity. Happy reading.

One World in Dialogue

As you may know, the Social Studies Council in general, and Gail Jardine in particular, took the ambitious step of raising the status of *One World in Dialogue* by making it a peer-reviewed journal. Authors can choose to have their articles peer reviewed by prominent social studies scholars within Alberta or, if you are a teacher, reviewed by the editor only. The review board consists of 15 Alberta scholars, specialists in one or more aspects of social studies, who volunteer as blind reviewers.

The purpose of the journal is to provide professionals with relevant and scholarly literature with which they can engage colleagues in dialogue on current social studies concerns.

The guidelines for manuscripts note that *One World in Dialogue* is a professional journal for social studies teachers in Alberta. It is published to promote the professional development of social studies educators and stimulate thinking, explore new ideas and offer various viewpoints. While *One World in Dialogue* welcomes articles relevant to all components of social studies, those interested in making a submission should be cognizant of the classroom and scholarly focus. Submissions may include

- descriptions of innovative classroom and school practices;
- discussions of trends, issues or policies;
- explorations of significant classroom experiences; and
- extended evaluations of instructional and curricular methods, programs or materials.

Manuscripts can be submitted for consideration via e-mail to Craig Harding at jcharding@cbe.ab.ca or jcharding@shaw.ca.

Flipping History: Understanding Current Aboriginal Issues First, History Second

Jean Parker and Bailey Almberg

In previous years of teaching, Jean Parker has found it a challenge to connect Aboriginal current issues with post-Confederation Canadian history. She found that the Aboriginal story and identity are overshadowed by the expanding curricular focus on the English, the French and numerous other cultural groups, leaving Aboriginal culture on the fringes of our study of Canadian perspectives. This year in our Grade 7 classroom we took up this challenge by turning our previous approaches inside out, so to speak, and focusing on current issues first. Only then would we work on connecting to the historical events that shaped the sociocultural landscape of Canada today.

In our study of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, the key current issues are land and education, so we focused our classroom work through these frameworks. Our work was inspired by "An Invitation to Explore the Roots of Current Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Relations in Canada" (Jardine 2012). The article was an invaluable source of information and provided a clearcut interpretation of Canadian political history and its effect on Aboriginal peoples. The presentation of the government bills, policies and acts as "acts affirming Aboriginal and treaty rights" and "acts reinforcing assimilation" (Jardine 2012) provided an accessible framework through which to consider Canada's history.

As preliminary work to delving into current Aboriginal issues, our students first explored the implications of multiculturalism in Canada and created emerging conceptions of cultural identity and the interconnectedness of individual aspects of identity. Students studied their families' immigrant histories, various cultural groups in Canada today and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Students became well versed and thoughtful when thinking about cultural diversity and cultural equity, skills that they continued to develop as we undertook this study.

A brief talk about the variety of ways one might frame one's identity began this unit of study. I (Almberg) had recently joined the class as a student teacher and was eager to give the students an opportunity to know me and my story. I shared my family's history and connection to the land we grew up on. Students then wrote informal reflections to consider their own space and how their identity is informed by the space they occupy. Students reflected and shared the possible effects of losing a part of their identity. Students then viewed a brief video explaining the history of the Idle No More movement (Woodward 2013). This recent movement began with small gatherings in Saskatchewan and quickly spread throughout Canada, bringing the often silenced voices of Aboriginal people into the conversation regarding parliamentary proceedings and industry expansion and its associated environmental dangers. The vision of Idle No More is to call "on all people to join in a peaceful revolution, to honour Indigenous sovereignty, and to protect the land and water" (www.idlenomore.ca/vision). Our students responded passionately to this movement, possibly as a result of their studies of migrant cultures in Canada's history.

Students used music by A Tribe Called Red to understand the connection between history and tradition and modern lives. This Canadian band combines traditional singing and drumming with modern dubstep music and have "become the face of an urban Native youth renaissance, championing their heritage and speaking out on aboriginal issues, while being on top of popular music, fashion and art" (A Tribe Called Red nd). A Tribe Called Red proved to be an invaluable resource throughout this study, as students often used their music as a grounding point for understanding the challenges and strategies of rebuilding identity.

Next, using the textbook Voices and Visions (Francis 2006), students explored the societies of the three first contact nations: the Anishnabe, the Haudenosaunee and the Mi'kmaq. The intent of this work was to give the students a sense of the lifestyle, identity and culture that Aboriginal people are working to reclaim. This was followed by an assignment that endeavoured to honour Aboriginal oral history by challenging students to represent their thoughts orally. Students viewed numerous authentic Aboriginal videos focused on the issue of their choosing (land or education). LearnAlberta's webpage Walking Together (www.learnalberta.ca/content/aswt) was a valuable resource for this portion of our study. The video resources included news clips and features and remix videos of parliamentary proceedings, as well as introductory videos created by Almberg. The culmination of this research project was a video that united students' understandings of identity and their knowledge of current events. Students were encouraged to forego the use of scripts, although many used graphic organizers as tools. It's interesting to note that the majority of the videos created took on the form of talk shows. We are left wondering what implications orality has on our culture today.

The introductory portion of this study followed a strategic pattern. Students first found individualized meaning and appeal with the issue through a personal reflection. Students further considered the societal implications of the issues through the Idle No More movement and the work that that group has been doing. Through this step in the process, students worked in peer groups to collaborate and form communal understandings of the topic at hand. This portion ended with a focus on the current movement toward reclamation of identity and culture. Students were again considering individual aspects of the issue, but had now moved past their own perspectives and were seriously considering the issues that others face.

This now led us to the historical focus in this unit, which was to link current Aboriginal issues back to the historical events and their resulting government bills, policies, acts, Supreme Court rulings and treaties. As a jumping-off point, students in small groups were assigned the bills, policies, acts, Supreme Court rulings and treaties identified by Jardine (2012) in her article that either strengthened Aboriginal cultural identity or pushed for Aboriginal assimilation into British society. Once students explored these primary sources they were able to identify where the seeds of current Aboriginal issues sprouted. As a final historical link the students needed to then find the event or events that led to the creation of these government rulings. This was certainly challenging work to undertake, but the students were able to think about the current issues facing both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians and use that knowledge to critically read the history.

We found that by using this approach of bringing forth Aboriginal issues first and then exploring the historical events that were connected with these issues, our students were more engaged because we started the exploration in their world; they ended up with a stronger sense of Aboriginal perspective. That being said, we certainly did face challenges as we guided our students through this work. Perhaps the most significant was the line we walked between avoiding presenting a single, broad-stroke narrative and still ensuring that the content was accessible to our students. We faced this challenge honestly with our students, frequently reminding students that there is no single story in any issue for any group of people. We were sure to point to the differences between the three first contact groups as historical reference for this. We were also conscientious with the resources our students used, being sure to provide a variety of individuals, genres and opinions to our students.

This study was a valuable one for our entire classroom community. Together we built skills of critical thinking and opinion building while ensuring that a culture of respect was maintained. We welcome any comments or questions.

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In Appreciation of Modern Hunting Traditions and a Grouse's Life Unwasted

David W Jardine

What am I, in the terrible and fragile? Our prey is watching over us. —Jodi Latremouille

The general patterns and shapes of the social world are part of our labour to understand and interpret, for ourselves and for and with our students. Such is a great part of social studies. Research into such grand patterns and shapes is a vital part of coming to know ourselves, and how our lives have turned out thus and so. But there is another labour that is often occluded by such research, and this other labour is sometimes misunderstood.

The social life for which social studies is meant to provide an articulation is actually lived out in locales of great intimacy, particularity and grace. Families, practices, languages, roles both inherited and resisted, times, places, heartbreaks and joys, geographies known through the body and breath and the labour of hands, and, too, great arcs of reminiscence, ancestry, old ways barely recollected or inscribed in practices learned hand over hand, face to face, full of forgotten-ness. To be properly understood and articulated, these locales of intimacy don't lend themselves to forms of research that demand generalities or methodological anonymity as is proper to various social sciences. They demand a form of research that is proper to the object of its concern—an old Aristotelian idea, that knowledge must "remain something adapted to the object, a *mensuratio ad rem*" (Gadamer 1989, 261).

This wonderful piece of writing by Jodi Latremouille, "A Modern Hunting Tradition," is a strong and elegant example of remaining true to such measures. It is an example of how writing itself is a powerful, difficult and rigorous form of research (Richardson 1994; Richardson and St Pierre 2005). It shows how a careful and poetic reflection on one's life can reveal truths about our living, and how such "life writing" (Chambers et al 2012) stands firmly in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions of inquiry.

I mention all this because Jodi shared with me an e-mail she received from her father after she sent him an early version of this piece, and it points to something vital to the power of this writing. Included in parentheses are Jodi's comments on how her writing was edited in response:

Enjoyed your writing, not sure if you need accuracy but if you do:

I never skid anything in the cheesecloth game bags, they are only when we put them on the packboard. (I had originally written that my husband skids a piece of moose down the hill in the game bag. Edited as per this e-mail.) Small moose in five pieces, big one in six with the head attached to the neck making it a pretty good load as J will attest. Ha Ha. (*I had originally written 3 pieces, 5 if very large.*

Edited as per this e-mail.)

Vital to the power of this writing is, again, that it must find its proper measure in the things that are its subject. I have found, myself, in pursuing such writing, that it is not flimsy or subjective or random, but needs a terrible accuracy. Otherwise the whole thing deflates and becomes nothing but a self-referential, overly personal reminiscence. Here, in this writing, we have profoundly personal reminiscence, but it is cast out into the world and its ways. This is why it is so effective for me as a reader. It is careful in its heeding of the life-world in all its meticulous detail. Part of its power to address us is in this accuracy. Without it, it betrays its object and betrays its own weakness. This is why, in heeding the demands of accuracy, such writing is legitimately deemed research and why and how such work should form part of the work of social studies in our schools.

So, in appreciation, I want to betray my age; what struck me most in Jodi's writing is that the lives of these Great Beings should not be wasted and that, in understanding this, we understand something of ourselves and our own frail passings. Our lives, too, should not be wasted. I end, therefore, with a wee bit more of that e-mail, which betrays, as does Jodi's work, a great and trembling intimacy in the hunt:

So far nothing to pack or skid yet this fall. Been close to two three-point bull moose and got within 50 feet of a bedded bull and cow. [The] bull ... was up and gone before we could shoot, a big guy. The cow walked to within 30 feet of us. Mixed feelings on chasing a big productive guy like that this late in the season, could be tough. Probably leave him for another year and try for him early. He's probably getting old like me anyway and past his prime so will give him this last hurrah before we meet.

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A Modern Hunting Tradition

Jodi Latremouille

My father, Vern, is the hunter. My mother, Lorna, is the cook

Traditional. Cozy. Comfortable

Predictable and grounded, stewed in the Crock-Pot Savoury, only slightly spicy, unless I get my hands on it

I like my stews the new-fashioned way, Just a little more exotic

I am a strong, capable woman well-marinated in this tradition

People who know me well half expect me to be a hunter—

Even if only because it challenges my gender role

But I am not a hunter. Well, not any more.

I learned how to shoot a .22 at the age of 12, and I once killed a grouse by stoning it to death

Shameful stoning

It was a loud and grisly scene, with me leading a wild pack of elementary-aged children across the barnyard and into the pine trees, hooting and screaming as we tortured and murdered that grouse.

The moment that cracked me was when it was lying on the ground, unable to move, yet still breathing, eyes half-closed. I knew that as the instigator, I had to take responsibility for what I had done. I killed it with the final stone. We left that grouse in the woods and we never told my parents.

We never spoke of that day again.

We knew that we had dishonoured the two codes that our hunting family lived by:

- 1. Do not cause unnecessary suffering.
- 2. Do not waste one ounce of a life given for your sustenance.

I can walk quietly in the woods. I can identify edible berries and see the signs of danger and promise in the earth. I can smell a campfire a kilometre away, tell time by the sun and mark a path to return by. I know how to remove a tick embedded in my scalp, and I can build a shelter to keep the night away.

I know how to tie a fly and catch a fish. I can gut a fish and help skin a deer. I know how to pluck a chicken and use every last piece of its flesh and bones for a week of meals.

But I usually leave the killing to others.

Unless I was truly starving, of course, then I would do what I had to do.

I respect it. The killing.

I can observe it. I can participate in the ritual with sadness and gratitude.

But holding a warm animal, a squirming fish, in my hand as the final after-beat of life drains slowly from its body is too much for me.

Yes, I am known as "the emotional one" in my family. What of it? Would you rather I be cold, dead-living? Let a gal cry! So I participate in our family's modern-day hunting ritual. My husband, Jason, is not a hunter, either, but my young daughters are showing interest and I hope that their grandfather will take them one day. Grandpa Vern, achy-old and curling up at the fingers like his father did before him, but strong and bush-humping along, beautiful-functional, still has so many things to teach them and learn from them, us. Jason is the "professional venison transportation agent" (aka a healthy, young and strong body that happens to be willing and to live down the road from his father-in-law) and because he helps pack the kill, our freezer is stocked and restocked with moose and deer—and salmon, huckleberries and morel mushrooms—each fall.

Every fall, we wait for the call.

