CHAPTER 13

Voicing Dissonance

Teaching the Violence of the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A.

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Teaching is a performative act.
—Bell Hooks, *Teaching to Transgress*

In the course of my in-depth fieldwork[1] on the U.S. East Coast spanning three years and involving a range of methods, from observations and interviews to close textbook analysis, it became clear that notions of violence[2] are at the core of the currently dominant narrations of the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A., no matter whether I talked to curators, museum educators, a textbook editor and one of her authors, a film director, students or teachers, observed classrooms and exhibition visitors – or whether I analysed textbooks, curricula and websites or simply read the daily newspapers.

Knowing this past and particularly the different forms of violence – structural, cultural, physical, symbolic[3] – that black people have been subjected to informs the way in which many people contextualize news and political decisions today, such as the verdict in the Trayvon Martin Case,[4] or the Supreme Court decision on the Voting Rights Act, both in 2013, as well as issues of their everyday life such as, for example, school choice. This knowledge about the national past has many sources, particularly for young people today.[5] One important social space where the past gets narrated and explained, learned and contextualized is the classroom.[6]

For many reasons it matters how teachers impart the story of the Civil Rights Movement. It is a difficult and sensitive topic, since the represented

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violence occurred on U.S. soil and within this society; as one of the teachers said, it 'hits too close to home'.

Whenever 'difficult knowledge'[7] needs to be presented and explained in pedagogical contexts like schools, museums or other heritage institutions, multiperspectivity plays a pivotal role.[8] In a booklet he wrote for the Council of Europe in 2003, Robert Stradling discussed the notion of multiperspectivity for historians and teachers.[9] Since it was edited by the Council of Europe it is an influential paper: many educational programmes are developed through and for the Council and many teachers and scholars utilize this material for their own purpose. Stradling builds on a definition of the term that Ann Low-Beer had published earlier, which describes multiperspectivity as the process of 'viewing historical events from several perspectives'.[10] In the classroom, multiperspectivity means that a teacher uses sources with the intention of making history more pluralistic, inclusive, integrative and comprehensive. Findings in post-conflict education[11] and critical historical thinking clearly show that particularly in post-conflict situations, multiperspectivity is a very useful pedagogic strategy, and it is rightfully applied to the Civil Rights curriculum in many U.S. classrooms.[12] All the teachers I talked to[13] as well as the teachers in training,[14] brought an impressive range of sources into the classroom: music, photographs, fictional and non-fictional texts, maps, statistics, film, exhibits and exhibition catalogues. Students could grapple with what KKK members said, the stances of Democratic and Republican politicians, reports from eye witnesses ranging from random spectators to journalists and activists of both races, from the North and South, East and West coasts, cities or rural areas.

As Bruce VanSledright advocated, students were presented with a narration that 'reveals the blemishes, leaves rough edges intact, and eschews cosmetics'.[15] When I observed classrooms I saw how much energy, professional thought and love teachers invoked to make the past not only come alive but also, as one of the teachers said, make it 'more complicated'. Still, when I listened to them as well as to teachers in training, I heard that many of them shared a similar problem: there was always a visible number of students who seemed to be reluctant[16] to engage in the topic of the Civil Rights Movement and the burning questions that lay behind it: questions of race, racism, identity and violence.

The more I watched, the more I listened, the more I understood that this was not a problem of particular teachers or classes. The difficulties stemmed from the topic and were linked to the way in which teachers employed multiperspectivity in order to address historical violence in the classroom.

This chapter argues about why and how multiperspectivity as a pedagogic tool in history learning needs to be reconsidered, particularly with regard to past violence that is still influencing the present. In order to show

the significance of my point I will start developing my argument with two examples. The first one illustrates the historiographical; the second one focuses on the emotional agenda of the current hegemonic narrative about the Civil Rights Movement in many U.S. classrooms. I analyse the data of my classroom observations against the background of cultural studies scholarship, and then bring the results of this cultural analysis back into pedagogy. My goal is to explain the difficulties the teachers reported as the effect of general, implicit agendas, which reinforce the individual as well as collective unease with this historical trauma instead of decreasing it – against the explicit intentions of the teachers. My findings suggest that there is a solution to this effect, which recasts our understanding of multiperspectivity. I hope to start a discussion on what multiperspectivity could mean beyond the definition just presented, particularly – but not exclusively – with regard to 'difficult memory'.

Agenda Number One: Narrative and Telos

The history of the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. is a history in the making. It is marked by its double inbetweenness: situated between past and present, one will find this topic in daily newspapers and in historiography alike. At the same time the Civil Rights Movement is intergenerationally situated between personal and mediated memory. Some teachers, relatives or community members still recall and tell their individual Civil Rights experiences within a personal relationship. In this way, each narration turns into one of many individual voices that interweave into an open, vivid and polyphonic (Bakhtin) tune directed towards the next generation. All the while the young addressees of these heterogeneous memories learn a seemingly finalized, generalized account of the same era particularly through their textbooks in the classroom.

