American Historical Association

Retrieving the Master's Degree from the Dustbin of History

A Report to the Members of the American Historical Associaton

Prepared for the AHA Committee on the Master's Degree
by **Philip M. Katz**

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Prepared for the **AHA Committee on the Master's Degree in History**
by

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Introduction

History departments in the United States offer a rich variety of master's degrees, intended to promote the professional, career, and personal goals of a highly diverse student population. Collectively, master's degree programs reflect our profession's commitment to enhancing the historical understanding of all Americans, both directly, by strengthening the ability of graduate students to analyze and interpret the past, and indirectly, through the many encounters that Americans have with professional historians who earn master's degrees. Individual graduate programs, however, are shaped by local needs and conditions as much as they are shaped by national practices or disciplinary commitments. History departments need to serve the goals of their students, their faculty members, their institutions, their communities, and their discipline. Sometimes, these goals will conflict.

What is the best fit between the work of history graduate programs and the needs of our students and society? What should historians with master's degrees know? What skills should they be expected to possess? What careers should they be prepared to pursue? And what kind of profession will they be joining as historians and educators in the twenty-first century? In this report, we call upon all historians, wherever they happen to pursue their careers, to reflect on the state of the profession and its relation to current social conditions. This is not a call for historians to privilege the master's degree as an employment credential nor to resign themselves to the inevitability of current trends. Instead, it is a sober response to the fact that, in today's world (including the world of higher education), professionals are increasingly expected not only to define their work but to present measures of the work's effectiveness and utility.

These are reasonable expectations and should be easy for historians to meet. But if we do not define our own work as historians, then others will rush in to do it for us. The possibility applies with equal force to historians working in every possible setting (schools, colleges and universities, museums, government offices, etc.). Nonetheless, we think it especially important to emphasize the role of external forces—both negative and positive—in defining the content and role of the master's degree. The "master's degree," as a general category, is often promoted as a tool for addressing specific employment needs while improving the lives of successful students. The master's degree for historians has the additional burden of enriching the nation's sense of the past. The success (or failure) of the degree to meet society's expectations will have important implications for the status of our profession in the years to come. So will the success (or failure) of the degree to promote a richer understanding of history and a stronger, more inclusive community of practicing historians. The master's degree deserves our full attention.

David S. Trask
Chair, AHA Committee on
the Master's Degree

I. A (Very) Brief History of the Master's Degree

The Master of Arts is an academic rank with a considerable pedigree, going back to the great universities of medieval Europe.[1] Originally, *Magister* was the title conferred upon university graduates when they began to teach. Later it became a distinct degree, typically awarded "in course" to recipients of a baccalaureate degree who were able to maintain a respectable lifestyle (i.e., "keep … out of jail for three years") and willing to pay a token fee.[2] It remained that way for centuries. The idea of an earned master's degree, signifying advanced study in a particular academic discipline, is thus relatively new; in this country, it dates from no earlier than the 1870s, about the same time that the modern, research-driven Doctor of Philosophy degree was transplanted from Germany to the United States.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the professional historians who dominated the young American Historical Association still considered the Master of Arts "an object of deserved ridicule and … an ill-defined being."[3] In the decades that followed, few historians paid much attention to the degree. In 1965, John Snell finally returned to the question, "What *is* the master's degree?" After several years of close investigation, first as research director of the AHA's Committee on Graduate Education and then as dean of the graduate school at Tulane, he was forced to admit that "the question cannot be answered simply, because there is no single master's degree. … [And while] it is understandable that variations appear among the requirements for the master's in different professional fields, … the great variations within a single field are more difficult to understand and to justify." As a case in point, he catalogued the striking variations among master's degree programs in the field of history, looking at such things as entry requirements, grading standards, language and thesis requirements, the presence or absence of general examinations, and even the number of credit hours required. But the lack of standardization among history degrees was hardly unique, in Snell's time or today.[4]

"What *is* the master's degree? . . . the question cannot be answered simply, because there is no single master's degree."

Although Snell and his colleagues on the Committee on Graduate Education recommended a number of reforms in the master's-level training of historians in 1962, particularly in the area of teacher preparation, at the start of the twenty-first century the master's degree *remains* ill-defined. This was one of the clearest messages from a survey of history department chairs conducted by the AHA in early 2001, in which we asked them to identify the most pressing issues in contemporary graduate education. "The value of the M.A. in history is very much in doubt," complained one chair; a second pointed to the challenge of "conceptualizing the role of the M.A. in history beyond specialized public history programs, … professional advancement for teachers, … and preparation for the Ph.D."; while a third asked, somewhat plaintively, "What exactly should an M.A. in history be?"[5] This report will begin to answer that question—a question that we believe is vital to the future of the historical profession.

Why Now?

Why are we examining the master's degree for historians *now*? Is the master's degree "broken," as one director of graduate studies recently asked? We don't think so, though we still lack enough information to make a fully informed judgment on the matter. The master's degree has been neglected for far too long. Compared to the volume of research on the doctorate, very little has been devoted to master's degrees in *any* discipline, and what does exist has rightly been described as "diffuse and fragmented."[6] Four decades have passed since the last major investigation of graduate education for historians that paid any significant attention to the master's degree. In 2000, the AHA began to remedy that lapse by reviving the Committee on Graduate Education (CGE), newly charged with investigating all aspects of graduate training at both the master's and doctoral levels. The work of the CGE was framed by long-term transformations in three aspects of the American historical profession: intellectual scope, demography, and employment. For pragmatic reasons the CGE focused its efforts primarily on the Ph.D.—though much of the evidence and advice offered in its detailed report, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty–first Century* (University of Illinois Press, 2004), also applies to history departments engaged in training historians at the master's level and to graduate students who are seeking a master's degree. The present report is a continuation of the AHA's effort to review and rethink graduate education.

Historians need to embrace the master's degree as a valuable degree in its own right.

The AHA's efforts, in turn, are part of a rising swell of interest in the master's degree. Public historians, led by the National Council on Public History's Curriculum and Training Committee, are examining the training standards for historians in various non-academic settings while mapping the public history curriculum. This effort has focused on the graduate education that historians—as well as archivists, museum curators and educators, cultural resource managers, historic preservationists, and history professionals in allied fields—receive at the master's level. Other academic disciplines are also "revaluing the master's degree,"[7] while the Sloan Foundation and the Council of Graduate Schools are busily promoting a new class of "professional master's degrees" that combine academic content with specific market-oriented skills.[8] In Europe, meanwhile, a "quiet revolution" is reshaping higher education, with twenty-nine countries "abandoning their national degree systems—mostly adopted in the 19th century and largely incompatible—and introducing new ones based on a single model: a three-year bachelor's degree and a two-year master's."[9]

The AHA is also concerned about basic issues of student access, quality control, and truth in advertising related to the master's degree. Students at the master's level are much more likely to enter a local or regional graduate program than a program in a distant part of the country[10]—unlike doctoral programs, which tend to attract a national pool of applicants, and thus tend to converge more closely in their requirements and standards. Are master's programs in different regions of the country comparable? Do students have adequate information about the comparative quality of local and distant graduate programs, or of programs in public and private institutions? How can they be sure that a geographically

convenient program will actually serve their needs? Does geography place some students at a disadvantage? Is there anything the AHA can do about it—say, by promoting a national set of degree standards? We think it is time at least to raise these questions.

Traditionally, interest in the master's degree has been spurred by three kinds of *external* pressures (with a certain amount of overlap among them):

- **The perceived need for more and/or better school teachers, especially at the secondary level but also in the primary grades.** This has often involved calculations about the future demand for teachers and debates about the proper credentialing of teachers. In recent years, the leading voices in such debates have been those of politicians (e.g., the Bush administration's "No Child Left Behind" initiative) and professional educators (including teachers' unions, schools and departments of education, and national accrediting organizations such as NCATE), *not* scholars with academic expertise in the subject matter being taught in the schools.[11] One result is master's degrees designed for history teachers and offered by history departments that have much of their content dictated by outside standard-makers instead of historians. We will return to this problem later in the report.
- **Concerns about the general state of doctoral training, in which the state of the master's degree is at best an incidental consideration.**[12] The history master's and the history Ph.D. are closely related, to be sure, but they also diverge in significant ways—in terms of graduate student interests and career aspirations, the time to degree, the commitment of institutional resources, the depth and nature of the research expected from matriculants, and so on. Questions and solutions that are appropriate to the doctorate (or, for that matter, to the bachelor's degree) are not necessarily appropriate to the master's degree as well. As Peter Knight, one of England's leading experts on graduate education, reminds us, "master's students are not a breed apart. … However, there are sufficient differences to make it unwise to assume that good practice for taught master's students can simply be read off from research with undergraduates or Ph.D. students, as if we were using the academic equivalent of a miles to kilometres conversion table."[13]
- **Questions about the role of colleges and universities in training Americans for the work force.** Ideally, these questions are motivated by a sense of civic mission or other good public policy considerations ("society needs more skilled workers and well-informed citizens" and "we need to serve the interests of our local community"). Yet they can also be spurred by somewhat narrower budgetary calculations, especially when it comes to master's degrees ("students will pay good tuition dollars for career-oriented graduate programs").[14]

Increasingly, university administrators want to know what academic departments can contribute to an essentially market-oriented view of graduate training—or, indeed, whether history graduate programs can justify their expense in an era of academic budget-cutting. We think that history departments should have ready answers to these questions *before* they are posed; and because master's degrees in history serve important societal functions, we think that history departments can have good answers. Historians need to seize control of the future

of the master's degree in their discipline, and to embrace the master's as a valuable degree in its own right. For all these reasons, in 2003 the AHA Council created a separate Committee on the Master's Degree and gave it the task of examining the current state and possible futures of the master's degree for historians.

Outline of the Report

This report includes the following sections:

- A collection of basic data about the present state of the master's degree in history, including the number and variety of institutions that offer the degree and the number and variety of students who pursue it.
- A close look at four career paths (or "destinations") that may follow from a history master's degree: additional study towards a history Ph.D., a community college faculty position, teaching at a secondary school, or a career in public history. The report raises, but only begins to answer, three important questions: How well do master's programs prepare students for the various destinations? What are the employment prospects along each of the paths? Do any (or all) of the paths provide an avenue of opportunity for currently underrepresented groups to enter the historical profession?
- A discussion of the common knowledge, skills, and perspectives that ought to be part of every student's training for a history master's degree, regardless of his or her intended destination as a historian. We call these desirable outcomes the "elements of mastery."
- A related discussion about the distinctive role of the master's degree in historical training. What is the *substance* of history, as a discipline, that is most appropriate to the *study* of history at each particular level? How does a master's degree differ from a Ph.D.? How does it differ from a bachelor's degree? One answer, we want to suggest, is that most historians with master's degrees focus their professional activities on synthesizing and presenting history (as opposed to consuming history or even producing new historical knowledge at the leading edge of archival research), so their training should focus on synthesis and presentation as well.
- Finally, a list of unanswered questions about the master's degree that historians still need to ponder. Many of these will be useful to history departments that are interested in critical self-reflection and the transformation of their own graduate programs. Others point the way to additional work that the American Historical Association needs to undertake on behalf of the entire profession.

II. The History Master's Degree: A Snapshot in Statistics

Demographic Trends

The master's degree is the fastest-growing degree in the United States, and the Department of Education expects that master's degrees will continue to expand and flourish for at least another decade (see **Figure 1**).[15] For example, between 1996 and 2002 (the last seven academic years with complete information available), the annual number of master's degrees awarded in *all* fields rose by a total of 19 percent, versus increases of just 7 percent for associate's degrees and 11 percent for bachelor's degrees, and a slight decline in the annual number of doctorates. Master's degrees in education rose the fastest of all, with an increase of 29 percent overall—including a striking 41 percent increase among blacks and 54 percent increase among Hispanics.[16] Meanwhile, master's degrees in history lagged far behind, with a 16 percent *decrease* in the number awarded during that period (see **Table 1**).[17]

Should historians be worried about these trends? We think so. At the very least, the declining number of master's degrees in history reflects a declining number of *bachelor's* degrees in history, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of all bachelor's degrees awarded in the United States.[18] (We also note a similar decline during the past decade in the number of master's degrees among the social sciences most closely related to history, all of which continue to lose ground to such fields as business and education; see **Figures 2A and 2B**.) All the levels of history education are closely related, as segments of the same pipeline towards advanced training in the discipline (see **Table 1** and **Figure 3**); in 2001, for example, 58 percent of all new history Ph.D.'s also had a master's degree in history and 57 percent had a

Figure 1

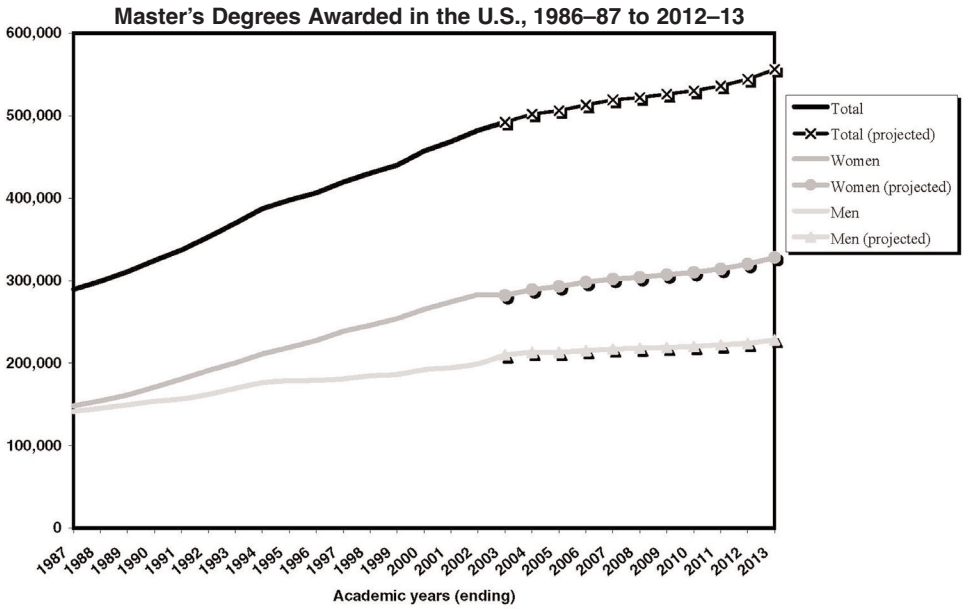


Table 1

Earned degrees in history conferred by degree-granting U.S. institutions, by level of degree: 1949–50 to 2001–02