"Yeah, I got a moose. He's a big old guy this time, should be good eating though, not too tough. No, he's not too far into the bush, only a couple hundred metres over a little ridge." In Vern-speak, that is about three kilometres scrambling over rocky shale, wading through a creek and climbing rope-assisted up a small mountainside.

Vern is no road hunter. To the authentic bushmen of the Nicola Valley, that's almost like cheating. Unless, of course, you were truly starving, then you would take what you could get where it stood.

So, we plan the picnic. These days, we ask, "Is this a kid-friendly moose-packing trip?" And we pack up the snowsuits, hot chocolate, toilet paper, extra socks, snacks, the until-the-next-snack snacks, sleds, campfire kettle, and a full change of clothes for each child, "just in case." It is a little more complicated than it used to be when you'd grab a sandwich and an apple and march off into the bush with your matches, knife and packboard. The bush has taught me what it means to be prepared—if you have the room in your truck, bring it, because you never know when you might need it. If you don't have the room, hope for good weather.

The men march out. Vern loves his grandchildren and would sit for hours with them on an anthill talking about ants and clouds and how to braid wild grasses into a wreath to wrap around their curly-top heads, but, "Son, we are wasting daylight. You women can see the trail, it starts right here. We'll meet you there in a few." Usually our fit, happy, childlike-wise momgrandmother Lorna wants to stay at the truck and build a fire. She likes to sit and visit and drink tea, then go for a little exercise-walk. But she knows me better than that—sigh, she knows—I need action, I need to help with the man-woman work, and without uttering a word, she starts to pack up the lunch and the little ones for our snow-trek in the man-tracks out over the hills to the hanging moose. There are some cougar paw prints right there, but they are not fresh, so we keep the dogs close and walk tall and loud. We wonder if the cougar got any of the meat, but Vern knows to hang it high in the trees out of reach, so we expect that it will be waiting there for us. We haul our babies in the sled to the kill tree, and this time it *is* only about a half-hour hike. Grandpa Vern wasn't exaggerating for once. When we arrive, the ritual has just begun. The skinning knife is scritch-scratch, scritch-scratching against the steel, and the tiny wisps of new campfire smoke are trailing up into the fir boughs above. Gloves off, jackets put aside. We scatter to find larger pieces of wood as the little ones crouch over Jason's fire-building shoulder, helping.

The skinning. The anatomy lesson. The hide falling away. The familiarity of a human-moose body unveiled of its coat. The tendons, joints, muscles, hair. Bled, cold. Tongue, eyes, guts, heart.

Vern takes his hunkering place at the fire. "Wanna bite of moose heart?" As he slaps his stick-roasted slice into the middle of his cheese sandwich. Vern does the roasting for the little ones. They watch, eyes flame-shiny, as it browns and sizzles. He pulls it off the roasting stick and gently breaks it in two and hands it over. They sit on their kid-log in quiet reverence as the first mouthful satisfies their well-earned gnawing autumn hiking-hunger.

Sometimes I prefer not to be there, because I'd rather after-hear my home-safe, sweaty husband tell the laughing-horror tale of how he almost slipped and fell off a cliff under the weight of a 100-pound moose head. Yes, a moose's head alone can weigh 100 pounds. Imagine the rest of it. Five, sometimes six pieces if he is a big old Mr Moose, sawed apart and sheathed in their white cheesecloth bag to keep them from getting dirty. Sometimes if you get a good hill, you can be a little bit crazy impractical and hop on to the moose-laden packboard, but be careful of hidden stumps and flailing hooves. When the terrain is right, and he can avoid strapping himself into the packboard under 150 pounds of moose, Jason will do it the new-fashioned way-winding through the scrawny birch trees, dashing ahead of an out-ofcontrol hindquarter as it plummets down the snowy mountainside. Vern shakes his head, and keeps plodding under his burden. We walk ahead and wait for him at the truck. When Grandpa bursts out of the trees a few minutes later, screaming, "Look out! Moose meat on the loose!" we laugh as we dive into the snowbanks. You can, in fact, teach an old dog new tricks. The question is, do you want to?

My daughter saw her first dead animal hanging in my father's shed when she was two years old.

She called it "deer parts."

And it bothered her much less than the disembodied deer head trophy that my dad displays in his office.

That says something, now doesn't it?

Mostly, it says to never to put dead animal heads on display in my house

(They scare the kids—c'mon, grandpa!) But the kids, too, will learn

I witness the trophy tradition

desecrated by sport hunters who have never eaten their kill

and maligned by activists who have never killed their food

But for my dad it is not a trophy It is a single body of worship Of participation in the world A world that demands our respect At one time, if our ancestors refused to respect they would perish—remember that now It's all one time Our prey is watching over us

Every time I make a sandwich for a hike in the bush, or help haul a deer, or cook a moose roast, I remember that grouse

That grouse suffered, yes I regret But it did not go to waste A coyote dragged it off, cleaned it down to bones and remnants Some birds picked at the remains, and others used its feathers for a nest The worms fed off the tiny, dark stain I, too, will be sustained by the grouse It will remind me of what I am

It will remind me of what I am What am I, in the terrible and fragile? I will be as noble as the worm I will not waste that grouse's life

The Sociological Roots of Eugenics

Demographic, Ethnographic and Educational Solutions to the Racial Crises in Progressive America

Michael Kohlman

Editor's note: This paper is adapted from "The Anthropology of Eugenics in America: Ethnographic, Race-Hygiene and Human Geography Solutions to the Great Crises of Progressive America," first published in the Alberta Science Education Journal, volume 42, number 2.

Abstract

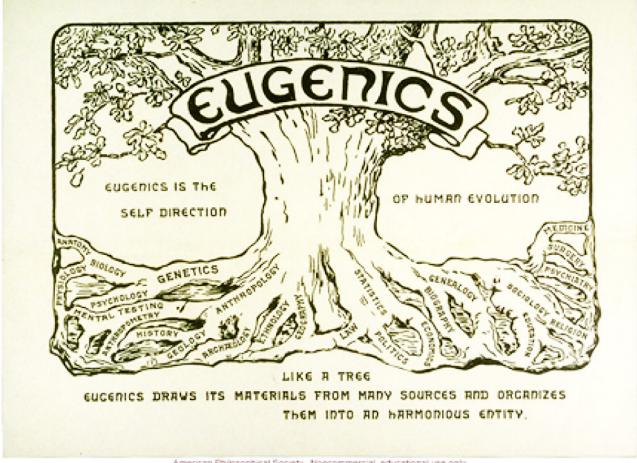
This paper explores the directors, popularizers and educators of the sociological aspects of the American eugenics movement in the Progressive Era. Human geography (especially the fledgling discipline of demography), sociobiology (human fertility and social hygiene) and ethnology (pedigree studies and racial characteristics) were considered important "roots" of the "tree" of the applied science of eugenics (see Figure 1). This essay concentrates on a few primary theorists of the American eugenics movement during the progressive-era-especially for their influence in the areas of demography, fertility and immigration policies, as well as related educational initiatives-before the excesses of Nazi race hygiene indelibly branded eugenics as a racist pseudoscience. I conclude with a brief look at recent eugenic revivals and recapitulations.

Introduction

My current research primarily explores the educational programs and impacts of the eugenics movement in North America from its Progressive Era ascent through its purported rapid decline after World War II. Eugenics education was a top priority for the disciples of Sir Francis Galton, the celebrated founder of the "science of race-betterment." In America, the seminal ideas of Galton and other pioneers combined with pre-existing Nativist or Nordic biases and prior strains of scientific racism, such as Samuel Morton and the American School of Anthropology. In the first half of the "American Century," public eugenics education for the burgeoning middle classes and professional groups, and formal courses for future generations who would inherit the onus of "racial civic duty" were both seen as vital to the success of the movement.

Popular eugenics education progressively pervaded America, becoming prominent in fairs, museum exhibits, public lectures and even "eugenic" church sermons (Rosen 2004). Formal education was also a crucial resource in the evangelization and politicization of this widespread social movement. During the interwar period, hundreds of colleges, universities and normal schools offered eugenics courses (Cravens 1978, 53). High schools often embedded eugenics units within "civic biology," home economics or social hygiene courses (Kohlman 2012). In Alberta, racial eugenics was also prevalent, once the immigration pattern switched away from primarily Nordic regions to Eastern and Southern Europe, just before World War I (Grant 1933). Alberta went on to launch an ambitious eugenic sterilization program, pioneered by the United Farmers of Alberta and expanded by the Social Credit government in the 1930s (Grekul 2002, 2008). In British Columbia, the main threat to Anglo-Saxon homogeneity and hegemony was seen to be immigration from the Orient (McLaren 1990).

After the Nuremburg Trials revealed the racial bias of American-style eugenics, organized eugenics went underground or was rebranded as social biology, family planning, genetic counselling and so forth, to avoid the links with the euthanasia and sterilization campaigns of Nazi race-hygiene programs that culminated in the Holocaust (Cravens 1978; Kevles 1995; Kline 2001). However, the transmission of "liberal" or "progressive" neo-eugenic memes continued, with historical associations to eugenics being sanitized (Kevles 1995). Many of the leaders in the eugenics movement were influential social scientists, as well as educators, administrators and public health professionals. From the natural sciences, such as evolutionary biology and genetics; to social sciences such as anthropology, psychology and sociology; to curriculum and educational policy, eugenics was based on the melding of a broad range of fields, whose harmonious combination (see Figure 1) was foreseen as leading to scientifically-based societal efficiency and progress, and the evolution of "the Overman" (Bobbitt 1909).



American Philosophical Society. Noncommercial, educational use only.

Figure 1: The Eugenics Tree, from a poster for the Second International Congress of Eugenics, held at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, September 22–28, 1921. This image was very popular and often reproduced to illustrate the truly interdisciplinary nature of the applied science of eugenics.

Eugenics: A New Science— A New Religion

The abridged creation story of eugenics begins with the acknowledged founder of eugenics, Francis Galton (celebrated polymath and cousin of Charles Darwin), and his influential protegé, Karl Pearson (pioneering statistician of biometrics). Galton revealed the "definition, scope and aims" of eugenics to a distinguished audience of his British peers at the first meeting of the Royal Sociological Society at London University in May 1904. It was duly noted that Professor Karl Pearson, FRS, occupied the chair. Influential clergy, scientists, business magnates and several ladies of high birth were in attendance. "Eugenics," Galton pronounced "is the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race, also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage" (Galton 1904, 1). Galton ended his address with an agenda for the future and an appeal to "make eugenics a familiar academic question, a subject for serious study," one that

must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion. It has strong claims to become an orthodox religious tenet of the future, for eugenics cooperate with the workings of nature by securing that humanity shall be represented by the fittest races. What nature does blindly, slowly, and ruthlessly, man may do providently, quickly, and kindly. (Galton 1904, 5)

Galton and his protegés created the new science of biometry as their divining rod, and were the leaders of the British eugenics movement for decades (Bowler 2003, 259). The Galton School initially engaged in a feud of sorts with Mendel's British and American acolytes, at least until the experimental evidence for Mendel's laws operating in human heredity became too great to ignore (Ludmerer 1972, 45). The biometricians primarily studied continuous traits, such as intelligence, and preferred quantitative statistical analysis of large populations rather than the qualitative experimental study of discontinuous traits in individuals favoured by the Mendelians. Galton and Pearson founded a journal, Biometrika, in 1902. Galton lived to see eugenics and Galton societies form throughout the Empire, in America and around the world. He was knighted in 1909 and upon his death, in 1911, University College at London founded a Galton Eugenics Professorship and the Galton Biometric Laboratory, with Karl Pearson as its head (Kevles 1995, 35–38). Although they have largely expunged explicit references to eugenics in their titles

and publications, if not their agendas, the institutions they created survive to this day (Kevles 1995, 251– 52). But nowhere else (with the eventual exception of Nazi Germany) would Galton's orthodox religion of eugenics bear such prodigious followers as that scion of Puritanism that had colonized the new shores of British North America more than a century earlier. This transplantation across the Atlantic occurred quickly and with great vigour.

Unlike the primarily class-based eugenics of Galton and his British cohorts, the seminal ideas took on a much more race-based tone in America, synergistically combining with pre-existing Nativist and Nordicist sentiments, a proud history of scientific racism and racial segregation in the South¹ and powerful socialefficiency and social-hygiene movements in a country on the verge of Great Power status. Only a generation or two removed from a largely rural, agrarian society, America was transformed into the world's greatest industrial power by World War I, and reaped a rich harvest in new academic, scientific, social and technical fields (Bland 1977). Many hardline eugenicists were deeply suspicious of laissez-faire industrial capitalism, and its demographic and sociological effects on the nation, especially for "native-Americans."²

Scientific Authority for American Eugenics

Some of the most influential leaders of American eugenics were academic researchers and educators who lent their considerable reputations and credentials to the movement and to related educational initiatives. American apostles of Galton's biometrics and Mendel's genetics joined with professors of evolutionary biology, anthropology, psychology and sociology. Collectively, these academics lent scientific authority to the protoeugenical seedlings from the Clean Living Movement, following on the heels of the brutality and social dislocation of the American Civil War. These reputedly precise and empirical sciences validated and legitimized eugenics as a rational and progressive social movement, just as Charles Darwin's scientific theories validated the pre-existing social Darwinism of Thomas Malthus and Herbert Spencer (Bowler 2003).