In the classroom textbooks played and still play a pivotal role with regard to dominant representations of the past. As Diane Ravitch has stated, in the mid- to late 1990s three-quarters of American social studies teachers had not majored or minored in history.[17] More recent data show that this is now the case for nearly 60 per cent of those teaching history in grades 7–12.[18] Although many have since received training from Teaching American History grants, the authors of the study just quoted emphasize that even those teachers who majored in U.S. history may not have taken a single course in the Civil Rights Movement.[19] The textbook, therefore, must for many serve as the foundation of their classroom practice. Scholars like Michael Apple confirm this premise, noting that 'in the absence of an overt national curriculum, the commercially produced textbook [...] remains the

dominant definition of the curriculum in the United States'.[20] It is therefore legitimate to call these texts hegemonic.

Even though a student learned approximately the same facts about the Civil Rights Movement in the 1980s, 1990s and in 2010, (s)he was taught a different lesson about the past depending on the topical twists and turns the narrative took. Analysing American textbooks from 1960 to 2010,[21] I found that the narrative of what has solidified into the three words 'Civil Rights Movement' has changed significantly over time.

The consequences of this shift can best be captured in the telos, the ultimate outcome of every story to which a narrative plot – here, the historiographical account – implicitly points. In the following section I will identify different messages the Civil Rights Movement bore over the last fifty years by giving a short overview of its representation in selected American textbooks. My goal is not to go deep into a discourse analysis, or to describe the mechanisms of how textbooks are defining and interacting with hegemonic knowledge, for example through their market-orientation.[22] By using violence as the lens through which the unfolding narrative of the Civil Rights Movement is read, the ensuing analysis illustrates the fact that historiographical textbook narratives actually do change with the needs of the society that concurrently use and create them. Consequently, if the telos can be historicized, it can be considered as one of the many perspectives teachers could grapple with when they teach about the past (other perspectives could be the divergent interests and motives of contemporary actors, or analytical concepts like economy, gender or political structures vs. everyday life etc.).

In the texts under scrutiny, there was an obvious shift in textbooks that can be identified in the verbal use and narrative representation of violence. In the 1960s and 1970s, authors connected the word 'violence' invariably with 'negroes', attributing the term exclusively to black Americans, who were represented as an undistinguishable mass from which violence seemed to originate in an almost organic way.[23] In the 1980s and 1990s, congruent with more general writing preferences and changes in historiography, textbook authors started to zoom in on this collective body of black people, choosing individual representatives to tell their story.[24] During this time the discursive dominance of Martin Luther King that is so self-evident today was established: linguistically, his name was mentioned repeatedly in the author-texts, while in earlier texts he was not mentioned at all or only as a name in an image caption without further explanation of who he was.[25] Visually, portrait photographs singled him out. His 'I have a dream' speech was now defined as important source material for history and social studies textbooks and classrooms and set apart graphically.[26]

Beginning in the 1970s, public perception split the black community into two sharply contrasting groups: one legitimately fighting for its rights

with legal and non-violent strategies, and the other using more radical means that jeopardized the success of the first group.[27] Textbook authors tied their actions to notions like social unrest; and their demands and behaviour were analysed as flowing from the poverty and lack of education that were delineated as a given structural condition for many black people in northern cities, as for example in the following sentence: 'As the riots demonstrated, poverty from which there seems to be no escape is a fertile breeding ground for violence'.[28] Through this lens their struggle lost the label 'political'. It delegitimized a major branch of the Movement on a national level. Black activists like Malcolm X, Stokeley Carmichael and Angela Davis exposed this new, public representation of the Movement as a subversive move in a political power play, a political and activist analysis that was confirmed in historiographical retrospect by Howard Zinn and others.[29]

Through texts and images this kind of 'black' violence was to be understood as a negative force directed against national coherence, whether it was physical or verbal, whether a manifest reality or just a potential threat. Most textbooks ended and still end the era of the Civil Rights Movement with the assassination of Martin Luther King. The urban struggle of black men, women and youth beyond this date faded out of the picture mirroring its insignificance within the narrative – dissonant voices might speak of its narrative repression.[30]

Within the Civil Rights narration, violence clearly served as a means to generate proximity and distance, majority and minority.[31] The split into 'violent' and 'non-violent' historical agents helped to highlight a particular perspective on black people and on the deeper meaning of the Civil Rights history. Through the Civil Rights Movement narrative of the last forty years, students got to know 'good' black people predominantly as non-violent activists and heroes, a modern version of earlier stereotypical depictions of black men.[32] Malcolm X's narrative function is to serve as a counterweight to emphasize the positive aspects of the first group; the stories about him and the demands he verbalized, the Black Panthers, and other groups are not given space.[33] As such, in the textbook narratives, black people's image changed from trouble makers to a positive force that contributed to the democratic development of the U.S.A. Thanks to this shift, linguistically and culturally the Civil Rights Movement story could now be told from a 'we'-perspective[34] and subsequently be turned into national heritage.[35]

Present-day textbooks show yet another shift: they expose violence as a racist weapon which is attributed to specific white people.[36] Black men and women, in contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, are now introduced as victims of racism (particularly when, as many teachers and teaching materials suggest, the unit about the Civil Rights Movement opens with lynchings)[37] and consequently as Americans rightfully standing up against this injustice.

