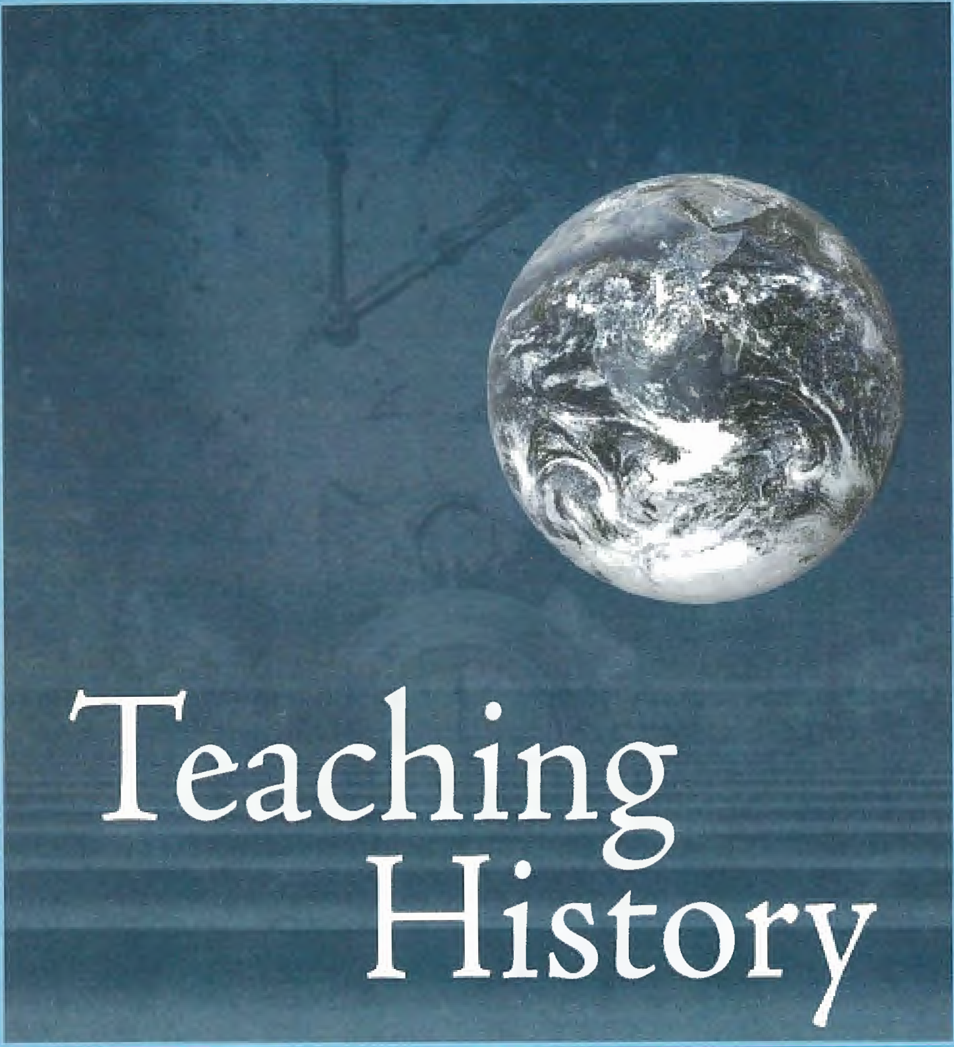

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FROM THE EDITOR:

Each academic discipline engenders unique forms of communication—central concepts, core methods of inquiry, and specific habits of mind—that make discourse in the community possible. A discipline's specific ways of knowing are communicated in the classroom through signature pedagogies. According to Lee Shulman, signature pedagogies provide "early socialization into the practices and values of a field" as disciplinary novices are taught "to *think*, to *perform*, and to *act with integrity*" to the discipline.[1] Historians who engage in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning are compelled to consider how the decisions they make as teachers introduce students to the discipline's ways of thinking and knowing; they must also reflect on the extent to which students have learned and are able to act upon these understandings.

Over the past forty years, *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* has consistently contributed to scholarly conversations about teaching and learning in the discipline. Founded in 1975 by Stephen Kneeshaw, Loren Pennington, and Philip Reed Rulon and first published in 1976, *Teaching History's* purpose has been to provide teachers at all levels with the best and newest ideas for their classrooms. I first encountered *Teaching History* in the mid-1990s. My father, a historian and history teacher educator, suggested I read the journal to learn from the experiences of historians who had decided to make teaching a central focus in their research and had therefore committed publically to enter conversations about history teaching at various levels. As a young teacher, I noticed immediately the authors' seriousness of purpose, fidelity to the discipline, and their reflective stances with respect to student learning. This ever-present theme in *Teaching History* has been due to the work of its editor, Steve Kneeshaw. For forty years Steve provided a forum through which scholarly teachers could discuss and reflect upon their work.

In this current issue of *Teaching History*, the four contributors adhere to the standards set by the journal's founders, and they continue in that vein. Jessamyn Neuhaus's "Can We Counteract the September 11 Conspiracy Meme?" documents the challenges she has faced in the classroom in the midst of conspiracy theories regarding the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States. Neuhaus relates her use of a documentary in a survey course and explains how she teaches students to think historically so they do not fall prey to the so-called "evidence" abundant in a digital world. Kevin Krahenbuhl outlines his work using mini-documentaries to engage students in the past and help them acknowledge the importance of relating specific events to larger historical themes when crafting narratives. He draws attention to possible uses of technology paired with the promotion of historical thinking competencies in survey courses. Kathryn McDaniel's essay reminds us why history, as a way of thinking and knowing, helps humans understand their experiences in place and time. "Historical Thinking Builds Bridges" recognizes the importance of historical consciousness and the connection of the past to the present and the future. The teaching note by Russell Olwell, Mary-Elizabeth Murphy, and Pierre Rice draws attention to the importance of lived experiences when encountering the past. Their efforts to work in the community and ensure that all students have the opportunity to learn about the past by visiting particular sites prompt us to consider ways in which we might forge connections with our students in the larger context of public culture.

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[1] Lee S. Shulman, "On Professions & Professionals," *Daedalus* 134, 3 (Summer 2005), 52–59. Italics in original.

When Richard Hughes of Illinois State University and I assumed the roles of book review editor and editor, respectively, of *Teaching History* on January 1, 2016, we knew that while our names would appear on the front pages of the forty-first volume of the journal, this issue would truly represent the efforts of editor Steve Kneeshaw and book review editor David Dalton. Richard and I thank Steve and David for their work; the articles and book reviews herein represent their dedication to the journal.

While history teachers at all levels have the pleasure of interacting with students on a daily basis and rarely find themselves alone, teaching can often be isolating and lonely. It is crucial for history teachers—from elementary schools through universities—to have a community to which they can turn to share their triumphs and frustrations, to seek feedback and make recommendations, and to gain new insights and ask questions. Steve Kneeshaw and his colleagues created such a community when they founded *Teaching History*, and for forty years Steve dedicated his professional life to promoting scholarly conversations about the teaching and learning of history. With heartfelt thanks, respect, and admiration, I humbly strive to continue in that tradition.

Sarah Drake Brown
Ball State University
Editor, *Teaching History*

CAN WE COUNTERACT THE SEPTEMBER 11 CONSPIRACY MEME? AN ARGUMENT FOR USING THE DOCUMENTARY *9/11* IN THE AMERICAN SURVEY

Jessamyn Neuhaus
SUNY Plattsburgh

Introduction[1]

"Our own government blew up the Twin Towers for some nefarious purpose? Ridiculous ideas espoused by a lunatic fringe." That is the typical reaction of other history teachers when I tell them that I am researching how to address 9/11 conspiracy theories in my classes. But studies consistently show that a majority of students are statistically likely to believe some aspect of 9/11 conspiracy theories. A 2006 national poll found that over sixty percent of Americans age 18 to 29 believed either that the U.S. government acted to make 9/11 happen or passively let it happen to further its own political ends. Research in 2011 confirmed that a large percentage of 9/11 "truthers" are students and young people.[2] Although most of us teaching U.S. history today would rather not even acknowledge its existence, let alone address it in our classrooms, 9/11 conspiracism is having an influence on our students. We must begin to think about how we might contend with it, and with the online world where "memes" like September 11 conspiracy theories influence and impact students' way of thinking and learning.

In this article, I argue that 9/11 conspiracy theories—how they are created, accessed, and disseminated—are liable to be uniquely compelling for members of the iGeneration, and that our standard history-teacher toolkit might be largely ineffectual when it comes to counteracting it, particularly at the survey level. I discuss how I have attempted to address this issue by using the Naudet brothers' documentary *9/11* in class, and consider how certain aspects of the documentary that rightly trouble scholars are, paradoxically, the very qualities that help advance student learning and could perhaps "inoculate" some students against 9/11 conspiracy theories. I offer no one-size-fits-all solution, only possibilities for your own teaching.[3] By raising these possibilities, I seek to begin a conversation about how history teachers might address this troubling issue.[4]

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[1] My thanks to Dr. Michael Wolfe and all the organizers and participants of the 2011 conference, "Making Meaning of 9/11 Ten Years After: Local Impact, Global Implications" at St. John's University, where I first presented this work.

[2] Kathryn S. Olmstead, *Real Enemies: Conspiracy Theories and American Democracy, World War I to 9/11* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 229; Nancy Jo Sales, "Click Here for Conspiracy," *Vanity Fair*, August 2006, http://www.vanityfair.com/ontheweb/features/2006/08/loosechange200608 (accessed June 16, 2014); James Bartlett and Carl Miller, "A Bestiary of the 9/11 Truth Movement: Notes from the Front Line," *Skeptical Inquirer* 35 (July/August 2011), 43.

Conspiracy 2.0: The 9/11 Meme

In some ways the emergence of 9/11 conspiracy theories is simply another chapter in the long history of what Richard Hofstadter famously termed "the paranoid style of American politics."[5] Conspiracy theories have long circulated among Americans of all racial, class, and economic backgrounds, and political affiliations from far Right to far Left, and have only multiplied since the 1960s and 1970s in the wake of revelations about covert and illegal activities of the U.S. government. Historian Katherine Olmstead points out that when Americans "charge that the government has plotted, lied, and covered up, they're often right."[6] From Watergate and Iran-Contra to Tuskegee and the secret Nevada Cold War nuclear test sites, examples of real lies and coverups offer Americans considerable fuel for conspiracism suspicions.

Like other popular conspiracy theories, 9/11 conspiracism taps into an American emphasis on individual empowerment. As journalist Lev Grossman writes about *Loose Change*, the much viewed and downloaded web-based video (at least ten million viewers by one researcher's 2009 count) that posits a 9/11 conspiracy:

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[3] Because teaching and learning are what David Daniel describes as "messy interactions" in specific, localized contexts shaped by individualized factors, I believe that even the best scholarship on teaching can only offer possibilities, discussion, and reflection, not some set formula for success. David Daniel, "Neuroscience, Learning Science and Other Claims for the Classroom: What Sort of Evidence Makes it Pedagogy?" Lilly International Conference on College and University Teaching and Learning Methods, Bethesda, MD, May 29, 2014.

[4] As one reviewer of this article stated regarding 9/11 conspiracy: "I am not sure it is good sense to give this distorted point of view the credibility of a rebuttal, instead of contempt." Given this widespread (and entirely understandable) attitude, it is no surprise that the current scholarship on teaching September 11 does not address the rise of a 9/11 conspiracy. See for example Jacqueline Brady, "Cultivating Critical Eyes: Teaching the Lessons of 9/11 Through Video and Cinema," *Cinema Journal* 43 (2004), 96–99; Leo Casey, "Teaching the Lessons of 9/11," *Dissent* no. 1 (2003), 50–58; Jeffrey Merrick, "July 14 and September 11: Historical Method and Pedagogical Method," *The History Teacher* 39 (2006), 197–214; Amy Scullane, "Student Reactions to 9/11, Then and Now," *Journal of Education* 188 (2007), 55–71.

[5] Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," in *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present*, ed. David Brion Davis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971).

[6] Olmstead, *Real Enemies*, 174, 3. See also Kate Zernike, "The Persistence of Conspiracy Theories," *New York Times*, April 30, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/01/weekinreview/01conspiracy.html (accessed June 15, 2014).

> *Loose Change* appeals to the viewer's common sense: it tells you to forget the official explanations and the expert testimony, and trust your eyes and brain instead. It implies that the world can be grasped by laymen without any help or interference from the talking heads. Watching *Loose Change* you feel as if you are participating in the great American tradition of self-reliance and nonconformist, antiauthoritarian dissent. You're fighting the power.[7]

Conspiracy theories create a pleasurable awareness of knowing something that others do not know. 9/11 "truthers," as they call themselves, assert that they have accessed "the truth" when they question the official September 11 narrative in a variety of ways, from doubting that a plane crash could result in the complete collapse of the Twin Towers to skepticism about the failure of U.S. military defenses.[8]

Though echoing earlier popular conspiracies, the explosion of 9/11 conspiracism also signals a seismic change in how Americans conjecture, circulate, and are exposed to conspiracy theories. In a word, that change is the Internet. The simplest transformation wrought by the Internet is the ability of conspiracy theorists to locate each other and to share ideas, writings, and other materials far more rapidly and easily. But communications scholar Charles Soukup argues that more than simply a medium to spread a message, the digital online world creates a hypertextual media environment that is peculiarly conductive to fostering conspiracy theories.[9] He points out that two of the first and most widely circulated 9/11 conspiracy texts—*Loose Change* and the website 911Truth.org—constitute a "thoroughly multi-media discourse involving a wide array of images, video, sound, and hypertext" and "via the open-endedness of hypertext, 9/11Truth.org encourages the web browser to serve as the subject/agent piecing together meaning from the encyclopedic reservoir of information." He concludes that "rather than undermining its effectiveness … it is the fragmented and open-ended nature of these Websites that (at least partly) account for their tremendous popularity and influence."[10] Soukup's analysis also holds true for the hundreds of other blogs, posts, and YouTube videos claiming a 9/11 government coverup.

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[7] Lev Gossman, "Why The 9/11 Conspiracies Won't Go Away," *Time*, September 11, 2006, 46–48; Olmstead, *Real Enemies*, 1.