Year	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate
1949–50	13,542	1,801	275
1951–52	10,187	1,445	317
1953–54	9,363	1,220	355
1955–56	10,510	1,114	259
1957–58	12,840	1,397	297
1959–60	14,737	1,794	342
1961–62	17,340	2,163	343
1963–64	23,668	2,705	507
1965–66	28,612	3,883	599
1967–68	35,291	4,845	688
1969–70	43,386	5,049	1,038
1970–71	44,663	5,157	991
1971–72	43,695	5,217	1,133
1972–73	40,943	5,030	1,140
1973–74	37,049	4,533	1,114
1974–75	31,470	4,226	1,117
1975–76	28,400	3,658	1,014
1976–77	25,433	3,393	921
1977–78	23,004	3,033	813
1978–79	21,019	2,536	756
1979–80	19,301	2,367	712
1980–81	18,301	2,237	643
1981–82	17,146	2,210	636
1982–83	16,467	2,041	575
1983–84	16,643	1,940	561
1984–85	16,049	1,921	468
1985–86	16,415	1,961	497
1986–87	16,997	2,021	534
1987–88	18,207	2,093	517
1988–89	20,159	2,121	487
1989–90	22,476	2,369	570
1990–91	24,541	2,591	606
1991–92	26,966	2,754	644
1992–93	27,774	2,952	690
1993–94	27,503	3,009	752
1994–95	26,598	3,091	816
1995–96	26,005	2,898	805
1996–97	25,214	2,901	873
1997–98	25,726	2,895	937
1998–99	24,794	2,633	921
1999–00	25,247	2,573	984
2000–01	24,989	2,365	931
2001–02	26,091	2,423	928

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

Figure 2A

Master's Degrees in the Social Sciences, 1949–50 to 2001–02

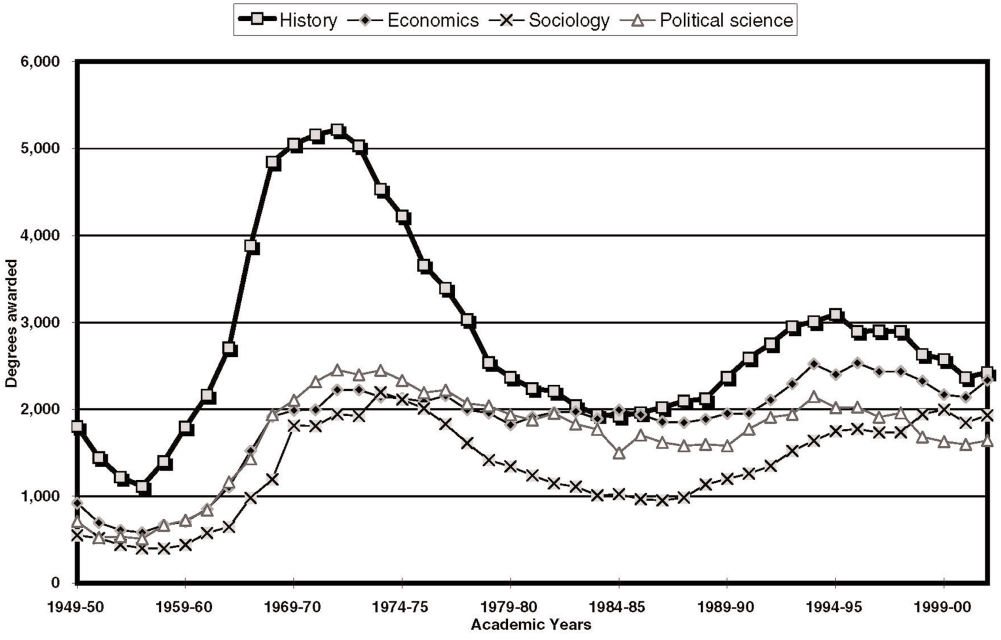


Figure 2B

Master's Degrees in the Social Sciences, 1949–50 to 2001–02
(vs. Business and Education)

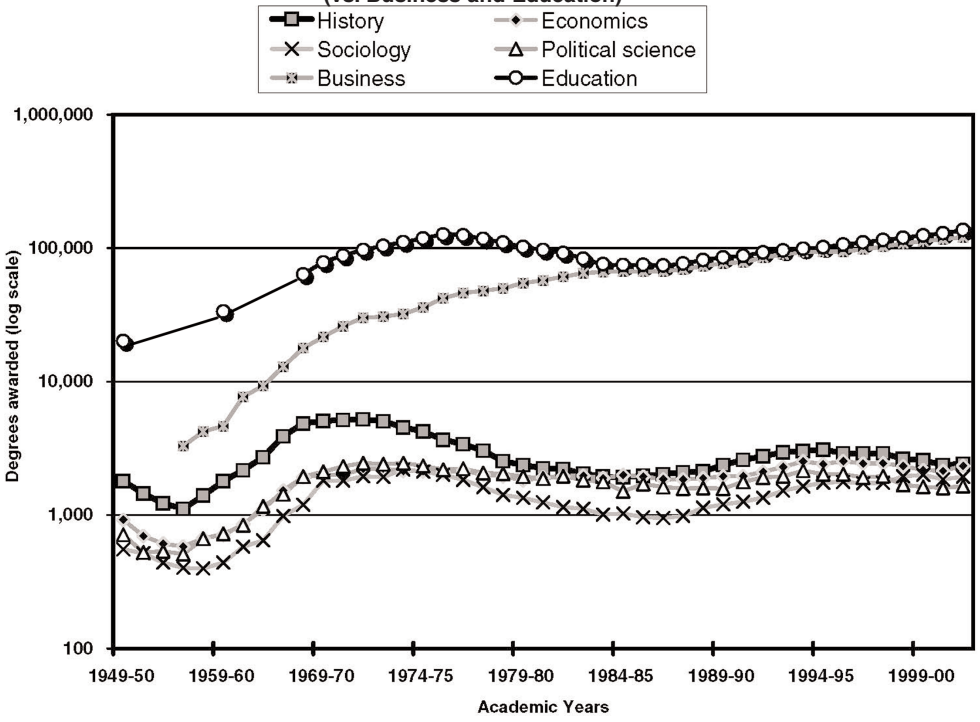
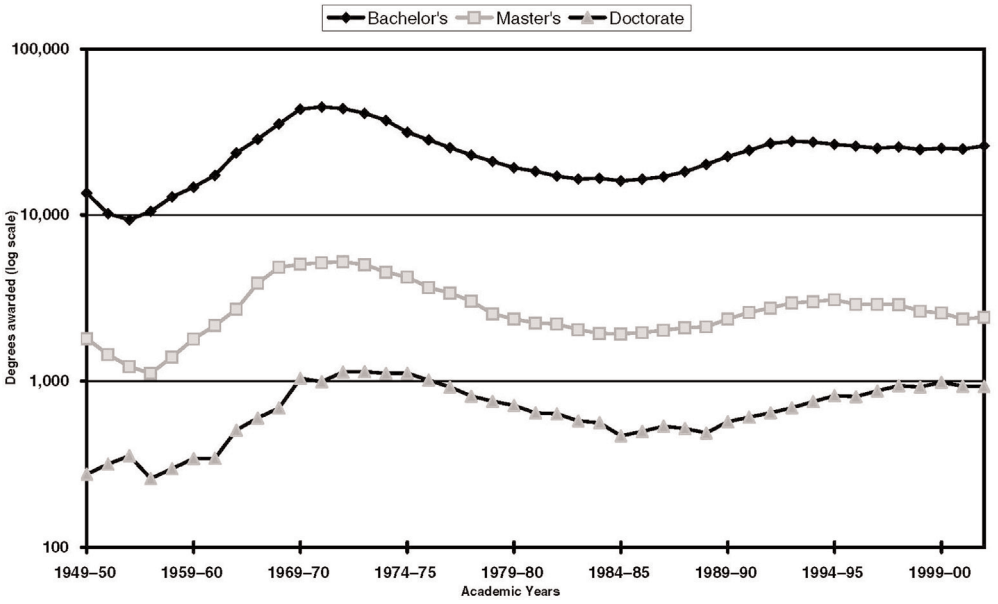


Figure 3

History degrees awarded in the U.S., 1949–50 to 2001–02



bachelor's degree in the discipline.[19] The future of the master's degree is thus tied to the future of the undergraduate history major, which prompts some questions that cannot be answered within the confines of the present report: Why are not more students majoring in history? Are history majors declining in quality as well as quantity? How, exactly, does the declining number of new history B.A.'s relate to the declining number of master's degrees? Are recent history undergraduates, as a group, less well prepared for graduate education at the master's level than their predecessors—as several historians suggested to us in the course of this investigation?

Master's degree programs "have always been more diverse than doctoral programs," but the number of minority students earning master's degrees began to increase dramatically in the early 1990s.[20] Indeed, during the 1990s the annual number of African Americans earning master's degrees rose by 132 percent while Hispanics saw an increase of 146 percent. More than ever, minority "groups that have not traditionally been well-represented in graduate education see a master's as a good way to upgrade skills and get important credentials they need in careers."[21] At first glance, history seems to be part of this salutary trend: from 1995 to 2001, the *percentage* of minorities receiving master's degrees in history rose from 14 percent to 17 percent (counting only U.S. citizens and permanent residents), a modest but still recognizable increase. In the same period, the share of history master's degrees awarded to women also rose from 38 percent to 44 percent, again just counting U.S. citizens and permanent residents (see **Table 2**). Turning to the absolute *number* of degrees awarded between 1995 and 2001, however, we see a very different story: from year to year, minority students kept receiving about the same number of degrees, while the number of white

students—especially white men—receiving master's degrees in history declined precipitously (1,580 degrees for white men in 1994–95 as opposed to just 1,046 in 2000–01, a decrease of 34 percent in all). Any gains in diversity were the result of subtraction (losing white men and, to a lesser extent, white women) rather than addition (attracting more minorities to the discipline).

Another troubling measure of diversity among history graduate students comes from the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study, a periodic survey of demographic and financial aid patterns. In 1999–2000, the last time the survey was conducted, the population of graduate students enrolled in history master's programs was actually *less* diverse than the population of students enrolled at the doctoral level, with the notable exception of Hispanics. In most other disciplines, the opposite was true (see **Table 3**). Historians need to ask why, and to consider the possible implications of the master's degree as a barrier to entry against

Table 2

Master's degrees in history, A.Y. 1994–97 to A.Y. 2001–01, by citizenship, race/ethnicity, and gender

		1994–95	1995–96	1996–97	1997–98	1999–2000	2000–01
TOTAL		3,080	2,892	2,903	2,877	2,554	2,338
	Female	1,187	1,118	1,161	1,166	1,121	1,024
	Male	1,893	1,774	1,742	1,711	1,433	1,314
Temporary Residents		128	106	119	113	124	106
	Female	60	49	50	44	70	50
	Male	68	57	69	69	54	56
U.S. Citizens and Permanent Residents		2,952	2,786	2,784	2,764	2,430	2,232
	Female	1,127	1,069	1,111	1,122	1,051	974
	Male	1,825	1,717	1,673	1,642	1,379	1,258
White, Non-Hispanic		2,534	2,403	2,354	2,369	2,032	1,843
	Female	954	905	921	950	877	797
	Male	1,580	1,498	1,433	1,419	1,155	1,046
Black, Non-Hispanic		104	104	114	112	104	92
	Female	50	57	52	56	47	38
	Male	54	47	62	56	57	54
Hispanic		82	88	91	89	91	77
	Female	28	34	38	41	39	42
	Male	54	54	53	48	52	35
American Indian or Alaskan Native		20	20	14	14	14	17
	Female	11	10	4	7	3	8
	Male	9	10	10	7	11	9
Asian or Pacific Islander		45	45	63	53	46	45
	Female	21	20	35	29	26	23
	Male	24	25	28	24	20	22
Other or Unknown Races/Ethnicities		167	126	148	127	143	158
	Female	63	43	61	39	59	66
	Male	104	83	87	88	84	92

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, retrieved via the NSF WebCASPAR Database System. Note that data for 1999 and the years prior to 1994 are unavailable. These numbers differ slightly from the statistics presented in Table 1 because of different tabulation procedures.

Table 3

Enrolled graduate students, A.Y. 1999–2000, by race, and degree program (U.S. citizens and permanent residents only)

	White, non-Hispanic (%)	Black, non-Hispanic (%)	Hispanic or Latino (%)	Asian (%)	American Indian/ Alaska Native (%)	Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander (%)	Other (%)
Total							
All fields	75	9	7	6	1	1	1
History	71	5	15	4	0	0	5
By degree type							
All fields							
Master's	75	11	7	5	1	1	1
Doctorate	76	9	6	6	1	1	2
History							
Master's	72	3	22	3	0	0	0
Doctorate	75	11	8	5	0	0	1

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.
Source: National Center for Education Statistics (NPSAS:2000)

would-be historians from diverse backgrounds. According to one recent econometric analysis, "holding other factors constant, the representation of black faculty members would double if the black share of earned doctorates increased by 2.5 percent."[22] For now, we can only speculate about the ripple effects from a similar increase in the minority share of earned master's degrees.