Students are led to empathize with the black victims of racial violence, from slavery to the Civil Rights Movement and at the same time meant to learn from the strength and perseverance of the new black civic role models. The current hegemonic Civil Rights Movement story stresses elements intended to educate students for democratic agency and racial reconciliation. Well-founded scholarship clearly shows that the account is (and has always been) a 'white narrative'.[38] Furthermore, particularly since the turn of the millennium, it is a narrative of democratic agency. Within both plots, violence plays an important role.

Reading the Civil Rights narratives it becomes obvious that the seemingly objective, seemingly consensualized narration is clearly carrying messages beyond the explicit recollection of facts. For the purpose of this chapter I call these messages (discursive) agendas.[39]

There is nothing wrong with that, generally speaking. It is not possible to share any facts about the past without telling them in stories.[40] This means that there are always rhetorical, political and ethical implications of narrating stories about the past, as Michalinos Zembylas shows in his study of Cypriot schools.[41] Zembylas' research is relevant to this chapter as it explores how discursive, political and cultural aspects define education. His book, *The Politics of Trauma in Education*, elaborates upon what is meant by these implications, and I argue that it is exactly from these implications that a lot of the trouble, i.e. student resistance, is coming from.

Michalinos Zembylas would, first of all, identify the experiences of black people in the U.S.A. as collectively traumatic.[42] This attribution has important consequences for the way in which I analyse my own data. Drawing from his Cypriot studies, the author convincingly argues that talking about collective trauma in the classroom is problematic, if it is done in a certain way which he calls 'the politics of trauma'. When teachers attempt to address difficult memory, very often, and not necessarily intentionally, 'memory' becomes equated with 'trauma'. This is delicate for two reasons: because it fetishizes trauma, and because it perpetuates subordination and power structures that existed at the beginning of the events leading to trauma.[43]

Thereby, first of all, the ones who suffer from trauma get othered by being identified as 'the ones who are traumatized'. Subsequently, they are colonized (Gayatri Spivak) when their experience is rhetorically used for a specific social goal, such as, for example, cultivating empathy with that 'other' in order to break up social antagonisms. Ironically, this kind of empathy carries an inherent mechanism of devaluation, which makes real healing extremely difficult. This is because, as Wendy Brown puts it, 'well-intentioned contemporary political projects and theoretical postures inadvertently redraw the very configurations and effects of power that they seek to vanquish'.[44]

This problematic mechanism is also reinforced in the way in which the history of the Civil Rights Movement is being imparted since it has become incorporated into the national history of success. The present-day narrative is deeply biased. On the one hand, it introduces black men and some women as heroes and heroines of a national project. On the other hand, students get to know black men, women, and explicitly also children as victims of racial violence with whom students are expected to empathize. Even though teachers intend to enhance multiperspectivity as a strategy to deal with the difficulty of the topic, they decrease it, because the stream of past voices, which represent different aspects of the Civil Rights Movement, is orchestrated in such a way that they are singing just one song, even though it is sung in parts. In private conversations, interviews, film and public imagery, however, I met discernible dissonance, to use a term of Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of polyphony.[45] But these other voices were not heard and/or expressed in most classrooms for various reasons. Most of the sources teachers bring into the classroom therefore inadvertently cement the previously mentioned prevailing narration. Teachers follow its agenda unquestioningly as long as the agenda itself is not understood as another perspective.

Other than this historiographical agenda, there is also an emotional one. Metaphorically speaking it is a teacher's pedagogy that runs the contents of the different learning media (including textbooks, film, internet and objects) in the classroom. Pedagogy itself is another source of meaning at play in the classroom. By choosing the suitable didactic means needed to reach a particular objective with his or her class, the teacher establishes meaning beyond the rational order of facts and narrative telos. (S)he will not just impart knowledge and competencies, but also values and attitudes. Particularly with regard to violence, emotions play a pivotal role in the process of learning.

Agenda Number Two: Emotions and Moral

Even though the course of the Civil Rights Movement narration has changed, 'violence' is still closely related to 'race' and intimately interlaces personal identity and national heritage. Depending on the reader or narrator, it concurrently brings up feelings of pride, shame, revulsion, defensiveness and divergent knowledge about the past, which is bound to an individual's community of origin.[46] These mostly emotional responses make it very hard to mediate the topic in a classroom, where it is usually presented as a matter of contents, particularly since most of the time emotions are not given the space to be discussed, or even acknowledged. At the heart of the politics of trauma, Zembylas argues, lie emotions.[47] They are indicators of moral beliefs. And this is exactly one of the reasons why teachers use their best

pedagogy in order to evoke them: like invisible apparatuses, emotions should transmit specific values and attitudes to students. In other words: the way in which emotions are evoked, discussed and embodied is normative.[48] It's a pedagogic strategy often encountered in Holocaust education or in units about genocide.