[8] For descriptions of the various 9/11 conspiracy theories, see Christina Asquith, "Conspiracies Continue to Abound Surrounding 9/11," *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* 23 (2006), 12-13; Christopher Hayes, "9/11: The Roots of Paranoia," *The Nation*, December 25, 2006, 11–14; Craig Morris, "September 11," 650, in Peter Knight, ed., *Conspiracy Theories in American History: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2003); Christian Schlegel, *The Rhetoric of Conspiracy: Theories of September 11* (Germany: Druck and Bindung, 2003); Scott Sommers, "Who Still Believes in 9/11 Conspiracies?" *Skeptic* 16 (2011), 13–16; Will Sullivan, "9/11 From a Grassy Knoll," *U.S. News and World Report*, September 3, 2006, http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060903/11 conspiracy_2.htm (accessed July 7, 2011). On the Scholars for 9/11 Truth, an organization of professional academics who believe the U.S. government played a nefarious role in the 9/11 attacks, see John Gravois, "Professors or Paranoia?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 23, 2006, A10–13. On the current climate of conspiracy in the U.S., see Jonathan Kay, *Among the Truthers: A Journey Through America's Growing Conspiracist Underground* (New York: Harper, 2011). For a psychological study of 9/11 conspiracy adherents in Great Britain, see Viren Swami, Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic, and Adrian Furnham, "Unanswered Questions: A Preliminary Investigation of Personality and Individual Difference Predictors of 9/11 Conspiracist Beliefs," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 24 (2010), 749–761.

[9] Charles Soukup, "9/11 Conspiracy Theories on the World Wide Web: Digital Rhetoric and Alternative Epistemology," *Journal of Literacy and Technology* 9 (2008), 17–18.

It is the very nature of these texts—a mix of images, music, links, documents, and questions, rather than a coherent narrative and traditional argument—that makes them an effective means for articulating and spreading conspiracy theories. Hypertexts, with their innumerable links, layers, and pathways, are incredibly good at fostering the individual rewards of "truth-seeking" inherent to all conspiracy theories. They are part of the web-based cut-and-paste media world where traditional standards of citation and argumentation do not apply. Most academics, who have been trained to assess sources and weigh arguments, and who must adhere to these scholarly standards in order to participate in the profession, reject such an approach. But these texts, and how they are spread and accessed, are highly representative of the online and networked world in which iGen lives.

"Someone had posted a picture": 9/11 Conspiracy, the iGen Online, and History Education

Delineated as Americans born after 1990, iGen is defined first and foremost by the enormous role communications technology plays in their daily lives.[11] The Internet has always been their primary means of interacting with information of any kind. If 9/11 conspiracy theories are postulated and circulated principally via online materials and hypertext, and via what sociologist Ted Goertzel terms "the conspiracy meme," then iGen students are particularly susceptible.[12] Our students are not simply users or viewers of online material: The Internet and their use of social media fundamentally shape their knowledge and understanding of the world.[13] Dedicated teachers are finding ways to incorporate students' technology-influenced thinking into high school and college classrooms.[14] But as most educators know, the so-called "digital natives" are *not* especially adept at sorting and assessing the information they access online; they often lack the critical thinking skills necessary to review and question sources and arguments carefully.[15] It is no wonder that the hodgepodge of images, de-contextualized facts, and unsupported claims that comprise 9/11 conspiracy texts online appear to be convincing millions of teenagers and young adults that the U.S. government either deliberately caused or deliberately allowed the events of 9/11 to happen.[16] The very nature of these texts is fundamentally different than standard print or video media. They are a new type of media institution that is viewed by the iGen not as static, but rather interactive, "live," and compelling in a way that standard documentaries (let alone textbooks) are not.[17]

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[10] Ibid., 10, 12, 14.

[11] Larry D. Rosen, "Teaching the iGeneration," *Educational Leadership* 68 (February 2011), 12.

[12] Ted Goertzel, "The Conspiracy Meme," *Skeptical Inquirer* 35 (January/February 2011), 28.

[13] One study found that consumers of traditional media such as newspapers were statistically less likely to believe any 9/11 conspiracy theory. See Carl Stemple, Thomas Hargrove, and Guido Stemple III, "Media Use, Social Structure, and Belief in 9/11 Conspiracy Theories," *Journalism and Mass*

In a 2006 interview, Dylan Avery, the creator of *Loose Change*, vividly articulated the power and appeal of the online 9/11 conspiracy meme:

> I started researching 9/11 and I found an article on the World Trade Center—someone had posted a picture of a controlled demolition and then a picture of the World Trade Center collapsing. And I was like, Wow, O.K. And then you find one article and that article links to 10 others, and before you know it you're up until six in the morning. It's crazy, the information takes over.[18]

Communications Quarterly 84 (2007), 353–372.

[14] See for examples, Larry D. Rosen, *Rewired: Understanding the iGeneration and the Way They Learn* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), with Rosie Sheldrake and Neal Watkin, "Teaching the iGeneration: What Possibilities Exist In and Beyond the History Classroom?" *Teaching History* 150 (March 2013), 30–35.

[15] See for example, Anoush Margaryan, Allison Littlejohn, and Gabrielle Vojt, "Are Digital Natives a Myth or Reality? University Students' Use of Digital Technologies," *Computers & Education* 56 (February 2011), 429–440.

[16] For an overview of online conspiracy sites and materials, see James Broderick and Darren Miller, *Web of Conspiracy: A Guide to Conspiracy Theory Sites on the Internet* (New Jersey: CyberAge Books, 2008).

[17] Peter Ole Pedersen, "The Never-ending Disaster: 9/11 Conspiracy Theory and the Integration of Activist Documentary on Video Websites," *Acta Universitatis Sapientia* 6 (203), 49.

[18] Sales, "Click Here for Conspiracy."

Avery's obvious pleasure in clicking through the web's infinite number of links and pathways ("you're up until six in the morning") reveals the signifying and meaning-making process via hypertexts that so amplifies the core appeal of conspiracy theories generally and 9/11 conspiracies specifically. Moreover, Avery's lack of concern about the creator's qualifications or even the basic credibility of the "information" that initially caused him to question mainstream 9/11 narratives—"someone had posted a picture"—is unmistakably the hallmark of iGen online. For many of them living in a digital world, authorship simply does not matter. They have a source of virtually unlimited information at their fingertips, but generally speaking, they arrive at college unable to critically examine, assess, or interrogate that information.[19]

In the same interview, Avery expressed sentiments typical of any conspiracist: "You can't believe anything someone tells you just because they told you to. Especially your government, and especially your media—the two institutions that are put there to control you."[20] Avery echoes countless conspiracy theorists, but there is a critical difference: Unlike any previous era, the digital tools at Avery's disposal allowed him to create an engaging, visually-based document encouraging others to question mainstream 9/11 narratives, and to make it accessible to innumerable viewers. Social science researchers Jamie Bartlett and Carl Miller found that a large portion of 9/11 "truther" online content is created by youth whose "sense of justice and idealism is rudely confronted by a world of state espionage, links between big business and government, and lies over weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)" and whose skilled use of digital technology "produces much of the cool countercultural content of the movement" such as a YouTube video of the Towers falling "set to the electronic dubstep track 'Could This Be Real (Joker Remix).'"[21] In fact, 9/11 conspiracy offers an explanation for the attacks that any youthful pop culture consumer will find familiar. One journalist described this by referencing Dan Brown, author of an enormously popular 2003 conspiracy thriller *The Da Vinci Code*: "As a narrative, the official story that the government—echoed by the media—is trying to sell shows an almost embarrassing lack of novelistic flair, whereas the story the conspiracy theorists tell about what happened on Sept. 11 is positively Dan Brownesque in its rich, exciting, complexity."[22]

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[19] See for example Eva Brumberger, "Visual Literacy and the Digital Native: An Examination of the Millennial Learner," *Journal of Visual Literacy* 30 (2011), 19–27; Caroline Geck, "The Generation Z Connection: Teaching Information Literacy to the Newest Net Generation," *Teacher Librarian* 33 (February 2006), 19–23.

[20] Sales, "Click Here for Conspiracy."

[21] Bartlett and Miller, "A Bestiary of the 9/11 Truth Movement: Notes from the Front Line," 43.

[22] Gosman, "Why The 9/11 Conspiracies Won't Go Away," 46–48.

There are numerous ways that history teachers in upper-level classes and seminars could respond productively to the spread of 9/11 conspiracism among iGen. Any history methodology class, with its emphasis on assessing primary and secondary sources, making sound arguments, and assessing others' assertions about the past, could address the reliability of a text such as *Loose Change*. A course on the long history of conspiracy theories in the United States—a class that explores the basic appeal of such theories as well as the ways revelations about our government's real obfuscations contribute to them—could effectively help students understand the emergence of 9/11 conspiracies. Small discussion groups would allow the teacher to fruitfully draw out students' previous exposure to 9/11 conspiracy ideas. Any such discussion could deteriorate easily into a futile standoff between student and teacher: "But you can't tell me *for sure* that it's not true." But in a small class, teachers could more easily implement discussion leadership techniques and strategies for ensuring that students move past simple reaction and opinion and towards real discussion-based learning.[23]

I believe that most students with a major or minor in history taking upper-level history classes, with the help of careful course planning on our part, should be able and willing to interrogate 9/11 conspiracy thinking as part of their training in the discipline. But for those of us teaching standard general education classes, limited class time and large sections of non-history majors severely hamper our ability to construct a careful, step-by-step path for students to examine the online world of 9/11 conspiracism critically. Ideally, we give students the skills and resources to decode media and empower them to assume responsibility for their own learning in the classroom and out in the world as consumers and citizens. But without providing them with detailed historical contextualization and extensive training on assessing online sources and other types of evidence—which often is just not possible within the limits of our survey classes especially—many of our students risk uncritical exposure to 9/11 conspiracy theories.

We must also be aware of the difficulty of persuading those few students who arrive in our classroom absolutely convinced of 9/11 conspiracy to think otherwise. Goertzel explains that committed conspiracists utilize "selective skepticism," that is, they "are doubtful about information from the government or other sources they consider suspect. But, without criticism, believers accept any source that supports their preconceived views."[24] Today's media and social networking environment, "where you never have to confront an idea you don't like," ensures that conspiracists have unlimited access to materials that only reinforce their beliefs.[25] Even the best history teachers and professors will face considerable obstacles trying to convince a dedicated "truther" to rethink his or her selective skepticism about September 11 because our privileged position as culturally sanctioned arbiters of knowledge automatically renders us a suspect source. As Soukup writes,

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[23] See for example John Henning, *The Art of Discussion-Based Teaching: Opening Up Conversation in the Classroom* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Jeff Zwiers and Marie Crawford, *Academic Conversations: Classroom Talk That Fosters Critical Thinking and Content Understanding* (Portland, ME: Stenhouse Publishers, 2011).

[24] As quoted and summarized in Bruce Bower, "Tracing the Inner World of Suspicion," *Science News*, June 20, 2009, 11. See also Olmstead, *Real Enemies*, 11.

> For those concerned about the proliferation of conspiracy theories, the emergence of digital conspiracy theorizing suggests that the historical methods of delegitimizing conspiracy theories will likely prove ineffective. Suggesting that the "narrative" lacks fidelity or that the "arguments" lack logical warrants will simply not do. As hypertextual open-ended bricolage, these "theories" are neither fundamentally narratives nor arguments.[26]

In other words, any effort we make to methodically critique or to help our students methodically critique the 9/11 conspiracy meme must contend not only with the selective skepticism of conspiracists but also the complex power of an online hypertext spread via interactivity.

History teachers need to consider how the 9/11 conspiracy meme is spreading among iGen students and to acknowledge that traditional strategies for teaching history might not be very effective in counteracting the meme. We need to discuss more openly how many of us, belonging to an earlier generation—and, moreover, extensively trained in critical reading and thinking—are just not as tuned into the way that living online is shaping our students' thinking as we need to be. We need to reflect on this problem and how it might impact our ability to contend with 9/11 conspiracism. We need to ask: What can we do in our classes to try to ensure that students leave with a solid understanding of the historical *reality* of September 11?

Too Hollywood? The Pedagogical Possibilities of *9/11* in the Survey Class

If 9/11 conspiracy theories tell a gripping "Dan Brownesque" story, perhaps *we* need to tell a good story as well. The documentary *9/11*, created by French filmmaking brothers Jules and Gideon Naudet, tells a gripping story in a dramatically stylized way that I believe could help inoculate students against 9/11 conspiracy theories.[27] In 2001, the Naudets set out to make an inspiring true-life film about New York City firefighters.[28] They followed Tony Benetatos, a young (21 years old), highly idealistic firefighter just beginning his career with the NYFD, throughout his training and his probationary period in Firehouse Engine 7, Ladder 1, the closest firehouse to the Twin Towers. On September 11, 2001, the Naudets found themselves unexpectedly documenting the events of that day alongside these first responders.

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[25] Zernike, "The Persistence of Conspiracy Theories."

[26] Soukup, "9/11 Conspiracy Theories on the World Wide Web," 19.

[27] *9/11: The Filmmakers' Commemorative DVD Edition*, DVD, directed by Jules Naudet, Gideon Naudet, and James Hanlon (Hollywood: Paramount Studios Home Video, 2002).

The resulting film features many eyewitness scenes from Ground Zero on September 11 and the rescue efforts in the following days. Some of the most dramatic footage was captured by the less experienced camerawork of the younger brother Jules, who had been practicing filming with the Battalion Chief during a routine investigation of gas odor on the street when the first plane hit Tower One. His shot of the plane overhead is the only footage of the first plane crash. Jules then accompanied the firemen into the Tower, filming the initial attempts to rescue those in the building and, eventually, its collapse as he and others fled. Gideon meanwhile filmed Tony, who was left alone at the station while every other more experienced fireman rushed to the scene. Gideon also captured additional scenes at and around the firehouse throughout the rest of the day. The documentary includes extensive footage of the subsequent search and rescue mission at Ground Zero and numerous interviews with individual firefighters reflecting on their experiences. Throughout, it maintains the narrative structure that the Naudets first envisioned—a coming of age story about a good-hearted firefighter—but, of course, Tony's experiences took on a far more symbolic and historic significance.

The film first aired on CBS in 2002 to general acclaim from journalists and critics.[29] But some academics take issue with it. They question, for example, the Naudets' filming and editing decision not to include any of the truly gruesome scenes (most notably Twin Tower workers burning alive and jumping to their deaths after the initial plane crash) that Jules Naudet witnessed but chose not to record. American studies professor Alasdair Spark contends that this move politicizes the film because failing to show such images erases from historical memory the way the United States failed to protect its citizens.[30] Similarly, Stef Craps, another American studies scholar, takes the film to task for its unspoken ideology:

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[28] This was a project in keeping with the aims of their only previous film, *Hope, Gloves, and Redemption* (1999), which documented the efforts of young Spanish Harlem amateur boxers looking for a way out of dead-end lives.