The number of male graduate students pursuing master's degree in history still outpaces the number of female students, which places history at odds with most of the other academic disciplines (especially outside of the sciences). Nonetheless, the recent and dramatic decline in the percentage of male students at the master's level deserves further investigation. So does the gap between the percentage of male students at the *doctoral* level (51 percent in 2000) and at the master's level (58 percent in 2000), which is also atypical (see **Tables 2** and **4**). History graduate students also differ from their non-historian colleagues in another way: they are far more likely to be enrolled full-time, even at the master's level (see **Table 4**).[23] Is this a cause, an effect, or simply unrelated to the continuing gender disparity in history graduate education? Is the recent trend towards fewer male students part of an overdue correction in gender balance, which will soon re-balance at a roughly equal proportion of men and women pursuing advanced degrees in history?[24] Why, for the time being, are master's degree programs still relatively more attractive to men than women? Is it something about the curricula? Do men see the master's degree as a more promising tool for career advancement than women (even though women are more likely than men to use their master's degrees as public historians or even secondary school teachers)? Do men find it relatively easier to pursue a master's degree than women, because of their jobs, their family responsibilities, or

Table 4

Characteristics of enrolled graduate students, A.Y. 1999–2000

		All Fields		History	
		Master's	Doctoral	Master's	Doctoral
Enrollment:					
	Full-time	34%	59%	50%	71%
	Part-time	66%	41%	50%	29%
Gender:					
	Female	59%	50%	42%	49%
	Male	41%	50%	58%	51%
Age:					
	Average	33	34	33	33
	Percent over 30	51%	57%	50%	59%
	Percent over 40	22%	25%	28%	14%

Source: National Center for Education Statistics (NPSAS:2000)

their personal finances? These are all plausible hypotheses, but we need more data to determine which (if any) are true. In particular, we need more information about the goals and aspirations of incoming graduate students and about the career paths they follow once they earn a master's degree.

Graduate Programs

John Snell reported that "a total of 196 institutions in the nation awarded the master's degree in history in 1959," including about eighty that also offered a history Ph.D. By his estimate, one-fifth of the "typical" four-year colleges offered the degree and half of the "better ones." The largest producer of history master's degrees in 1958 was Columbia University with 87—and Columbia remains one of the top producers, though annual production had shrunk to a mere thirty degrees per annum by the late 1990s.[25] But most history departments awarded just a few degrees a year: in 1958, a quarter of the institutions on Snell's list awarded no more than two degrees; in 2000, about a fifth of the comparable institutions still awarded no more than two degrees (see **Appendix 1**, page 53).[26]

Snell predicted that "the number of master's programs is likely to grow," and he was right.[27] According to the Department of Education, today about 340 institutions in the United States grant master's degrees in history. Unfortunately, there are many quirks in how the federal government counts earned degrees—and history suffers from more than its share of the quirks because it falls between the cracks of the social sciences and the humanities, sometimes being counted as one, sometimes as the other. So how many institutions *actually* award master's degrees

in history? We set out to compile our own census, using eight different sources of information (Department of Education records, commercial guides to graduate education, and lists of graduate programs maintained by professional associations in the discipline),[28] and reached a grand total of 435 institutions as of fall 2003 (see **Appendix 1**, page 53). Many of the additional institutions grant degrees in history education (often in programs that are jointly administered by a history department and a school or department of education), in the history of science, or in various aspects of public history, all of which are counted separately from "history" in the official statistics (see **Notes**, page 73). Significantly, the AHA was unaware that many of these programs even existed, which simply underscores the need for closer attention to the master's degree on the part of the historical profession.

Table 5 summarizes the institutional and geographic distribution of history graduate programs at the master's level. As in Snell's day, research universities still house the majority of master's degree programs, though comprehensive institutions—"Master's Colleges and Universities" in the present Carnegie classification—make nearly as large a contribution. Every state in the country except Alaska has at least one master's degree program for historians, and the master's-granting institutions are distributed regionally in rough proportion to the U.S. population (though the Northeast has a small surplus of graduate programs). Public colleges and universities are significantly over-represented on the list, which likely reflects their disproportionate role in training secondary teachers and other placebound graduate students.[29] (A pilot survey of master's students conducted by the AHA in 2003 also pointed to the local draw of most graduate programs at the master's level. Eighty-six percent of the respondents identified "geographic location" as a significant reason for selecting their graduate institution, 36 percent identified "convenient course scheduling," and 56 percent identified "low tuition," which also suggests a preference for public institutions.[30])

The distribution of graduate programs says very little about their content, however. As one expert recently noted, echoing Snell's analysis from 1965, "many degrees go by the title of 'master's' degrees, [but] they serve a range of audiences and embody a number of distinct purposes, to the extent that it might be asked whether it is either right or useful for them all to lead to awards carrying the same title."[31] The variations among the history programs are still striking. Consider, for example, the eight institutions in the immediate vicinity of Washington, D.C., that grant master's degrees in history. At one extreme is the highly specialized program in the history of military medicine at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda, Maryland, which admits just a single student each year. At the other extreme is the large history department at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, a public institution that *graduates* about forty students a year in four distinct master's degree tracks: pre-doctoral, applied history, "enrichment," and teaching. Between these extremes are three graduate programs with public history tracks, a specialized program in history and library science (at the University of Maryland in College Park), a handful of fairly traditional pre-doctoral programs, and one Ph.D.-centered history department that boldly claims on its web site "**we do not offer an M.A. in History**" (their own emphasis, not ours).[32] And this is not a representative sample, in that none of the

Table 5

U.S. institutions that award master's degrees in history (as of A.Y. 2003–04)

Institutions that award Master's Degrees in History:			All U.S. Institutions:
Total:	435		3,941
Institutional Control:			
Private, not-for-profit	125	29%	43%
Public	310	71%	42%
By Carnegie Classification:			
Doctoral/Research Universities–Extensive	148	34%	151
Doctoral/Research Universities–Intensive	71	16%	110
Master's Colleges and Universities I	189	43%	496
Master's Colleges and Universities II	2	>1%	115
Baccalaureate Colleges–General	4	1%	321
Baccalaureate Colleges–Liberal Arts	18	4%	228
Specialized Institutions	2	>1%	766
Not classified	1	>1%	n.a.
By Region:			**U.S. Population:**
West	72	17%	23%
Midwest	100	23%	23%
Northeast	108	25%	19%
South	155	36%	36%

Totals may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Sources: AHA Census of History Master's Programs; 2000 Census; Carnegie Foundation

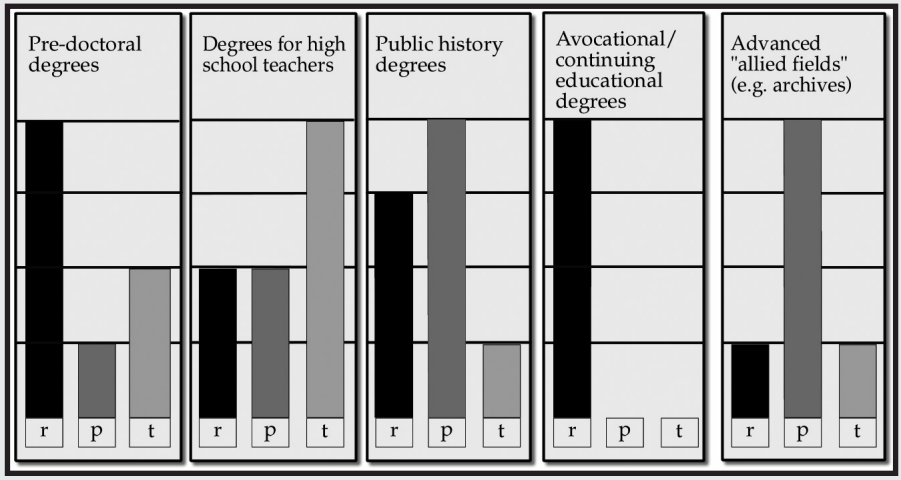
Washington-area schools focus on training high school teachers. Nor does it suggest the many different names that master's degrees from history departments have attached to them: not just Master of Arts (the most common) and Master of Science, but also Master of Arts in Teaching, Master of Science in Teaching, Master of Education, Master of Arts in Education, and Master of Social Science, among others.

Originally, the Committee on the Master's Degree intended to prepare a detailed typology of the master's degree for historians, summarizing the various requirements of *all* the different graduate programs in the country and then presenting an ideal model (or set of models) based on the best (or most common) features that we could identify. Faced with the size and complexity of the master's degree universe, and given the time and staffing restraints of the current investigation, we decided to postpone the inductive approach (though we still think it would be a useful approach for future researchers). Instead we adopted a deductive approach to the problem, asking a range of historians to describe the optimal content and outcomes for a history master's degree, using their own deep understanding of the discipline and the profession as a starting point. The results of this very fruitful exercise are presented later, in the section devoted to "elements of mastery." We also recommend that a centralized, voluntary listing of master's-level programs be added to the AHA web site as a resource for historians, graduate students, administrators, employers, and other stakeholders.

This would be the raw material for a thorough analysis of current practices in the master's degree. At the very least, it would provide a national pool of benchmarks and best practices for historians in locally or regionally oriented master's programs. It would also offer (potential) graduate students a ready way to compare different master's programs, in their own region and across the country. Finally, it could be the first step towards a voluntary system of national standards for the master's degree in history.

An Exercise in Typography

There are many possible ways to clarify history graduate programs, some more accurate and/or useful than others. The best typological schemes should have both heuristic value (as an aid to understanding all the current and potential uses of the master's degree) and pragmatic value (as a tool for working through the practical and pedagogic challenges involved in trailing historians at the master's level). During one of the focus groups convened by the Committee on the Master's Degree, a participant put forward the following definition for the ideal master's degree for historians: "a practice-oriented degree with a scholarly emphasis but not necessarily an emphasis on original research." With this definition as a starting point, one could classify any particular graduate program (or track within a multi-purpose graduate program) as some combination of *research-orientation* **(r)**, *practice-orientation* **(p)**, and *teaching-orientation* **(t)**. Each type of master's degree in the profession would also have a characteristic mix of the three orientations, as in these rudimentary diagrams:



The magnitudes here are for illustration only; other historians will want to propose different magnitudes or different "orientations" completely. But we offer this model as a spur to further reflection, something that history departments can use right away to start thinking about the relative priorities of their own master's degree programs.

III. Destinations and Desires

The master's degree serves multiple functions in American higher education: different students pursue the same degree, in the same academic department, for quite different reasons. The heterogeneity of graduate program goals and graduate student ambitions has long been understood, though not always well respected. In 1936, a special committee of the Association of American Universities (AAU) was charged with solving the "problem of the master's degree." They began by cataloging the various uses of the degree:

> The Master's degree is variously described as a research degree, a professional degree, a teacher's degree, and a cultural degree. The work included in the requirements for the degree is regarded as preparation for further graduate work, as preparation for the practice of some profession including teaching, as an extension of the cultural objectives ascribed to the Bachelor's degree, or as a period of advanced study. … [T]he work for the Master's degree may justly serve any or all of these objectives and … attempts to characterize the work for the Master's degree exclusively on the basis of one or other of the objectives just given is likely to prove artificial and futile.[33]

Unfortunately, the AAU committee's robust and optimistic view of the master's degree had to contend with another view of the degree that was already well entrenched. According to this latter view, the master's degree was primarily "a balm for discouraged, incompetent candidates for the doctorate," perhaps with some utility for schoolteachers but not for serious scholars.[34] Usually—but not always—advisors found better words than "balm" to describe the degree to their departing students. In the late 1980s, for example, the University of Wisconsin historian Theodore Hamerow described the M.A. in history as "little more than a decorative title … [its role] almost entirely psychological and ceremonial. Only for those who leave graduate school without the doctorate in order to become secondary school teachers does it provide a modest increment in salary. Otherwise, it serves as a spur to the students who go on for the Ph.D. and as a consolation prize for those who do not."[35] Typically, Hamerow's discussion of the master's degree combined an explicit hierarchy, in which the doctorate is the highest and therefore best degree, with an implicit disparagement of any student who undertakes advanced training in history but does not reach the heights of a Ph.D.

At too many institutions, especially those with doctoral programs, this narrow-sighted view of the master's degree remains a tenet of received wisdom. The view is often summed up in a single dismissive adjective: the "terminal" master's. But "terminal" can have more than one meaning, referring not just to untimely cessation and death but (as a noun) to a place of transition and possibility—like a train or bus terminal, where a person can leave, arrive, or simply switch vehicles. In the words of one student who recently earned his M.A. in history from the California State University at Long Beach, the master's degree is a "gateway to multiple doors," and each door leads to a different destination. For many students (perhaps three quarters), the master's degree is the last stop in their formal training as historians; their desired destination is a secondary school classroom, a public history institution, a community college teaching position, or simply a richer sense of the

A Survey of Student Goals

What do people want from a history master's degree? To start finding out, in spring 2003, the AHA conducted a pilot survey of currently enrolled master's degree students (see **Appendix 2**, page 61, for a copy of the survey questionaire). The survey was distributed via e-mail to students in five history departments: George Mason University, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Loyola University Chicago, North Carolina Central University, and Wichita State University. We received a total of fifty responses: 45% from women, 72% from part-time students, 40% from older students (40 and over), and 40% from younger students (30 and under). Though not necessarily based on a representative sample of graduate programs or even graduate students at the master's level, the results are suggestive and correspond well to other anecdotal evidence.

We asked the students to describe their career goals in pursuing a master's degree. Presented with a list of options, they were invited to check as many as they wanted. These were the responses:

- 48% pursuing a Ph.D. in history
- 44% writing, publishing, and other media production
- 38% faculty member at a community college or junior college
- 38% switching to a new career
- 34% pursuing this master's degree for personal enrichment, as an avocation, or for some other reason that does not include professional development
- 32% historical consultant
- 30% faculty member at a four-year college or university
- 30% public historian
- 26% advancement in current career
- 26% working at a musem/historic site
- 12% archivist or librarian
- 12% school teacher at the grades 7–12 level
- 10% pusuing an advanced degree in a field *other* than history
- 8% undecided
- 6% historic preservation officer
- 6% work in the non-profit sector (but not primarily as a historian)
- 4% work in the private/business sector (but not primarily as a historian)
- 4% work in the public sector (but not primarily as a historian)
- 0% school administrator
- 0% school teacher at the grades K–6 level
- 0% other

past. We believe that only a small percentage of each year's M.A. recipients are disappointed graduate students who have been asked to leave a doctoral program under circumstances not (entirely) of their own choosing—though it is hard to know exactly how many, given the absence or unreliability of the attrition data collected by most history departments.