Capturing the imaginations of a new wave of American doctoral students graduated from newly established research universities, such as Harvard and Columbia, genetics, biometrics and demographics seemed to offer the same sort of mathematical certainty and predictive power to transform social science and American society in the Progressive Era as Newton and his "clock-work universe" had done for physics and philosophy in European society during the Enlightenment (Bowler 2003). For this new generation of American academics and professionals, proud descendants of Anglo-Saxon Protestant pioneer stock, the new fields of genetics, evolutionary biology and sociology seemed to offer the same sort of fertile land for professional colonization as their ancestors had found in the New World. These new sciences gave direction and legitimized the social agenda of the eugenics movement. The socially conservative WASP defenders of the status quo could not be summarily dismissed as cranks as long as their agenda remained girded by the mantle of scientific authority and empirical evidence (Zenderland 1998; Spiro 2009).

Backed by the authority and promise of these new scientific disciplines, the disciples of the eugenics movement quickly adopted the new hereditarian, social and statistical science concepts and research methods to rationalize the study of human betterment and "race-hygiene." Newton's calculus and cosmology had dazzled the glitterati and educated public of his day, enabling scientific, industrial and social revolutions that fundamentally changed Europe. The modern sciences that girded eugenics, it was hoped, could be deployed to battle a host of social evils that were causing "racial degeneracy" in America and threatening to derail societal progress. As the first decades of the new century transitioned from the Progressive Era into an "Age of Anxiety,"³ American eugenicists knew they needed to recruit a coterie of medical professionals and business, educational and social leaders, as well as the politicians and wealthy philanthropists who held the purse strings. More problematically, they needed to educate the public and the successive generations of young people who would populate their brave new world.

To this end, the American Eugenics Society (AES) formed over a dozen subcommittees, some specializing in tackling the social problems most pressing to the leadership; others tasked with evangelizing eugenics among different sectors of American society. Among these were the Popular Education Committee, tasked with education of the public, and the Formal Education Committee, charged with the "incorporation of eugenics as an integral part of various appropriate courses throughout the school system, in the elementary grades through high school, as well as the encouragement of special courses in colleges and universities" (Evans 1931, x).

Educator J F Bobbitt wrote an early American eugenics article with profound educational implications. In "Practical Eugenics" (1909), an article featured in G Stanley Hall's journal Pedagogical Seminary,⁴ Bobbitt implored the American public and their leaders to curb the "rampant immigration" of non-Anglo-Saxon Europeans, and argued that "little could be done for the child of worm eaten stock" (Bobbitt 1909, 386). Bobbitt dramatically warned that two sinister processes were at work in America. The first was the "drying up of the highest, purest tributaries to the stream of heredity," referring to the decreasing birthrate of the native Anglo-Saxon stock. The second was the "rising flood in the muddy, undesirable streams," referring to the large influx and differential in birthrates of the more recent wave of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, as well as the slaves brought to America before the Civil War (Bobbitt 1909, 388). Bobbitt also lamented the dysgenic effect of charities and social services for working against the laws of evolution and nature:

Where 'survival of the fittest' had previously ensured that society's best would continue, we are now faced with civilization's retrogressive policies. Our schools and our charities supply crutches to the weak in mind and morals [and thus] corrupt the streams of heredity which all admit are sufficiently turbid. (Bobbitt 1909, 387)

David Starr Jordan nurtured Leland Stanford Junior College into one of America's largest and most prestigious private universities. He was also a prolific writer in the eugenics field, decrying the dysgenic effects of war, venereal diseases and alcohol and championing eugenic segregation and sterilization of the feeble-minded, as well as immigration and marriage restriction laws (Engs 2005). His books included The Blood of the Nation (1902) and The Heredity of Richard Roe (1911). Another of G Stanley Hall's influential students was Henry H Goddard, director of the Research Laboratory of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys. Goddard translated and modified Alfred Binet's test⁵ to more reliably measure the mental age (IQ) of the residents at Vineland. Goddard also introduced the world to the Kallikaks (a composite of the Greek roots kallos, meaning good, and kakos, or bad) in 1912—supposedly a real extended family from New Jersey with both a "worthy side" and a "degenerate side" (see Figure 3). The Kallikak family became a staple model of eugenic pedigree studies for decades. A later version of the Die Familie Kallikak study was published in Nazi Germany in 1934, in which the facial features of the "degenerate line" were altered to make them appear Jewish (Smith 1985, 161–63).

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Figure 2: The directors and advisory council of the American Eugenics Society in 1935, from the AES book Tomorrow's Children: The Goals of Eugenics, intended as a catechism for eugenics.



Figure 3: A cartoonish depiction of the "good and bad heredity" of Goddard's Kallikak Family. Notice the "devilish" features of the "unfit" brood, versus the "angelic" features of the "fit" lineage. Stephen J Gould had the Smithsonian's photographic expert analyze a first edition of the Kallikaks. He determined that the mouths and eyes in the family photos of the "degenerate side" had been crudely altered to make them look "more sinister" (Gould 1981). (After Smith 1985, 171)

E A Ross and Immigration Restriction

Of all the professional sociologists who contributed to the American eugenics movement, and particularly to the immigration issue, the most prestigious and prodigious was Edward Alsworth Ross (1866–1951), professor of sociology at Stanford and later the University of Wisconsin. Ross had already published many scholarly works by the time Galton announced the dawn of the science of eugenics, including *Social Control* (1902), *The Foundations of Sociology* (1905), *Sin and Society* (1907) and *Social Psychology* (1908).

Ross's early work established his credentials as one of the most prominent American social scientists of his era, but it contained little trace of the racial undertones that his later works evidenced. Shortly after the turn of the 20th century, the tone and content of his works changed, becoming characteristic of the Nativist faction of the eugenics movement in America. He opposed immigration from non-Nordic countries, reflecting well the views of the eugenic movement's primary racial theorists, Madison Grant and anthropologist Henry Fairfield Osborn.⁶ Ross was also a trusted advisor of Theodore Roosevelt and coined the term "race suicide" (Ross 1901) that T R would tirelessly campaign against (Dyer 1980; Spiro 2009). Beginning with The Old World in the New (1914), Ross began to advocate tirelessly for immigration restrictions against the "hordes of human refuse who swarm in upon us in this last decade or so." In describing, for instance, the "bulk of South-Italian immigrants to America," he writes

As grinding rusty-iron reveals the bright metal, so American competition brings to light the race-stuff in poverty-crushed immigrants. But not all this stuff is of value in a democracy like ours. Only a people endowed with a steady attention, a slowfuse temper, and a persistent will can organize itself for success in the international rivalries to come. So far as the American people consents to incorporate with itself great numbers of wavering, impulsive, excitable persons, it must in the end resign itself to lower efficiency, to less democracy, or to both. (Ross 1914, 119)

Ross joined with many eugenics groups and supporters, as well as the Immigration Restriction League, to lobby Congress and act as expert witnesses in committees. Their efforts were successful by 1921, when a quota system was established, based on country of origin and limiting immigration from each country to 3 per cent of its American population in the 1910 census (Engs 2005, 126). In 1924, the *Johnson-Reed Immigration Restriction Act* was passed, which moved the base year of the quota to 1890, greatly favouring the earlier immigration pattern dominated by the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic regions of northwestern Europe (left side of the table above), and curtailing immigrants from southern and eastern Europe (right side of the table). This law did not go into effect until 1929, but then remained in force until 1965, although it was later relaxed somewhat, during the European refugee exodus following World War II.

In addition to immigration restrictions, Ross argued for prudence in bestowing charity upon the poor and downtrodden masses, advocating for discrimination between "God's poor" and "the devil's poor" in *The Principles of Sociology* (1920). Echoing a common eugenic meme that indiscriminate charity allows the unfit to survive and outbreed the fit, Ross informs the reader that

What we have learned as to the part played by indiscriminate charity in perpetuating degenerate stocks makes us afraid to give money with our eyes shut. In the valley of Aosta in Northern Italy, and in other Alpine regions, once was rife the form of idiocy known as cretinism, which is associated with goitre. Thanks to a mistaken charity this type was aided to mate and propagate until a horrible special variety of human beings had come into existence. Happily in recent years these unfortunate types are no longer permitted to marry and breed, so that the type has nearly vanished ... It follows that as we succeed in ridding society of misery, disease and vice we should install filters to intercept degenerate types. Such filters are: The segregation of the feeble-minded; relief of the chronic-pauper only on terms which exclude their further increase; social pressure to deter persons with transmissible bodily defects from propagation; and the forcing of minimal standards of cleanliness, decency, child-care and schooling upon those congenital incompetents who are able to maintain themselves just above the line of selfsupport. (Ross 1920, 388-89)

Perhaps the most interesting of Ross's eugenicthemed works is *New-Age Sociology* (1940), written at a time when hardline eugenics was losing support in America as a result of the Great Depression as well as adverse publicity of Nazi Germany's notorious racial-hygiene laws, its aggressive compulsorysterilization campaign and its role in the latest European war. Despite these changes, Ross continued to advocate for "practical eugenic measures," such as Among the "Ten Commandments for the choice of a spouse" issued by the highest health authorities of Germany and the racial-population department of the Nationalist-Socialist "Nazi" Party are such maxims as:

Thou shalt not remain single if thou art by inheritance healthy.

In thy choice of a spouse ask about his or her ancestors.

Health is the condition for external beauty. Marry only for love.

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Seek no playmate, but a companion for marriage.

The meaning of marriage lies in a healthy posterity.

These excellent maxims ought to be diffused among young people everywhere. In the nobler, the eugenic ideal kindles that enthusiasm and readiness to dedicate one's self which in the past has been inspired by religion ... However, sound eugenic proposals meet such ravings of ignorance that we should not look for them to be put into effect much before the last third of our century. (Ross 1940, 50)

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Figure 4: Contents pages from E A Ross's Old World in the New (1914). On the left side of the table are the "eugenically desirable races" (with the oft-cited exception of the "Celtic Irish," as opposed to the "Scotch Irish," from which both Ross and Madison Grant descended). On the right side of the table are the "eugenic undesirables," from eastern and southern Europe, that were the targets of post-World War I immigration restriction policies and eventual legislation.

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The last section of this chapter praises Nazi Germany's direct economic "encouragement of births among the superior," reflecting another popular eugenic meme: encouraging more reproduction among the "fitter classes" of women, especially the "Mothers of Tomorrow."

It is to this gendered approach to eugenics education and the new focus on the family as a sociological unit of society that this article turns next, as the mainstream eugenics movement of the 1930s turned away from strict hereditarianism and biological determinism to a softer social-science approach, with explicit attention to social and environmental interactions with heredity.

Encouraging the "Mother of Tomorrow"

Although the leadership of American eugenics organizations was largely professional, middle-class, WASP males, eugenics had its fair share of support from women, mostly in the form of loose alliances with various social movements. The birth-control and temperance movements, as well as other contemporary "feminist" social-hygiene organizations tentatively supported eugenics, and vice versa, in a somewhat tenuous symbiotic mutualism. One of the fundamental goals of eugenics was to re-establish the primacy of prolific motherhood among the "fitter classes" of women, especially female college graduates, while negating the problematic modern diversions of extensive career and educational ambitions. The Janus face of this situation was to suppress the reproduction of the feeble-minded "moron-girls" whose alleged precocity was equalled only by their legendary fecundity, and to combat the so-called racial poisons of alcohol, gambling, venereal diseases and other social vices that afflicted "less desirable" groups of American women. As Kline asserts in her introduction to Building a Better Race (2001),

Eugenicists promoted two opposing models of womanhood that suggested the importance of gender to eugenics ideology: the "mother of tomorrow" and the "moron". The mother of tomorrow represented the procreative potential of white middle-class women, while the moron symbolized the [dysgenic] danger of female sexuality unleashed. Together these models, which carried great symbolic weight in the eugenics movement, demonstrated that the eugenic definition of womanhood was double-edged: it portrayed women as responsible not only for racial progress but also for racial destruction (p 15).

Teddy Roosevelt placed the blame for "race-suicide" on white womanhood. Women of "good stock" who chose not to have children were "race criminals" and jeopardized the continuance of the American empire, since "no race has any chance to win a great place unless it consists of good breeders as well as good fighters" (Kline 2001, 15). No segment of American femininity seemed to offer as much promise of being "good breeders" as those who comprised the population of women's colleges and those few universities that equally accepted women as students, outside of the traditionally female schools and faculties (such as nursing and teaching). This dysgenic problem of the differential birth rate between the "fit" and "unfit" members of the white race was to preoccupy eugenic think tanks for decades, from the time of Teddy Roosevelt's warning of race-suicide in the first decade of the 1900s through to the last hurrah of organized American eugenics in the early baby-boom years.