Empathy with the other is what – as a model for many other topics – Holocaust education calls for.[49] In her discussion of her own experiences with Holocaust education as a teacher, Rachel N. Baum lays out how imparting the Holocaust or other traumatic events is understood as our 'duty of memory'. Adorno's abbreviated exclamation 'Never again!' has become linked to faithful remembrance. 'I believe', Baum writes, 'that we have given the story an almost magical power, as if listening to the story is itself enough'. What kind of magic should the story perform? 'Holocaust memory is indeed frequently evoked in the fight against racism and discrimination'.[50] But in doing so, as a matter of fact, teachers actually impose a 'duty of emotions': we want our students to feel a certain way in order to get them to think in a certain way. Baum therefore speaks of 'obligatory emotions'.[51] This 'duty of emotions' is a major problem of post-conflict education in and through history classes, and is one that bears emphasis. The history of the Holocaust, of genocide, of civil war, or, as in my example, of the Civil Rights Movement, is told with an agenda: on the one hand, through the historiographical narrative, and on the other, by evoking particular emotions, neither of which is gender, race, class or politically neutral.[52]

Against this background, the Civil Rights Movement serves more and more as a parable in the history and social science classroom, and it's the agenda that turns the facts – although always correct – into a story which is intended to change a student's heart and mind for ever. Violence, then, is discussed as a problematic but universal anthropological constant that can be observed across societies and time. Rendered abstract in this particular way, racist violence is excised from American society, which helps to evade unsettling discussions about white guilt or shame, as one interview-partner critically (and angrily) pointed out.[53]

Many students seem to perceive that something is 'wrong' with the history that is imparted. The form in which teachers and I observed this irritation is resistance. Teachers described moments of resistance which were explicitly linked to situations when they talked about and showed violence against black people during the Civil Rights Movement. They mentioned what seemed to them disinterest or disengagement, laughing, joking and other forms of avoidance, students walking out of the classroom, or explicit objection as when, for example, a group of black students petitioned the teaching staff to discontinue lessons on black people because they felt that these only focused on victimhood.[54] Even though these observations were

made across different schools, by experienced as well as by novice teachers, they follow a pattern that Michalinos Zembylas discovered in the Cypriot context. In *The Politics of Trauma* he lists and explains students' manifest responses when they are confronted with trauma stories in schools, as follows:

> First a sentimental reaction by students who identify with privilege and respond defensively yet feel uncomfortable and guilty, fearing that they will be exposed as immoral by refusing to bear any longer a population's collective suffering; second, an intense resentment by those who feel subordinated and may eventually get stuck in victim politics; and third, the desensitization of the student-spectators who get irritated by the scenes of suffering in some way, refuse engagement with it or minimize its effects, misread it conveniently, and reduce it to a few pedantic phrases.[55]

Terry Epstein, who analysed the reactions of black and white students to Civil Rights or slavery units in their history classes in U.S. schools, would rightfully give more nuance to Zembylas' second point.[56] But his well-supported explanations shed an important light onto an otherwise black box. Students' reactions are, of course, to be read in the social context of the classroom where adolescents get exposed to difficult knowledge and often socially tabooed images in the arena of their peers. However, such reactions are equally due to the historiographical and emotional agenda of the represented narratives.

Transparency Deals with Agendas

As an historian I feel very ambivalent when I see the past aligned around the emotional agenda mentioned above. Where are the specifics of this particular era in history, and what happens to historical thinking if the past turns into parables? As a researcher I learned from students that many of them actually perceive this teleology very well, a plot in which a teacher tries to connect past, present and future in an appealing way. Two of them – very reflective and well-spoken high school girls, politically aware and socially engaged – told me bluntly that they had lost their interest in these topics in class because these lessons seemed 'closed' in high school. The students read their teachers very well – their tone, posture, expectations and even pedagogy – and they complained to me that they felt 'micromanaged', which they and their schoolmates opposed with more or less politeness and sophistication. Their observations, which they explained to me over the course of four interview sessions, connect very clearly to Zembylas' and Epstein's analyses.

The last part of this chapter is based on the expertise of the students. Thereby I want to give voice to those that I studied, following the ethical code of qualitative research Norman Denzin published in 2010.[57] This last

paragraph will redeem my objective to not only apply cultural studies onto, but also to bring it into pedagogy.