In this section of the report we look closely at four destinations that follow from a master's degree in history: the doctorate, community college teaching, secondary school teaching, and public history. The last three destinations in particular represent the "public face of the historical profession," as one colleague reminded us during a June 2003 focus group in New York City. The master's is the most common degree for community college faculty members, an important credential for history teachers in the schools, and the typical degree for public historians. More Americans learn their history from these groups than from history professors at four-year colleges and universities. Indeed, the holders of master's degrees are the nation's unstudied, even unknown, but ubiquitous teachers of history. They are also important mediators between academic history departments and the communities around them.

The holders of master's degrees are the nation's unstudied, even unknown, but ubiquitous teachers of history.

Two other destinations need to be mentioned at least briefly: the "avocational" master's degree and the master's degree that leads students to careers outside of history. Once, the master's degree was defined as *secundum gradum in artibus*, the "second degree in arts"—in other words, a liberal arts degree, not a professional credential or even a discipline-based degree.[36] Many students (especially older adults) still enroll in master's programs as an extension of their general education, motivated by a love of history rather than any specific career advantage. Indeed, they are an important constituency for many programs. History departments owe them a graduate education just as rigorous as any other student's. Departments should also resist any pressure or temptation to treat the avocational students primarily as a source of tuition income. As for careers outside of history, every historian knows that advanced training in history is excellent preparation for any job that requires research, organization, attention to detail, good writing skills, etc. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that jobs for trained historians (in careers other than postsecondary teaching) will grow "about as fast as the average for all occupations through 2010," a promising sign in a weak economy.[37] However, many historians would agree with our candid colleague who admitted to a "fuzzier notion of what kinds of jobs M.A. recipients obtain … [as opposed to] doctoral recipients. Are the jobs in fact related to the degree or is the situation comparable to that for the B.A., a liberal arts degree which happens to be in history?" In order to properly advise their students, historians need a comprehensive view of every potential destination that follows from a master's degree.[38]

Destination 1: A Doctorate in History?[39]

Many students have little or no intention of pursuing a Ph.D. when they enroll in a history master's program. Others decide that they do not want a Ph.D. only after they begin a master's program, whether for economic reasons (including the prospects of acceptable employment), personal reasons, or because they realize that they do not have the desire or inclination to pursue further training in the field. As a recent graduate student explained to the committee, "after struggling to get through this [master's degree], with a baby and one on the way, a full-time job and various other responsibilities, there is no way that I will sign up for seven years of abuse at another institution for a shot at competing with 500 other new historians for a lower-paying job." (He added, "I definitely feel well-equipped [by my master's degree] to enter any doctoral program in the country and be successful," which is true for many of his peers as well.)[40] From another perspective, several of the faculty members who participated in the committee's focus groups argued that a student who decides not to pursue a Ph.D. while completing a master's degree often represents a "good outcome" for both the student and the program.

What does the master's degree contribute to a doctoral education? Some Ph.D.-bound students either ignore the master's or rush by it without taking notice, though this appears to be less common today than it was in the past.[41] In most cases, however, the master's degree is an important stop en route to the Ph.D., both as a point of transition to candidacy for the doctorate and as an accomplishment in its own right. Yet how many students, we wondered, "switch vehicles" (i.e., graduate institutions or even disciplines) on their way to the final destination of a doctorate? To answer this question, the AHA commissioned a special analysis from the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of data collected for the annual

Table 6

"Institution-switching" on the way to a history Ph.D., 1991 vs. 2001

	1991			2001		
	Total	M.A. and Ph.D. from the *same institution*	M.A. and Ph.D. from *different institutions*	Total	M.A. and Ph.D. from the *same institution*	M.A. and Ph.D. from *different institutions*
All history Ph.D.'s awarded	658			1024		
Average number of history master's degrees awarded 5–7 years earlier[1]	1950			3002		
New Ph.D.'s with a master's degree[2]	534 81.2%	298 45.3%	236 35.9%	800 78.1%	416 40.6%	384 37.5%
… with a master's degree *in history*	397 60.3%	249 37.8%	148 22.5%	593 57.9%	365 35.6%	228 22.3%
… with a master's degree *in a cognate field*[3]	38 5.8%	12 1.8%	26 4.0%	67 6.5%	16 1.6%	51 5.0%
… with a master's degree *in another field*[4]	99 15.0%	37 5.6%	62 9.4%	140 13.7%	35 3.4%	105 10.3%

[1]Based on data gathered by the National Center for Education Statistics (IPEDS Completions).

[2]Does not include master's degrees awarded by foreign institutions.

[3]Cognate fields include the following options from the annual Survey of Earned Doctorates: American Studies, Anthropology, Archaeology, Area Studies, Art History, Classics, Geography, International Relations, Political Science, Public Policy Analysis, Religion, Social Science Education, Sociology, and Urban Studies.

[4]Includes master's degrees in unidentified fields.

Note: all percentages are based on the total number of Ph.D.'s awarded in the given year. These should be considered *minimum estimates*, because they do not account for non-responses on the Survey of Earned Doctorates or for master's degrees awarded by foreign institutions.

Source: NORC, special analysis of the Doctorate Records File

Survey of Earned Doctorates. The Survey of Earned Doctorates gathers information about the *entire* graduate career of each newly minted Ph.D. in the United States, including any previous master's degrees he or she might have earned, but researchers have rarely used the data to explore master's-level education.[42] There are limitations to the data, which only reflect the experiences of successful doctoral students, and then aggregate their experiences in ways that obscure the individual details. Nonetheless, the data reveal some important facts about the transition from master's-level to doctoral-level education in the discipline of history.

- ❖ Most recipients of a history Ph.D. in the United States earn a master's degree first (at least 78 percent in 2001, but probably closer to 85 percent).[43] In 2001, about 60 percent of the new Ph.D.'s first earned master's degrees in history, while another 6 or 7 percent earned a master's degree in a closely allied field. For the graduate training of historians, *discipline-switching* is a much less significant phenomenon than *institution-switching*. (See **Tables 6 and 7**.)

Table 7

Master's degrees earned on the way to a history Ph.D., analyzed by sex & race *(1980s vs. 1990s)*

	1981-1990		1991-2001		1981-1990		1991-2001	
	Men (all races)	Women (all races)	Men (all races)	Women (all races)	White (both sexes)	Non-white (both sexes)[5]	White (both sexes)	Non-white (both sexes)[5]
All history Ph.D.'s awarded[1]	4089	1961	5992	3691	4750	435	7372	937
New Ph.D.'s with a master's degree[2]	3426	1672	4724	2887	4244	396	6288	805
	83.8%	85.3%	78.8%	78.2%	89.3%	91.0%	85.3%	85.9%
… from the same institution	1853	994	2511	1708	2326	217	3449	439
	45.3%	50.7%	41.9%	46.3%	49.0%	49.9%	46.8%	46.9%
… from a different institution	1573	678	2213	1179	1918	179	2839	366
	38.5%	34.6%	36.9%	31.9%	40.4%	41.1%	38.5%	39.1%
… with a master's degree *in history*	2656	1289	3555	2157	3389	314	4748	595
	65.0%	65.7%	59.3%	58.4%	71.3%	72.2%	64.4%	63.5%
… from the same institution	1582	844	2168	1439	2068	186	2986	362
	38.7%	43.0%	36.2%	39.0%	43.5%	42.8%	40.5%	38.6%
… from a different institution	1074	445	1387	718	1321	128	1762	233
	26.3%	22.7%	23.1%	19.5%	27.8%	29.4%	23.9%	24.9%
… with a master's degree *in a cognate field*[3]	245	122	389	205	302	37	489	64
	6.0%	6.2%	6.5%	5.6%	6.4%	8.5%	6.6%	6.8%
… from the same institution	84	50	118	82	97	21	148	31
	2.1%	2.5%	2.0%	2.2%	2.0%	4.8%	2.0%	3.3%
… from a different institution	161	72	271	123	205	16	341	33
	3.9%	3.7%	4.5%	3.3%	4.3%	3.7%	4.6%	3.5%
… with a master's degree *in another field*[4]	525	261	780	525	553	45	1051	146
	12.8%	13.3%	13.0%	14.2%	11.6%	10.3%	14.3%	15.6%
… from the same institution	187	100	225	187	161	10	315	46
	4.6%	5.1%	3.8%	5.1%	3.4%	2.3%	4.3%	4.9%
… from a different institution	338	161	555	338	392	35	736	100
	8.3%	8.2%	9.3%	9.2%	8.3%	8.0%	10.0%	10.7%

[1]The breakdown by sex includes *all* recipients of a history Ph.D., regardless of nationality; the breakdown by race includesU.S. citizens and permanent residents *only*.

[2]Does not include master's degrees awarded by foreign institutions.

[3]Cognate fields include the following options from the annual Survey of Earned Doctorates: American Studies, Anthropology, Archaeology, Area Studies, Art History, Classics, Geography, International Relations, Political Science, Public Policy Analysis, Religion, Social Science Education, Sociology, and Urban Studies.

[4]Includes master's degrees in unidentified fields.

[5]Does not include Ph.D. recipients of unknown race.

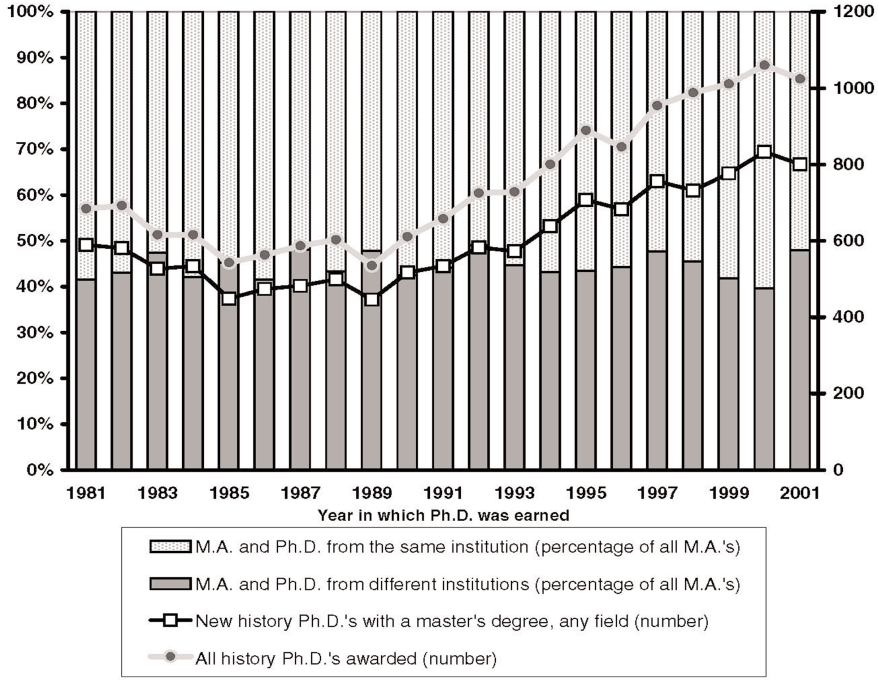
Note: percentages are based on the total number of Ph.D.'s awarded to members of each group during the decade. These should be considered *minimum estimates*, because they do not account for non-responses on the Survey of Earned Doctorates or for master's degrees awarded by foreign institutions.

Source: NORC, special analysis of the Doctorate Records File

- ❖ Most of the Ph.D. recipients who also have a master's earned both degrees from the same institution. More than a third, however, are "institution-switchers" (in 2001, 38 percent of all the new history Ph.D.'s and 48 percent of those with a previous master's degree). While the total *percentage* of new history Ph.D.'s with a previous master's degree in any field has declined slightly over the past two decades, the *ratio* between "switchers" and "non-switchers" has remained surprisingly constant, averaging 44:56 each year. (See **Table 6 and Figure 4**.)
- ❖ Women are less likely, the numbers show, to switch institutions than men on the way to a history Ph.D.—as long as their master's degrees are also in history, and not in some other discipline. This pattern has remained consistent over the past two decades. (See **Table 7**.)
- ❖ As a group, minority historians do not differ in any substantial way from their white counterparts when it comes to institution-switching or field-switching on the way to the doctorate.[44] This pattern has also remained consistent over the past two decades. (See **Table 7**.)
- ❖ "Switchers" earn their master's degrees from a variety of institutions. From 1981 to 2001 (inclusive), a total of 37 history departments awarded at least twenty master's degrees to students who then went on to earn a Ph.D. from another graduate program. Together, these departments accounted for less than 30 percent of all the history master's degrees earned by "switchers."[45] Thirty-one of the top M.A. producers were public institutions; surprisingly, twenty-nine of them (twenty-four public and five private) also awarded doctorates in history during the period. Meanwhile, a small but significant

Figure 4

"Institution-switching" on the way to a history Ph.D., 1981–2001



number of minority Ph.D.'s got their start with a master's degree from a minority-serving institution. (See **Table 8**.)

The committee was surprised by the evidence that master's degree programs do not play a larger role in the "pathway … minority students take to and through [history] graduate school," though we still consider the master's degree an important point of access for minority students who want to enter the profession.[46] Unfortunately, very little research has been done on the social or geographic mobility associated with earning a master's degree, much less a master's degree in history.[47] What we *do* know is that institutional location is an important factor in attracting minority graduate students at all levels; that "the academic labor market

Table 8

Leading Master's Degree "Feeder" Departments, 1981 to 2001

This table lists the most popular M.A.-granting history departments for new Ph.D.'s in history who earned a master's degree in history from a different institution than the doctorate (U.S. citizens and permanent residents only).