In "Education and Race Suicide," Robert Sprague charged that women's colleges were "drawing off the best blood of the American stock and sinking it in a dry desert of sterile intellectuality" (Sprague 1915, 160). Professor Roswell Johnson (coauthor of *Applied Eugenics*, 1918) warned that the "extraordinary in-adequacy of the reproductivity of these [women] college graduates can hardly be taken too seriously" (Vigue 1987, 52). Johnson's coauthor, Paul Popenoe, sermonized in 1926 that it is "little less than a crime to advise girls to wait until they are 30 or more to marry, in order to get a better preparation for a career rather than marriage."⁷

According to Popenoe, there was "probably not one such case in a hundred where the advice is really justified; but the girl, misled by the vanity of her parents and the praise of incompetent teachers who want a pupil ... spends great amounts of time and money in training only to find later that there is no career for her, or, if there is, that she would have preferred a family." Eugenicists insisted that parents should help their daughters fulfill their biological destiny and become good wives and mothers; anything less would be a tragic waste of time and effort. (Rembis 2006, 103)

Sprague argued that eugenicists had a patriotic duty to mobilize "public opinion ... by our leaders of literature and thought both without and within the educational institutions, and it is high time that this line of action is pushed to results, before the best blood of the American people becomes dried out of the race" (Sprague 1915, 162). At the Race Betterment exhibit at the 1915 San Francisco Exhibition, and continuing with the popular Better Baby and Fitter Family contests in the 1920s and 1930s, eugenicists tried to promote the image of the "mother of tomorrow," while countering the combined threats of the extreme fertility of the "moron-girl," the individuality and unbridled female sexuality of the "woman adrift" (perhaps best portrayed by the "flapper-girl") and the equally dysgenic barrenspinster destiny of the denizens of Bryn Mawr, Vassar and Wellesley colleges (Kline 2001).

The growth of the practices of "eugenic segregation" and compulsory sterilization enacted after World War I were beginning to have the desired effect of limiting the reproduction of those "better off never to have been born," to paraphrase Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' judgment in the Buck v Bell case.⁸ However, positive eugenics goals proved elusive and depended heavily on reorienting the educational goals of women more interested in Greek classics, French poetry and Freudian psychology. Roswell Johnson lamented that the "stubborn resistance of these colleges to the introduction of education for domestic efficiency," the separation of the sexes and their failure to produce "girls trained to be efficient wives and mothers is one of the causes of the low marriage rate and late time of marriage" ... all of which were "contrary to the interests of society and the race" (Vigue 1987, 53).

Eugenicists began to see some hopeful progress on this front when women's colleges and coeducational institutions began to offer eugenics courses aimed at young women as part of their offerings in biology, home economics and sociology programs, as well as high school courses that groomed potential "mothers of tomorrow." The peak of eugenic education for women did not occur until the 1930s, when the impacts and social dislocations of the Great Depression fostered a new focus on the family, traditional morality and gender roles (Kline 2001). A host of new eugenic texts aimed to redress the perceived problems. In a chapter from Popular Eugenics (2006) entitled "Explaining Sexual Life to Your Daughter" (named after the chapter title of a popular Depressionera book, Eugenics and Sex Harmony, written by H H Rubin and first published in 1933), Michael Rembis outlines the growth of eugenic literature and education programs aimed at young women. This topic was also boldly highlighted in the "eugenic catechism" Tomorrow's Children, written by Yale's Ellsworth Huntington (1935), then president of the AES. Like the well-known Baltimore Catechism, it is written in question-and-answer format. Perhaps echoing the democratic socialism of Roosevelt's New

Deal economic policies, Huntington recommends a sliding scale of economic incentives, such as direct subsidies and tax credits, for eugenically desirable parents to have larger families. (See also Kline's contribution to *Popular Eugenics* [Currell and Cogdill 2006]: "A New Deal for the Child: Ann Cooper-Hewitt and Sterilization in the 1930s.")

One of the first sociologists to respond to this dire need for women's eugenic education was North Carolina professor Earnest Groves. His pioneering course and popular book, *Preparation for Marriage*, introduced in 1936, linked the sociology of eugenics to mate selection and marriage. These new initiatives, as noted by Kline (2001, 2006) and Rembis (2006), signaled a newfound emphasis on family, environment and upbringing (while retaining hereditarian causalities), along with a desire to distance American eugenics from the overtly racist tone of the Nazi racehygiene program that was alienating many liberals and moderates at home. These courses became extremely popular with the "mothers of tomorrow." As Rembis asserts,

Proponents of eugenic education focused their campaign largely on young women, particularly those attending college ... [agreeing] with Paul Popenoe's assertion that sex "played a somewhat larger part in the life of woman than of man" and that "if there is to be any difference in emphasis, women should have a more thorough preparation for family life than do men." The result, at least in part, was the creation during the 1930s of collegelevel courses that were aimed primarily at women and specifically dealt with marriage, family and eugenics, as well as concerted efforts to inculcate eugenic ideals in young women and girls, in their homes, grammar schools, and high schools (Rembis 2006, 103).

Latter-Day Revivals and Futuristic Directions

Although the horror of Nazi race-hygiene programs served as a brake on eugenics in most democratic countries, it by no means ended all entrenched programs or support from scientists and other academics, despite some official histories that assert this as the end of the era. It may have marked the beginning of the end for *widespread* support by professionals and professors for hardline eugenics programs. There were still significant holdouts that continued such eugenic practices as forced sterilization of the "feebleminded" for over three decades:



Figure 5: A 1922 advertisement from the Human Betterment Foundation in Collier's Magazine. The "Prof. Ross" is E A Ross. Note the source (Dr H H Goddard) of the "dysgenic pedigree" at bottom left, and the "Genius" pedigree on the right (the Darwin, Galton and Wedgwood families).

the practice ended in 1971 in Alberta, 1972 in Virginia, 1979 in California and 1981 in Oregon (Engs 2005, 54–57).

One of the reactions of American eugenics (and its British equivalents) was to rebrand itself and incorporate elements of an environmental program (euthenics) into the movement. This had already begun as the Great Depression wore on, but was accelerated during and after World War II. This can be seen in the efforts and works of later American eugenic leaders, such as Yale's Ellsworth Huntington (president of the AES during the 1930s—see Huntington 1920, 1935, 1945) and Frederick Henry Osborn (Henry Fairfield Osborn's nephew), who was president of the AES during the early postwar years (see Osborn 1968, 1974; Lorimer and Osborn 1934). Both could best be described as pioneers of human geography, demographics and social biology. Both were prolific authors and influential leaders. (See Engs 2005, for short biographies of both.) Frederick Osborn succeeded his uncle as president of the American Natural History museum, was commissioned as a general in the US Army to head the "Moral Branch" in World War II and later served as a deputy to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. He was appointed president of the Population Council in 1954 by John Rockefeller III, serving until 1959. Osborn predicted that in the future, "Eugenic goals are most likely to be attained under another name than eugenics" (Osborn 1968, 104). Sir Frederick was correct, but also underestimated the staying power of hardline eugenics.

This trend of relabelling organizations and retooling the agenda continued after World War II. Thus Paul Popenoe's Human Betterment Foundation, a pioneer in eugenic sterilization, was rolled into Planned Parenthood, and he became a popular marriage counsellor and a founder of genetic counselling (Engs 2005, 181–82). The American Eugenics Society became the Society for the Study of Social Biology in 1973, and its journal Eugenics Quarterly became Social Biology in 1969 (Engs 2005, 7-8). It is now Biodemography and Social Biology. Sir Frederick H Osborn even wrote a short history of the AES in Social Biology, in 1974. In London, the Galton Chair of Eugenics, once occupied by Karl Pearson, became the Galton Chair of Human Genetics in 1954, and its journals and publications were similarly renamed (Engs 2005, 84–85). The venerable old British Eugenics Education Society changed its name to the Galton Institute, and renamed its journal The Eugenics Review to the Journal of Biosocial Science, in 1968.

However, some academics, even prominent respected scientists, remained ardent supporters of hardline eugenics, even when the tide had turned against them. One of the most interesting and bizarre cases is that of American physicist and Nobel laureate William Shockley. Best known for his contribution to the development of the first transistor, in 1947, he was serving as an engineering chair at Stanford University when he embarked on a late crusade for hardline eugenics. Shockley addressed a Nobel conference in 1965 with a presentation on "Genetics and the Future of Man" (Tucker 1994, 183). After acknowledging his lack of formal training in the area, he expressed his long-held concerns with both the quantity and quality of human beings. Shockley explained

One of the greatest threats to the future was the 'genetic deterioration' of the human race ... that improvements in medical technology, together with the abundance in American society were assuring to all the privilege of reproducing their kind, even those suffering from genetic defects that would not have allowed them to survive to the age of reproduction in a more primitive environment. (Tucker 1994, 184)

Although most of the mass media ignored him, U.S. News and World Report interviewed him, and published a lengthy feature article. It included themes reminiscent of old-time hardline eugenics, such as the "increasing reproduction of the inferior strains," wherein "especially in Blacks, the genetically least capable were producing the largest number of offspring" (Tucker 1994, 185). The angry reaction from Shockley's Stanford colleagues in the genetics department was spurred by the fact that the article was reprinted in the Stanford M.D., the medical school's alumni magazine. The Stanford geneticists' response was unequivocal. In an open letter signed by all seven members of Stanford's genetics department, including Joshua Lederberg, a Nobel laureate himself, they repudiated Shockley's statements as

the kind of pseudo-scientific justification for class and race prejudice [that] that we would not ordinarily have cared to react to. However, Professor Shockley's standing as a Nobel laureate and as a colleague at Stanford, and now the appearance of his article with a label of Stanford medicine, creates a situation where our silence could leave the false impression that we share or acquiesce in this outlook, which we certainly do not ... [we] deplore the tone of his entire discussion about 'bad heredity.' (Tucker 1994, 185)

Shockley's critics mockingly asked why he had not used Goddard's old Kallikak study as part of his "scientific documentation." Not to disappoint, Shockley later did just that. Shockley also appealed to the National Academy of Sciences, making annual urgent "pleas for the study of racial aspects of the hereditypoverty-crime nexus" (Tucker 1994, 186). He proposed a system of tax credits for "eugenic desirables", similar to previous incarnations of eugenicists going back to Francis Galton. Shockley attacked his critics as being "undemocratic" and "totalitarian" in nature, and even proffered that "the lesson to be learned from Nazi history, was the value of free speech, not that eugenics is intolerable." Shockley's eugenic crusade continued for decades. He received significant funding from the Pioneer Fund, which had been established in 1937, founded by philanthropist Wickliffe Preston Draper and eugenicists Harry Laughlin and Frederick Osborn; its main objective was to "provide grants for research into the study of human nature, heredity and eugenics (Engs 2005, 179; Tucker 1994, 2002). The Pioneer Fund largely replaced previous financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Institute of Washington. Shockley was also a popular speaker for white-supremacist groups, segregationists or other reactionary groups and was even praised by right-wing mass media, including the Wall Street Journal (Tucker 1990, 183–95).

If this attempted eugenic revival was limited to one embittered scientist, the nails could perhaps be driven into the coffin of hardline eugenics. The list goes on, however, notably with Arthur Jensen (Berkeley psychologist), his protegés Hans Eysenck and R B Cattell, or other members of the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics,

with continued financial support from the Pioneer Fund (Tucker 1990, 194). The eugenics movement continues to this day, with such notables as Herrnstein and Murray, authors of The Bell Curve (1994), whose best-seller status prompted Stephen J Gould to expand and update his Mismeasure of Man (1996). The list also includes the notorious J Philippe Rushton, professor of psychology at the University of Western Ontario, another Pioneer Fund beneficiary and its former chairman (Tucker 2002, 195-291). While mainstream academia may view them as pariahs, they continue to publish and attract a great deal of publicity and support from the right-wing fringes of society. Mainstream scientists who should know better, like Nobel laureate and DNA guru James D Watson of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, get even more media attention with ill-advised spontaneous comments on eugenic themes.⁹

With the public re-emergence of various forms of neo-Nazis, the Klan, and other white-supremacist groups, the end of racial eugenics is nowhere in sight. Under pseudonyms it is a key component of the export of Western science and technologies to the developing world (from abortion, birth control and sterilization to theories, models and statistical techniques dating back to Galton and Karl Pearson). This is not even to mention the neo-eugenic elements of modern biotechnology that are embedded in such ventures as the Human Genome Project (HGP) and similar initiatives, corporate spin-offs, and societal memes (Kevles 1992, 1995). Since the HGP first began to attract major interest in academia, and driven by vast amounts of government funding and corporate financing, the spectre of a genetically-engineered, biotechnological neo-eugenics has been evoked by detractors and rival research projects, as well as a renascent religious right.

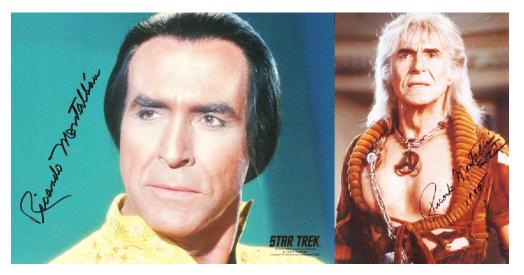


Figure 6: Ricardo Montalban as Khan in the original Star Trek series (1967), and then in the 1982 feature film The Wrath of Khan. Note that both are signed very valuable eugenics relics.

Then there is the Internet. A quick search of *modern eugenics* or *future eugenics* reveals a truly mindboggling plethora of sites, articles, books, images and organizations. By another gauge, the future of eugenics (by whatever name) is rosy, extrapolating from the ubiquitous prevalence of eugenic memes in science-fiction storylines (from the original *Star Trek* series through all its sequels to *Star Wars*, *Dr. Who* and many other franchises). Eugenics may just survive as a popular meme longer than any current human race or its sequels.¹⁰

Eugenics receives little curricular attention today, outside of faculties of social science and the humanities, where it is still being actively studied and researched, including its transition to modern academic disciplines and research programs. It was formerly included in high school biology as a brief blurb of a cautionary tale, in a sort of postmodern attempt at "civic biology." However, with the recent interest and enthusiasm in genetic engineering, genetic medicine, the Human Genome Project and other analogues, eugenics has been banished as an explicit curricular concept, despite (or perhaps because of) its pedagogical value as an exemplar for the history and nature of science, and the ongoing interaction of science, technology and society.