The two students gave weight to their perspective through an encompassing peer interview project,[58] which perfectly matched my research question and analysis. What they found was that they and many of their co-students lacked transparency about the agenda.[59] They appreciated getting to know the Civil Rights Movement from different perspectives, as their teachers taught the topic, even if some of these perspectives provoked discomfort, which they were ready to explore more deeply. But they used the word 'threatening' in order to characterize the effect of how it felt 'when a teacher is telling you how it is'.[60] They and the peers they had interviewed wanted to discuss the implications of what they were told, to relate their thoughts to the teacher, the classmates and their community. They provided me with a couple of examples of how they would prefer a teacher to open a unit on the Holocaust. (S)he should address why the students were meant to learn about this topic in school. The Holocaust should be named as an important part of 'our history' and culture, which is why students must learn these facts. But at the same time the teacher should also explain to them that many people talk about the Holocaust also because they hope that exposing the horrible background, the dynamics of the unfolding of antisemitism and its effects will prevent further racism, exclusion, even bullying, and that then the teacher should signal her or his openness to discuss with the class how that could work and whether or not it is legitimate to use the Holocaust to that end.[61] They admitted that it might take courage for a teacher to give such an introduction. On the other hand, they provided me with examples where middle school teachers had done just that. The students wondered why something they had experienced in middle school was not practiced in high school. The tangible intransparency and the feeling that they were not allowed to touch the outer frame of what they were taught is what they didn't like and why they remained distant in these lessons.

Applying what they said to the Civil Rights Movement, teachers and students might reflect on why the history of the Civil Rights Movement is both in their history textbooks and on the news, and they might even consider the way in which it is presented to them. What are the effects of showing, circulating, examining the historical images of physical violence against black people today? What will they conclude from the fact that there has been an observable shift in the way the Civil Rights Movement has been taught over time? The students I talked to were ready to discuss how the Civil Rights Movement history relates to them as white, middle-class, urban girls.[62] They were genuinely interested in how their peers related to this history and wondered how their school knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement resonated in their and their peers' communities.

What the students suggested is what Michelle Fine and Lois Weis called for and what, according to Michalinos Zembylas, would interrupt the negative politics of trauma: 'counternormative work'. Teachers who are equipped with the awareness, the mental tools and the knowledge to unlock agendas like the ones described make room for dissonant voices. By doing so they potentially challenge hegemonic narratives, which also means power relations. Or, maybe, they just lay the foundation to make better informed, conscious choices with regard to narration, teaching material and pedagogy.[63] All of which is effective and important, when violence is dealt with in the classroom.

Transparency addresses the agendas of the topics taught, yet it will situatively look different in every classroom. This means that even though the ultimate goal a teacher strives to is to teach transparently, the way in which she or he performs transparency looks differently depending on the contexts at stake as well as personal and pedagocical convictions. Some teachers might decide that they do not want to address any of these questions in the classroom. They can still ask these questions of themselves and answer them before they teach difficult knowledge. Each time such agendas remain implicit, teachers risk perpetuating patterns of the politics of trauma that are clearly harmful.

Reevaluating Multiperspectivity

The notion of transparency has the potential to alter our understanding of multiperspectivity, first of all regarding the number or levels of perspectives. Stradling recommends a variety of sources in order to analyse the construction of narrative, explanations, conclusions and judgement of historical significance. But his definition of multiperspectivity is past-bound: all the sources he suggests using were created in the past. What I think should be included in our analytical understanding of multiperspectivity is the present – particularly when we talk about difficult knowledge like violence – by distinguishing between past and current ways of framing the past in order to see emotional and narrative teleologies. The latter corresponds with an element of Peter Seixas and Tom Morton's concept of historical significance. A student's ability to understand that the meaning ascribed to an event or a series of events (like the Civil Rights Movement) changes over time is one of four ways in which historical significance can be grasped and how the concept becomes analytically useful.[64] Secondly, multiperspectivity should encompass pedagogy itself as a medium and a message, looking back into the past as well as into the present. The concrete tool that would help teachers to address this perspective in the classroom is transparency. My findings suggest

that multiperspectivity requires the kind of transparency the students were talking about, which means speaking to and about the implicit agendas. In order to do this, teachers need to know how to decipher the narrative and emotional agendas and how to address them without going out on a limb in their classrooms. However, in spite of these potential difficulties, transparency allows teachers to open rare and yet important space for their students: to bring their concerns, considerations and judgement into the classroom and not be left with them. It will impact the relationships within a classroom and maybe within their community, and it potentially also provokes a deeper reflection about what race, identity and history meant and mean than does the 'magical' approach.

Conclusion

The Civil Rights Movement is an era in U.S. history which contains difficult knowledge that teachers and students grapple with in the classroom today. The difficulty stems from the historical facts about the many forms of violence which were manifest in the past. But it's the present that makes their presentation tricky, the fact that teachers and students deal with questions that arise related to their race, family, class, gender, local community, nationality or attitude towards their shared heritage. All of this is set against the background of a vaguely perceivable collective culture and politics around the Civil Rights Movement. Many teachers commented on student resistance to the topic, which came up when they talked about and / or were shown the effects of racially motivated violence in class. This resistance was not just a problem of individual classes, teachers or students, and it was displayed by white as well as by non-white students. There are many reasons for students to be reluctant to engage in the topic or refuse to even look at representations of violence. Some of them are connected to identity, the peer-group, their personal situation or teacher interaction. I took this resistance in the classroom as the starting point of my analysis and have come to the conclusion that it is, surprisingly, also connected to the concept of multiperspectivity.