[29] The only debates in the mainstream press regarding *9/11* were whether it was too soon to show such raw images from that day and if the FCC was justified in waiving its profanity laws so that the film could air uncensored. Wheeler Dixon, "Introduction," in *Film and Television After 9/11*, ed. Wheeler Dixon (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 10.

> The filmmakers attempt to mitigate the traumatic potential of their unique atrocity footage by sanitizing it and integrating it into a Hollywood-style coming-of-age drama tracing a probationary fire-fighter's perilous journey from innocence to experience. Thus, the focus shifts from a disorienting and overwhelming sense of loss to comforting, ideologically charged notions of heroism and community that perpetuate an idealized national self-image and come to function as a moral justification for retaliation.[31]

In Craps' view the film entirely removes the terrorist attacks from the global political context that helps explain why the United States generally and the Twin Towers specifically became a terrorist target. He believes that it thus gives credence and support to U.S. policies and military actions in the wake of 9/11.[32] As a scholar, I agree that *9/11* reinforces certain normative nationalist ideals.[33] As a feminist, I am also disturbed by the Naudets' unquestioningly honorific portrayal not just of the individual firefighters but also of the NYFD itself, an institution plagued by sexism and racism.[34] But the storyline that the Naudets impose upon the events of September 11, as well as other editorial decisions, could actually make the film *more* effective in the survey course by helping students perceive 9/11 first and foremost as a terrorist attack rather than a government conspiracy.

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[30] Alasdair Spark, "9/11 and After: Networked Images and Asymmetric Power," in *Transitions: Race, Culture, and the Dynamics of Change*, ed. Hanna Wallinger (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 56; Alasdair Spark, "9/11 Multiplied by 24/7: Some Reflections on the Teaching of September 11," in *Issues in Americanisation and Culture*, ed. Neil Campbell, Jude Davies, and George McKay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 233.

[31] Stef Craps, "Conjuring Trauma: The Naudet Brothers' 9/11 Documentary," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 37 (2007), 188.

[32] Ibid., 194.

[33] Some of my students' response papers showed that the film did this. For example, one student wrote that the film was important to see because "this is why we fight the war on terror." Another stated "it's the reason why our country went to war," and another asserted that film demonstrated that "America does not back down [because] we are a strong country with a lot of power and will do every action it takes to keep it that way." On the other hand, another student commented that the film showed how the events of September 11 led to "a long, costly war which has crippled our nation and is partially responsible for our current economic depression." And another noted that "We are currently in a war because of this attack on our country and it has since then torn our country apart due to how controversial it is."

[34] Craps, "Conjuring Trauma," 196.

I have used *9/11* in sixteen sections of SUNY Plattsburgh's U.S. history survey course "U.S. Civilization Since 1877" since 2005. We always have a short discussion about general responses to the film directly after viewing it, and most students also choose to write a film response paper on *9/11*. In course evaluations, students consistently rated *9/11* the "best film we watched this semester." A typical comment stated that the film "was the most powerful one we watched in class." Unless I prompt them with pointed questions, they never appear to recognize any of the deliberate cinematic moves on the part of the documentarians.[35] I did not employ *9/11* to directly confront, in any specific, stated way, in either class discussion or writing assignments, the problem of 9/11 conspiracism. When I first began using the film, I was not really aware of such conspiracy theories. Even after they came to my attention, I did not feel able to open up the class for any extensive discussion of September 11 conspiracies, for the reasons noted above: time, large class size, and the realization that simply telling students "those ideas are ridiculous" is not a well-considered pedagogical strategy. In addition, I share with most of my colleagues a deep reluctance to even acknowledge the idea of a secret American government conspiracy to murder its own citizens with airplanes.

In 2011 and 2012, when I introduced the film to students, I did state in passing that I found the idea of such a conspiracy offensive, but I did not poll students about their own exposure to 9/11 conspiracism and they did not raise it themselves in later discussions of the film—maybe because they knew my own position on the matter. Also, over ninety percent of our student body is native New Yorkers, with a significant number coming from New York City and surrounding suburbs, more from other small rural upstate communities.[36] Their geographical locale in New York might give them some natural immunity against 9/11 conspiracy, since many of them have real life ties to the city. Perhaps this has given them a stronger sense of the reality of those events, and thus stronger resistance to the appeal of 9/11 conspiracism, than students in other parts of the country might have.

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[35] Interestingly, in both discussions and evaluations, no student questioned whether the film is a fake, which is how "truthers" respond to *9/11*. There are a number of possible reasons for this: The students who are truly convinced by the conspiracy meme might not believe it worth their while to question their history professor—a suspect arbiter of "official" knowledge; 9/11 conspiracism is not as prevalent among my New York state students as studies suggest it is among the iGen overall; or my survey-level students have not yet encountered to any discernable degree 9/11 conspiracy theories. Once or twice students have criticized my use of the film, saying it is "too emotional" or "too close" to events. While these students are picking up on the cinematically manipulative elements of the film, their comments suggest that they view the film as a *real* depiction of *real* events, not a faked document that is part of a titillating government conspiracy.

[36] See SUNY Plattsburgh, Admissions, "Freshman Class Profile," http://www.plattsburgh.edu/admissions/freshmen/classprofile.php (accessed June 15, 2014).

These limitations of my own classroom experience notwithstanding, I believe that student comments in my class discussions, written assignments, and course evaluations suggest that the film could help mitigate students' future reactions to the 9/11 conspiracy meme. To begin with, the film ably communicates the overwhelming confusion, fear, and chaos of the day's events without gory images that might very well shock or horrify students to the extent of shutting down their ability to absorb the film. Despite most students' exposure to incredibly violent films and video games, we should not overestimate students' ability to watch recorded real-life violence without becoming overwhelmed or even traumatized themselves.[37] Students regularly raise this point in discussion of the film, repeatedly saying that they appreciate the fact that the film did not include images of people falling from the Towers or footage of victims on fire. One student wrote in her film response paper, "I was thankful he did not directly film anybody dying. In doing so, I believe he respected the victims and their families." Because quite a few of my students have personal connections to New York City, the fact that the film does not include such images—which at best would offend them and at worst traumatize them—makes *9/11* a viable teaching tool.

As literary scholar Anneke Smelik points out in an essay on spectatorship and September 11, because trauma is "an overwhelming event that cannot be assimilated and defies comprehension," a human response is to distance ourselves from the event: "When events reach a certain magnitude we naturally doubt their existence." For this reason, she asserts that "just as a disaster is an excess of reality for those involved, the images of the disaster are similarly an excess of reality for the television viewer." Smelik summarizes how *9/11* mediates and contains such images: "The Naudet brothers tried to mitigate the traumatic impact of their unique footage by integrating it with the image of a young fireman in training, in typical Hollywood narrative style."[38] Arguing against Craps' criticism of *9/11*, Smelik asserts that the "Hollywood narrative" is actually a useful means of portraying September 11:

> While I agree with Craps that the documentary filmmakers have tried to make the trauma of September 11 more palatable for the viewer by framing it within the cultural codes of American cinema and television, I disagree with his rather harsh critique that such a "hollywoodization" is necessarily harmful due to its ideological subterfuge. The documentary

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[37] See Beverly B. Ray, "Voices from the Classroom: Secondary Teachers' Media Use on 9/11," *International Journal of Instructional Media* 36 (2009), 303–312.

[38] Anneke Smelik, "Mediating Memories: The Ethics of Post-911 Spectatorship," *Arcadia: International Journal of Literary Studies* 45 (2011), 312, 313.

> *9/11* makes the trauma into a "comprehensible story," which is exactly what the specialists say should happen with a trauma. The images thus become a performance of memory, of something we have seen before and can thus comprehend better.[39]

The comprehensible story directly counteracts our human desire to doubt the reality of traumatic events, in this case the brutal reality of a major terrorist attack on civilians.

I think that this is a necessary step that *9/11* can help students take so that they might leave class more skeptical about 9/11 conspiracy theories. At their root, conspiracy theories reassure people that what everyone else *thinks* happened did not in fact really happen. Conspiracy theories impose their own story line on traumatic events; they offer a story that removes adherents from the reality of overwhelming events. But by "framing it within the cultural codes of American cinema and television," *9/11* gives students a way to absorb and comprehend the fundamental reality of September 11. Paradoxically, the filmmakers' efforts to impose cinematically satisfying redemptive meaning on these events might well actually increase iGen students' ability to see the reality of September 11 as a senseless attack that accomplished its goal of destruction and terror.

9/11 offers a wealth of compelling footage that vividly conveys the chaos and fear of that day—in other words, the *reality* of Ground Zero. As the reviewer for the *New York Times* noted, the long minutes of entire darkness as Jules Naudet and the firefighters he accompanied struggled through an impenetrable cloud of dust and debris within Tower One puts the viewer in the reality of that fearful moment:

> It feels like you're being buried alive. You're on the ground, gray ash falling everywhere, as if it were being shoveled over you, and you can hear debris rattling on a car overhead, dropping like hail. From the perspective of Jules Naudet's camera, you have run on the street after escaping from the lobby of Tower 1 of the World Trade Center just six or eight minutes before it would collapse. When it does, you are pushed to the ground, and soon everything goes dark.[40]

Even within the broader "Hollywood" narrative constructed by the Naudets' film, scenes like this effectively document what it was like to live through the terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001. In fact, *because* these scenes are incorporated into a more familiar story that our practiced media consumer students will recognize, the shocking and unimaginable destruction could be absorbed better.

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[39] Ibid., 313.

[40] Caryn Jams, "Experiencing the Cataclysm, From the Inside," *New York Times*, March 6, 2002, 1.

Smelik writes that "The camera not only registers the events from within, literally catching the dust and debris on its lens, but also captures the bewilderment, disbelief, fear, and powerlessness of the people caught in the midst of the disaster."[41] In particular, the film documents the firefighters' bewilderment as they struggle to understand the magnitude of what is happening right before their eyes. Even though the narrative arc of the documentary as a whole emphasizes the firefighters' bravery and their organized efforts in the following days to respond to the disaster, there are also numerous shots of firemen on September 11, stunned into immobility. A reviewer in *Variety* rightly pointed out that "The camera captures the firefighters milling around unsure of their next move; *9/11* shows no heroic deeds."[42] More than any other aspect of this film, my students demonstrate that *9/11* effectively reveals the destruction and confusion of that day, even on the part of the firefighters. Some typical written responses include these sorts of comments:

> "Everyone in the street was panicking and did not know what to do ... Seeing these reactions from different people gave me the chills because it is very scary to see that happen first hand."
>
> "All you could see were people running all over the place, some just stood there in total shock, not realizing what had just occurred."
>
> "The widespread fear and panic amongst every face that was captured truly helps us understand how traumatic and serious the situation was ... Not even the firefighters, whose job it is to provide reassurance and safety, knew what to do."
>
> "The FDNY didn't exactly know what was going on that day and they didn't know the whole magnitude of destruction when they arrived on the scene. I never knew that there was so much confusion among the first responders...."

Similarly, when asked to identify a new piece of information about the past that they learned from the film, students frequently wrote things such as "the actual moments of debris and dust;" "how dark and dusty it was and how bad the destruction actually was;" "how shocked the firefighters were;" "how confused and lost many of the firefighters were as they tried to help people." One student astutely summarized: "The footage from within the building showed the heroics of the firefighters, but it also humanized them."

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[41] Smelik, "Mediating Memories," 313.

[42] Phil Gallo, "*9/11,*" *Variety*, March 18-24, 2002, 31.

Even one of the most manipulative moves on the part of the filmmakers could perhaps move students toward the learning objective, that is, a clearer understanding of September 11 as a destructive act of terrorism. *9/11* concludes with a swelling acapella rendition of the ballad "Danny Boy" accompanying photographs (a group of four in each shot) of firemen lost on September 11. The song goes on and on, and the number of the dead grows and grows. It is a clear example of what film scholar Birgit Dawes, in an essay on cinema and 9/11, identifies as a growing trend in documentaries to "increasingly use dramatic techniques of selection, combination, alienation effects, and music.'"[43] The Naudets obviously intended this tribute to the fallen to have the final say in their film, leaving viewers with an unambiguous message of heroism and perhaps even justification for U.S. policies of retaliation and aggression.

While not denying these problematic aspects of the film's conclusion, I believe that it can also function to help students contend with the reality of the terrorist attacks and inoculate them against 9/11 conspiracy theories. In its final moments, the film practically commands us to feel grief and loss; it deliberately evokes an emotional response from viewers with images and music—an emotional response that will be familiar to practiced media consumers. In doing so, the film helps makes the events of that day more real to our students by giving September 11 an emotional immediacy that will be more and more difficult to access as September 11 recedes into the past.[44] For students, *9/11* puts faces on some of the people who were murdered, which is precisely the traumatic, incomprehensible, fundamental truth about September 11 that conspiracy theories hope to mitigate. These final images and music, quite calculatingly used by the filmmakers to evoke an emotional response, also reinforce an essential truth about September 11 specifically and history generally: Tragedy and horror are real, and human existence is fragile, easily extinguished for no rational purpose or reason.

One of the firemen interviewed later for the film states that on September 11 he realized "how evil evil can be." Craps criticizes the filmmakers' decision to let this statement stand uncontested, arguing that "with the premise of U.S. benevolence firmly in place, the film can only present the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center as an act of pure and inexplicable evil."[45] But in fact, maybe iGen students very much need to understand "how evil evil can be." The representation in *9/11* of inexplicable evil could be exactly what many of our students need in order to be more skeptical of conspiracy theories. 9/11 conspiracies offer convoluted but engaging and totalizing explanations for what happened that day. Rather than being forced to contend with the difficult truth that we are vulnerable beings in a world that can be ripped asunder easily by a few violent individuals, 9/11 conspiracy adherents can be comforted by the idea that such a horrific event could only happen through deliberate action orchestrated by a huge but somehow hidden network of powerful villains. In marked contrast to conspiracist thinking, the narrative of *9/11*, even the calculated final tribute scene, directs viewers to an emotional response not unlike the fireman's realization of "how evil evil can be." And this emotional response might be a necessary one for understanding the reality of terrorism.

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[43] Birgit Dawes, "Celluloid Recoveries: Cinematic Transformations of 'Ground Zero,'" *Transnational American Memories*, ed. Udo Hebel (Berlin: Hubert Co. & GmBH Co., 2009), 292.

[44] Every year, more and more students note how young they were on September 11, 2001, and how little they actually remember about that day. As one student summarized, "As you go farther and farther away from this event there will be fewer and fewer people that were alive to remember the catastrophe."