All Races		Members of Minority Groups*	
M.A.-granting history department	Institution-switchers produced	M.A.-granting history department	Institution-switchers produced
University of Wisconsin-Madison	55	Clark Atlanta University	10
Columbia University	53	Howard University	10
University of Chicago	42	University of Puerto Rico-Rio Piedras	9
San Francisco State University	39	North Carolina Central University	9
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	37	University of Arizona	6
Indiana University-Bloomington	35	California State University-Los Angeles	6
University of Virginia-Main Campus	34	University of Hawaii at Manoa	6
University of Maryland-College Park	32	University of Wisconsin-Madison	6
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor	29	Northwestern University	5
Ohio State University-Main Campus	28	Ohio State University-Main Campus	5
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	28	Tennessee State University	5
New York University	25		
San Diego State University	25		
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	25		
University of Oregon	25		
Harvard University	24		
Michigan State University	24		
University of Georgia	24		
University of Massachusetts-Amherst	24		
California State University-Fullerton	23		
California State University-Northridge	23		
Pennsylvania State University-Main Campus	23		
University of California-Davis	23		
Portland State University	22		
San Jose State University	22		
SUNY at Albany	22		
University of Arizona	22		
University of California-Los Angeles	22		
University of California-Santa Barbara	22		
University of New Orleans	22		
University of Washington-Seattle Campus	22		
Villanova University	22		
University of Connecticut	21		
Georgetown University	20		
Southwest Texas State University	20		
University of Texas at Austin	20		
University of California-Berkeley	20		

*Includes all doctoral recipients who explicitly identified themselves as belonging to a racial group other than "white."

209 additional history departments also awarded at least five master's degrees to future Ph.D.'s. during this two-decade period.

Source: NORC, special analysis of the Doctorate Records File

[for Ph.D.'s] is racially segmented along geographic and disciplinary lines," rather than operating as a truly national market; and that African American doctoral recipients are "disproportionately … [attracted to] areas with sizable black populations."[48] This may explain why minority students are more likely to stay at the same institution for both master's and doctoral degrees. It also suggests that promoting strong master's programs in parts of the country with large minority populations can be an important step towards building a more diverse historical profession.

In the end, the statistical data from NORC cannot answer the most challenging questions related to institution-switching. Most of these have to do with the interests and motivations of the graduate students involved. How many "switchers" plan to earn a Ph.D. from the start, and how many pick a new destination en route? How many start their graduate work at a local or regional institution (perhaps because of family obligations that tie them to one area), but then relocate for the doctorate? How many use the master's degree as a trial run to decide if graduate work is right for them, before they take on the more substantial commitment of a doctoral program? How many use the master's degree as a way to enhance their credentials before applying to a doctoral program—and is this a more significant use of the master's degree for some groups (e.g., first-generation college graduates or non-history majors at the undergraduate level) than for others? How many Ph.D.-bound students start with a relatively cheap master's degree from a public university because they can not afford the more substantial expense of a doctoral program? How many switch when their funding disappears (or never materializes) at the first institution? How many switch because their research interests change? How many switch because their principal advisor departs for a new job? How many switch because they just do not like the first institution? What (if anything) distinguishes the switchers from the non-switchers? And what distinguishes the switchers from *other* master's degree students, who plan to depart for other destinations with their degrees?

What advantage does (or should) a master's degree confer upon a graduate student when he or she applies to a doctoral program, beyond an additional measure of personal and intellectual maturity?[49] Ideally, writing a master's thesis provides valuable experience in organizing and presenting historical ideas that can then be applied to writing a doctoral dissertation, though this is not always the case in practice. But thesis-writing can also have the unintended effect of narrowing a student's intellectual focus rather than providing an opportunity to "synthesize [an] extensive body of material in a coherent and rational way" (which is why some departments have abandoned the thesis in favor of a comprehensive exam).[50] Looking at the switching phenomenon from another direction, an Australian scholar has noted that "students from low status [master's] courses are likely to find that their master's degree counts for little when they try to enroll in doctoral programs elsewhere."[51] This is certainly true at many history departments in the United States, which are liable to count all, some, or none of a student's coursework from the master's degree towards a Ph.D., depending (in part) upon the perceived quality of the M.A.-granting institution. Some of the graduate students we consulted identified this as a source of particular frustration, especially since the policy varies from school to school, and even between campuses of the same state university system. Is there a role for formal articulation agreements between

master's-granting and doctoral-granting history departments, along the lines of the articulation agreements between community colleges and four-year institutions?

In the end, what difference does it make if you earn a master's degree from one history department and a Ph.D. from another? Does it affect your career opportunities? Does it broaden your view of the profession? Does it make you a better teacher, researcher, or mentor, by offering more than one model of advanced training in the discipline? These questions would be easier to answer if history departments did a better job of tracking the paths of their graduate alumni, including both the "terminal" master's students and those who go on to the Ph.D. at other institutions.

Destination 2: Community Colleges

The American community college was originally conceived, at the start of the twentieth century, with three linked missions in mind: 1) to extend the teaching mission of the secondary schools, 2) to offer specialized vocational training, and 3) to provide older or otherwise "nontraditional" students with a second chance at higher education (though this was considered the least important of the three missions at the time). According to this initial conception, the best training for a good community college instructor was essentially the same as the best training for a good high school teacher: a master's degree, plus whatever "vocational experience" was necessary to teacher-specialized subjects.[52] For many early leaders of the community college movement, such as David Starr Jordan at Stanford, the doctorate was positively an *undesirable* credential for community college instructors because most young Ph.D.'s, in their view, were trained as researchers and not teachers—a frequent but overstated complaint during the past century. Yet it remains the attitude of some community college administrators today, whose reluctance to hire Ph.D.'s as faculty members can be traced to the same false dichotomy between research and teaching.[53]

As the number of community colleges began to grow, slowly at first and then quite rapidly after World War II, the traditional understanding of the junior colleges as an extension of the secondary school system remained firmly in place. By the early 1950s, however, observers began to voice their concerns that a one-year master's program, the norm for well-prepared high school teachers, was insufficient preparation for a community college instructor. At the very least, they argued, an extra year of "graduate residence" was in order (i.e., a two-year master's program, preferably in an academic discipline rather than education). One prominent advocate for the community colleges, Leonard Koos of the University of Chicago, took this argument a step further: "[T]he doctorate should ultimately become the standard [preparation for community college instructors]. The typical requirements for the doctorate, however, should be adapted to the needs of community-college teaching and not be based so much as they are now on the assumption that the student is headed toward a career in research."[54] Despite their divergent attitudes towards the doctorate, however, both Koos and Jordan were more concerned about the content of the training for community college instructors than they were about the specific credentials being earned in the process. We should be, too.

Since the 1950s, and especially since the 1970s, community colleges have placed an increasing emphasis on providing students with the first two years of a college education, with the expectation that students would then transfer to four-year institutions to complete their bachelor's degrees. Along with this change in emphasis, more and more people in higher education came to see doctoral training as the best preparation for community college faculty; if community colleges were offering the same educational opportunities as four-year institutions, it followed that community college faculty members should receive the same professional training as their counterparts at these institutions. This argument has been especially persuasive for faculty members in the traditional arts and sciences, who tended to identify with the university rather than the secondary schools as a source of professional role models.[55] Meanwhile, the easy availability of underemployed Ph.D.'s in many disciplines (including history) from the early 1970s onward encouraged administrators to hire new faculty members with doctorates rather than master's degrees, whatever lingering qualms they might have had about the teaching preparation of Ph.D.'s.[56]

Despite the steady influx of Ph.D.'s and ABDs into community colleges, the "main source of community college faculty … [remained] the secondary school sector" well into the 1980s. Even today, "community college faculty comprise a heterogeneous mix of postsecondary teaching professionals."[57] The majority of community college instructors still have the master's as their highest earned degree. Across disciplines, 54 percent of all community college faculty members had no more than a master's degree in 1999 (the most recent year for which complete data are available), as opposed to just 12 percent with doctorates; in history, 59 percent had master's degrees versus 26 percent with Ph.D.'s (see **Table 9**). This represented a small decline since 1993 in the percentage of all community college historians with doctorates (see **Table 10A**). Among the *full-time* faculty members at community colleges in 1999, however, doctorates were just as common as master's degrees, while *part-time* instructors were six times more likely to have a master's degree than a Ph.D. (see **Table 10B**).

Whatever their employment status, community college historians are significantly less likely to have a doctorate than their peers at four-year institutions. They also work in the shadow of massive structural changes in higher education, which the four-year colleges and universities have, at best, temporarily resisted. Like the rest of the American economy, higher education is experiencing a "restructuring of work: the end of secure, long-term employment [in this case, tenure] for most workers … and the shift to 'non-standard' employment, including more part-time work, leaner 'core' staffing levels, and greater emphasis on self-employment and entrepreneurship." Martin Finkelstein, a professor of education at Seton Hall University, calls it the "morphing of the American academic profession." Increasingly, he notes, course design and development is being "unbundled" from both teaching and academic administration (most dramatically in distance education, but also in the prevalence of adjunct faculty members teaching prepackaged courses). Not just administration and institutional governance, but even student advising and basic research, have become "shrinking spheres of faculty work." According to Finkelstein, the morphing is most advanced in the community colleges, which have "already transitioned to a contingent work force with a small core of permanent faculty buttressed by a growing corps of part-time

Table 9

Highest degree attained by faculty members at 2-year institutions (1999)

	Number of faculty members	Highest degree				
		Doctoral degree	Other Master's degree	First-professional degree	MFA, MSW	Bachelor's degree
	(thousands)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Totals	305.60	11.8	53.5	2.3	6.1	19.2
Principal teaching field						
Agriculture & home ec.	2.29	6.2	47.7	0.0	5.3	31.7
Business	24.51	4.1	62.4	2.9	3.3	23.6
Communications	4.65	12.6	65.4	1.6	2.7	15.2
Teacher education	7.16	5.8	5.8	1.1	2.9	25.8
Other education	12.99	10.5	10.5	0.6	5.1	26.2
Engineering	7.26	1.7	1.7	0.7	1.3	30.2
Fine arts	19.57	7.7	7.7	0.4	25.6	21.3
Health sciences	3.28	3.4	3.4	9.9	10.0	33.1
Nursing	13.06	4.3	4.3	1.2	2.6	25.5
Other health sciences	14.07	4.0	4.0	2.8	2.1	31.4
English and literature	38.92	13.6	13.6	0.9	7.9	10.2
Foreign languages	6.74	11.4	11.4	1.4	9.0	11.6
History	**8.09**	**25.5**	**58.9**	**0.6**	**8.5**	**6.5**
Philosophy & religion	3.95	49.1	49.1	2.7	3.2	4.4
Law	3.15	2.3	2.3	58.8	0.0	11.9
Biological sciences	9.34	35.4	35.4	5.5	2.7	3.4
Physical sciences	8.63	42.1	42.1	1.7	2.6	5.6
Mathematics	26.39	8.8	8.8	0.9	5.3	15.0
Computer sciences	20.07	5.2	5.2	2.0	3.2	33.3
Economics	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Political science	2.76	23.1	23.1	4.0	7.4	5.6
Psychology	12.18	19.5	19.5	0.8	2.7	0.6
Sociology	3.80	28.2	28.2	6.1	10.0	7.0
Other social sciences	5.19	24.6	24.6	3.9	7.9	11.6
Occupational programs	20.88	6.9	6.9	1.9	2.7	31.5
All other programs	17.94	6.7	6.7	1.1	7.6	26.4

NOTE: The numbers in the second column (total faculty members) are approximations derived from the survey responses. *Source:* National Center for Education Statistics, National Study of Postsecondary Faculty: 1999.

faculty," but the rest of higher education is likely to follow the same path. Historians need to think about the implications of this morphing, not just for the education of community college historians but of all future faculty members. At the very least, the likelihood of transient employment needs to be a factor in weighing the costs and benefits of different approaches to professional training.[58]

In October 2003, the members of H-World, an electronic discussion list devoted to research and teaching in the field of world history, engaged in a spirited debate about the community college job market and the proper training of community college historians. Their discussion, which involved history educators at all levels, from primary schools to Ph.D.-granting institutions, recapitulated a much larger disciplinary conversation on the same themes. The H-World exchange began when one member of the list, an adjunct instructor at a community college, publicly

Table 10A

History faculty at 2-year institutions, by highest degree (1993 vs. 1999)

	Full-time and part-time	Highest Degree			
		Doctorate	First-professional	Master's	Bachelor's
1993	7,090	29%	2%	68%	1%
1999	8,170	25%	1%	67%	1%

NOTE: The whole numbers presented here are approximations derived from NSOPF survey results. "Master's degrees" *include* the Master of Fine Arts (MFA) and the Master of Social Work (MSW), as well as degrees in business and education. In the 1999 survey, 9% of community college historians reported that their highest degree was the MFA or MSW; the 1993 survey did not distinguish these from other degrees at the master's level.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, National Study of Postsecondary Faculty, 1993 and 1999.

despaired about "the reality of the job market." He was not much interested in earning a doctorate, but the community colleges in his region only seemed to be interested in hiring Ph.D.'s for their permanent positions. "Where in the world," he asked, "outside of primary school instruction, does someone with my credentials find work? Is the History M.A. a dead-end proposition?"[59] The ensuing debate continued for nearly two weeks—an eternity by online standards—but only reached a mixed set of conclusions.

First, the list-members concluded that the master's degree *is* still a viable credential for getting hired at a community college. Different institutions set their own hiring standards, however, and these can vary widely from place to place. One historian on the list, a former adjunct instructor at five separate community colleges in Southern California, vividly described his experience from the mid-1990s:

> It seem[s] to me that there were both Ph.D.-oriented departments and those that were strongly anti-Ph.D. in the community colleges. At the time that I worked the freeways, three of them had Ph.D. tenure-track faculties and two fell into the latter category. But of those two, one had a single Ph.D. on board, and after retiring professors were actually replaced with tenure-track hires, that one had become another Ph.D. department. So that makes it four to one. The reality does seem to be that it is increasingly unlikely for a candidate with only an M.A. to successfully compete against Ph.D. holders, especially since most of those Ph.D. applicants will also have an extensive teaching record with favorable evaluations.