While social studies teachers who know something of its history may use eugenics as an exemplar of social movements, social injustice, and the dangers of pseudoscience in the hands of elites or by the state, it is also missing from the curriculum, even in Alberta, where it has a notorious history and intricate political complications (Grekul 2002). My question to secondary teachers, curriculum leaders, or social activists is: Should this painful episode in social and political history simply be discarded or dropped from consideration based on potentially embarrassing political involvements, outdated science, and outmoded racial attitudes and social thought? Or should it be "rediscovered" and reintroduced? But this time, not as the panacea for social problems from the previous century, but as an invaluable opportunity to learn from the past in order to ensure that this new millennium might actually live up to the hype in which it was ushered in, before the "War on Terror" changed everything and reset the agenda. At the very least, if we are going to trumpet the arrival of a brave new world of biotechnology and medical-technological solutions to mankind's biological limitations, we should at least teach students that there was a prior iteration to this utopic dream and highlight its ultimate results and costs.

Notes

1. The case of Samuel G Morton (1799-1851), a prominent Philadelphia physician, amateur anthropologist and collector of skulls, is among the most notorious episodes in the history of American science. Morton amassed a personal collection of almost 1,000 human skulls, from various races and parts of the world. His empirical measures of the cranial capacity of those skulls, and the attempted correlation with racial intelligence, brought Morton and this area of research to international fame. They are remembered most for their assertion that the various human races are different species, with separate creation episodes (polygeny). Morton was the most respected of the group of amateur scientists and academics who became known as the American School of Anthropology. Although the science and racial biases they held as irrefutable truths have long been discredited, the underlying perception that there is a scientific basis for the inequality of racial groups remains. (See the chapter on Morton in Stephen J Gould [1981, 1996] and Stanton [1966] for details of this earlier brand of scientific racism in America.)

2. The term *native-Americans* or *Old-stock Americans* refers to the native Anglo-Saxons who could trace their American heritage back to Puritans of the *Mayflower*, or to one of the original British colonies. The term was *not* applied to American Indians or mixed descendants of the original French or Spanish settlers from colonial times.

3. The Age of Anxiety refers to the post-World War I social malaise in Europe, the result of the Great War's horrific cost in human lives, family fortunes and national or imperial economies. While America escaped much of this social dislocation (indeed, it profited greatly from the war economically and industrially), it did lead to strident xenophobia and isolationism, culminating in the 'Red Scare' of 1918–22, and the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1924.

4. *The Pedagogical Seminary* (which became *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* from 1928–53) was edited for many years by G Stanley Hall, then president of Clark University, and a professor of both psychology and education. Hall is probably best known for being the founder of Child Study, then a new strand of curriculum studies. Several of his doctoral students became very involved in the eugenics movement.

5. *Editor's note*: an early tool for measuring intelligence, developed by Alfred Binet, a French psychologist, in the first years of the 20th century.

6. Madison Grant (1865-1937, Yale law degree 1890) was a stalwart of American eugenics, a wealthy lawyer and close friend of Teddy Roosevelt. He gained early fame as a conservationist, leading the charge to establish several national parks and wilderness preserves. His most influential work, The Passing of the Great Race (1916), argued for the preservation of America as a sort of "civilization preserve" for the Nordic race. Grant endorsed strict immigration controls-to be only from Anglo-Saxon or Nordic regions of Europe. He insisted that "the Laws of Nature require the obliteration of the unfit." Not surprisingly, Grant's book attracted the notice of Adolf Hitler, while he was in prison writing Mein Kampf. Hitler later wrote to Grant, thanking him for his momentous book, stating it was "his Bible." (Black 2003) At the Nuremberg Trials, Grant's Passing of the Great Race was entered into evidence by Dr Karl Brandt, Hitler's personal doctor and head of the Nazi euthanasia program, in order to justify that the population policies of the Third Reich were not ideologically unique, or even original to Nazi Germany. (See Engs 2005, 102–03 for a short biography of Grant, and Spiro 2009, for the full story.)

7. Paul Popenoe (1888–1979), born into a family of old-stock Huguenots, was editor of the *Journal of Heredity* until World War I, when he served on the Surgeon General's staff as director of the venereal diseases control section. He became executive director of the American Social Hygiene Association and later the Human Betterment Foundation, which was merged into Planned Parenthood after World War II. His book *Modern Marriage* (1925) went through multiple editions for decades (Engs 2005, 181).

8. *Buck vs Bell* was the infamous 1927 test case for mandatory eugenic sterilization that established its national constitutionality, when the prior decisions of lower courts in Virginia were upheld by the US Supreme Court. The lone dissenting justice, a Catholic, did not submit a minority report (Kevles 1995, 110–12). The eugenic sterilization laws upon which the Virginia statute was based were later copied by many other states including, in 1933, the new Nationalist-Socialist state of Adolf Hitler, among the most ardent supporters of racial eugenics (Engs 2005, 26, 158–60).

9. Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island, New York, was the site of the Eugenics Record Office, established in 1910 by Charles B Davenport and generously funded for three decades by the Carnegie Institute of Washington and the Rockefeller Foundation, as well as numerous private donations from wealthy "native Americans." It is now a major genetics and evolutionary biology research institute, but also boasts a eugenics museum and educational website on the history of eugenics and human genetics.

10. My first exposure to the idea of eugenics was compliments of the original Star Trek series. In the "Space Seed" episode, a young Ricardo Montalban starred as Khan, the leader of a band of genetically-enhanced "Supermen," rescued from a century-old derelict spaceship (the Botany Bay) by the Enterprise crew. In short order, Khan and his supermen attempted to commandeer the ship for their own sinister purposes, betraying their contempt for ordinary humans. Captain Kirk and the crew saved the day and dropped off the mutineers on the nearest habitable planet. Twenty years later the embittered survivors of this group of eugenic übermenschen again played the antagonists for Admiral Kirk and the Enterprise crew in Star Trek: The Wrath of Khanfeaturing an older, but remarkably fit Ricardo Montalban. I did not really appreciate the eugenic angle until after formal study of the subject. The subject of future eugenics programs and trans/ posthumans in the age of advanced biotechnologies became recurring motifs in later Star Trek franchises. Most other longrunning science fiction franchises (including Star Wars) have continued to flog the eugenics theme. Although they have been explicitly intended as cautionary tales (almost always), each new version has excited new generations of fan-boys and girls to the possibilities of modern eugenics and biotechnology. Actress Jerri Ryan's "Borg-Babe" Seven-of-Nine is the quintessential example, inspiring more fan-worship than any previous Star Trek character, Captain Kirk included. The longevity and continued popularity of the theme in science fiction and popular culture is a virtual guarantee of the continued relevance of eugenics as a meme in future societies. Whether or not Francis Galton or his Progressive Era followers would approve, new mass media have publicized eugenic memes more effectively than Galton and all his societies could even have dreamt.

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Transforming Pedagogy and Practice Through Inquiry-Based Curricula: A Study of High School Social Studies

Pam Adams and Craig Findlay

Abstract

The new Alberta social studies curriculum, aligned with a provincial agenda of transformation, reached full implementation in 2011. The study described here explores the extent to which the new curriculum's inquiry-based pedagogy has fostered changes in instructional strategies among high school teachers.

Specifically, this study sought to answer the question "In what ways and to what extent does a transformative curriculum shift teaching practices?" Semistructured interviews were conducted with 10 Alberta high school teachers selected to represent a range of teaching experience, geographical location and learning context. Results suggest that curricula with transformative characteristics can contribute to movement from didactic to student-centred teaching practices; that is, participants departed from instructional strategies that reflected predominantly Eurocentric narrative and modernist Western pedagogies. Furthermore, findings identify the critical relationships between a transformative curriculum and authentic assessment strategies. Support for teachers must follow an essential temporality in which the process of assessment accompanies-not follows-a transformative curriculum if teaching practice is to be enhanced.

Introduction

At the turn of this century, teachers and curriculum specialists in Alberta engaged as architects of a framework that evolved into the new social studies curriculum. The extent to which this curricular change affected teaching practice is a point of speculation; however, some anecdotal feedback suggests that various elements of the new curriculum have caused educators to question previously held assumptions regarding pedagogy and teaching practice. One—the issues-based structure demands increased levels of student engagement in their pursuit of active and responsible citizenship. Another the multiple perspectives approach—requires teachers to depart from a largely Eurocentric narrative toward pluralism, diversity and globalization.

This study chronicles the experiences of 10 high school social studies teachers as they attempt to implement a transformational curriculum. After a brief description of the literature and methodology that guide this study, interview findings will be discussed that reveal the ways and extent to which curricular change is linked to instructional change. The contention is made that effective teachers engage in sustained and purposeful dialogue surrounding pedagogy and practice; in this regard, the implementation of a transformative curriculum can be a powerful impetus for such conversations.

Brief Literature Synopsis: Transformation and Critical Pedagogy

One definition of a transformative curriculum is that which promotes change in teaching and learning. The new Alberta high school social studies curriculum aspires to create active and responsible citizens who are armed with critical and creative thinking skills and able to contextualize suppression and oppression. Such learners, it is envisioned, readily embrace multiple perspectives as a necessary component of meaningful discourse. This focus clearly connects with the vision of luminaries such as Hilda Taba. In examining her work, Fraenkel (1992) states that "Above all, Hilda believed that the social studies should be about people—what people are like, how they are similar and different, what they have accomplished, their problems, their customs, their ways of life, and their culture" (p 177). Similarly, Noddings (2005) contends that a transformational curriculum serves to move education systems toward a pedagogy of liberation, and toward a society that demonstrates inclusion, diversity, empathy and compassion (Noddings 2008b).

It can be fairly claimed that this type of curriculum contains a central tenet of critical pedagogy: social change. As a vehicle for exploring social constraints within structures such as the education system, critical pedagogy endorses transformation of that which is deemed oppressive. A curriculum that is grounded in critical pedagogy is essentially libertarian in nature and recognizes the importance of giving voice to those who are marginalized: the Other.

In this regard, Paulo Freire is arguably one of the most influential authors of the 20th century. Using a metaphor of banking, he contends that, "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat" (Freire 2007, 208). Equating students to an empty bank account, subject to deposits of knowledge by the teacher, presents an image that may be seen to perpetuate oppressive practices in a classroom and that is antithetical to students being positioned at the centre of their learning, guided by a process of inquiry: a hallmark of transformation. Curiosity and wondering thus become hallmarks of transformation.

Giroux, a friend and contemporary of Freire, offers further insight into the notion of critical pedagogy.

He suggests that "At the very least, critical pedagogy proposes that education is a form of political intervention in the world that is capable of creating possibilities for social transformation" (Giroux 2004, 34).

The practice of standardizing curricula appears to provide particular inflammation for authors who support critical pedagogy and transformation. For example, Apple (2003) argues that national curricula, and especially national testing programs, are the first and most essential step toward marketization and commodification. Kohn posits that chronically underfunded public schools cannot afford to implement transformational curricula that may alienate potential funding agencies or, as the case may be, voting blocks. He observes that

what business wants, it usually gets. It doesn't take a degree in political science to figure out why politicians (and sometimes even educators) so often capitulate to business. For that matter, it isn't much of a mystery why a 500-pound gorilla is invited to sleep anywhere it wishes. But that doesn't make the practice any less dangerous. (Kohn 2002, 119)

Methodology

This research sought to reveal self-reported changes in pedagogy and practice among high school social studies teachers after they had undertaken their first steps in implementation of a transformative curriculum. Phenomenology, as a type of "pedagogical reflection" (van Manen 1982, 283), provided the guiding ontological framework for this methodology. Semistructured interviews offered an opportunity to capture the lived experiences of participating teachers. A digital video camera captured body language, voice tone and pitch, facial expression, and word choice—aspects of the interview that also reflect the phenomenological nature of this study.

Participants were asked to respond to questions designed to unveil the personal stories related to their implementation journey. Specific to this paper, the following questions guided the interviews:

- 1. How has the implementation of the new high school social studies program impacted your teaching practice?
- 2. In what other areas have you noticed the implementation of the new curriculum as having an effect?

With the permission of each participant, interviews were transcribed into text, then reviewed for accuracy (Campbell and Fiske 1959). Once the interview, transcription and verification process was completed, data was coded using Neuman's three-step analysis process (Neuman1997, 422-23). During open coding, interview transcripts and field notes were examined for recurring themes and concepts. These umbrella topics were used as the basis for categorical labels for subsequent reviews. A second reading of the data, the axial coding, determined the appropriateness of the code labels developed during the open coding process. This served to uncover any necessary adjustments to the existing labels and determined whether new labels were required. In the selective coding process-a third pass of the transcripts and field notes-data was probed for illustrative examples and nonexamples to support the themes and concepts determined by the categorizing labels. These labels directed the organization of information into comparative and contrasting examples that guided the final analysis and conclusions. Throughout this process, words, sentences and clusters of ideas were key pieces of data that highlighted interconnectedness.