[45] Craps, "Conjuring Trauma," 193.

Even students who experienced the events in some way directly could use the film to gain such understanding. For example, one student reflected in her film response paper about her anxiety as a third grader on September 11 waiting to hear from her mother, who was working in Manhattan. She concluded that after watching *9/11*, "I finally realized what happened, why it happened, and how many lives were lost." Another student used the film response paper to admit the limits of her own knowledge and explain that the film had increased her understanding:

> Being the kind of person I am, I like to pretend as if I know all there is to know about things I truly don't know much about. 9/11 was one of those events. In watching this documentary, I learned more about this event than I could have ever through textbooks and articles. This was a first-hand glance, rather, a reality check, as to how quickly disaster grasped … our country and shook it without remorse.

A "reality check" is precisely what I hope showing *9/11* accomplishes in the survey class. By giving students this dose of reality, in the readily comprehensible framework of a coming of age story, my hope is that when they leave my class and subsequently encounter the 9/11 conspiracy meme, they will be more reluctant to leave that reality behind and indulge in the fantasies of secret government plots.

Conclusion

At times I am uncomfortable in class when I show *9/11*. I always choke up watching the Naudet brothers reunited at the firehouse, after being separated for hours in all the confusion and unsure if the other was even still alive. During the final scene, although it is in some ways the very reaction I have sought to create in students, I am unnerved when I hear some of them sniffling, clearing their throats, and clearly struggling not to cry. I have been reassured about using the film when students who lost acquaintances, friends, and even family members on September 11 have told me personally in class discussion or in written comments that they are glad I showed the film. But I do not know if I am doing the right thing. Is this really an ethical way to try to advance student learning? Am I using a savvy teaching strategy that fully acknowledges and contends with iGen's ways of accessing information? Or have I surrendered to the temptation to give them what they expect in their entertainment—a good show, with a highly engaging story line—in order to manipulate an emotional rather than intellectual response? Should I instead push through my own personal reluctance to allot valuable class time to discussing forthrightly conspiracy theories that I find reprehensible? And would it even be possible in a large general education class to do this productively?

Based on my evaluation of their comments and written work, this film appears to advance my students' learning about the events of September 11, and such concrete knowledge is perhaps the best tool I can give survey students to resist the conspiracy meme. Here, as in my class, much of what students learn might not be self-evident or put into practice until weeks, months, or even years later. Have I inoculated students successfully against the 9/11 conspiracy meme? I hope so. Using *9/11* probably won't change the minds of those few students who are completely convinced of a government conspiracy. But it might well combat vague ideas and unformed suspicions among the many students who have "seen something about September 11 online." *9/11* can effectively speak to such students and offer a compelling representation of the chaos and confusion caused by a few individuals determined to terrorize a population. Ideally, it can offer a rejoinder to the conspiracy meme that will assault our students every time they Google "September 11."

ENRICHING THE HISTORY SURVEY COURSE WITH "MINI-DOCUMENTARIES"

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Introduction

From 2007 through 2012 I had the great privilege of teaching history survey courses at several institutions of higher education. The survey course typically includes a body of factual knowledge to be learned as well as a set of themes/concepts to be analyzed in further detail.[1] There has been much discussion over the past several decades for how to properly reform the survey courses.[2] Even with all this discourse, the history survey course is still ubiquitous in its basic design throughout higher education. Given its resiliency, the survey course is not likely to disappear. The question rather, will be through what format and content foci the history survey course will continue to be implemented. This article describes my inclusion of student-created mini-documentaries in the history survey course as a supplement to seeing the themes that weave throughout history, practice skills of historical inquiry, and increase engagement without throwing out the delivery of content.

Background

I am not one of the many voices who despise the lecture; I actually believe—based on rudimentary, yet observed evidence—that it is still one of the most effective elements of pedagogy at our disposal.[3] However, I have never been one who designed a course in which I was nothing more than a "sage on the stage" simply imparting wisdom to ignorant students. Rather, I consistently incorporate various teaching approaches into the course to enliven the experience and get students to engage with history rather than just be exposed to it. Such approaches include examining the evidence through document analysis, considering conflicting accounts of historical events and seeking to confirm what is corroborated and likely to be the facts of the case, engaging in sub-group discussions looking at the same topic through social, cultural, economic, and political lenses, among other approaches. Each of these provides good opportunities to take structured "breaks" where we can have the students process the information that is being presented and apply historical thinking to it in a fashion similar to that described by Robert Blackey in *Teaching History*.[4]

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[1] Joel M. Sipress & David J. Voelker, "The End of the History Survey Course: The Rise and Fall of the Coverage Model," *The Journal of American History* 97 (March 2011), 1050-1066.

[2] Lendol Calder, "Uncoverage: Toward a Signature Pedagogy for the History Survey," *The Journal of American History* 93 (March 2006), 1358-1370. Calder is often credited with bringing this discussion to the main stage through his uncoverage approach in which he argues the "facts first" approach of survey courses is "wrongheaded."

[3] For three semesters I ran a series of unpublished pre/post-test experiments evaluating student learning growth based on use of different teaching methodologies for different units and have found so far that, when didactic lecture is the primary method, the learning growth (in terms of growth from pre to post-test) is highest. This is, of course, not definitive but illustrative that my position is grounded in empirical evidence and in comparison with the flipped model and William Perry's argument-based historical study approach.

Upon being hired for my first collegiate teaching position, I was assigned several survey courses. I went through the process of designing my syllabus and built into the course a project that has benefitted the class, the students, and my own practice of history. That project is what I refer to as the student creation of a "mini-documentary." This assignment effectively took the place of the traditional term paper as students were required to choose a topic of significance for the course being studied, connect it to one of the course-driving themes, and throughout the semester engage in historical inquiry by asking questions, researching, locating primary documents and other sources of information, and creating a video presentation that tells the story of that event, person, or idea.[5]

Course Design Thematically

I have implemented the project of student-created mini-documentaries through several different approaches: student-selected topics of interest, a master list of various topics, and thematic instructor-selected topics. Based on personal and professional reflections as well as written comments from student opinion surveys, I have come to the conclusion that the best approach is the utilization of thematic, instructor-selected topics.[6] In doing so, I have found that the projects seamlessly connect to key aspects of our study throughout the semester and that their presentations enrich the overall experience as they revisit concepts and information we have discussed but from a new perspective. Students also echo this sentiment with many positive comments, such as one from a student in the spring of 2012 who stated, "The documentaries helped me learn more about how patterns of interaction are [sic] in history." Thus, the presentations aid the overall class by building in review of material, which is essential to the mastery of content knowledge, and allowing students to conclude the course with a clear picture of how the themes from which the presentation are derived weave throughout the narrative of history.

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[4] Robert Blackey, "'We'll be right back': Introducing Constructive 'Breaks' into History Lectures," *Teaching History* 37, 2 (2012), 59-68.

[5] I have noticed a significant increase in the entry abilities of students for using various software packages to create these videos. However, one could easily integrate a short session on "how-to" use one or several such products. Later I'll address how I simply refer them to Lynda.com.

[6] As one might expect, when left undirected, the students often picked such mundane or arbitrary topics that they did not provide a constructive means to integrate them into the course. Thus, I follow a more content-and-context-driven model for selecting the topics; I would likely revisit the student-choice aspect were I teaching a graduate course.

Implementing Mini-Documentaries in the Course

If you are interested in introducing mini-documentaries into your course, first consider some of the following questions before assigning the project. Do you want to require students to focus on the big picture or can they take a specific lens to look through? Are they welcome to present the story through a single specific perspective or must they consider several? What will your evaluation be based on? To what degree must students connect their topic to the theme under which it is placed? These are just a few questions to get you thinking (please refer to the appendices to see a sample of my assignment). Once you've determined how you wish to implement the mini-documentary so it fits your own preferences for historical inquiry, then I encourage you to build in the steps that follow in this model.

Early in the semester I typically have students complete a pre-course quiz, which consists of twenty questions drawn from a U.S. citizenship examination. This serves two purposes: (1) I can demonstrate that my students, overwhelmingly U.S. citizens, really lack a strong foundation in civic/historical knowledge, and (2) I can get them to start thinking critically about the great number of people who *choose* to migrate to the United States and that we require them to learn this material while many native born citizens remain ignorant about their own national history. This provides a context for an early engaging activity. I can generate discussion on the importance of civil aptitude and transition into a key goal for the course: developing a critical understanding of the key aspects that make us who we are. I also use the scores to have students sign up for topics so those who score the highest are rewarded with first selections and so on.[7]

During the next class session, I introduce the mini-documentary project. Students will select their topic and get a brief orientation over what is required for the project.[8] Over the course of the semester, I require several distinct steps to move them through the process, but this is overwhelmingly an out-of-class project just as writing a term paper would be. Table 1 illustrates the steps I include in the course to guide students through the creation and presentation of their mini-documentaries.

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[7] Alternatively, I have also gone inverse-order, justifying it on the grounds that those with more prior knowledge are more likely to handle some of the less popular topics with more skill—something to consider.

[8] I have provided a copy of the assignment page in Appendix A for readers' reference.

Table 1: *Semester Planning for the Mini-Documentary Project*

Step/Week	Activity	Details & Historical Thinking Skills
1 – Week 1	Citizenship Exam	Context for class & determining order for topic selection
2 – Week 2	Topic Selection & Thematic Introduction	Students select topic and begin rudimentary online research to get a basic foundation before going to the library to do research Teacher explains the themes connecting the topics and how they are integrated into the course design
3 – Week 3	Library Orientation	Librarian provides a class-focused orientation on research, academic versus public resources, and general historical research skills Students must find three scholarly sources in addition to one primary source before leaving
4 – Week 8	Project Outline	Students present a basic outline for how they intend to tell the story of their topic so as to assess their historical comprehension of the topic
5 – Week 9	Annotated Bibliography Draft	Students must submit a draft version of their annotated bibliography including at least eight sources, including at least two primary sources
6 – Week 12	Confirmation of their readiness to present and Q&A	Students are required to contact professor indicating that either (a) they have no questions and will be ready to present or (b) ask questions they have and then address (a) and submit their planned narrative for review regarding historical analysis and interpretation
7 – Week 14	Presentations of Mini-Documentaries	Students bring in two electronic copies of their presentations; one submitted to professor for follow-up review, one for themselves and just-in-case of technical issues

The project effectively integrates the elements of historical inquiry, including comprehension, historical analysis, and interpretation, as it exercises their historical research capabilities and compels them to work with historical issues analysis.[9] Following the contextual foundation that the citizenship exam provides, I explain the project in detail and attempt to give it relevance by reminding them that they have an opportunity to do history while utilizing twenty-first century skills. The library orientation concludes our introductory stage to the project and, from this point, students complete their assignment entirely out of class. However, I also purposefully integrate activities in weeks three through eight that place clarity and emphasis on how historians work. For example, early on, students complete an in-class document analysis of primary sources, do comparative perspective activities, and "do history" in-and-out of class. During debriefing of those activities, I deliberately connect these essential elements of doing history with the ongoing mini-documentary assignment.

Once students complete these activities to practice doing history properly, they then submit a project outline and prepare an annotated bibliography. These activities assess their capacity to contextualize and apply their historical research skills. Multiple comments in our annual evaluations suggest student appreciation for the design of this project in stages. One remark from 2012 reflects that common pattern: "... although we had to do a lot of work in the class, I saw how it all went together and even though I don't want to be a history teacher I think that seeing how the skills applied in class and on our documentary was great for me as a college of education student."

The final confirmation of readiness that students share involves a compulsory meeting where they acknowledge they are ready or they address any questions that remain. In this meeting, the students briefly share their script, explain their source selections and interpretations, and ask questions that may exist. As such it offers an opportunity for specific feedback and a quick pre-screening of the material that will be presented. This process is something I added in, but I have found this step immensely useful—after implementing this step, I have almost no instances of students who contact me at the last minute with "the flu," "a car accident," or any other excuse for not getting their project done. Finally, student presentations of the mini-documentaries display their capacity to utilize historical analysis and interpretation effectively.[10] The opportunity to share their work with others serves a three-fold purpose: (1) it adds pressure to create a worthy product because it won't just be me judging it; (2) it offers up opportunities for in-class discourse on issues of historical inquiry; and (3) it serves well for a review of the major themes and topics of the course—assuming you pre-pick them purposefully in line with what your final examination will assess.

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[9] These tasks fit nicely within the frames offered by the National Center for History in the Schools, "National Standards for History Basic Edition." See National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, Basic Edition (Los Angeles: Nation Center for History in the Schools, 1996). These can be accessed online at http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/history-standards.

[10] It is worth noting that while reading through all the scripts does take time, it is a powerful opportunity for the professor to ensure that what is presented to the class is worthy of sharing. It can also be a great learning experience for the future history majors as they can sit down with the professor one-on-one to review their historical comprehension of the context, their analysis and interpretation, their research capabilities, and their effectiveness of taking on the significance of the relevant historical issues in a pseudo-defense.

Another benefit of living in a digital age is that the mini-documentaries can easily be uploaded to *YouTube* or other forums where students can view them per your requirement if you do not have enough time to view all of them during class. In the survey courses I have taught, my enrollments have been capped at a number reasonable to allow me to show the documentaries to class and in class. I find it useful to discuss issues that arise at the time of the presentations and connect them clearly to the theme under which they are placed.

Even if you are not a professor who is tech-savvy, getting students to create these mini-documentaries does not necessarily require any in-class time to prepare them. Lynda.com has wonderful and free resources available via the World Wide Web to give students easy-to-follow crash courses for how to use programs such as Windows Movie Maker, iMovie, etc. In some semesters I spend part of one class session showing students how to use these tools (typically in spring when I had fewer days missed due to holidays). However, in most semesters I just build a homework assignment into my syllabus requiring students to view one of these videos. Virtually all students were able to create a video without many questions.[11]

Discussion

This approach requires students to engage in critical historiography by telling the story of important people, events, and ideas of history. But creating a mini-documentary is not something that applies only to survey courses. I have instituted the same assignment, again driven by related themes of history and significant figures, events, and ideas, in specialized courses as well and had great success.[12] The model I've created for the integration of these mini-documentaries does not require excessive class time, although that obviously is contingent upon the number of students in the survey course.

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[11] To be expected perhaps, many non-traditional students were concerned about the assignment, as they would have preferred simply to write an essay (frequent comments from them). But some of the best presentations ultimately came from these non-traditional students. Requiring them to do the activity allowed them to step outside their comfort zone and produce something they were proud of.