"There are so many older community college history professors without doctorates," he added, "that it can't have always been this way," an insight that is confirmed by the data presented in **Table 10A**.

A more recent and more rigorous analysis of hiring trends is provided by Chris Howell, a historian who teaches at Red Rocks Community College in Colorado (and an active participant in the H-World debate). Howell examined every advertisement for a full-time community college faculty position in history during

Table 10B

History faculty at 2-year institutions, 2-year vs. 4-year institutions (1999)

	4-year		2-year	
	Part-time	**Full-time**	**Part-time**	**Full-time**
Totals	5,600 32%	11,700 68%	5,200 64%	2,970 68%
Doctorate	40%	92%	12%	49%
Master's	57%	6%	77%	49%

NOTE: The whole numbers presented here are approximations derived from NSOPF survey results.
Source: National Center for Education Statistics, National Study of Postsecondary Faculty, 1999.

the one-year period between August 1, 2002, and August 1, 2003, using two national academic employment databases as his main source for job announcements.[60] The sample included 152 open positions (some of which closed before being filled, victims of the nationwide budget crunch at two-year institutions). The minimum requirements for these positions varied: 71 percent asked for a master's degree in history, 66 percent required at least two years of full-time teaching experience at the community college level, 36 percent required no more than eighteen graduate hours in history (though a master's degree was often preferred), while just 26 percent required (or at least "desired") candidates with a Ph.D.

Unfortunately, we do not know the credentials of the candidates who were actually hired—important information that the AHA should strive to gather in the future, as the only way to accurately assess the community college employment market. (Of course, this would be easier to do if community colleges routinely advertised their open positions for historians in *Perspectives*; the lack of a centralized listing is a continual source of frustration for jobseekers.) Anecdotally, we do know that historians with master's degrees are still being hired at community colleges, a consoling piece of news that several H-World members offered their unhappy colleague quoted above. But we also know that community colleges hire historians with *lesser* qualifications, such as a handful of graduate-level courses, or ask faculty members trained in other disciplines to teach introductory history courses.

The best summary of the community college employment market seems to be that "although a master's degree is the minimum requirement, many community colleges are hiring faculty who have their doctorates in hand or are in various stages of their doctoral programs."[61] The most competitive candidates in this market are frequently ABDs, some of whom (they tell us) continue to pursue a Ph.D. primarily as a way to gain or keep a community college job—which is not the most efficient use of higher education resources, if the real goal is to prepare qualified instructors for two-year institutions. A preference for Ph.D.'s at some community colleges may also have the unintended effect of discouraging minority applicants. About a third of all minority faculty members now teach at community

colleges. Among other reasons, they are attracted to community colleges by their diverse student populations and the professional requirement of a master's degree, which "draw[s] minority faculty who cannot or choose not to seek a doctorate in their discipline" (according to the journal *Black Issues in Higher Education*). In fact, analysts at the Illinois Board of Higher Education have argued persuasively that local master's degree programs are "an undeveloped pool" of potential minority faculty members for their state's community colleges.[62] History departments should also use their master's programs to promote diversity in the ranks of community college historians.

The second conclusion from the H-World debate was that well-trained historians with master's degrees may be fully prepared to teach history at the community college level, and that historians with Ph.D.'s may not be properly prepared. Indeed, one community college historian flatly rejected the idea that a Ph.D. is appropriate training: "If someone who holds a Ph.D. is better than an M.A. in a survey class (of course this tends to be the majority of the history offered at two-year colleges) it has little or nothing to do with the degree. Let's be honest, there are many [historians] with Ph.D.'s (and, of course, M.A.'s) who do not belong in a classroom and many M.A.'s who are extraordinary teachers—teaching skills and knowledge base are not one in the same. I believe some M.A.'s and their abilities are excellent and needed in two years colleges." Another community college historian elaborated on this point, ironically echoing both Jordan's anti-doctorate argument and Koos's pro-doctorate argument in the process:

> [T]he Ph.D. is unnecessary to teach at community colleges. Indeed, I have encountered many Ph.D. candidates on the "fast track" who skip the M.A. and focus solely on their Ph.D. dissertation topic. As a result, they often do not have a solid background in the narrative history of their own specialized fields, let alone knowledge of other fields that they will be required to teach at the community college. Teaching at the community college requires a broad knowledge of [diverse] topics…. Writing a specialized Ph.D. dissertation offers no guarantee that the professor will be able to address these various topics. Unfortunately, neither does the M.A. and, in the past, it was not unusual for an unqualified M.A. to slip through the cracks at the community college. … I believe that a terminal M.A. with the clearly stated purpose of preparing college teachers, and not researchers, would be a more productive way to fill the ranks of professors teaching survey courses.

In response, a faculty member from a doctoral program countered that historians with Ph.D.'s usually have two advantages over their colleagues with master's degrees: 1) the depth of knowledge and breadth of research skills that ideally come from a dissertation, and 2) more experience "teaching than would come … [from] any M.A. program. (Teaching, at least in the form of a T.A., is usually an academic requirement for getting the Ph.D., and Teaching Assistants now go through training programs in most doctoral programs). … Newly minted people, Ph.D. or M.A. [in hand], may well have some learning to do on the teaching front, and I don't think that newly minted Ph.D.'s are handicapped here." For him, too, the most important things that historians bring to the community college classroom are skills and knowledge, not the specific letters after their names.

A decade ago, the Organization of American Historians (OAH) reported on the "lack of training in support of history teaching in graduate institutions, particularly as it relates to … community college teaching." This was amply confirmed by the AHA's own recent study of doctoral education. We are glad to see more attention being paid in recent years to the training of graduate students as teachers (though teaching should be an integrated part of the historian's training at *both* the master's and doctoral levels). But as David Berry, executive director of the Community College Humanities Association, has argued, historians still need to "open the coffin" of the graduate curriculum, which continues to emphasize quite narrow geographic and temporal fields of study. Outside of a relatively small number of elite colleges, the job market for history teachers at all levels is driven by a demand for people who can teach three things: world history, Western civilization, and the U.S. history survey. The curricula of master's degree programs (and Ph.D. programs, for that matter) should reflect this reality. The OAH advised history departments to "[t]ake a good look at graduate education. Are your M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s ready to face a classroom occupied by a bewildering variety of ages, nationalities, and educational backgrounds?"[63] We strongly second their advice.

Both the training and the hiring of community college historians should focus on competencies rather than credentials. The AHA has at least four obligations in this regard:

- To acknowledge that both master's programs and doctoral programs can be good places to train community college historians, but that neither a master's degree nor a Ph.D., by itself, is proof that any historian is prepared to work in a community college setting.
- To lead the way in defining the appropriate historical knowledge, teaching skills, research training, and practical preparation (such as internships) for community college instructors.
- To help history departments rethink and reform their own graduate programs, so that students who want to pursue a community college position are assured of receiving the appropriate training.
- To persuade community college administrators that appropriately trained historians are the best (if not the only) people to teach history in their classrooms, and that full-time faculty appointments ought to be the norm.

These are considerable challenges.

Destination 3: Secondary School Teaching

As Diane Ravitch recently noted, "Teachers today have more degrees than ever in our history; the bachelor's degree is ubiquitous, and about half even have a master's degree. We do, however, have a problem in the academic preparation of teachers: only a minority—39 percent—have a bachelor's or graduate degree in *any* academic field. The majority of teachers today have a degree in education, and many have both a B.A. and an M.A. in pedagogy." For history, the numbers are even worse than average: barely a third of the nation's high school history teachers majored in the subject as undergraduates and fewer still have a master's degree in the discipline. The only high school subject with a comparably low incidence of "in-field" teaching is physics.[64] Fortunately, this still means that thousands of secondary school teachers have earned master's degrees in history, though no reliable count exists.

Historians, education reformers, and politicians have regularly complained about the state of history education in the schools, at least since the 1880s.[65] In the past few years, however, the complaints have given way to an extraordinary opportunity for improving the training of primary and secondary history teachers. "Education reform is sweeping the nation … [with the] development of K–12 standards and accountability mechanisms; [and] the assessment of K–12 schools, teachers, and students … [as] just a few of the many areas of reform activity."[66] Unprecedented amounts of federal support are being devoted to the teaching of "traditional American history," starting with the Teaching American History grants ("Byrd Grants") that have been awarded to dozens of university-community partnerships with the goal of improving student performance through the professional development of teachers.[67] The Bush administration's No Child Left Behind initiative, which calls for a "highly qualified teacher" in each classroom, has focused salutary attention on teacher qualifications in every field—although, in practice, the application of the law has so far emphasized high-stakes testing in quantifiable fields like math and reading at the expense of history instruction.[68] University historians are paying more attention to secondary education than they have in the recent past.[69] There has been a resurgence of interest in the "alternative certification" of teachers.[70] Finally, the best current prediction is that retirements and demographic shifts will rapidly increase the demand for new teachers in the decade ahead.[71] We need to make sure that more of the new teachers have master's degrees in history.

The master's degree has not always been viewed as a necessary credential for public school teachers. Although the "education and training requirements for teaching have risen almost unremittingly" since the early twentieth century, the bachelor's degree only became the standard entry requirement for elementary school teaching after World War II—about the same time that a fifth year of college, though not necessarily a master's degree, became the norm for high school teachers. The National Council on the Accrediting of Teacher Education (NCATE) was formed in 1952 with the goal, still unrealized today, of developing "a truly nationwide system of reciprocity in teacher certification." Following California's lead, several states began to require a master's degree for advanced certification in the 1960s and 1970s. Then, in the 1980s, the degree received an important boost from two influential reports issued by the Carnegie Task Force

on Teaching as a Profession and the Holmes Group (a coalition of education school deans from leading research universities). "[T]hese reports called for eliminating undergraduate teacher education, requiring subject matter majors for all teacher candidates, and using master's degrees as 'the new entry level credential' for the profession."[72]

Twenty states now require a master's degree (or an equivalent amount of graduate study) from starting public school teachers who want to advance from initial to permanent certification, which represents a significant increase since the time of the Holmes Group report. In private schools, too, the master's degree "is increasingly the minimum expectation for [new] teachers."[73] For most teachers, the additional degree comes with a nice raise: an extra $7,000 a year for a Philadelphia public school teacher with eleven years of experience, for example, and $9,800 for a teacher with ten years of experience in Detroit.[74] The combination of new certification requirements and salary incentives thus goes a long way towards explaining the growth in the number of master's degrees awarded since the late 1990s. But it does not explain why most teachers prefer to pursue master's degrees in *education* rather than master's degrees in the traditional academic disciplines. (Indeed, the historic trend for teachers has been away from disciplinary degrees and towards education degrees. According to one account, public school teachers earned 75 percent of all the liberal arts master's degrees in 1939. Three decades later, higher education experts concluded that "the master's degree [in the traditional disciplines] can no longer be thought of as a teacher's degree.")[75]

Perhaps we should turn the question around and ask, Why do secondary school history teachers ever choose to pursue a master's degree in the discipline? It is not because they have to: in most cases a master's degree in education, perhaps with some content-area coursework, is more than sufficient for advanced teacher certification.[76] Nor are the history degrees any cheaper or easier to earn than the education degrees; usually the opposite is true, and is likely to become even truer in the years ahead, as the number of institutions offering master's degrees in education via distance education or through brief residential programs continues to grow.[77] In most states, moreover, the teacher credentialing process is controlled by some combination of state education authorities, schools of education, and NCATE (or other accreditors). As a result, history master's degrees have to be "rigorous in the discipline" while also making sure that future teachers can satisfy the credentialing requirements—which usually means extra coursework for the students.[78]

Nonetheless, many individual teachers choose to pursue master's degrees in history rather than master's degrees in education because they recognize a vital intellectual difference between the two courses of study. Their testimony is anecdotal yet compelling. As one middle-school teacher from California explained to the Committee on the Master's Degree,

> I am frustrated that schools like National University offer an M.A. [in Teaching] in one year and … [my history degree from a California State University campus] will be taking over three. But I am getting out of this exactly what I wanted. Sure, I will receive a modest bump in pay, though hardly enough to offset the time and money of this last three years. But I signed up for this to improve my content knowledge, to give me more

> tools for presenting history to secondary students, to open doors to other programs and teaching opportunities … and to explore topics of interest in-depth.[79]

A teacher in North Carolina pointedly compared her graduate training in history to the education degrees she might have pursued instead:

> I have had many folks tell me how easy their graduate programs [are] in things like Language Arts, or any of the Education studies like Curriculum and Design. Many say they worked harder for their B.A. I am proud to say that I worked—and had to work—100 percent harder for my M.A. than my B.A., and I thought that is what it was supposed to be like. I was talk[ing] to someone who recently got the Ph.D. in European History … [who noted] that History at the graduate level did seem to be much more rigorous than other disciplines. I agree. It makes one wonder why we historians get so little respect in the public school system. We are being pushed to the side in public schools because of the standardized testing of L[anguage] A[rts] and Math. As a historian I can read and write as well as the LA teacher and in some cases better. … [H]istorians [are usually] the best educated people on any staff. Unfortunately, we are the least respected.

A third teacher told us she "thought about pursuing a Masters in Education instead, but chose an M.A. in History to make myself as strong a resource as possible for my social studies students."[80] Still another affirmed that "had I pursued an education master's [instead of a history degree], I'd have left the teaching field years ago. … When I returned to the classroom with my newly minted master's degree, I was *twice* the teacher I'd been before because I knew at least twice the content material. [More important,] the master's degree allowed me to synthesize, to fit the pieces of the intellectual puzzle together. Now I understood … the 'big' picture, for the first time."[81]

Based on a close review of the current debates about training history teachers, as well as our conversations with historians and educators during the past two years, we offer the following propositions about the role of the history master's degree in preparing secondary teachers. These are, at best, the starting point for a larger conversation in the discipline. Nowhere is that conversation more necessary than in history departments with graduate programs. As Donald Schwartz (who teaches history and trains future teachers at California State University at Long Beach) bluntly but correctly notes, "The fact is that many history professors do not feel any connection, personally or academically, to K–12 education in general, or to educating those who will teach on the pre-collegiate level."[82] This has to change, and re-valuing the master's degree will help.