Findings

Instructional Practice

In the first question of interviews, participants were asked to reflect on the extent to which the new high school social studies program encouraged reconsideration of their instructional practice. All participants (10 of 10) identified varying degrees of change in their classroom teaching that they attributed to the new curriculum; Archibald's comments are representative of these discussions:

When I was doing my history degree and we thought back on high school social studies, you thought more about memorization, more lecturebased classes. I think with me, with the new curriculum, I more embrace the idea of like, collaborative learning and more critical thinking, and so I kind of veer away from more direct lecturing and me talking, and more collaborative group work where the kids will discuss stuff and then from there they formulate their own opinions.

Three subthemes emerged that described the nature of this change in instruction:

- Participants' incorporation of more student-centred teacher strategies
- Teachers' increased focus on facilitating students' *skill development* rather than *content memorization*
- Enhanced teacher flexibility in meeting learning styles and needs of students

The Student-Centred Classroom

All participants stated that the new curriculum promoted their shift from a teacher-centred to a student-centred learning environment. As one example, Freidmann explained that

Well, it has changed me; it transformed me from a teacher-orientated instructor to a student-centred instructor so now, of course, I look more at the student outcomes, what do I want the kids to learn or what do I feel as though the enduring understandings are in the course that I really want them to get out of it or the curriculum wants them to get out of it.

In addition, all participants (10 of 10) indicated that the learning outcomes identified in the new high school social studies curriculum allowed them to orchestrate constructivist activities through which their students seemed more likely to engage with issues and take responsibility for their own learning. Participants noted that the issue questions that frame the curriculum, as well as the general and specific learner outcomes that scaffold student learning, help students develop better-informed positions. Hugler's comments reflect this perspective:

It's just that the new curriculum is structured in a way that gives you more of a focus so that differentiation is not only possible, it is almost mandated within the curriculum, and so that gives you a different understanding of how your classroom is structured, how it is run. As a result of the new curriculum, though, I have done much more with talking ... with my students than talking *at* my students.

Hugler implied that instructional paradigms that rely heavily on factual dissemination might not be as effective in achieving conceptual exploration. The skills of accessing, scrutinizing and sorting information have taken centre stage; participating teachers report focusing more on the responsible use of information and on the skills necessary to appropriately manage and apply information.

All participants described their transition toward teaching strategies that encourage students to assume increased levels of responsibility. Freidmann explains:

I think it has been good for them, though, because it has really shown that they are in charge of their own learning and that is really what the postsecondary world is all about. When they get out of high school, they are really in charge of what they do, they have choices of what direction they go in life, what school they go to, they have a choice of what occupation they are going to do, and it is really self-directed learning, so we are really giving them a foundation for that.

Skill Development Versus Content Memorization

In what might appear to be subtle restructuring, the new program document outlines skills in the front matter, an indication of their relative importance for teachers who are constructing a pedagogical stance with respect to student learning. Some participants (4 of 10) referenced their struggle to shift from a content-based to a skill-based curriculum. However, all participants agreed that the new curriculum demands that teachers select instructional strategies most likely to facilitate students' problem solving and responsible decision making.

Interviews also yielded a subtheme: teachers observed that the new curriculum was difficult for students who had been successful in a more traditional teaching and learning context. Ballery noted that

I feel like some of the students did really well in junior high because they kind of had learning down pat, like they knew that if they studied harder, if they worked really hard, they would do well in class, and so they may have the basics of it, but then to come into this new curriculum and not necessarily be able to critically think or think beyond what's just in the textbook. They are getting really frustrated because they cannot just sit and memorize everything and then come in and do really well, and so I think that is the biggest frustration for them.

In addition, Cogwell commented that

The ones who struggled the most in changing from, "I know what the teacher wants and I know what is safe to say or give," versus the new process, those who struggled and disliked the process most were the students who had traditionally been your highest-scoring students and so some of them have expressed frustration and downright anger that we had to change this while they are still in school, but I feel if they opened up to it they would find growth.

Three participants (3/10) expressed concern that the new curriculum did not allow sufficient depth of study of some historical narratives. Iwabi pointed out that she struggles with how to explore a concept or a piece of history in enough detail to allow students to develop an informed position. Her comments represent the three inferences made from this theme:

I think I am also perhaps a little frustrated by the focus on high-end learning without enough time for the low-end learning, because you cannot discuss something intelligently until you have learned the basics, and I think the course will miss the basics and sometimes just go to the big, complicated stuff ... Nobody has ever said it, but memorization has fallen out of vogue as a way of learning; it is just really condemned as a terrible learning strategy and if I want my kids to be able to discuss an electoral system, there is a whole bunch of vocabulary that they simply have to know, but they have never been exposed to it before-they do not even know what an electoral system is. They really have to first learn the basic terms of politics before they can talk about electoral systems, so memorizing, that is really not bad, it is a good learning tool, they have to do it. You cannot get to the next level without doing that basic work, and I do not know how to get there in a few months without doing the memorization.

The appreciation is corroborated by Galagher's observation that

Some of the kids get frustrated some of the time because they wish they could stop and really get some pretty significant depth to an issue when a lot of times there is such a breadth of topics of time and of history that we cover that they're not able to stop and appreciate it.

Flexibility

Despite these concerns, all participants acknowledged the freedom to attend to student needs and interests that was afforded by the new curriculum. Cogwell described the old curriculum as

A checklist of things and people you had to talk about and it gave you the impression that you were going to be asked to simply know them, versus the specific outcomes start with examining background information but then it [new curriculum] takes you up the Bloom's taxonomy of analysis and evaluation so that you can see the earlier outcomes in an issue.

All participants acknowledged the importance of skill development in their classrooms and, while some (4 of 10) recalled that a focus on skill development was not new to the high school social studies classroom, they noted its importance was now formalized. Freidmann suggested that "What we have done is taken the best practices from the old curriculum and made them the focus of the new social studies curriculum." Iwabi explained that "Probably the first thing that comes to mind as being the most significant is the shift from learning *things* to learning *how*. It is not a bad thing, but that is the most significant." Cogwell commented that "The most significant change has to do with the fact that it's a process rather than just information based." Ballery elaborated

I mean, if you think even 10, 20 years ago students did not have the world at their fingertips like we do now, and so education has changed in a sense that we don't need kids to memorize as many facts because they just have to go on to a computer or on to their iPod and get it right there. It is more the matter of getting them to critically assess what they are looking at Wikipedia or on Google and how that is going to influence their decision making.

Finally, Ms Janzer said that "In so many ways, what we teach is insignificant, in so many ways, it is who we teach and how."

Further Effects of Implementation

The second interview question asked teachers to reflect on other areas of teaching affected by implementation of the new curriculum. All participants (10 of 10) made reference to changes in assessment practices that were required as a result of the new curriculum. Specifically, teachers commented on the new curriculum acting as a catalyst for change in assessment practice and in making assessment a focus of teacher professional development.

Three subthemes emerged from the interviews: assessment for learning, assessment of learning and performance-based assessment.

Assessment for Learning

Many participants spoke about the issues-based focus of the new curriculum and how this focus required them to re-examine their formative assessment practices. Because each theme is framed by an overarching issue with multiple possible subissues, sustained assessment is necessary to accurately capture student learning growth. With fewer "correct answers" to memorize and regurgitate, students must constantly assess their understandings and reconstruct their position as they are introduced to new historical and contemporary contexts. Archibald elaborates:

I think as far as learning goes, students are more responsible for their learning in the sense that, again, without the sort of stress of all this taking things in and giving formative assessment, there is a lot more room for them to reflect on their own learning, which allows for them a kind of a double feedback; they can reflect themselves, and you can reflect on their learning and give them that feedback.

Participants communicated their impressions that students are understanding and appreciating the ongoing assessment for learning. Instead of viewing learning as an episode and a terminal event, students are beginning to connect the formative assessment to their own personal growth in a way that reflects rudimentary levels of metacognition. Commenting from a student perspective, Cogwell said

I am not giving out as many things to assess or mark but there is a lot of feedback and a lot of discussion where I have kids, when I give them something back or we go through something that is formative, that are starting to understand the terminology. Because there is not a mark that they feel is set in stone, they seem to be more willing to ask questions ... I have had more students, especially at the 30 level, come back to me and say, "If you can help me figure out why I am at a mid level instead of the high level, I would like to try it again." I have had more rewrites and I have had more upward progression in that respect because it is not simply you did it or you did not, it was that you knew what you were doing but there was more to be thought of, more to be said, and a lot of my students are wanting to climb up that ladder.

Assessment of Learning

A majority of participants (7 of 10) said that their summative assessments have also changed as a result of the high school social studies curriculum. Because of the skills-based nature of the curriculum, many participants reported moving away from multiplechoice style summative tests to more written-response questions. Galagher commented that

[Now] virtually every single one of our assessments, or formal assessments, would be both multiple choice and written [with] fewer multiplechoice items. Of course more of them are sourcebased, and then more are asking kids to write more and more frequently.

All participants referenced the importance of teaching and assessing skills. Students are presented with large amounts of information from textbooks and the Internet, and teachers recognize the need to help students analyze and evaluate this information so it can be used in a variety of contexts. Teacher participants (5 of 10) discussed the need for student skill development with respect to the analysis of source material (political cartoons, images, charts, graphs, quotations and text). Dunley said:

I would say, obviously with the changing of how the written-response questions are constructed in the new curriculum, analyzing sources has become more important in my opinion. So, in everyday planning, just getting kids to focus more on that kind of analysis of sources has become that much more important. [I'm] trying to build those types of responses into my assessment so that kids are ready for the written response [reference to the standardized diploma exam].

Performance-Based Assessment

Many participants (8 of 10) identified their increase in performance-based assessments to allow greater flexibility and authenticity in evaluating students. Participants, such as Ballery, described moving toward more inquiry and project-based assessment:

I really do not like using, you know, multiplechoice tests because I cannot assess everything that the kids can do. I find more project-based learning, like a project where they have to use more than one skill, is a lot easier.

Freidmann elaborated that

I think the new curriculum has sort of compelled us in the direction of authentic assessment now so I really do look at formative versus summative assessment, which I have never really done before. So what it has essentially done is sort of steered me in a direction where we are doing inquirystyle activities, you know, the kids are really exploring.

Archibald explained that he felt compelled to allow students to find new ways to express their understanding and their ability to meet curricular outcomes.

There seems to be a big push for allowing them a lot more—with differentiation of instruction—allowing them to express their learning in a lot of different ways, and technology is a great way to do that, but they don't have to use technology either, that is kind of the great thing about it. But they can use things like Movie Maker to make movies, they can use PowerPoint, although personally I am trying to move away from PowerPoint.

Half of the participants made similar connections between the use of new technologies and performance-based assessment. New technologies have facilitated the search for new and engaging ways to have students share their understanding. Freidmann indicated that

the other big thing has been the use of Flip cameras and other technology like that which was, perhaps, the biggest challenge for me because learning Movie Maker was intimidating even though it is a relatively simple program. But incorporating Flips and Movie Maker has been, I think, something that has enlivened the classes, it has gotten them excited about it because they are growing up with a lot of this stuff, but I found that the kids are actually quite self-directed.

In addition, participants (4 of 10) acknowledged the influence of Alberta Education's new diploma examination structure on assessment practices. The new diploma has an increased reliance on students' written responses and now comprises two main tasks, each with a distinct skill set. The first written assignment is a source analysis question in which students are asked to interpret three sources of information independently (political cartoons, images, charts, graphs, quotations and text) and then discuss relationships that exist among the sources. The second written assignment is a defence-of-position essay in which students must analyze a source to determine an ideological perspective and then write a paper defending a position on the extent to which we should embrace the perspective outlined in the source. Nearly half of teacher participants reported that their classroom assessments now mimic the performance assessments created by Alberta Educations diploma examinations. Janzer explained:

We are trying to model the diploma exam and so we are creating reading exams as well and whether we like it or not, we can do all the formative assessment we like, but in the end they are facing that summative exam or those summative exams and I do not think they have the skills, especially the literary skills.

Discussion

It's the death of education, but it's the dawn of learning.

—Stephen Heppell

From the perspective of participants in this study, the new Alberta high school social studies curriculum has affected their pedagogy and practice. These findings support literature theorizing that a transformative curriculum will enhance, in important and observable ways, a transition in instructional practices.

Curriculum as Impetus for Educational Progression

The creation and implementation of the new curriculum presents challenges and opportunities. Importantly, new documents have an unfamiliar appearance, yet that simple departure relays the first and most obvious communication of intent. In the context of the transformational social studies curriculum, these departures include the following:

- Focus on skill development through an inquiry process (O'Connor 2002; Wiggins and McTighe 2005)
- Movement from delivering facts toward knowledge construction using issues-based approaches (Evans and Brodkey 1996; Evans, Newmann and Saxe 1996)
- Opportunities to explore multiple perspectives and informed problem solving (Battiste and Henderson 2000; Boyle-Baise 1996; Case 2008d; Ladson-Billings 1996; Newbery, Morgan and Eadie 2008; Raulston Saul 2008; Steinhauer 1997)

Inquiry-Based Learning

Participants noted the value of an issues-based structure of content delivery in which the teacher is the architect of learning and the student is a contributor of information, experience and ideas. This approach supports a constructivist paradigm that enhances students' engagement levels, conceptual development and social participation. A primary role of the teacher is to offer lessons in which students develop skills essential to the inquiry process. Participants discussed the need to provide opportunities for students to meet curricular outcomes, to communicate their understanding of the curricular concepts and to provide opportunities for students to engage the issues that frame the curriculum.