[12] In a subsequent faculty position, I taught courses on American Indian Studies and Geography and integrated this project into both of them with great results. Also worthy of note, the students respond favorably to this activity as the creation of them fits the twenty-first century world in which we live and they can more easily see its "relevance," which is so frequently cited by Millennials.

Let me close with a few lessons learned through several years of assigning students to create mini-documentaries. First, students need clarity and direction but not a template. Early on in my planning for this activity, I provided students with a sample video, until I found that the students would simply replicate my video, using the exact format and just altering the information to fit their chosen topic. So, it is essential that you provide clear requirements while leaving some latitude in structure.

Second, simply saying that they are creating mini-documentaries does not mean they have ever seen one with which they can connect. Many students today, even if they watch the History Channel, have not been exposed to traditional and powerful documentaries that focus on telling the truth of a story rather than presenting an agenda-driven piece.[13] In order to fill this gap in knowledge, I always build time into class to view a powerful documentary that shows the use of still-shots, background music, lighting, and narrative to tell a compelling story of human experience.[14] Furthermore, the teaching of historical skills and deliberately connecting them to the project helps correct the tendency of students to draw mistaken grand conclusions or to make politicized statements without historical congruence, corroboration, and accuracy.

Third, compel students to review, confirm the accuracy of, and revise the draft of their narration prior to recording. Having used both peer review and professor-review, I have found that, while both help, the final products will be much better if I can take time to review them. Since most of my survey courses have had manageable numbers, I have settled on requiring students to submit the narrative (what they will say during the video) two weeks prior to the deadline. I review them, confirm they are accurate, evaluate whether they apply historical skills and interpretation appropriately, and provide basic guidance to improve them, so that they have sufficient time to revise before presenting. Should you teach a large section of the history survey, this would be a perfect assignment for your teacher's assistant, as the critical evaluation of another's "historical work" is arguably the best way to refine your own historical practice. Or, conversely, you could simply require the outline to be more detailed, which might achieve the same end.

Finally, I have tried on two separate occasions to integrate a secondary presentation prior to the final exam (see Appendix C). Although this add-on produced some excellent products, I ultimately decided not to continue to use it. This addition to the mini-documentary assignment used the final regular class period to have students engage with one another and connect the dots between their topics as they relate to an overarching theme.[15] When I assigned this group activity, each set of students was required to create a PowerPoint that prepared students for a final exam question on that theme that related to all their topics. In doing so, they would receive the final exam essay question on their theme and have the entire class session to discuss with one another how their topics related to the theme and essay question and formulate an organized response. Too often, students simply could not put together useful connections, making it a questionable use of class time.[16]

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[13] Regrettably, in my view, the History Channel has dropped the proverbial ball in this regard and abandoned the showing of documentaries in favor of entertaining.

[14] For American history survey courses I highly recommend *PBS American Experience: The Donner Party* video, which is powerful, engaging, and not overly tech-driven. This program provides a realistic sample in addition to great fodder for discussion with the harrowing and transcendent tale it tells.

Conclusion

As we continue to reflect on what we do, implement new ideas, and continue the process of teaching history in a way that is most effective, let us not be guided solely by theoretical constructs but rather by strategies confirmed through empirical evidence. Many critics discuss the low engagement of the lecture, but maybe the lecture is not the problem but rather how it is used—and, too, how frequently the lecture method is employed exclusively. In fact, one of the most common issues in pedagogical discourse among professionals deals with consistent decrying of the lecture as passive and ineffective and in its place favoring anything collaborative. I personally question the wisdom of that argument. Some history faculty have sought to throw out the lecture, but I think it is far more prudent that we instead look at what we can do to supplement the lecture and delve into the richness of historical inquiry to augment continued use of the lecture.[17] This integration of a thematic-driven, expert-designed series of mini-documentaries offers an appropriate model for twenty-first century instruction and an opportunity for the enrichment so frequently sought.

We have all heard that those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it. Although this line is a cliché, I believe that there is a prudent allegory here.

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[15] I have also included a list of sample essay questions, themes, and instructions for this approach in the appendices.

[16] One group in a U.S. History II survey course were all assigned influential leaders in America and put together one of the best presentations I have seen, which they entitled, "Driven." Their success inspired me to continue it a second semester, but after two semesters "Driven" was the only secondary presentation that stood out and multiple student comments indicated they would have preferred a review session led by me rather than by the students, which seemed quite reasonable.

[17] See Marie Hooper, "From Content to Process: A World Civilization Teaching Experiment," *Teaching History* 34, 1 (2009), 17-28. In this reflective essay she describes a student-driven history survey course which ultimately saw high engagement but only slight gains in student learning including having a majority of the students reporting they worked harder in that class for less knowledge. To be fair, she planned to revise it and continue it although to add in more lecture in the future. Another interesting read is Stanley J. Solomon, "Can We Discuss This? The Passing of the Lecture," *The Midwest Quarterly* 46, 1 (2004), 83-94.

When times change, technology opens up new doors and students become more and more "fluent" in the new technology. Even a cursory look at the educational landscape underscores how quickly those teachers who do not adapt and integrate new elements fall behind. By simply engaging students to do sound historical work in the digital realm, we can continue to demonstrate the relevance and importance of history in a way that is engaging, interesting, rigorous, and integrative. I have found that the inclusion of student-created mini-documentaries provides a great source of learning for my history survey courses without the hassle of frequently off-task discussions and cooperation rather than learning.

Appendix A

Mini-Documentary Assignment Instructions (U.S. History II)

Overview: It is important to recognize that there are many trends and themes that have carried on throughout American history. Because they are often revisited, these trends help us recognize that the study of history is relevant today in that knowing the influences of these themes historically helps us get a stronger perspective from which to analyze today's events in their full context.

Checklist of Requirements: You will post your individual project on Blackboard in the "Project Forum" and bring two electronic copies of it with you to class on presentation day—burn one to a CD and have another on a flash drive. Late assignments will be unaccepted—if you are having a problem with the assignment contact me WELL BEFORE IT IS DUE. It is advised that you test your finished product on a few computers because, if a technical problem exists, it will reduce your grade. Be sure your project functions properly.

- ☐ Create a mini-documentary-type movie on your topic
  - ○ Five to ten minutes in length
  - ○ Inclusion of a substantial amount of pictures, images, graphs, charts, etc. to provide visual overlay for your presentation (video is ok, too, but not long clips!)
  - ○ Inclusion of text on the screen to highlight key information
  - ○ Your narration providing the information for the video
    - ▪ If you are unable to make an electronic copy of your narration, contact me once you have the final script of your narration—I will allow you to use my recorder and then email the MP3 to you, save it to your flash drive, or post it on Blackboard so that you can integrate

it into your presentation; IF YOU NEED MY HELP WITH THIS, ASK IN ADVANCE OF WHEN YOUR PROJECT IS DUE!!
  - Saved as an MP4 or AV1 as they are highly compatible; if you need help finalizing products or converting them to these formats, contact me ahead of time.

☐ Ensure that you provide as many details as you can in the time available to give a complete story to your topic.
☐ Focus on issues that are most significant (if you are unsure or have questions, ask me!)
☐ Include analysis of the significance of your item on U.S. history; what impact did it have? Direct and Indirect acceptable so long as they are clearly explained.
☐ Submit an Annotated Bibliography of sources used to acquire information for the production of your movie on presentation day—you must have a minimum of eight sources, at least three of which are primary sources.

Go to www.Lynda.com and watch the video they have for the program you want to use—once you have done that, you may contact me with questions. I recommend iMovie or Windows Movie Maker; both are very user friendly and produce good quality "videos." If you are still uncomfortable, stop in during my office hours and I will give you a crash course in using a relevant program.

Appendix B

Sample Thematic Topics: U.S. History II (1865-present)

Group Project Themes

This list of the broad themes will encompass the final exam essay questions and will be traced throughout this course. The individual and group presentations will serve as an incredibly useful resource in preparing for the final exam, making it imperative that you do them to the highest standard. Note: a few topics are more contemporary, but are included to demonstrate the relevance of history—we are living it! Note II: the U.S. Constitution is ratified well before our course's coverage begins, but as the foundational piece to America's constitutional republic it seems essential to include it to serve as a base from which to see its development.

Theme #1: *United States Reform*

- The Progressive Movement - The Conservative Resurgence - Populist Movement
- Civil Rights Movement - Women's Rights Movement

Theme #2: *Constitutional Development & Politics*

- The U.S. Constitution
- Politics of Immigration
- Third Parties in U.S. History
- Supreme Court in the Twentieth Century
- Republican Party in the Twentieth Century
- Democrat Party in the Twentieth Century

Theme #3: *War and Diplomacy*

- Spanish-American War
- Korean War
- World War I
- Vietnam War
- World War II
- Desert Storm

Theme #4: *Societal Upheaval*

- Pullman/Homestead Strikes
- The Year of 1968
- Al Capone
- Tea Party movement
- Occupy Wall Street

Theme #5: *United States in a Global Context*

- Age of Imperialism
- Capitalism v. Communism
- The Great Depression
- International Terrorism

Theme #6: *Economic Transformation*

- The Federal Reserve
- Second Industrial Revolution
- New Deal Economic Changes
- Laissez Faire Economic Policy

Theme #7: *Influential Presidents*

- Theodore Roosevelt
- Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Ronald W. Reagan

Appendix C

Thematic Group Presentation Instructions (U.S. History II)

Group Presentation Requirements

You will produce, as a group, an approximately fifteen-slide PowerPoint presentation following the format outlined below and incorporating specific information from your individual projects and making connections to contemporary America and/or the near future. Please note that while it will not be a major problem if your PPT is not exactly fifteen slides, it had better not deviate much from it. Be concise but provide the needed detail for our review.

This group project will be completed as a review activity on the final day our class meets. Upon completion, the group will post the review PPT to Blackboard and between that day and the final should download and review each thematic reviews. The final exam will consist of three randomly selected essay questions from the seven possible themes in addition to the multiple choice section. These review presentations will be indispensable in preparing you to succeed on the final.

Once your group is all together, send up one person to Dr. Krahenbuhl to pick up the specific essay question that relates to your theme.

Requirements

Slide #	**Topic**	**What to Include**
1	TITLE	(1) The name of your theme (2) Visual images that relate to your theme
2	OVERVIEW	(1) Create a clear & concise definition of your theme (2) Include one image that seems to best encompass that theme
3-11	TOPICS IN BRIEF DETAIL	(1) 2 slides will be used to briefly recount each individual topic listed from the course syllabus (2) For each topic follow the steps outlined in a-c [a] Name of topic + an encyclopedia entry overview of what it was [b] Visual images related to the topic + a one sentence explanation of its historical significance [c] A clear connection of how this topic illustrates the theme and impacted US history
12	COMPARE & CONTRAST	Develop a compare & contrast of the topics previously reviewed and their relationship to the theme (Venn Diagram, chart, etc.)
13	IMPACTS OF THESE EVENTS	Construct a chart with 3 columns that identifies (1) social impacts of this theme on US History, (2) political impacts of this theme on US History, & (3) economic impacts of this theme on US History
14	TIMELINE	Develop a timeline of significant events that relate to your theme in US History from 1865 to the present – include at a minimum, specific events related to the topics listed in the course syllabus and also several others (10 dates needed)
15	CONCLUSION	Create a paragraph overview of the THEME and its impacts/relationship to the story of American History from 1865 to the present

Appendix D

Sample Themed Final Exam Essay Questions (U.S. History II: 1865-Present)

1) Compare and contrast three significant reform movements in American history in terms of their impacts socially, politically, and economically. Confine your response to the years 1865 to 2000.
2) Compare and contrast three significant wars in American history, distinguishing between social, political, and economic impacts on the United States. Confine your response to the years 1865 to 2000.
3) Compare and contrast three significant American presidents, focusing on their domestic and foreign agendas and their impacts on American society. Confine your response to the years 1865 to 2000.
4) Analyze how the United States is but one nation in a global context. Do so by discussing three distinct events that impacted both America and the world. Evaluate the impacts that resulted from these international events and place America's role directly into the global context.

HISTORICAL THINKING BUILDS BRIDGES: A REFLECTION ON OTHERNESS ... THEN, NOW, AND YET-TO-COME

Kathryn N. McDaniel
Marietta College

There is a little game I like to play with old photographs. I like to look in the eyes of the person captured in black-and-white—maybe an old relative in a portrait hanging on the wall of the dining room, maybe a mystery person in a random photo in a book or magazine. I look in this person's eyes, and I try to imagine that she is living in my time: Take away the funny hairstyle or the weird hat, fix the teeth up a little, add some modern clothes and modern furnishings in the background ... could she be here now? Can I imagine her as a friend of mine? A neighbor? A teacher? Could we have a conversation about the new John Grisham novel, or the recent Oscar winners, or what's currently happening in the world?

I cannot remember when I started doing this, but it is a bit addictive, especially for a historian like me. This mental exercise is a way of trying to elide the differences between then and now, between them and me. In this game I'm trying to cross the barrier of yesteryear in order to bring people from the past into the present. People in the past, especially though not exclusively the long-ago past, are vulnerable to being rendered "other" because we so quickly spot surface differences. But, with a little imagination and empathy, we might recognize the differences as less important than the essential consistency of the human spirit. When I teach my college history classes, I often have to caution students against declaring that people in the past were not as "smart" as people today, that they thought the earth was flat, that they were prudish, that they could not draw, that they were all "traditional" (whatever that may mean). It is so easy to use people in the past to define ourselves, and in our era we use history not to show what we have lost so much as how much we have progressed. This tends to make us guilty of condescending to people of the past. We have "othered" them for our own benefit, as is so often the case.

This connecting with people in the past is an important exercise that we historians do, as we try to bring people from the margins into the mainstream. Some post-colonial theorists in academia insist that we should not speak for groups outside our own—that we inevitably misrepresent them and that they should speak for themselves instead. But we historians have no choice. Speaking for others is a difficult and serious responsibility. Especially when it comes to women, who were voiceless for generations, there might be few sources that let us listen to their voices. Beyond the lack of women in leadership roles, beyond the educational and time deficits that prevented women from writing about themselves, the activities of women were often considered uninteresting, unimportant, even unchanging and therefore unworthy of note (not really "history" at all). Since women of the distant past are not here and will never be here again, we must either let them remain silent or try to speak for them. This is a heavy burden to bear, speaking for those who can no longer speak for themselves, yet it is preferable to an ignorant, uninterested, and erasing silence. To be faithful to the dead, we historians must try to understand them, to relate to them, and even more to see ourselves in them.