Applying recent scholarship from cultural and postcolonial studies to this phenomenon, it has become clear that the students' resistance is also linked to the historiographical and emotional agendas conveyed by Civil Rights Movement narrations and pedagogy. Multiperspectivity is a pedagogical tool rightfully advised in post-conflict education. Many teachers use it when they teach the Civil Rights Movement in order to address some of the problems just mentioned, and also because they want to contribute to a peaceful civil society. Using textbook narratives as my first example, and pedagogical intentions as my second, I showed that multiperspectivtiy can

be monovocal if teachers are not aware of the effects which historiographical narratives and pedagogy implicitly carry. I therefore argue that multiperspectivity should go further than presenting sources from different viewpoints in the past. Effective multiperspectivity includes present perspectives on how the past is dealt with. This means that teachers (in training) need the tools to discern such agendas and anticipate their effects. For classroom research it could imply that we might want to differentiate between teacher and student multiperspectivity.

My transfer of the results of my research into classroom practice builds on the analysis of students I interviewed. These high school students demand more transparency about the teaching-learning process. They perceive the implicit objective and argue that this is what prompts their resistance to the topic. Therefore, they want the opportunity to discuss these agendas, particularly the pedagogical ones. Through transparency teachers would establish a space that allows for critical dissonance, reflection and connections to different communities – but most of all authentic learning.

Acknowledgements

This chapter was made possible by the research grant that I was awarded by the Swiss National Science Foundation to conduct research at the Harvard Graduate School of Education from 2010 to 2011, and in 2012 as a visiting scholar. I warmly thank Elisabeth Matthiessen for her language editing, and most of all the teachers, teachers in training, students, educators and other interview partners for sharing their experiences with me.

Notes

1. *Doing Memory: Past Violence in the Classroom* is an upcoming book that shows how teachers use historiographical narrations as part of a social process which I call 'doing memory'. It is based on the analysis of a thickly described case study: the Civil Rights Movement as it is being taught in the Boston area.

2. See M. Cabreras' entry on 'Violence', in *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, eds R. McKee Irvin and M. Szurmuk, Florida, 2012, 342–347.

3. J. Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research* 6, 3 (1969): 167–191.

4. With respect to the Trayvon Martin case, see President Obama's statement made on 19 July 2013, https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/07/19/remarks-president-trayvon-martin (accessed 6 June 2016).

5. S. Wineburg, 'Making Historical Sense in the New Millennium', in *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, ed. S. Wineburg, Philadelphia, 2001, 232–255; H. Giroux, 'Doing Cultural Studies: Youth and the Challenge of Pedagogy', *Harvard Educational Review* 64, 3 (1994): 278–309; H. Giroux, *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope. Theory, Culture and Schooling:*

A Critical Reader, Boulder, 1997; S. Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the 21st Century*, Toronto, 2009; T. Epstein, *Interpreting National History: Race, Identity, and Pedagogy in Classrooms and Communities*, New York, 2009; D. Coulby, *Beyond the National Curriculum: Curricular Centralism and Cultural Diversity in Europe and the USA*, New York, 2000; J. Rüsen, 'Memory, History and the Quest for the Future', *History Teaching, Identities and Citizenship*, eds L. Cajani and A. Ross, Stoke on Trent, 2007, 13–34; A. Virta, 'Learning to Teach History in Culturally Diverse Classrooms', *Intercultural Education* 20, 4 (2009): 285–297.

6. This institutionalized space needs to be analysed critically the way Michael Apple suggests in a sociological tradition: M. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd edn, New York, 2004.

7. E. Lehrer, C.E. Milton and M.E. Patterson, eds, *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places*, Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, New York, 2011.

8. This is equally true for intercultural education, or critical historical thinking in general. For intercultural education, see e.g. A. Virta, 'Learning to Teach History' or K. Traille, '"You should be Proud about your History. They Made me Feel Ashamed": Teaching History Hurts', *Teaching History* 127 (June 2007): 31–37.

9. R. Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, Strasbourg, 2003.

10. Ibid.

11. K.C. Barton and A.W. McCully, 'Trying to "See Things Differently": Northern Ireland Students' Struggle to Understand Alternative Historical Perspectives', *Theory & Research in Social Education* 40, 4 (2012): 371–408; A. McCully, 'History Teaching, "Truth Recovery" and Reconciliation', *Memory and Pedagogy* (2010): 161–176; E.A. Cole, *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*, Lanham, 2007; T. Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies* (Ethnic and Intercommunity Conflict), New York, 2004; C. McGlynn, M. Zembylas, Z. Bekerman and T. Gallagher, eds, *Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies: Comparative Perspectives*, London, 2009; S.W. Freedman, H. Weinstein et al., 'Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience', *Comparative Education Review* 52, 4 (November 2008): 663–690.