- **History teachers should be trained as historians.** As noted earlier, education scholars are sharply divided about the impact of a teacher's qualifications on the measurable academic achievements of his or her students. The exact relationship between "good teaching" and teacher training is murky at best.[83] The relationship between having a history degree and being a good classroom teacher is unproven. Nonetheless, as two experts summarize the evidence in this debate, although "studies have not explicitly distinguished

between degrees in subjects and degrees in the teaching of particular subjects … [or] between degrees in the teaching of particular subjects and general degrees in teaching … theory and intuition suggest" that students are likely to learn more about a subject when their teachers are well trained in that subject.[84] Our intuition is that historians make the best history teachers.

- **History teachers should be encouraged to earn master's degrees in history rather than generic education degrees.** We have no intention here of fueling the old and fruitless "battle between scholars and ed school professors."[85] Some schools of education provide exemplary training for history teachers, working closely with history departments or adding historians to their own faculties to make sure that students achieve the proper balance of disciplinary expertise and teaching proficiency. These collaborations between education specialists and historians should be encouraged, but also recognized as exceptional. In our view, a properly conceived master's degree in history, primarily taught by historians and lodged in a history department rather than a school of education, should be the most effective training for secondary history teachers. Unfortunately, this is the ideal, not a description of the current state of teacher training. The challenge is bringing history departments up to the ideal standard, which will require many of them to reconceive their master's programs so they can serve both the practical needs of teachers (to secure licensure, for example) and the intellectual values of the discipline.

At a minimum, the advanced methods courses for secondary school history teachers should be taught by historians rather than education specialists, who are less likely to appreciate the "discipline's epistemological foundation as a humanly crafted narrative based on firm yet fragmentary sources."[86] History departments that intend to train teachers should "have on staff professors who have been successful secondary teachers and who are also willing to read up on and try out various instructional methods and materials."[87] And all history departments should embrace the idea of a "scholarship of teaching" that values pedagogy and rewards professors for developing curricular materials and training future teachers.[88] Otherwise, we will continue to hear legitimate complaints that historians with graduate degrees are unprepared for classroom teaching at any level.

In-service training is a necessary and valuable tool for the professional development of history teachers, but it cannot replace a master's degree. Consider the example of the California History-Social Science Project, one of the best models for in-service training in the country. After a recent review of the project as implemented during a three-year period at the University of California at Davis, the project director, Kathleen Medina, was forced to conclude that "for the most part, teachers [involved in the project] … stopped short of historical interpretation." Even more disturbing was that some of the basic historiographic concepts introduced to the teachers—such as emphasizing primary sources and multiple perspectives—were distorted in the transmission to their students, who were then apt to leave the classroom believing that primary sources are always more valuable and accurate than historians' accounts; the result was "a dangerous kind of historical relativism." Based on this evidence, Medina and her colleagues argue that "when professional development programs engage in discrete attempts at skill building or teach generic strategies to support disciplinary knowledge without

considering the big picture for teacher or student, they unwittingly encourage teachers to place isolated skills or strategies on center stage, possibly at the expanse of a balanced and comprehensive program of instruction." "Unfortunately," they write, "there is no clear place on their career pathway where history teachers learn the theoretical foundations and research practices of the discipline."[89] The history master's degree ought to be that place.

- **School teachers should be trained alongside other history graduate students, rather than being segregated into a separate "track."** Apart from the practical and intellectual benefits of collegiality, this serves as a constant reminder—to students and faculty alike—that teaching is an important component of every historian's training. Some faculty members tell us that it is more difficult to teach a group of graduate students with diverse, perhaps even incompatible or "incoherent," career goals, and also more difficult to foster the students' sense of belonging to a cohort of peers.[90] These are not sufficient arguments for segregating graduate students. Instead, they underscore the need for attentive mentoring and creative pedagogy, perhaps in the form of new courses explicitly designed to foster interactions among history graduate students pursuing different career paths.
- **The distinctive pedagogy of history should be part of every historian's training at the master's level.** Most historians recognize that a "knowledge of history and social sciences is not sufficient for teaching. Each of us has encountered brilliant historians who had little capacity to teach. Knowledge of the subject matter is necessary to teaching but it is not sufficient. History teachers also need to know *how to teach* history."[91] However, teaching history is not simply a variation on other kinds of teaching, as more than a decade of empirical research on the cognitive aspects of teaching and learning history clearly proves. This impressive body of research has important implications for both classroom instruction and the epistemology of the discipline; every historian should be familiar with its lessons.[92]
- **The AHA should consider drafting its own standards for history teacher certification.** Four years ago, at the very start of the AHA's current investigation of graduate training, we heard from the chair of a small history department in upstate New York. The most urgent issue facing her department when it came to graduate education was the competition for students from the school's own department of education. As she noted, historians often operate at a disadvantage in the struggle for graduate students, because the schools of education play such a large role in the teacher credentialing process. This was her proposed solution:

  > The AHA may wish to develop voluntary "guidelines" for a curriculum in graduate education, especially regarding the history education necessary to prepare students who plan to teach at the high school level. These … [would] be tactically very useful to faculty in my institution if we … [could] say that the AHA recommends that teachers seeking professional certification in Social Studies have to demonstrate competence in X areas of the discipline by completing X hours of graduate level course work in each area. This is how the Education faculty operate; they make frequent reference to their professional association's "requirements."[93]

We think her suggestion deserves serious consideration. At the very least, historians should be openly discussing the advantages (and disadvantages) of voluntary guidelines and training standards for secondary history teachers. The AHA made a step in this direction with its recent set of benchmarks for assessing professional development programs for American history teachers. In defining what "constitutes a good program and what outcomes should be expected," the benchmarks assert that "content, pedagogy, and historical thinking should be interwoven" and that "content, pedagogy, and historical thinking should be related to classroom experience." The first assertion can also be applied to nearly every master's degree for historians, while the second applies with particular force to the master's degrees for history teachers.[94]

Destination 4: Public History

Historians in the United States have always pursued their profession in multiple settings outside of the classroom. For most of the twentieth century, however, the training of historians for public occupations played a very small role in graduate education, particularly at the leading doctoral programs. At a conference on graduate education hosted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1950, Richard Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania stood up and declared that "a certain type of historical writing should be aimed at the public, and I think that that type of historical writing is very important and has real value. Whether we can do anything in graduate schools to train people to write effectively for the public is another question." In the end, he concluded that "Some of us ought to reach the public; in some cases we don't need to."[95]

Shryock probably spoke for most members of the AHA at that time. In the early 1970s, however, graduate programs and individual historians began to turn more of their attention to public history, partly in response to the collapse of the academic job market for new Ph.D.'s and partly in response to the increasing democratization of history as a discipline. Since then, public history has developed into a rigorous subdiscipline, with a rich theoretical literature, standards of professional practice, and a strong professional association of its own (the National Council on Public History).[96] Yet many doctoral programs still treat public history as an undesirable, or at least second best, career destination for their graduates. The culture of doctoral education privileges academic employment, sometimes openly and sometimes through inadvertence, such as using the residual term "nonacademic" to describe the important and rewarding work of thousands of history professionals. As one doctoral student told the AHA's Committee on Graduate Education, "Nonacademic career possibilities are not discussed, described, or much respected in my department, which is extremely discouraging." Another explained that her "interest in nonacademic careers is entirely covert … because I feel such pressure from my advisor to find a job at a good four-year university. I worry that, should she ever find out about this, she will decide that spending her time or the department's resources on me is wasteful."[97]

Many doctoral programs still treat public history as an undesirable, or at least second-best, career destination for their graduates.

Most training for public history careers takes place at the master's level. At least forty-eight institutions in the United States currently offer a master's degree in public history, about a third more than offered the degree in 1978.[98] (A growing number of doctoral programs also offer public history as a minor field.) Graduates of these programs go on to jobs at museums, historic sites, public agencies, archives, consulting firms, the History Channel—everywhere, in short, that professional historians work outside of colleges and universities, though some public historians work in those places, too. In fall 2002, the AHA conducted a survey of agencies and institutions that hire public historians in order to learn more about what they want in their new employees.[99] We received 201 responses from a variety of institutions, ranging from tiny, one-person local historical societies to well-staffed state archives and large government agencies (see **Table 11**). The sample is hardly optimal from a demographer's point of view (for example, the federal government and private industry are significantly underrepresented), and it only captures one side of the employer/employee relationship. Nonetheless, it does reflect the working and hiring conditions faced by many historians who chose public history as their destination.

The survey of employers elicited some surprising and some distressing responses, which cannot easily be reduced to aggregate statistics. Here we focus on six major themes that came across with particular force and clarity.

1. "Academic" versus "Public" Historians. The respondents perceive a deep split between "academic" and "public" historians, mirroring the perception of many university-based historians. Academic historians were frequently characterized as too narrow and specialized in their scholarly interests, too "elitist" to engage in public history at the local level, and lacking a "view of the big picture." As one supervisor at a state agency put it, the typical history graduate is "[unable] to function in a professional legal/business environment due to a lack of experience outside of [the] academic ivory tower…. Graduate programs don't care whether students can function in a … nonacademic environment, probably because the typical history professor could not function in such an environment." His point was echoed, albeit less harshly, by the dozens of other respondents who drew a distinction between "theoretical graduate courses" and "practical knowledge."

2. Employment Opportunities in Public History. There are real employment opportunities in public history. Three-quarters of the respondents reported that the number of permanent staff positions at their home institutions had grown (29 percent) or remained steady (48 percent) during the previous three years, while 68 percent had actually hired at least one new staffer to a permanent position. Most employers in the survey prefer to hire new staff members with master's degrees—but not necessarily master's degrees *in history*. Instead, many are looking for a background in museum studies or even archival training, because graduate programs in these areas are deemed more likely than academic history programs to include some training in "administration." The current composition of staff at the surveyed institutions confirms these hiring priorities: at institutions with three or more permanent staff members "directly engaged in some kind of historical work" (N=104), only 31 percent had a history Ph.D. on staff, 63 percent had a staff member with a master's degree in history (or public history), and 72 percent had at least one staff member with a master's degree in a different field.

Table 11

Responses to the AHA Survey of Public History Employers, Fall 2002

Total	Category
7	State Historic Preservation Offices
7	State Historical Societies (public and private)
6	Federal agencies
15	Other public agencies (excluding city and county museums, but including state archives)
11	Libraries/archives (excluding state archives)
9	Consultants/consulting firms
15	Other
27	Larger institutions, not otherwise classified (survey reported 6 or more permanent staff members)
104	Small institutions, not otherwise classified (survey reported 5 permanent staff members or fewer)
201	**Total Responses**

The smallest organizations (those with just a few permanent staff members, if any) rely mostly on volunteers and are happy when they can hire anyone. For these agencies, "Real life experience is more important than academic experience." But the larger organizations, and even some of the small places, are increasingly seeking applicants with advanced degrees in history or a closely related field. Indeed, a majority of respondents claimed that hiring standards have gone up at their institutions in the past decade, and the most common word of explanation they offered for this trend was "professionalization"—the professionalization of their own institutions, but also the professionalization of public history as a subdiscipline. As one employer noted, "Our parent organization [in this case, a municipal government] prevents us from making graduate degrees a requirement. The reality, though, is that there are enough skilled people with M.A.'s that it becomes a *de facto* requirement."

Despite their hiring preference for master's degree holders, the survey respondents were not terribly impressed with most history graduate programs—not even with the programs that focus on training public historians. The best of these programs were praised for producing graduates with solid technical skills and a firm grasp of the interpretive issues surrounding public history.[100] Yet a number of respondents also complained that "public history graduate programs don't give students enough history" (to quote the director of a large history museum).

3. Employer Expectations for Public Historians. What are employers looking for when they hire public historians? For most respondents, the answer to this question was a list of the skills and competencies that job applicants—and even many of their recent hires—conspicuously *lack*. These include good writing and communication skills (by far the most consistent refrain); an appreciation of local history (any local history, but especially the history of the institution's own state or region); an understanding of different audiences (and the ability to communicate

with ordinary people); and the willingness and ability to work collaboratively with others.[101] Intriguingly, the phrase "work ethic" appeared several times among the responses, both as a desirable trait and, implicitly, as something that academic historians do not possess, at least in a real-world setting. (As the director of education at one large museum commented, "I wish new hires realized [that] 'Work is not a debating society.'") As noted above, the respondents also stressed the importance of administrative skills, such as time-management, budget planning and analysis, computer literacy, employee supervision, marketing, fundraising, grantsmanship, institutional governance, etc. One person recommended, only half in jest, that "'cross-training' with the Business School" would make good sense for any history graduate program.

The shortage of administrative expertise among recent graduate students is perhaps understandable. So, to a lesser extent, is their lack of technical proficiency in such areas as oral history, historic preservation, archival management, and museum-based education—all desirable skills, according to the employers in the survey, but also skills that can be honed "on-the-job with good mentoring." More disturbing, to us, were the many responses that pointed to a lack of basic research skills and historical understanding on the part of new master's degree recipients. One employer flatly declared, "Research and critical analysis seem to be disappearing from all of the traditional academic work environments and … [this is] flowing over into nonacademic settings." Another complained that many applicants "[don't even know] how to interpret a decent primary source. Grad students spend too much time reading secondary sources and then spend too much time criticizing them."

4. The Importance of Internships. Nearly every respondent stressed the importance of internships or some other kind of practicum for would-be public historians, as the only way to gain the hands-on experience that so many find lacking among their job applicants. Internships "benefit … the students and institutions alike"—but only if they are well structured and well supported by both a student's graduate program and the institution. Unfortunately, some "colleges and universities send interns to museums without adequate [preparation or support]" while some museums have "no professional staff to oversee/train the intern." One solution, proposed by a supervising historian at a state archive, is for the AHA itself to "develop programs where the intern experience becomes more structured from both ends and moves toward apprenticeship." Another employer proposed a less centralized approach: "I believe that *all* graduate students should be required to complete at least one internship … [and] *all* professional historians should mentor the new graduates."