And yet, this has its limitations. When I right my vision again, the people in the old photograph still have the funny hats and the weird hairstyles and the crooked teeth. I am still confronted by the vast differences that lie between us: They were then, I am now. As a historian, I can try to speak for people in the past, but I always have to be aware of how much I could be missing about their experiences, their beliefs, the way they grew up, the constraints under which they lived.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's classic, Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, provides an example of how difficult yet useful it can be to listen to those marginalized in the past—by the past. The book is based on a diary preserved for generations in a Special Collections library. Rare as it is, one would think this diary must have been a real treasure to historians over the centuries. But the diary lay unexamined and uninterpreted for many years because it was so, well, mundane. One historian of the 1870s called Martha Ballard's diary entries "brief and with some exceptions not of general interest," while another said the diary was "trivial and unimportant ... being a repetition of what has been recited many times," and even a feminist historian in the 1970s said, "Like many diaries of farm women, it is filled with trivia about domestic chores and pastimes."[1]

Yet Ulrich was able to find meaning in the trivia. Ballard's experiences can help us to see what activities but also thoughts, heartaches, ambitions, and struggles made up women's lives in the period of the Early American Republic. Not only did she perform strenuous and time-consuming chores just to keep her family healthy, not only did she bear eight children and watch three of them die, Ballard also helped other women in similar circumstances, including assisting in more than eight hundred births. Being a midwife necessitated travel—sometimes in desperate weather conditions and to desperate situations—and brought her into a large network of women, men, and children in her region of Maine. Her diary records actions both small and heroic, a sensibility both searching and pragmatic. Ulrich concludes that "it is in the very dailiness, the exhaustive, repetitious dailiness, that the real power of Martha Ballard's book lies. ... For her, living was to be measured in doing. Nothing was trivial."[2] How important a revelation that is as to why women were so overlooked in history, and why we should listen very, very closely, and understand without condescension, the reality of everyday life for people in the past.

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[1] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 8–9.

[2] Ulrich, 9.

As cryptic as the diary was—with its trivia and bad handwriting and incomplete sentences and unexplained references—Ulrich was able to allow Martha to speak again to us some two hundred years later. After reading *A Midwife's Tale*, I thought I could perhaps squint a bit and see myself in Martha, see myself in the context to live such a life. This can be at times more difficult with some people than with others. We might find it harder to put ourselves in a vastly different country or religious belief system, to cross socio-economic classes, ethnicities, or genders. It can be uncomfortable, even uninteresting, to study people who seem vastly different from ourselves.

When people are mostly like we are, but make decisions counter to our own, this can be one of the hardest times to listen to them with empathy, interest, and respect. Here is an example from my own experience: Mrs. Humphry Ward and Gertrude Bell, two middle-class, well-educated, well-traveled, socially-reforming women writers. They seem to be just like I am—except for one very significant part of their biographies. Today, of course, there is tremendously widespread acceptance of women's suffrage, regardless of one's political position. In early twentieth-century Britain, there were women's anti-suffrage leagues: *women* who organized in order to demand they *not* be given the right to vote. Mrs. Humphry Ward, as she is invariably called, was a popular novelist who advocated strongly for women's admission to higher education and helped found one of the Oxford University colleges for women. She played a major role as a social reformer, focusing on children's after-school care and the education of children with special needs. She would become one of England's first female magistrates. Yet, in 1908, this pioneering woman helped found the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. The secretary of the organization was Gertrude Bell, a phenomenally independent woman who traveled to the Middle East as a contemporary of Lawrence of Arabia, served as a spy, and published books about her adventures, as well as significantly contributed to the founding of the nation of Iraq post-World War I.[3]

What are these two women doing in an Anti-Suffrage League? People can be so interesting in their contradictions and in the ways they fail to fit into our present-day ideas about what "side" they should be on, or what their beliefs "should" be. Both of these women thought that it was acceptable for women to vote in local elections and for school boards, as they already had the right to do in Britain at this time. But they said that because women did not participate in the business world and did not serve in the military, they should not be able to vote for the national British Parliament. Ward might have agreed to head up the women's branch of the Anti-Suffrage League in order to win Parliamentary support for her other causes in the service of women. Bell seems to have been of the opinion that the wives of workingmen, already so overburdened in

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[3] For more on each of these women, see Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006); John Sutherland, *Mrs. Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Britain, could not bear the additional strain of national political participation. Ward's and Bell's choice to participate actively in suppressing suffrage has had a negative effect on how they have been remembered. These pioneering women, despite their achievements for themselves and for other women, are rarely honored or even noticed by posterity. Because we do not respect what seem to us to be internal contradictions—and certainly contradictions to our own thinking—we do little to remember these women. When we do, we cast them as unrecognizable enemies of progress. Ward's biographer has called her leadership in the Anti-Suffrage League her "ticket to oblivion."[4]

I use this example to demonstrate how alien people of the past can seem. When we find elements of people that seem contradictory or bizarre or problematic or confounding, this is exactly the moment when we should become intensely interested to reach across the boundary of time to try to connect with their experiences and perspectives. In doing this, although we should try to see the common element we share, it is important not to gloss over the differences. This is one of the great strengths of the study of history: People in the past resist our attempts to make them just like we are, and this becomes a reminder that marginalized people in our own time also cannot be made "just like us." This is precisely why we should try to engage with those marginalized in our society: Difference is valuable, beautiful, interesting, and necessary. Other people always remain to some degree mysterious, and we have an obligation to try to respect those unreachable parts of them.

This way of thinking not only benefits our ability to connect with the past, or with those marginalized in the present, but also with future generations. The Millennial Generation is the subject of much commentary and study, and of course millennials are predominantly the students we find in our classes. What a mystery they can be. How frustrating they are in their contradictions (labeled both narcissistic and oriented to social justice, for example). Their ways of communicating the exhausting dailiness of their lives through trivial texts and tweets perplex those of us in earlier generations. How frustrating that they make choices so different from our own.

Here at Marietta College, I recently attended a pedagogy workshop directed toward connecting with this generation of the future. How can we understand them? How can we respect their differences from us at the same time we urge them toward our own standards and values? In the aftermath of these discussions, it has occurred to me that historical thinking might hold the key. We must look into them and see a little bit of ourselves. But we must also respect and appreciate their qualities that make them different. We cannot expect them to be like we are. They are in their own time, and we must build a bridge toward them—toward the future.

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[4] John Sutherland, "The Suffragettes' Unlikeliest Enemy," *The Guardian*, June 4, 2013, www.the guardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/04/suffragettes-mary-ward.

Having three young children, I have cultivated an amateur interest in child development. One theory proposes that when children become a few months old, they start to realize that they are not the same being as their mother. This is considered as an explanation for separation anxiety that can stretch from six months of age to a year and a half. Babies realize that they are not the same as their caretaker, and they cry and fret about the gulf that exists between them and others. Likewise, we should see discomfort engaging with others as part of the human experience. It hurts to know they are not us and that we are not them. But this is also what allows for independence and the development of unique identities that are crucial to human growth, our growth as well as theirs.

Students in my classes sometimes think of studying history as simply a matter of discovering facts about the past, as if the past is somehow static and fixed. People stand at the center of history, though, and people are unpredictable, sometimes unfathomable, especially to those of us in different times. Even in our own age, as we encounter people who grew up in different contexts from our own, whether because of socio-economic, gender, ethnic, or even generational differences, we must stretch our imaginations to build a bridge between them and us, from yesteryear through tomorrow. This is how we can understand the human condition in general, but also how we address the particular challenges of our age with its many rapid changes.

The great challenge to history teachers is to help others to speak or to be heard in order to bridge differences without trying to erase the differences entirely. We need to communicate the voices of the past to our students, and also to listen to their voices that pull us into the future. And when we look into the eyes of the other, maybe we can see some of ourselves, some of them, and some of the mystery unique to each of us.

A Teaching Note

"IT CHANGES YOUR LIFE": THE VALUE OF FIELD TRIPS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN AN OUT-OF-SCHOOL-TIME PROGRAM

Russ Olwell, Mary-Elizabeth Murphy, and Pierre Rice
Eastern Michigan University

> This trip was very important to me. It's the first trip to an African American Museum and first culture trip I have been on, and it changed how I saw them. I admired what I saw and heard; all the difficulties they went through. It's inspiring how they stood up and fought for what was right.
>
> -Student, African American History Program, Ypsilanti High School, Ypislanti, MI

During the school day in America, the field trip is an endangered species. With pressure for higher standardized test scores increasing and state funding decreasing, many schools have eliminated off-campus learning opportunities. This situation is particularly acute at the high-school level, where scheduling hurdles make it more difficult to take students out for a morning or a day, even for a worthy event or trip.

While research shows that properly structured field trips can be valuable for students—and particularly valuable for low-income or minority students who might not visit cultural institutions with their families—many administrators do not see their value.[1] Many principals and district leaders value time "on task" in the classroom as the ideal use of student time. They consider trips a frill, given the financial cost and the loss of instructional time, even though research suggests that field trips have value for students, especially those with a personal or cultural connection to the out-of-school experiences.

In 2014, the Eastern Michigan University Bright Futures program received a grant from the Ann Arbor Area Community Foundation African American Fund to take students in a high school with a majority of low-income and minority students on a series of trips on the theme of African American history and culture. While students in Michigan are taught about many topics in African American history through the school curriculum, the field trip experience gave students an extra level of understanding that could not be accessed through classroom instruction alone.

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[1] Jaye P. Greene, Brian Kisida, and Daniel H. Bowen, "The Educational Value of Field Trips," *Education Next* 14 (Winter 2014). Accessed October 16, 2015. http://educationnext.org/the-educational-value-of-field-trips/; Marc Behrendt and Teresa Franklin, "A Review of Research on School Field Trips and Their Value in Education," *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education* 9, 3 (2014), 235–245.

This program brought students in Bright Futures in Ypsilanti Community Schools to a series of events centered on African American history and culture. Bright Futures is an after-school program, based on the idea of youth voice, which offers students opportunities for academic help. The aim of the project was to give students an opportunity to both increase their knowledge of and their appreciation for African American history and culture.

To develop this interest, the Bright Futures after-school program took students on a series of trips. Due to attendance fluctuations found in after-school programs, not all students attended every trip. Students traveled to the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History in Detroit, visited a local African American bookstore, and attended an African American festival in Ann Arbor. Ninety-six unique students participated in these events.

Each field experience included an evaluation to measure what students found most important in their learning about the subject. These evaluations were transcribed, then coded by key themes by Russell Olwell and Mary-Elizabeth Murphy from the history faculty at Eastern Michigan University. After attending the trips and talking to students, Pierre Rice shared his interpretation of the data as well. After coding the data according to key themes, we identified three major categories of learning: learning about Africa, learning about the journey of Africans to America, and learning about the opportunities available to African Americans after the end of slavery.

Learning about Africa

Students reported learning a good deal about Africa through the program. They were particularly struck by the origin of humankind and human culture in Africa (including Lucy), and by the diversity of geography, cultures, and religions found in Africa. Students also reported learning about the types of culture in Africa, particularly musical or oral culture.

Students learned about the central role of Africa in history and the development of human culture	17
Students learned about the diversity of Africa and African life	6
Students learned about the rich oral culture of Africa in songs and language	2
Students learned about the religious diversity of Africa	2

Learning about the Journey of Africans to America

Students learned about the history of slavery from the program. They reported learning a good deal about the institution of slavery in America, the treatment of African Americans in slavery, and the social history of African Americans during slavery. They also reported learning about African American culture during this time period, as well as about different perspectives on race that existed in previous times. The topic of food and culture also captivated students, particularly as it related to social history (why people eat what they eat). They also reported learning about the existence of free African Americans during this time, and about the complexities of slavery, such as the existence of slavery in Africa before the arrival of whites, and the participation of Africans in the slave trade.

Students learned about the treatment of slaves and everyday circumstances of life as a slave	36
Students learned about culture and food ways of African Americans	7
Students learned about the complexities of race, color, and ancestry	5
Students learned about slave resistance	4
Students learned a complex story of the slave trade and slavery	3
Students learned about the Free African American Community	1

Learning About the Lives African Americans Made for Themselves

Through the program, students also learned about the opportunities available to African Americans during and after slavery. Many students pointed to learning about African American leaders as a key part of the program. Others were interested to learn about the variety of economic opportunities that African Americans took advantage of (e.g. black-owned businesses, work at Ford's, etc.). Through the trip to the African American festival in Ann Arbor, some students connected the current artwork done by African Americans to the African American history they had learned in the program.

Students learned about key figures in African American history and leadership	9
Students learned about the diversity of opportunities available for African Americans in the twentieth century	5
Students learned about the rich culture of African Americans	5
Students were able to connect African American culture and art to the history that they learned about	3
Students learned about the variety of black owned businesses and enterprises	1

Conclusion

While students in high school had been taught something about African American history in school (at least according to state curriculum guidelines), it was clear that the museum and other experiences presented new information to them. Part of this might be due to the structure of the Michigan curriculum, in which learning about early American history (including the slave trade) is taught in elementary school, slavery and the Civil War in eighth grade, and modern U.S. and World history in high school. The organization of the curriculum places foundational knowledge of African American history at a grade level where the information is not often taught with depth and complexity. Students might be exposed to African American history in community or church settings, but this exposure outside the classroom could not be guaranteed.

The students' school and Bright Futures followed-up on the field trip experience the next year. Bright Futures purchased books for an African American history and culture library for their program room. The program bought many of these books from Black Stone Bookstore and Cultural Center, our local African American bookstore. A local historian, Matt Siegfried, gave talks and a walking tour to students the next year. A grant for teachers, partially funded by Bright Futures, brought art to the streets of Ypsilanti as Lynne Settles, the art teacher at Ypsilanti Community High School, had her class create an African American history mural on the life of A.J. Jacobs on Ypsilanti's Harriet Street this fall. She plans future student-created murals in the community.

Out-of-school programs, such as Bright Futures, can provide students a chance to get outside their school and neighborhood to explore both their own culture and the cultures of other groups. Given the financial limitations and other constraints of schools, these opportunities can provide students with some of their only experiential options for programming. Out-of-school-time programs provide a unique resource for helping students broaden their perspective on history and culture.

Andrew Lees. *The City: A World History*. Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 160. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 978-0199859542.