12. For more about the background and history of the concept, see Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*.

13. Fifteen single interview partners, one group of six, and numerous informal interactions during participant observation in two teacher workshops in 2010 and 2011.

14. Twelve teachers in training.

15. B. VanSledright, 'Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education', *Review of Research in Education* 32 (2008): 212.

16. For different forms of student resistance, see P. Kearney and T.G. Plax, 'Student Resistance to Control', in *Power in the Classroom: Power, Control and Concern*, eds V.P. Richmond and J. McCroskey, Hillsdale, 2009, 85–100.

17. D. Ravitch, 'Who Prepares our History Teachers? Who Should Prepare our History Teachers?', *The History Teacher* 31, 4 (Aug. 1998): 495–503.

18. R.M. Ingersoll, 'Out-of-Field Teaching and the Limits of Teacher Policy', Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy, September 2003.

19. Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC, United States), *Teaching the Movement: The State of Civil Rights Education in the United States, Montgomery*, 2011, 9.

20. M. Apple, *Educating the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*, 2nd edn, New York, 2006, 46, quoted after the introduction in *The New Politics of the Textbook: Problematizing the Portrayal of Marginalized Groups in Textbooks*, eds H. Hickman and B.J. Porfilio, Rotterdam, 2012, xxviii.

21. The textbooks were: *Rise of the American Nation; America, its People and Values*; *Two Centuries of Progress: United States History*; *The Making of Modern America*; *The American People*; *America's History*; *History of a Free Nation*; *The American*; *American Odyssey*; *America's Past and Promise*; *The American Nation*; *Understanding the American Promise*; *Putting the Movement back into Civil Rights Teaching*; *Eyes on the Prize – A Study Guide to the Television Series*. Textbook selection based on Diane Ravich's comprehensive study and on the recommendations of the American Textbook Council: D. Ravitch, *A Consumer's Guide to High School History Textbooks*, Washington, 2004.

22. I am doing this in detail in a (completed) chapter of my upcoming book *Doing Memory: Past Violence in the Classroom*.

23. 'The depth of black frustration was starkly revealed in riots that broke out in the community of Watts in Los Angeles, California, in the summer of 1965. The National Guard was called in to restore order, but before the rioting ended 4,000 persons were arrested, hundreds were injured, 34 were killed, and the damage from burning and looting totaled $35 million. The fury of this urban violence shocked the nation'. *Rise of the American Nation*, 1972, 825. Similarly, the 1968 supplement to *The Making of Modern America*, in which the chapter on the same topic, entitled 'Violence Erupts in the Cities', gives many strong examples of this discourse, S8.

24. For example, in the visualizations of *Two Centuries of Progress: United States History*, 1982; *A History of the United States*, 1992; *History of a Free Nation*, 1998; *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, 1998; focusing on individuals is explicitly advised in the 1985 teacher edition of *America. Its People and Values*, 721.

25. See *Rise of the American Nation*, 1969, 807.

26. The first textbook in my sample to present the now well-known narrative, including the 'I have a dream' speech, was *Rise of the American Nation*, 3rd edn, 1972, 827.

27. This result of my textbook analysis is mirrored in historiography, cf. A. Mutua, *Restoring Justice to Civil Rights Movement Activists? New Historiography and the 'Long Civil Rights Era'*, Buffalo Legal Studies Research Paper No. 2008–12, Buffalo, 2008, p.18ff.

28. 'There was much discontent, especially in the black-inhabited ghettos in the cities of the North. Many ghetto dwellers complained of high unemployment, poor housing, bad schools, overcrowding, and unfair treatment by public officials. The outgrowth of such conditions, at times, was violence and rioting'. *Two Centuries of Progress: United States History*, 2nd edn, 1981, 685.

29. H. Zinn, *A People's History of the United States. 1492 – Present*, New York, 1980. See also Mutua, *Restoring Justice* and SPLC, *Teaching the Movement*.

30. See for example the arguments brought forward in the documentary *The Black Power Mixtapes 1967–1975*, directed by Göran Olsson, Sweden, 2011.

31. I am not using the terms proximity, distance, majority and minority in a conceptual way here, but in order to describe the discursive effects of the use of violence in this memory dispositif. I use the term 'memory dispositif' as used in L. Basu, 'Memory Dispositifs and National Identities: The Case of Ned Kelly', *Memory Studies* 33, 4 (2011): 33–41.

32. M. Berger, *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, New Haven, 2010.

33. This effect has not only been observed by myself through text analysis but was also a recurrent topic in the interviews, for example with a teacher in training (interview of 10 August 2010), a teacher trainer (interview of 18 March 2011), and a textbook editor (interview of 23 March 2011).

34. For example, in P.A. Pingry, *The Story of Rosa Parks*, Nashville, 2007 (illustrated by Steven Walker).

35. See VanSledright, 'Narratives of Nation-State', 114. The Civil Rights Movement has become an important heritage landmark in the form of many local and national museums, monuments, and also through the Martin Luther King Memorial day, textbook curricula, educational programmes, etc. For the construction boom in 2012/2013, see K. Severson,

'New Museums to Shine a Spotlight on Civil Rights Era', *New York Times*, 19 February 2012, online article.