Student-Centred Learning

Participants unanimously agreed that the new high school social studies curriculum necessitates a more student-centred approach to teaching and learning. The issues-based nature of the curriculum creates problem-based learning that makes inquiry central to teaching and learning.

Participants in this study concurred with a large body of research that supports the effectiveness of student-centred approaches (Case 2008a, 2008b, 2008c; Cherryholmes 1996; Evans 2004; Evans and Brodkey 1996; Evans, Newmann and Saxe 1996; Ferguson 1996; Fernekes 1996; Gibson 2004; Gini-Newman and Gini-Newman 2008; Giroux 2002; Ladson-Billings 1996; McKay and Gibson 1999; Merryfield and White, 1996; Noddings 2008a; Nunley 2004; Ochoa-Becker 1996; Parker 2001; Pugh and Garcia 1996; Wright and Sears 1997).

Multiple Perspectives Approach

Although the curriculum prescribes the values and attitudes of pluralistic and democratic traditions of Canada, students explore issues from their perspective in relation to others and work toward constructing a position that demonstrates responsible and ethical citizenship.

Participants clearly reported that the new program affords the flexibility to allow educators to find narratives and perspectives that are meaningful to students.

Furthermore, participants acknowledged the importance of the multiple perspectives approach as a catalyst for students to examine others' views relative to their own, a process that constructs individual and collective identity (Battiste and Henderson 2000; Boyle-Baise 1996; Case 2008d; Darling 2002; Giroux 2005; Ladson-Billings 1996; Newbery, Morgan and Eadie 2008; Steinhauer 1997).

Conclusion

Data from a provincewide needs assessment survey administered by Alberta Learning in 2001 guided development and implementation of a new high school social studies curriculum that has prompted teachers to reflect upon their pedagogy and practice. The extent to which this transformative curriculum has had an impact on classroom teachers continues to evolve; however, this study unveils evidence to support the perspective that the new high school social studies curriculum has prompted educators to initiate observable changes in instructional approaches.

The changes may, in fact, constitute one approach to addressing Pinar's (1988) concerns that "the main thrusts in curriculum development and reform over the years have been directed at microcurricular problems to the neglect of the macrocurricular problems" (p 1). His observation highlights a recurring question regarding the ontology of minutiae embedded within some curricula. Why do teachers ask students to know certain things and not others? Global diversity, interconnectedness and interdependence have minimized the value of certain facts and elevated the need for broader skill acquisition and examination of perspectives. Is wholesale curricular reformation necessary to encourage teachers to shift their pedagogies and practices? That is, is macrocurricular change more likely to advance pedagogical transformation?

Over a century ago, Dewey (1897) described education as the primary instrument of social progress and reform. He implies that societal change requires citizen engagement: a fundamental principle of democracy. The need to create active and responsible citizens is a central goal of all modern liberal democracies. Social studies education is at the heart of this matter:

Social studies provides opportunities for students to develop the attitudes, skills and knowledge that will enable them to become engaged, active, informed and responsible citizens. Recognition and respect for individual and collective identity is essential in a pluralistic and democratic society. Social studies helps students develop their sense of self and community, encouraging them to affirm their place as citizens in an inclusive, democratic society. (Alberta Education, 2005, 1)

A new curriculum brings with it obvious adjustments with respect to the *what* of teaching, but a truly transformative curriculum, such as the new high school social studies curriculum, can engage teachers in meaningful self-reflection and change with respect to the *how* and *why* of teaching. According to the results of this study, a transformative curriculum can serve as a catalyst for metamorphosis of teaching and learning.

The social studies curriculum embodies a number of the principles and pillars of Alberta Education's new curriculum vision. As educators across the province explore curriculum redesign through the lens provided by the Inspiring Education movement, they would do well to observe and acknowledge the work done by social studies educators over the course of the last decade.

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What Are the Similarities and Differences? A Comparison of the Turkish and Alberta Social Studies Curricula in Terms of Their Basics

Filiz Zayimoğlu Öztürk and Talip Öztürk

Abstract

In this essay, the authors try to make a panoramic comparison of the two countries' social studies curricula in light of their basics. Comparing the Alberta and Turkish social studies curricula within the historical perspective aims to reveal the similarities and differences of the two curricula in terms of their basic elements, such as definitions, visions, general structures, learning strands and the role of social studies. To do so, the authors examine a question: Why do the two curricula have similarities and differences? The documents show that there are some basic similarities and differences in the curricula, which is considered to be due to their historical roots. Document analysis, which is one qualitative research method, was conducted in the research. In conclusion, the two curricula are examined and recommendations are given for curriculum developers and authorities to reach a broader perspective.

Introduction

Turkish social studies education made a major change in 2005, to what was called a constructivist approach according to the global trends in education literature. This affected the basics of the curriculum in a radical manner. The new curricular document was introduced to the fourth and fifth elementary school level in 2004, then to the sixth and seventh level in 2005; the reform movement continued in the high school curricula. Some might wonder how the politicians and the ministry of national education administration came to this idea of great change.

According to Akşit (2007), the main reason for policymakers to execute such a comprehensive curricular reform was the fairly pessimistic view of the overall quality of the Turkish education system outlined in international assessment programs such as PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study). Another important reason behind these reforms in the field of education in Turkey is the overall reformist tendency observed in government policy in order to join the European Union. This also has been the case with all fields of education in terms of curriculum changes throughout the country (Öztürk 2011).

However, critics from many different perspectives bombarded the curricular reform. The curriculum reform was mostly welcomed by teachers, education scholars and the general public (Öztürk 2011, 114), yet many teachers and students were lost in the curriculum activities that they were not used to doing before.

According to Açıkalın (2011), after the implementation of the new social studies curricula in primary and secondary schools, new concerns were raised. These concerns were mostly focused on modelling other countries' social studies curricula, primarily that of the United States. It was very clear that the new social studies curriculum is very similar to the social studies curriculum being implemented in the United States (Eğitim-Sen 2005; EPPK 2006; Şimşek 2009; Açıkalın 2011). This should not be seen as a negative, because modelling and using experiences and examples from other countries in the process of preparing a new curriculum are necessary and helpful.

Canadian social studies educators claim that Canadian curriculum was strongly influenced by American trends that were impossible to avoid (Clark 2004, 17; Gibson 2012, 38–39). Therefore, the American effect in Canadian social studies curricula can be easily seen. In light of the above information, it is seen that both Turkish and Canadian social studies are highly influenced by American approaches. As writers, when we came to Canada for our postdoctoral studies, one of our goals was to examine the Canadian social studies curriculum. When we started to examine it more deeply, we realized that Turkey and Canada had similar social studies curricula in terms of definitions, visions, general structures, learning strands and the role of social studies in the curricula.

This research aims to contribute to the research literature. It will help educators gain different perspectives in order to transfer good applications between the two countries, understand differences and similarities between the two curricula, and to increase the awareness of curriculum developers and educational authorities.

In this context, the overall objective of this research is to ascertain the differences and similarities that Turkey and Canada–Alberta have in the social studies curricula at primary and secondary school levels (in terms of definitions, visions, general structures, learning strands and the role of social studies). With reference to theoretical background, this document analysis research will explore also the following questions:

- 1. Are the Turkish and Alberta social studies curricula comparable and do they have similarities and differences in terms of the curriculum documents?
- 2. If the two curricula were highly influenced by American social studies trends, then how can we describe the situation?

For each attainment target in the curriculum of both countries, the elements were assessed as broader, similar and narrower and an overall judgment was made.

Research Method

The research method used in this study is qualitative document analysis, which is an appropriate method for gathering information when studying official documents. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which the documents are interpreted by researchers to deepen understanding of the topic of investigation. This qualitative research was conducted in steps. First, the essential and core content in the main areas of both curricula were selected and arranged in an order to facilitate comparison. Then, the content areas of the body of both curricula were selected and displayed according to the subareas expressed earlier in the research problems. These countries/regions were chosen because the researchers could easily access documents and had some familiarity with both countries' social studies education systems. The method of sampling is goal oriented.

Findings

Subtitles in this section explain the topic of each comparison mentioned above. Some systematic differences between the Turkish and Alberta social studies curriculum are identified below.

The Definitions

In the Turkish social studies curriculum document, the definition of social studies is

a primary school lesson whose main purpose is to help promote the individual performance in a certain social existence; and which consists of social sciences such as history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, political science, and law topics and civics; which are organized under certain learning strands; and in which the interaction of human with social and physical environment in the past, present and future is studied. (Ministry of National Education [MoNE] 2005a)

As can be seen from the formal definition, Turkish social studies, which is highlighted as a primary school course, contains history and geography as the major social sciences. In addition to the major social sciences, social studies cover other social sciences such as economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy and political science. Also, nonscientific studies like "law topics and civics" imply its broad content. All of these show its interdisciplinary structure. The curriculum is built around the learning strands, units and themes. Humans' social and physical environments were also stated in the curriculum within the context of past, present and future.

The Alberta social studies curriculum document defines social studies as follows:

Social studies is the study of people in relation to each other and to their world. It is an issues focused and inquiry-based interdisciplinary subject that draws upon history, geography, ecology, economics, law, philosophy, political science and other social science disciplines. (Alberta Education 2005, 1)

As can be seen from the definition of the curriculum, history and geography are the primary foci, coming before all other social science disciplines. Social studies is stated as a subject of study of people and their relationship. One of the prominent elements of the definition is "issues focused and inquiry-based interdisciplinary subject."

The Comparison of the Two Definitions

As the initial phase of comparison work, we attempted to match the formal definitions from the comparison countries/regions by using both government-developed guidebooks. The Turkish curriculum calls itself a "primary school course," while the Alberta one calls itself a "study." The important point here is the Alberta curriculum's statement that "social studies is the study of people in relation to each other and to their world," which indicates that social studies is not just a course, as mentioned in the Turkish definition, but more than that. The issues-focused and inquiry-based features are considered significant in terms of modern-day curriculum design theory. This point seems missing in the Turkish definition and is an important deficiency that the curriculum developers should address. As well as the differences between

the curricula, there are many similarities between them, such as social sciences disciplines consisting mostly of history and geography.

The Vision Statements

In the Turkish social studies curriculum document, the vision of social studies is

to educate the citizens of the Republic of Turkey, who embraced and adopted the Ataturk's contemporary principles and reforms in the 21st century, who comprehend the history and culture of Turkey, and are equipped with the basic democratic values and respect for human rights, and are sensitive to the environment, based on their experiences to interpret the information in the context of social and cultural construct, use and edit (critical thinker, creative, decision maker) the advanced skills of social participation, gain the methods used by social scientists [to] produce scientific knowledge, have an active social life, are productive, know their rights and responsibilities. (MoNE 2005a)

When the vision statement of the social studies curriculum is examined, the most remarkable point is seen to be to educate Turkish republic citizens who embraced and adopted Ataturk's principles and a Kemalist perspective. Kemalism, also known as Ataturkism, defines political, social, cultural and religious reforms in Turkish history. Kemalism embodies secular and modern properties in the fulfillment of many political goals of European modernity. It emphasizes active, productive and responsible traits as well as many other personal characteristics of a Turkish citizen. It also emphasizes knowledge of history, respect for human rights and democratic principles, sensitivity to the environment, information interpretation and practice, as well as using thinking skills to educate students.

Below is the vision of social studies in the Alberta social studies curriculum document:

The Albertan Social Studies Kindergarten to Grade 12 Program of Studies meets the needs and reflects the nature of 21st century learners. It has at its heart the concepts of citizenship and identity in the Canadian context. The program reflects multiple perspectives, including Aboriginal and Francophone, that contribute to Canada's evolving realities. It fosters the building of a society that is pluralistic, bilingual, multicultural, inclusive and democratic. The program emphasizes the importance of diversity and respect for differences as well as the need for social cohesion and the effective functioning of society. It promotes a sense of belonging and acceptance in students as they engage in active and responsible citizenship at the local, community, provincial, national and global level. (Alberta 2005, 1)

As can be seen, central to the vision of the Alberta curriculum is the recognition of the diversity, perspectives and pluralism of Canadian society. Also emphasized are Canadian social structure, Aboriginal heritage, multicultural realities and Canada's official bilingualism.

The Comparison of the Two Vision Statements

From the above statements, it is clear that both curricula have been making efforts to enhance future learners in social studies courses. When the two curricula are examined, there are both differences and similarities that attract attention. Both vision statements focus on their country's expectations for younger generations in the direction of future citizenship education. The Alberta social studies curriculum spans kindergarten to Grade 12, whereas the Turkish social studies curriculum covers from fourth to seventh grades (which is not stated in the vision statement of Turkish curriculum). While the Turkish vision is based on Kemalist reforms and republican principles. the Alberta curriculum is based on diversity, perspectives and multiculturalism. Equally, both visions focus on preparing students for the 21st century. As that is an essential item, it should be in the vision statement. Moreover, the vision statements show the countries/ regions' sociocultural structure and historical roots as well as future expectations. In fact, the two countries' vision statements clearly reflect what they want their citizens to do for their countries in the future.