The City: A World History endeavors to deliver a concise introduction to the global history of urban development. Covering topics ranging from the emergence of the first cities in the Middle East to the development of large-scale and arguably flawed urban agglomerations of the late twentieth century in places such as China, the United States, and Africa, Andrew Lees' small yet ambitious book seeks to bestow both an insightful and fresh narrative of the environmental form and meaning of cities within history. In the context of much being written on cities, civilizations, and their evolution in the past, Lees splits *The City: A World History* into eight tidily-composed sections. These chapters cover themes that include: the origins and locations of the world's first cities, the rise of Athens, Rome, and Alexandria, the decline and expansion of cities between 300 and 1500 CE, the materialization of capital, culture, colonization, and revolution during the era 1500–1800 CE, urban growth under the forces of industrial revolution, colonial cities (of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century), the destruction and reconstruction of cities in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century, and urban decline and growth after 1950.

For instructors teaching city/urban history to students new to higher education, *The City: A World History* offers a good starting point as a core text. With brief sections that include a Chronology, Further Reading, and Websites, the accessible book offers a solid foundation point to engage learners in the complexity of city history and provoke discourse amongst learners as to the factors that have, at particular points in the past, shaped cities into distinct environmental forms. While other books such as Peter Hall's *Cities in Civilization* offer more detailed data, their depth of information might cause more pedagogical problems for undergraduates than solutions. For undergraduates new to urban history, there are far worse starting points than the relatively short, inexpensive, and well-written chapters in *The City: A World History.*

For its size—160 pages—and its price, *The City: A World History* packs a respectable punch. The book helps fill a void for teachers who desire a more stripped down, contemporary version of large-sized classic texts such as Lewis Mumford's *The City in History*. With its emphasis on global issues, *The City: A World History* strives to embrace those parts of the world commonly overlooked by authors in light of their focus solely on "developed" cities and nations. Accordingly, Lees includes all major continents of the world as well as notable theorists or social critics such as Jane Jacobs and Mike Davis. Of course, given the complexity of the urban form and cultural forces that have shaped city environments and life within them, it is always possible to find fault with books such as *The City: A World History*. For example, Lees' chapter on "Colonial Cities 1800-1914" lacks attention to the effects of American colonization of the Philippines. As Lees points out (p. 82), the Philippine capital city of Manila was affected by Spanish colonial forces by the early twentieth century. However, the book fails to explain that Manila was also a city restructured thanks to Daniel Burnham and his 1905 City Beautiful plan.

Crucially as well, *The City: A World History* has no concluding chapter. This is a major omission: not only could the threads raised in the previous chapters be woven coherently together to highlight major themes, but, for instance, some explanation as to the preservation of historic environments and urban heritage management could give food for thought to readers considering a career in fields tied to urban governance, tourism, and heritage. With the majority of the world's inhabitants now living in urban situations, how we understand *and* care for the past will have great resonance not only on how we identify ourselves as a member of nations and the world at large, but how in that milieu we view the uniqueness of the world's past and culture in different geographies.

Chinese University of Hong King Ian Morley

Sunny Y. Auyang. ***The Dragon and the Eagle: The Rise and Fall of the Chinese and Roman Empires.*** **M.E. Sharpe, 2014. Pp. 256. Paper, $52.95; ISBN 978-0765643704.**

This book by Sunny Y. Auyang—a retired MIT physicist—is an ambitious new synthesis covering the early antecedents and the ultimate demise of the two great ancient contemporary empires, China (771 BCE–316 CE) and Rome (509 BCE–476 CE). Its geographic coverage is broad, covering the early stages of each region's development, the growth of empire, and the trading network that loosely connected the two together, the Silk Road. The book is written for a broad audience, rather than for historical specialists, and as such has a personal and direct voice helping its stated mission of providing a parallel narrative for Roman and Chinese history.

Especially with the rise of World History courses (rather than the Western Civilization courses which they have largely replaced in the academy), the similarities between the two empires have fascinated historians, but also sociologists, archeologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and even ... quantum physicists. Fortunately, Auyang has a penchant for taking difficult scientific concepts and explaining them in everyday language. Her earlier work, *How Is Quantum Field Theory Possible?* (1995), helped hone her style. She writes without condescension or over-simplification, and applying this technique to historical inquiry is admirable in and of itself.

But, a comparative analysis of China and Rome would be useless without substance, and on this front the book excels. Demonstrating a thorough understanding of both primary and secondary sources (translating most of the Chinese sources herself), Auyang weaves a convincing narrative of the relative strengths and weaknesses of both empires: Both were agrarian with land the dominant form of wealth, and in both trade flourished. Moreover, the extended patriarchal family was the basic and defining social unit. Both China and Rome had centralized monarchies, with the kings exercising authoritarian control. Both empires relied upon independent farmers and worked hard to prevent a hereditary aristocracy. Yet, despite the grand similarities, the "flavors" of China and Rome—what Auyang calls a "cultural gene"—are considerably different from one another.

The book describes these differences in great detail. How was land allotted? How large was a farm? What was the role of the father in Rome (*paterfamilias*) and in China (*fu*)? Slavery was a fact of life in both empires but was far more ubiquitous in Rome. Why was this so? Both empires achieved significant literary advances, including the writing of history. How do the writings of Tacitus and Sima Qian compare? Is the conception of history different? All of these questions, and many more, are the purview of Auyang's inquiry.

The book also includes many supplementary features that teachers of history would find to be useful and attractive. There are individual timelines for China and Rome and another placing the two empires in a larger global context. The book includes chronological listings of the Chinese and Roman emperors and eighteen maps covering wars, expansion, political divisions, and population distribution. There is also a convenient pronunciation index for Chinese words written in Pinyin. Perhaps more exciting is Auyang's willingness to incorporate non-traditional methods (at least for the historical profession) to illuminate political and economic structures, including the use of fractals.

Yet in all of this, the crux of the book is not a desire to edify the reader to the minutia of the past. Auyang herself admits, "Historical writing invariably reflects the historian's own culture." Why are we currently experiencing this fascination with Rome and China? Perhaps, the books suggests, the world once again has seen the rise of a new Roman empire in the United States. After the Han Dynasty fell, China endured, while Rome's fall was terminal. Will history once again repeat itself?

Auyang begins her book with two strikingly similar passages, one from Marcus Aurelius and the other from Luo Guanzhong. To paraphrase, time is like a river, and even heroes get flushed away. It is a fitting beginning to a welcome and enlightening addition to the oeuvre that is World History.

Metropolitan State University of Denver — Matthew Maher

Jason K. Duncan. *John F. Kennedy: The Spirit of Cold War Liberalism*. Routledge, 2014. Pp. 243. Paper, $39.95; ISBN 978-0415895637.

A fine addition to the Routledge Historical American series, Jason Duncan's survey of President John F. Kennedy's life and times is an enjoyable and instructive book, ideal for undergraduates or the casual reader. A brief, introductory bibliography is supplemented by a collection of documents, including presidential speeches on racial controversies, the Cuban Missile Crisis, transcripts of television interviews, and JFK's inaugural address, among others. Delightfully sprinkled throughout the text are the best quotes of the Kennedy era. For the history instructor, however, Duncan's book is most helpful because of his focus on the historical context of the Cold War and American liberalism's response to that seemingly interminable struggle.

Duncan emphasizes the successes of Cold War liberalism represented by the American victory in the Second World War, the Marshall Plan, the international monetary agreements to finance the postwar world, and the Truman Doctrine's containment policy. Kennedy sought to extend these successes while serving at the height of Cold War tensions with crises in Cuba, Berlin, Laos, Vietnam, and an ever-threatening nuclear arms race. Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for the "hearts and minds" of mankind resonate in these pages.

Duncan is very good at pointing out the contradictions inherent in JFK's traditional liberalism. Kennedy supported Richard Nixon over a more liberal and Democratic Helen Gahagan Douglass for Congress in 1948, ran to Nixon's right in the 1960 election, and he and his family maintained a friendship with Republican Senator Joe McCarthy, anathema for Cold War liberals.

The triumphs of Cold War liberalism emerged in uneasy tension with U.S. interventions in countries ranging from Central America to Iran in order to maintain governments sympathetic to American interests. JFK understood how the latter tended to undermine the former, thus his skepticism about French Algeria, the United States in Vietnam, and overt support of the Bay of Pigs invasion. President Kennedy knew that U.S. neo-colonialism would be exploited by the Soviet Union in the bi-polar contest for the "soul of mankind." Duncan makes the argument that Kennedy's alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps were meant, in part, to allay the fears of those across the globe suspicious of American power.

Duncan skillfully places the American Civil Rights Movement in its proper Cold War context (as he does with NASA and the commitment to put an American on the moon). Kennedy recognized the moral responsibility the nation bore towards African Americans, yet he shied away from taking the lead on this issue, always hoping to sidetrack Civil Rights leaders from "freedom rides" toward less visible and less controversial actions.

Duncan notes how the inflammatory pictures of Bull Connor's police brutality in Birmingham, Alabama, made the President "sick." Once fully committed to Civil Rights, President Kennedy urged Secretary of State Dean Rusk to testify how the Soviet Union's propaganda would skillfully use the images of Birmingham to portray the United States "as profoundly racist." Kennedy's "American University speech" asked rhetorically if the United States was the "land of the free except for Negroes?" Kennedy's emerging and overt support for Civil Rights was driven, in part, by his sympathy for African Americans; yet behind this compassion lay the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union where racial and class distinctions, at least in the USSR's propaganda, had been eliminated.

Duncan follows the lead of most historians by relying on the discredited Warren Report that drains political meaning from JFK's assassination and renders his murder as, essentially, bad luck instead of the Cold War's most infamous murder. This is a pity as the author is especially good at placing events in a Cold War context. Duncan does, however, recognize that the turbulence of the 1960s began with JFK's assassination as his successor committed the nation to the Vietnam War, followed by a breakdown of the anti-communist consensus, a dramatic decline in trust in the U.S. government, and, indeed, open hostility toward American institutions by an exploding youth culture, culminating in the Watergate debacle and the resignation of President Nixon.

Finally, Duncan credits President Kennedy with infusing American Cold War liberalism with youthful energy and democratic idealism. JFK sought to consolidate the United States' leadership of the western world while competing with the Soviet Union and Red China for the soul of mankind.

Georgia Highlands College Steven R. Blankenship

David H. Bennett. *Bill Clinton: Building a Bridge to the New Millennium.* Routledge, 2014. P. 232. Paper, $39.95; ISBN 978-0415894685.

Bill Clinton: Building a Bridge to the New Millennium is David H. Bennett's recent contribution to the Routledge Historical Americans series. In this short biography of President Bill Clinton, Professor Bennett seems to have written with the upper-division history or political science major in mind. It is brief, well organized, and written very clearly in accessible language.

After a brief (29 pages) overview of Clinton's early years, Bennett deals with Clinton's political races for attorney general and governor of Arkansas in the 1980s. From that second chapter on, the book is organized into discrete chapters on domestic agenda, foreign challenges, the politics of impeachment, and a chapter on his life after the presidency. Throughout the above mentioned territory, Bennett stressed Clinton's "Third Way" or "New Democrat" theme to emphasize that Clinton was a moderate Democrat through and through, or certainly at least since the founding of the Democratic Leadership Council in 1985.

Throughout the work Bennett is critical of Clinton's opponents on the left in his own party and insists that Clinton's moderate approach to domestic issues was the only way the Democratic Party could regain the presidency:

> But it was the belief in these "ossified little boxes" that made it possible for Clinton's critics to miss the important new direction he was suggesting his party must take if it was to ever retake the White House. This was his "third way" vision. This was the New Democrat message that he offered

> in the speeches at Georgetown, in the campaign to follow, and into the White House. (41)

As Clinton was the first Democratic president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt to achieve two terms in office, one might conclude that he was correct in his assumption that the "third way" was indeed the key to success. In fact, after a dip in presidential approval rating to the mid 30% range in his first year, Clinton consistently had ratings in the high 50% range, reaching his top mark of 73% in the Gallup Poll of December 1998, the month he was impeached.

Bennett's treatment of Clinton's foreign policy is, as is the rest of the work, sympathetic. Undergraduates reading this book will probably be surprised that Osama bin Laden was on the White House hit list for at least the last six years of the Clinton presidency. Bennett mentions several incidents in which intelligence operatives had posited bin Laden for a cruise missile strike but, extremely frustrating at the time, could not pull the trigger because of either inadequate technology or fear of collateral damage to innocent civilians. In the next decade the technology of drones would be, for better or worse, far faster and more effective for targeting and surprising terrorist leaders.

Perhaps not surprising, the chapter on impeachment is less positive reading. Clinton, despite a sympathetic author, still comes off as having incredibly poor judgment, reckless disregard for consequences, and a complete lack of honesty manifested in his continual denials. However, Clinton is not the only character sullied by the Lewinsky matter. Thanks to the publisher of *Hustler* magazine, Larry Flynt, more unfaithfulness was revealed. In a short time, after Flynt offered a reward for information from any women who had engaged in affairs with government officials, Flynt received over 2,000 calls. Among those exposed were pro-impeachment personages including Bob Livingston, the Speaker of the House, who was forced to resign. Other casualties of what Flynt termed his "hypocrisy policy" included political figures Newt Gingrich, Henry Hyde, Bob Barr, and New Mexico's Pete Domenici, who had earned a 100 percent rating from the Christian Coalition for his support of "family values." Sadly, it turned out there was hypocrisy all around.

Throughout this sordid event, Bill Clinton retained very high job performance marks from the American people. Polls showed that a large majority of voters considered Clinton a dishonest person, but a good president. This did not seem to matter to the Republicans in the House who impeached him, only to see Clinton acquitted in the Senate as that body came far short of the sixty-seven votes needed for conviction.

Bennett's work on Clinton is highly recommended for use in undergraduate history classes. It is a very teachable book, even including the mistakes. Bennett mistakenly informs the reader that Richard Nixon was impeached in August 1974 (21).

As we know, he resigned and was not impeached. Certainly this gaffe could provide for a teachable moment about books, politics, and the accuracy of history texts.

Seminole State College Dan Gilmartin

A.M. Glazer and Patience Thomson, eds. *Crystal Clear: The Autobiographies of Sir Lawrence & Lady Bragg*. Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 448. Cloth, $50.92; ISBN 978-0198744306.

Australian-born physicist William Lawrence Bragg was but twenty-five years of age when, in 1915, he and his father received the Nobel Prize for their pioneering work in X-ray crystallography. They demonstrated that the action of an X-ray upon a crystal produced diffraction which, in turn, could be interpreted to construct patterns of atomic arrangement. The Braggs' research led to the development of three-dimensional models for proteins and viruses and was key to the discovery of DNA's double helix structure.