36. For the discursive image of the Southern villain, see R. Romano, 'Narratives of Redemption: The Birmingham Church Bombing Trials and the Construction of Civil Rights Memory', *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, eds R. Romano and L. Raiford, Athens GA, 2006, 96–134.

37. Interview and classroom observation (14 February 2011). It is also promoted in the *Facing History and Ourselves/ Boston Public Schools Civil Rights Curriculum Collaborative* (unpublished text).

38. Epstein, *Interpreting National History*. The whole book shows in many examples how the national history is a white narrative, particularly chapters 1, 6–11 and 4, 111–118; SPLC, *Teaching the Movement*.

39. 'Discursive agendas' means that there is not a single author or interest group that can be identified as the source of the agenda, but rather, in an understanding of power and discourse which is based on Michel Foucault's work, an effect of a complicated system of social interactions.

40. H. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-century Europe*, Baltimore, 1973.

41. M. Zembylas, *The Politics of Trauma in Education*, New York, 2008, 30.

42. Zembylas, *Politics of Trauma*, 24. Although other scholars challenged this attribution, since (i) the term 'collective' has been repeatedly criticized from different perspectives, and (ii) there are doubts whether a concept like trauma can be applied to a larger group of people, Zembylas' arguments are convincing. He follows a line of argument other scholars from different disciplines have brought forward: pain happens and gets communicated in a social context (see for example E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, New York, 1985). Therefore, trauma is 'a formation of power relations and an operation of socio-economic norms': Zembylas, *Politics of Trauma*, 24. Emily Keightley summarized this position in an overview article: E. Keightley, 'Engaging with Memory', in *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*, ed. M. Pickering, Edinburgh, 2008, 175–192. Also white people are traumatized by the same events, but from a different perspective; see J.C. Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley, 2004 and Traille, 'You Should be Proud about your History', 31–37.

43. L. Berlant, *The Queen of America goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*, Durham and London, 1997; S. Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh, 2004. Both writers are referenced by Michalinos Zembylas.

44. W. Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*, New Jersey, 1995, IX.

45. See M.M. Bachtin, *Die Ästhetik des Wortes*, Frankfurt am Main, 1979. For the specific use of the term dissonance in heritage education, see J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester, 1996.

46. Epstein, *Interpreting National History*, 1–27 and 89–113.

47. 'Sometime experienced consciously, at other times on a less than fully conscious level, these emotions are socially and politically relevant, rather than deriving solely from one's individual idiosyncrasy'. Zembylas, *Politics of Trauma*, 15.

48. There are many scholars claiming this point; most of them, like myself, refer to the work of Michel Foucault.

49. For a different stance towards the notion of empathy, see P. Lee and D. Shemilt, 'The Concept that Dares Not Speak its Name: Should Empathy Come out of the Closet?', *Teaching History* 143 (2011): 39–49.

50. R. Baum, '"What I have Learned to Feel": The Pedagogical Emotions of Holocaust Education', *College Literature* 23, I.3 (Oct. 1996): 44–58. Similar with regard to Civil Rights: A. Bryan, '"You've got to Teach People that Racism is Wrong and then They won't be Racist": Curricular Representations and Young People's Understandings of "Race" and Racism"', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 44, 5 (2012): 599–629.

51. Baum, 'What I have Learned to Feel'.

52. See Sara Ahmed on the social effect of public, national shame, as in the case of Australian Indigenous people. She shows how the feeling of shame or guilt reaffirms a white, non-Indigenous identity and how these feelings turn into a source of pride about being righteous individually and nationally. This in turn has the effect of again excluding and subjectifying the Indigenous other. S. Ahmed, 'The Politics of Bad Feeling', *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal* 1 (2005): 83.

53. Interview of 27 June 2011. He thereby confirmed Ahmed's critique from his own, personal history.

54. Interview of 31 March 2011.

55. Zembylas, *Politics of Trauma*, 20.

56. Epstein, *Interpreting National History*, 96–113 and 135–136.

57. N.K. Denzin, *The Qualitative Manifesto: A Call to Arms*, Walnut Creek CA, 2010.

58. J. Brunetta and A. Hirschi, *The Five Paragraph Education*, presented at The Civic and Moral Education Initiative Forum on 2 March 2012, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

59. The three of us consider transparency to be the notion that captures our understanding of the situation best. After the interview sessions we agreed to co-write a paper (under review) where we expand upon this concept in more detail for a professional audience.

60. Interview of 22 June 2011.

61. Similarly, Epstein, *Interpreting National History*, 133.

62. Interview of 22 June 2011.

63. Epstein reaches similar conclusions, offering concrete pedagogical strategies that help teachers to deal with the challenge of 'race' in history classrooms; Epstein, *Interpreting National History*, 115–136.

64. See P. Seixas and T. Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*, Toronto, 2012, 24.

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