The General Structures of the Two Curricula

The Turkish social studies curriculum document sets out the structure of social studies as shown in Figure 1.

The overall structure of the Turkish social studies curriculum starts with general and specific aims and goes through skills, values, concepts, learning strands, units and expectations, as can be seen above. In other words, the expectations compose units, units compose learning strands and each learning strand includes different skills, values and concepts in the curriculum.

The Alberta social studies curriculum document sets out the structure of social studies as shown in Figure 2.

The structure of the Alberta social studies curriculum starts with citizenship and identity and goes through skills and values, knowledge and understanding, values and attitudes, learning strands, general outcomes, and specific outcomes, as can be seen in Figure 2. In other words, the learning strands consist of general outcomes and specific outcomes, and each learning strand has different skills and values, knowledge and understanding, values and attitudes. Consequently, all of the learning strands support the central issue of citizenship and identity.

The Comparison of the Two Structures

When all of the above information is considered, several similarities can be seen in the general structure of both curricula. The two curricula have a similar structure; however, there are differences between the contents of the curricula, such as skills, values, concepts,

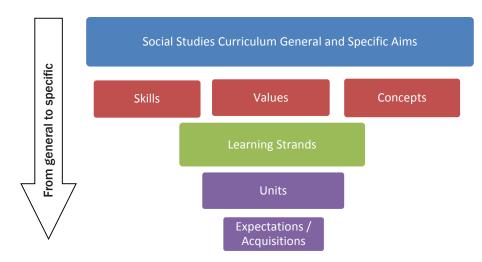


Figure 1: General Structural Design of the Turkish Social Studies Curriculum

units and expectations in the Turkish social studies curriculum; and skills and values, knowledge and understanding, values and attitudes, learning strands, general outcomes and specific outcomes in the Alberta social studies curriculum. Also, significant differences can be seen between two main goals, which are the general and specific aims of social studies in the Turkish curriculum, and citizenship and identity in the Alberta curriculum. In light of these findings, it is possible to say that the core focus of the Alberta curriculum is addressing issues related to citizenship and identity.

The Learning Strands of the Two Curricula

As mentioned above, the two curricula have the same organization in terms of the learning strands, but they have different content, which is suitable to the structure of both societies. This can be seen in the definition of the learning strands of both curricula.

In the Turkish social studies curriculum, the term *learning strand* is defined as "The general structure, which organizes learning in which skills, themes and concepts are seen holistically" (MoNE 2005b, 96).

When the curriculum is examined, it can be seen that learning strands are placed from fourth to seventh grade, both vertically and horizontally (MoNE 2005b). The two-dimensional structure (vertical and horizontal) means that while the learning units are placed through one grade level, they are also put into the different grade levels (fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh). The nine learning strands are

- Individual and Society;
- Culture and Legacy;

- People, Places and Environments;
- Production, Distribution and Consumption;
- Science, Technology and Society;
- Groups, Institutions and Social Organizations;
- Power, Governance and Society;
- Global Connections; and
- Time, Continuity and Change.

Learning strands unify the topics of social sciences in a course. For instance, history, geography, sociology and economics are basic social sciences that inform the social studies, but they may all be represented in a single learning strand. Each of the nine thematic strands encompasses meanings from one or more of the disciplines. Learning strands can be seen as the basic themes of the Turkish social studies curriculum. Strands are placed horizontally, which helps to enhance the spiral structure of the social studies curriculum in each grade; also, learning strands are interrelated in all the grades. As each subject moves into higher grades, it gets more detailed.

On the other hand, a learning strand of social studies in the Alberta social studies curriculum document is expressed as "Learning related to the core concepts of citizenship and identity is achieved through focused content at each grade level. The six strands of social studies reflect the interdisciplinary nature of social studies. The strands are interrelated and constitute the basis for the learning outcomes in the program of studies" (Alberta Education 2005, npn).

When the curriculum is examined, it can be seen that learning strands are placed from kindergarten to Grade 12. These six learning strands are

- Culture and Community;
- Time, Continuity and Change;

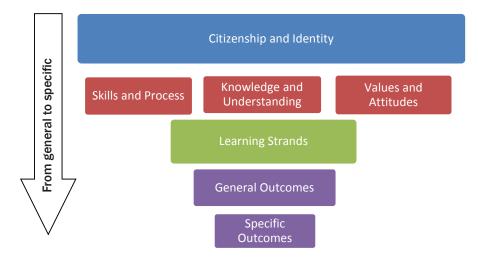


Figure 2: General Structural Design of the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum

- The Land: Places and People;
- Power, Authority and Decision Making;
- · Economics and Resources; and
- Global Connections.

Learning strands relate to the Alberta curriculum's central concepts of citizenship and identity. The six learning strands of social studies are based on the interdisciplinary structure. The content of the learning strands is interrelated to global issues and to the social and cultural characteristics of Canada.

The Comparison of the Learning Strands of the Two Curricula

It is apparent that the learning strands of both curricula are similar in name, but there are differences in the number of strands. Although the Turkish curriculum contains nine learning strands, the Alberta curriculum includes only six. However, while the two curricula are different in the number of learning stands, the titles are similar. For instance, the Time, Continuity and Change and Global Connections learning strands use the same title in both curricula. Similarly, Alberta's The Land: Places and People learning strand resembles Turkey's People, Places and Environments; its Power, Authority and Decision Making learning strand resembles Power, Governance and Society; Economics and Resources resembles Production, Distribution and Consumption. Also, Culture and Community is a derivative combination of Individual and Society and Culture and Legacy. The Science, Technology and Society and Groups, Institutions and Social Organizations learning strands of the Turkish curriculum do not match with learning strands of the Alberta curriculum. However, this doesn't mean that the Alberta curriculum does not cover the topics that are central to the Turkish strands; they may be spread through the existing ones. The reason for this seems to be each country's expectations of its future citizens, which is one of the major aims of social studies globally. Table 1 gives a comparison of the learning strands of both countries.

As can be seen from Table 1, the matching of the learning strands clearly displays the similarities. This has not occurred by chance, but seems to be mostly the effect of the social studies tradition of the United States. Both curricula appear to be very much influenced by the US social studies curriculum as outlined by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in its curriculum standards (NCSS 2010). The highest degree of similarity in terms of content of learning strands was found in the six learning strands in general. Although both sets of strands expect students to learn similar amounts in content, they vary in number, with respect to the country's needs and expectations. This information suggests a learning strand custom might have spread from the US to the other countries, as social studies in the US is perceived to have developed a greater theoretical background than the others.

The Role of the Social Studies in the Two Curricula

The fundamental elements under the central and general aims are examined within the title for these two curricula.

No	Turkish Learning Strands	Albertan Learning Strands	
1	Individual and Society	-	
2	Culture and Legacy	Culture and Community	
3	People, Places and Environments	The Land: Places and People	
4	Production, Distribution and Consumption	Economics and Resources	
5	Science, Technology and Society	-	
6	Groups, Institutions and Social Organizations	-	
7	Power, Governance and Society	Power, Authority and Decision Making	
8	Global Connections	Global Connections	
9	Time, Continuity and Change	Time, Continuity and Change	

Table 1: Comparison of Learning Strands

According to the curriculum guides (MoNE 2005a, 2005b), the Turkish primary school social studies curriculum consists of three basics—skills, concepts and values—that can be counted as the main pillars of the curriculum.

The first element of the curriculum guidebook, *skill*, is defined as, "the tendency of doing something and being capable." This is expected to be acquired and mastered in the process of education (MoNE 2005b, 47). Fifteen basic skills are outlined in the curriculum. Nine of these have been accepted in other primary school curricula as well, including mathematics, science, Turkish, arts and others. However, the remaining six are the specific skills dominant in the social studies curriculum. They are also emphasized in the curriculum tables as "skills, which will be directly taught."

The second element of the curriculum refers to *concepts*, which is the name of the groups according to things, events, people and thoughts about their similarities. Concepts have abstract meaning, and the purpose of the curriculum is to make them concrete; the purpose of teaching concepts is to generalize.

The third element of the curriculum is *value*, which is defined as "beliefs, basic ethical principles or ideas, which are accepted, by most of the community as right in order to 'maintain the unity and operation of the society.'" Some of the values are specifically emphasized as "values which will directly be taught' in every unit" (MoNE 2005b, 89).

In the Alberta social studies curriculum document, values and attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills and processes constitute the three basic roles in the social studies.

According to the curriculum guide (Alberta 2005, 1), 'Social studies develops the key values and attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills and processes necessary for students to become active and responsible citizens, engaged in the democratic process and aware of their capacity to effect change in their communities, society and world."

The Comparison of the Role of Social Studies in the Two Curricula

When comparing the two curricula in terms of the role of social studies, it appears that skills, values and concepts are defined in detail in the Turkish document, whereas in the Alberta document there is limited information about values and attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills and processes. Even though the title is different, it is seen that two curricula have very similar roles for social studies that serve the same purposes, such as creating national and global civil societies. This finding might have arisen from the countries' expectations of their citizens. Also, it is notable that the highest level of similarity between the two curricula was found in their role statements.

Results and Discussion

This study was conducted with the purpose of comparing the Turkish social studies curriculum, which is implemented in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh grades, with that of Alberta, one of the major provinces of Canada, in terms of values and attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills and processes. Toward this general aim, and in order to gain a holistic perspective of the study, conclusions are as follows:

- 1. In terms of the definitions of the two curricula, the Turkish curriculum calls itself a "primary school course," while the Alberta curriculum document deems it a "study." From this perspective, the Alberta definition seems to be more comprehensive and broadly stated. Accordingly, Turkish curriculum developers should consider revising the definition of the curriculum, taking the Alberta definition into consideration.
- 2. In terms of the vision statements of the two curricula, it was assessed that the focus of both vision statements is on their country's expectations of their younger generations as future active citizens as seen through explicit inclusion of tenets of citizenship education. One of the striking differences is that the Alberta social studies curriculum covers from kindergarten to Grade 12, while the Turkish social studies curriculum covers from the fourth to seventh grades. It might be suggested that Turkish curriculum developers and authorities should reconsider expanding social studies grade coverage.
- 3. In terms of the general structure of the two curricula, it is found that although the curricula have a similar structure, they also have small differences in the content. Also, significant differences can be seen between two main goals, which are the general and specific aims of the Turkish curriculum, and citizenship and identity in the Alberta curriculum. In light of these findings, it might be recommended that Alberta curriculum developers and authorities revise the central theme of Citizenship and Identity to make it more comprehensive.
- 4. The learning strands of the two curricula have similar titles, but they are different in the number of strands. The Turkish curriculum contains nine learning strands; the Alberta curriculum includes six.

Though the two curricula are different in the number of learning strands, the names of the strands mostly resemble each other. A possible reason for this is the American effect on both countries' social studies curricula (American learning strands are Culture; Time, Continuity and Change; People, Places and Environment; Individual Development and Identity; Individuals, Groups and Institutions; Power, Authority and Governance; Production, Distribution and Consumption; Science, Technology and Society; Global Connections; and Civic Ideals and Practices). The examples provided show how all three curricula seem to be similar, especially the American curriculum and that of Turkey, which clearly reveals the effect of the American trend. From this point of view, it seems that social studies courses tend to create global citizens rather than nationally oriented citizens.

- 5. In terms of the role of social studies in the two curricula, skills, values and concepts are defined in detail in the Turkish document, but the Alberta curriculum contains less detailed information about values and attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills and processes. Although the words used are different, the role of social studies in the two curricula is very similar and serves the same purposes. It might be suggested that Alberta curriculum developers and authorities should reconsider this section of the curriculum. This area had the highest level of similarity in the study.
- 6. The American effect on Turkish and Alberta social studies seems to be obvious; it can be concluded that both curricula are strongly affected by American curriculum. This effect is most clear in the learning strands area of the curricula addressed in this paper. Doubtless, the national expectations shaped their current form, which seems to be addressed through a global framework.

Generally speaking, in the forthcoming curriculum revision in Turkey, the government and curriculum developers may wish to consider highlighting some of the points of the Alberta curriculum. The revised curriculum will also require a successful implementation in the field. Similarly, Alberta Education may wish to study and incorporate certain aspects of the Turkish social studies curriculum.

Further analysis of the curricula could investigate expectations, skills, values analysis and other issues revealed but not addressed by this paper.

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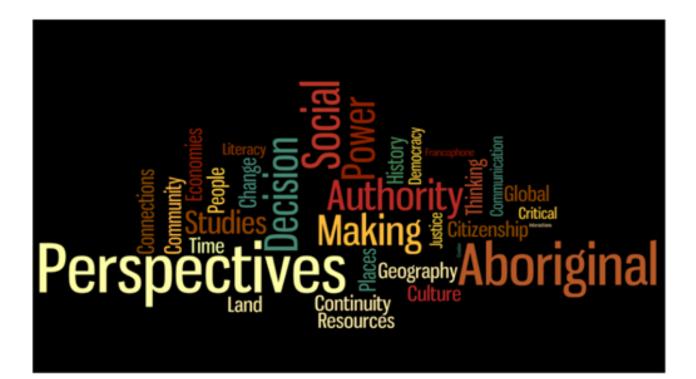
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