Historians of science have written numerous papers and monographs on X-ray crystallography. The Oxford University Press catalog offers several selections. Of those, an excellent, celebratory overview of the team's discovery process is found in John Jenkin's work *William and Lawrence Bragg, Father and Son: The Most Extraordinary Collaboration in Science*. And Graeme Hunter penned an exceptional, detailed biography—*The Life and Science of William Lawrence Bragg*. *Crystal Clear*, Oxford's latest addition to its Bragg collection, is an autobiographical piece. Edited by respected crystallographer Mike Glazier and by Sir Lawrence's daughter, Patience Thomson, *Crystal Clear* contains the autobiographies of both William Lawrence Bragg and his wife of fifty years, Alice Hopkinson Bragg.

With reason, historians tend to distrust biographies. Balance is rare, deification and vilification common. Autobiographies and memoirs tend to be worse—propaganda and apologetics. That one of the editors of *Crystal Clear* is the daughter of William Lawrence and Alice Bragg sounds even more the alarms of possible bias. And those bells are not silenced by Ms. Thomson's glowing description of her parents entitled, "Meet my Mother" and "Meet my Father." Hers are beautiful parents, driven by their love for one another and by a refined sense of character.

And yet, *Crystal Clear: The Autobiographies of Sir Lawrence & Lady Bragg* is a charming book and one that has value. Its stories, and even the style in which they are written, provide a more holistic picture of Lawrence Bragg's life. This is not the work to consult for a detailed history of his experiments and his scientific vision. But it is the work to consult for the story of Lawrence and Lady Bragg beyond the laboratory.

The most revealing testimony offered by the book is inadvertent, not calculated. Though Alice's autobiography reveals that she is extremely proud of her husband, there is a quiet, mild, but detectable, rebuke in the tenor of her words when she writes of the drive that characterized his nature. He was always rushing off, pausing in a new flat only long enough to straighten his tie and organize his thoughts before taking on the next task at hand. Further, Sir Lawrence's autobiographical section seems to confirm this observation. William Lawrence Bragg dictated his autobiography in the 1960s. The language is clipped, the story incomplete, ending with a partial accounting of the events of 1951, though Sir Lawrence did not pass until 1971. Reading the abrupt conclusion, one cannot resist the images conjured by Alice's words. It is easy to imagine the great physicist finding his interest engaged elsewhere, suddenly ending the dictation session, and turning his full attention to another enterprise.

Written independently, rather than collaboratively, the two autobiographies offer additional insight into the shared life of Sir Lawrence and Lady Bragg. Even though the language of the works and most of the stories told differ, the autobiographies reinforce one another. Both Alice and Lawrence wrote of their love of travel and the joy they derived from attending dinners and functions with their friends. Both expressed, as well, irritation with Ernest Rutherford.

As the trained academic would expect, *Crystal Clear: The Autobiographies of Sir Lawrence & Lady Bragg*, presents its central characters in a most-positive manner. And, without doubt, bias was present in its authorship. But it is a delightful book. In his autobiography, William Lawrence Bragg noted that he was recording his story for current relatives and future descendants. Readers of *Crystal Clear* will be happy that Sir. Lawrence's daughter, Patience, made the decision to share her parents' autobiographies with the public.

Lubbock Christian University Kregg M. Fehr

Clifton Conrad and Marybeth Gasman. *Educating a Diverse Nation: Lessons from Minority-Serving Institutions*. Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 320. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 978-0674736801.

Concerned that ethnic minority students are not being adequately served by many colleges and universities across the country, professors Clifton Conrad and Marybeth Gasman conducted a three-year national study of Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs). Their book is meant to share what they learned about how MSIs are "enhancing" the education of "underserved" students (10). Based on their research of 12 MSIs, ranging from tribal colleges for Native Americans, Hispanic-serving institutions, historically black colleges, and Asian-American and Pacific Islander serving institutions, the authors argue that the MSIs they studied are effective because they all seek to make the college experience "meaningful" to students and are "committed" to providing extensive support services for students (23–25).

While each of the MSIs under study addresses the needs of minority students in different ways, Conrad and Gasman provide in fascinating detail the programs at each MSI that have been developed for minority students. Several of the MSIs, for example, integrated into their programs components that addressed the ethnic backgrounds of students. For example, at Salish Kootenai College on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana, a curriculum has been developed where students have opportunities to talk with tribal leaders about the purpose of college. Reinforcing that message, the STEM program intentionally demonstrates how math and science are relevant for the real needs of Native Americans. Meanwhile, at California State University at Sacramento, the ethnic studies faculty created a specific project for Asian-American students called the Full Circle Project. In the project, first-year students enroll in ethnic studies seminars that involve students in the local community with the purpose of linking learning to local community needs.

Many of the colleges, in addition, work hard to create a family-like atmosphere for their students. This was particularly true of the three historically black colleges under study, Morehouse College, Norfolk State University, and Paul Quinn College. At Paul Quinn College, for instance, their "we over me" ethos permeates the atmosphere (180) while at Morehouse College the ethos of "brotherhood" is promoted through their intensive mentoring program (156). For Pacific Island students, the College of the Marshall Islands creates a family atmosphere by involving faculty and staff in the First Year Residential Program. The MSIs under study also instituted programs meant to support minority students throughout their college experience. The Navigation program at North Seattle Community College (an Asian-American serving institution), for example, pro-actively helps students gain access to the various resources available to them on campus. At El Paso Community College, a Hispanic serving institution, counselors meet individually with new students during orientation to explain their course placement and discuss what they will need to do to be successful in college.

While the book is rich with interesting approaches to addressing the needs of minority students, the research methodology raises questions about the effectiveness of the programs under study. Much of the data for the study is qualitative, based on the authors' observations during their campus visits, and interviews conducted with students, faculty, staff, and students. Very little quantitative data is provided. For example, a 55% graduation rate and an enrollment of 42 students in STEM programs is the only quantitative data provided to demonstrate the success of Salish Kootenai College, with little direct correlation of these numbers to the programs under discussion. At California State University at Sacramento, meanwhile, the only quantitative data provided is that students in the Full Circle Project were retained at a 10% higher rate than students not enrolled in that program. In addition, the interviews often appear very selective in terms of how they are presented. The authors, for instance, praise the Early College High School developed by El Paso Community

College for creating a "pathway" for students. They support their argument, however, with just two interviews (118).

Except for the programs designed to specifically address the ethnic culture of minority students, such as those developed at Salish Kootenai College mentioned above, one is also often left wondering the extent to which the programs discussed by the authors were unique to MSIs. Many of the programs discussed by the authors are intended to meet the needs of first generation college students, or students needing developmental courses. These needs are not unique to minority students, and programs to address these needs have been implemented by colleges and universities across the country, many of which may not be categorized as MSIs, but nonetheless have programs that are successful. Moreover, many of the programs discussed, such as community-based learning, are encouraged by the AAC&U. This raises a key question: What are the unique elements of the programs developed by MSIs?

All that being said, readers interested in learning about programs that address the needs of first generation students, students requiring developmental courses, and minority students, will find in this book much to consider.

Medaille College Daniel Kotzin

Leonard Cassuto. *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused It and How We Can Fix It.* Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 320. Cloth, $29.95; ISBN 978-0674728981.

The Graduate School Mess underscores how much of academia resembles a cult. Most of us go into graduate school as unique, creative individuals who share a love of learning and an enthusiasm for our disciplines. We believe that, by going into academia, we are escaping the culture of mindless conformity that exists in the "real world." We become true believers. We take monastic vows of poverty in exchange for the understanding that our toils will be rewarded by a life of intellectual freedom, creative thought, and personal autonomy. We study at the hands of arbitrary masters who we come to revere and emulate. By the end of graduate school, however, we have lost our original enthusiasm and joy for learning. Unwittingly, we realize that in order to become ordained into the priesthood, we must shed our individuality and become part of a like-minded community of professionals, subordinating ourselves "to a set of norms established by disciplinary leaders" (165). Rather than valuing individual creativity, these gatekeepers force us to speak a common esoteric language and desire the same things (namely publication in a select few journals and jobs in a select few universities). We claim to love big original ideas, but our training teaches us primarily how "to enter existing dialogues" (164). While we give pretense to being unique—and we honor unorthodox thinkers in our teaching and research—we ourselves become socialized into a culture of rigid professional conformity to the point where we cannot even imagine life beyond the narrow boundaries of academia as satisfying. We begin to feel sorry for the unbelievers who lose faith and drop out (even if they are bound for successful, well-paying jobs outside the academy). By the end of our indoctrination, we believe that anything less than a career as a professor at a research university will be a sign of underachievement and even failure. By that standard, Lawrence Cassuto reminds us in his brilliant and timely book, most of us will fail.

The currency of higher education is prestige and, as every academic knows, research positions are more prestigious than teaching positions. This was certainly what I learned in graduate school at UCLA in the 1990s. Our prospects seemed surprisingly good according to a widely circulated chart at the time that showed demand for professors would soon exceed the supply of Ph.Ds. I remember Gary Nash telling us all we were entering graduate school at a very "propitious moment." We expected that we were bound for research positions such as those of our advisors.

Of course, it did not work out that way, as every history Ph.D. well knows. While many professors retired since the 1990s, their positions were not filled with full-time replacements. The economics of the academy shifted: Underfunded universities now took advantage of the glut of unemployed Ph.Ds. whom they hired as contingent labor. The dream died. *The Graduate School Mess* urges us to confront that harsh reality and redesign graduate school to make it more student-centered, democratic, practical, and accountable to both students and the larger public.

The main problem with graduate school, according to Cassuto, is poor teaching as well as a culture of self-deception, denial, and narcissism. Professors and administrators have been complicit in allowing graduate students to believe they are bound for coveted research positions with small teaching loads and support from graduate students. Graduate programs must disabuse students from such fictions, discourage them from overspecialization, and instead train students for a wider range of employment opportunities in academia and beyond: teaching at community colleges, working for non-profits, or finding employment beyond the groves of academe in the private sector. Until that happens, too many Ph.Ds. will remain "underemployed and unhappy" (8).

The bias towards "knowledge producers," rather than teachers, and the privileging of "research culture" over broad, liberal education, has deep roots in American higher education, but it reached its fullest expression during the postwar education boom. Although focused primarily on research in the STEM fields, the dramatic Cold War expansion of higher education extended to all disciplines essentially "the same deal: teach less and publish more" (40). It was during this postwar boom that "professor" became synonymous with "researcher." For those lucky enough to obtain graduate degrees during this brief Golden Age, the model worked. But then the boom ended. The number of Ph.Ds. exceeded the number of jobs by the late 1970s and the academy—especially the humanities—had entered into a long depression that continues to this day.

Rather than downsize in response to decreasing demand, Cassuto's solution is to "broaden the profile of the graduate student we seek" and admit students who want to become teachers, public servants, museum curators, and intellectual entrepreneurs (52). He advocates redesigning everything, from admissions to degree offerings to advising to dissertation requirements and even the definition of "scholarship" itself. All of this would be animated by a "new ethic for higher education" (16) which fundamentally involves better teaching and more "caring for humans" (13). Such reform involves making American graduate programs more student-centered and moving away from the model that narcissistically focuses on what is good for a shrinking number of tenured professors at elite research universities. In the bargain, Cassuto also believes that the training of a new professorate steeped in a broader, more accessible culture of teaching, public service, and liberal education will help the humanities reconnect with the larger public who have lost faith in the academy. Cassuto does not reject specialized scholarship as meaningless, but he urges university professors to become more accessible and relevant—to return to the public square from their specialized enclaves.

Many of his basic arguments are familiar, but Cassuto has pulled the pieces together into as powerful argument that the academy must confront. It would seem unlikely that anything will change soon, especially when the incentives of higher education do not encourage such change—particularly when it involves elevating student-centered teaching and learning above narrow scholarship. Will an ossified professorate that guards its privileges and traffics in prestige take a gamble on a new model for graduate education? I am pessimistic. But Cassuto should be praised for trying to put this mess into perspective and give us some ideas for how professors can pick up the pieces and build something more useful.

Columbia Basin College David Arnold

Barbara Alpern Engel and Janet Martin. *Russia in World History*. Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 156. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 978-0199947898.

The New Oxford World History series offers readers "an informed, lively, and up-to-date history of the world and its people," emphasizing "connectedness and interactions of all kinds" and highlighting "global interactions and the intersection of the global and the local." As a book in this series, Engel and Martin's *Russia in World History* aims to accomplish what other short Russian histories have not. While the book may succeed in some places, this reader did not find it as radical a departure as the authors (and series) hope.

The book's chapters are organized chronologically, starting with the country's formation around 1000 CE. Five of the book's eight chapters cover pre-revolutionary Russia, and the final three take us from the mid-1800s to the present. Chapter titles are decidedly academic: For example, the Peter the Great era is titled "The Petrine Revolution (1685-1725)."

Engel and Martin have published previously on various aspects of Russian history, and the book reflects their comfort with a wide range of Russian history. The information is accurate, but only occasionally fulfills the series goal of doing something really new. While the author of each section is unclear, the author's academic specialties suggest one wrote the earlier chapters and one the later. The earlier ones are more dryly academic, stuffed with detail that at times becomes difficult to digest. Chapter One's first sentence, for example, is over 50 words long, leaving a reader dizzy with mention of Kievan Rus, Slavs, Finns, Baltic tribes, Vikings, Christianity, and Byzantium! Not the most inviting opening.

Starting with Peter the Great, the authors offer a more thoughtfully distilled narrative that is better designed for readers of multiple backgrounds. There are some particularly good quick moments: a wonderfully concise section on 1850-60 reforms, for instance, and a quite effective and brief overview of 1917. A particularly nice touch is a lovely little bit of social history in an extended caption accompanying a portrait of the wives of one of the Decembrist coup leaders. In fact, the illustrations with captions are all informative and interesting. Other nice design features include chronologies, explanatory notes, further reading lists, and websites with documents and photographs at the end of the book.

A frustrating aspect of *Russia in World History* is the often quite brief references to single examples without enough historical context to make them really illuminating. It is a challenge to explain the big picture and have some vivid examples in a short history covering so much time, but this book offers mainly gestures in that direction. For example, there is a tantalizing brief mention of and quote from American teen Kim Chernin who attended the 1957 World Youth Festival without any further explanation of significance.

For general readability, I prefer Geoffrey Hosking's *Russian History* (2012); part of Oxford's A Very Short Introduction series. It also comes in at under 200 pages, is an authoritative effort by a long time Russian scholar, and tends to provide a broad historical framework with convincing quick detail.

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