5. Relationship between University and Community. For a third of the small institutions in this survey (i.e., those with no more than five permanent employees), internships are the *only* formal contact they have with local graduate programs or history departments. According to the director of one county museum, "university professors don't want 'outsiders' in their classes and eschew relationships with museum employees, especially from smaller museums. It's difficult to even inform them of internship and research opportunities for their students." Nonetheless, most respondents—from both big and small institutions alike—do want to work more closely with their university-based colleagues; they think it would be good for everyone involved. Several

employers suggested that the AHA should facilitate these relationships, without providing any practical suggestions to that end.

Other respondents *did* offer substantive advice. Here are two of the most interesting suggestions, each from the director of a county historical society. First, "graduate program[s] … should do a community 'check up' at least once a year—invite local preservation officers, planners, historians, and museum administrators to talk to their students, conduct behind-the-scenes tours, etc." Second, "graduate students need to become more aware of what the smaller non-profits are attempting to provide, and possibly be required to give some volunteer time or assistance to help these agencies grow." We agree with these respondents that history departments need to reach out to their communities. Graduate programs are often the best way to do so. Likewise, any history department that offers a master's degree in public history *must* incorporate practitioners into the graduate program, not only as expert instructors and professional role models for their students, not only as advisors and internship supervisors, but as guides and envoys to the community at large.

6. Public Historians and the AHA. Finally, the public history employers we surveyed do not consider the American Historical Association to be a very important representative of their professional interests, except at the largest institutions (the institutions most likely to be included in the AHA's *Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians*, for example). Instead, they tend to affiliate with state and regional associations, or to join such national groups as the American Association of Museums, the American Association for State and Local History, the National Council on Public History, and the Society of American Archivists. Several employers advised the AHA to work much more closely with these "agencies already in the field" to improve the training and workplace conditions of public historians; we certainly agree with their advice. Others applauded the AHA for making an effort to connect with local institutions that "are doing public history—sometimes badly, sometimes fairly well—without ongoing professional guidance." Still others were "appall[ed] that the AHA is *just now* beginning to look at graduate education. I watched as the job market fell apart in the early [19]90s. Other than hand-wringing at dismal statistics, the AHA … didn't give a damn."

There is a significant contradiction at the heart of the survey results we have just presented. On one side, the respondents speak to the growing professionalization of public history in all its forms. They testify to the civic responsibility, the intellectual challenge, and the sheer excitement of public history. Indeed, even when they complain about the undersized budgets and relatively meager salaries of public historians, they urge young historians who are interested in this career destination to "go for it!" On the other side, the respondents report that too many of their potential employees—including the products of otherwise well-regarded master's degree programs in history—are poorly trained, with imperfect technical skills, a weak command of history and the tools of historical research, inadequate writing skills, and a limited ability to deal with the public. Resolving the apparent contradiction between professional expectations and the content of graduate training, not just in public history but everywhere in the profession, must be central to any effort that the AHA undertakes to improve the master's degree.

IV. Where Is the Mastery in the Master's Degree? Common Knowledge, Skills, and Identities for History Professionals[102]

The Committee on the Master's Degree began its work with three related propositions as a guide: 1) master's degree programs in history should produce historians; 2) there is a common terrain of historical knowledge, skills, epistemology, professional understandings, and habits of mind that should unite all historians trained at the master's level, regardless of their intended or probable career paths; and 3) no career path (or destination) that begins with a master's degree in history is inherently more valuable than any other destination. We also assumed that master's degree students who intended to become secondary school teachers, public historians, archivists, community college instructors, doctoral students, etc., might well require some additional, more specialized training.

This presented the immediate challenge of *defining* the "common terrain" in graduate education at the master's level—the things that every recipient of a master's degree in the discipline should be expected to know, understand, and be able to do as a history practitioner. In the mid-1990s, the National Park Service embarked on a similar quest to define the "essential competencies" for historians as part of an ambitious staff development plan (see **Appendix 3**, page 65). First they turned to the departments that train historians, to see what history departments had to say about student outcomes. What they discovered, and what we rediscovered after examining scores of departmental web sites and catalogues, is that most departments cannot offer a clear, effective, or operational statement of the intended outcomes for their own graduate programs. What too many history departments offer instead are banal statements like the following, which is based on several actual examples: "Our master's students will develop scholarly and professional skills and complete an acceptable thesis." Such outcome statements—or "mission statements," as the two genres are barely distinguishable—show every sign of being crafted specifically to satisfy the expectations of outside reviewers, such as accrediting agencies and university administrators, rather than meeting the needs of a department or its students. (See **Appendix 4**, page 67, for some apparent exceptions.)

We do not intend to criticize history departments too harshly for an unwillingness to define outcomes with objective (much less quantifiable) measurements of success. Like most academics, historians have an understandable "antipathy towards perceptions of managerialism and [the] loss of autonomy" that come with efforts to make student assessment a rigidly objective process. After all, the discipline has only recently begun to accept the evaluation of student outcomes at the *undergraduate* level. The "sheer complexity and ambiguity" of graduate-level work and the sheer diversity of master's programs, even within the single discipline of history, make *graduate* assessment even more complicated.[103]

Nonetheless, "if the assessment of student learning does not attend to the range of knowledge, skills and other qualities that the department claims to be fostering through a master's programme, it is almost certain that the department is not delivering what it claims—that the pedagogy is faulty."[104] (The admonishment comes from Peter Knight, a British researcher who has closely studied master's

degree programs across the English-speaking world.) Some observers would place the responsibility for assessment in the hands of university administrators, or even statewide higher education agencies.[105] We believe the process needs to start at the departmental level instead, and agree with Knight that effective assessment begins with a clear statement of desirable outcomes. We are also encouraged by the fact that "in single discipline areas with strong academic traditions," such as history, "the process for judging standards, if not of making them explicit, is [already] well established."[106]

Which takes us back to the problem of defining the essential outcomes for a history master's degree. The committee decided to take a deductive approach to the problem, as suggested by Joslyn Green in a collection of essays on master's education that she edited in 1987. According to Green, the process begins with a deceptively simple question: Should there be a distinction between the work leading to a bachelor's degree and the work leading to a master's degree? "Clearly there ought to be," she answered. "My point is that one could reach that conclusion deductively, reasoning one's way from an understanding of a discipline to a sense of what aspects of that discipline are best presented to students at what stages. One need not wait passively for a program review to reveal … [the] external evidence of weakness on which inductive reasoning depends."[107] Yet another inductive approach to defining essential outcomes for the master's degree—that is, collating and abstracting an ideal model from the actual practices at the four hundred or so institutions that offer some kind of master's degree for historians—was simply impracticable.

In the spirit of deductive inquiry, therefore, the committee convened three focus groups of historians to discuss the essential nature and optimal goals of a history master's degree. These meetings were held in New York City (May 2003), Alexandria, Virginia (July 2003, where the focus group was convened during a national conference on "Innovations in Collaboration: A School-University Model to Enhance History Teaching, K–16," co-sponsored by the AHA), and the National Humanities Center in North Carolina (September 2003). Each group included a mix of faculty members from master's degree programs, faculty members from doctoral programs, community college instructors, public historians, history educators, historians who train secondary school teachers, and graduate students. In the course of three afternoons, these groups chewed over a long list of possible goals for the ideal master's degree program in history. Some of the items they considered related most closely to the structure of graduate programs, others to the intellectual content of the master's degree, and still others to the motivations and accomplishments of individual students. They also discussed the difficulty (and temptation) of fitting too *many* goals into a relatively brief graduate program.

Based on the discussions of these three groups of thoughtful and experienced historians, plus many other conversations with colleagues around the nation, here are the five essential "elements of mastery" that should be expected from a history master's degree. The quoted remarks are from the participants in the focus groups:

- **A base of historical knowledge**, combining both a breadth and depth of knowledge, a familiarity with more than one historiographic tradition, and the ability to synthesize different types of historical knowledge (such as might be required to construct a survey course). Master's programs should incorporate a comparative, if not a global, perspective on history. Program graduates should be "educated history generalists."

- **Research and presentation skills**, evidenced by the completion of a substantial research project. This project does *not* have to take the form of a traditional thesis, as long as it demonstrates content mastery, a familiarity with primary research, and competent historical analysis. (A challenge for history departments is making sure that different projects are comparable in quality and rigor, and are *seen* to be comparable by other graduate students, other history departments, and potential employers.) Master's degree recipients should be familiar with the tools of bibliography, a foreign language, and the differences between academic and non-academic writing. They should also be conversant with new information technologies, as tools for both research and public presentation.
- **A solid introduction to historical pedagogy**, in the broadest sense of the term: what are the cognitive processes involved in teaching and learning history, how do learners of all ages attain their understanding(s) of history, and how do historians present the past to different audiences. If possible, master's programs should include a teaching component—or, better yet, practical training in the "presentation of history to non-specialists," which encompasses classroom instruction at all levels as well as public history. This would require graduate programs "to take teaching seriously," which many do not seem to do at present.
- **The foundations for a professional identity as a historian**, including a familiarity with the historical development of the discipline, an introduction to ethical standards and practices, and an awareness of the multiple contexts of professional practice. Master's programs should promote collaboration and provide a model for collaborative work among historians.
- **Learning to think like a historian**, which includes, among other attributes, "historical habits of mind" and "historiographic sensibilities" (i.e., a critical and self-conscious approach to the constructed nature of historical knowledge). Although it is very hard to specify the cognitive and intellectual maturation which indicates that a student is "thinking like a historian," most of the focus group participants agreed that it was a defining element of effective graduate education.

In addition to providing their students with the common elements of mastery, history departments should strive, as much as possible, to tailor their degree programs to the various destinations of individual students. Degree requirements should "not [be] presented as germane only to finishing master's coursework or as a one-time product one must produce in order to qualify for the master's degree," but as a model for the kind(s) of work graduate students think they will later do. (Good examples are the practica that most public history programs require from their students, research projects with a curricular component for students who plan to become high school teachers, and seminars that help future college teachers prepare syllabi for undergraduate survey courses.) The master's degree should be seen as "one component on a continuum of professional development with the potential to transform" the career—or even the life—of a history practitioner.[108]

We expect that some historians will disagree with our approach to defining optimal outcomes for the master's degree, or with the particular list of outcomes that we suggest here. The important thing is that historians and history departments ask (and keep asking), Where is the *mastery* in the history master's degree? The question needs to be addressed at the local level, because history departments face specific challenges and prospects. It also needs to be addressed at the national level, to make sure that master's degrees in history are roughly comparable across the whole range of graduate institutions, and that recipients of the degree are assessed by roughly the same standards. For its part, the AHA needs to provide more opportunities for discussing the question, through sessions at the annual meeting, on-line forums, and dedicated gatherings of graduate program directors and history department chairs. (The AHA also needs to work more closely with other professional associations, such as the National Council on Public History and the National Council for History Education, that are likewise concerned about the content and quality of history master's degrees.) In the meantime, we invite our colleagues to share and compare their answers to these basic questions: What should the holders of master's degrees *know*? What should they be able to *do*? What is the best way for a history department, working with other stakeholders, to develop a list of desirable outcomes for its graduate program(s)? What is the best way to make the outcomes known to both graduate students and their potential employers? What is the best way to measure student accomplishments against a common set of desirable outcomes? Does the master's degree carry an implicit warranty that any individual student meets certain professional standards? Should they come with an *explicit* warranty instead?

The Elements of Mastery in a History Master's Degree

- A base of historical knowledge
- Research and presentation skills
- A solid introduction to historical pedagogy
- The foundations for a professional identity as a historian
- Learning to think like a historian

V. Defining a Distinctive Role for the Master's Level in History

Is there a way to describe the master's degree, in history or any other discipline, that is not inherently hierarchical, and that does not privilege the Ph.D. as the preeminent credential? What distinguishes the master's degree from the bachelor's degree or the doctorate, other than the age of the recipient and the number of credits under his or her belt? In other words, where is the *masterness* in the degree, as opposed to the mastery?[109] The answer to this puzzle has both theoretical and practical implications for historians.

At most colleges and universities, the basic definition of "the master's degree" (without regard to any particular discipline) has been generated by the state higher education authority, a graduate dean or registrar's office, or some other university administrator. Usually, their starting point is a set of policy guidelines promulgated by the Council of Graduate Schools and reinforced by the regional accrediting agencies, which concentrates on such things as the "*program requirements* which master's programs have in common … [including:] a) a minimum number of required credits; b) a core curriculum to be mastered or a prescribed program of courses, seminars, and/or research component[s]; and c) an assigned faculty advisor and/or advisory committee for each student."[110] The typical result is a generic definition of the master's degree that emphasizes time served, not objective outcomes or even a subjective standard of achievement.[111]

The "one-size-fits-all" approach to master's-level training makes very little sense, across disciplines or even within a single field; too little variation between graduate programs is just as bad as too much variation. In many cases, a public history master's degree or a master's degree for teachers will simply require more credits and time to complete than a traditional (predoctoral) M.A., because of the necessary practica and additional training required to master technical skills. Yet students are likely to earn the same credential at the end of their efforts: a "master's degree in history." One solution is to redefine the Master of Arts as the base degree in graduate history education, with a uniform number of credits leading to the same diploma regardless of a student's "track," but then reward any additional work needed to provide acceptable preparation for a particular career destination with a supplemental certificate. (A firm distinction between the base degree and supplemental certificates would also make it easier for mid-career historians to re-tool for new professional opportunities without starting from scratch.) The goal, once again, is to distinguish competencies from mere credentials. Ideally, history departments should start with a well-considered set of program outcomes and then decide how many courses and other training opportunities (practica, theses, general examinations, etc.) are necessary to achieve the desired objectives. If the optimal training for the master's degree turns out to be the equivalent of thirty-six credits, or forty-two credits, or even more, departments should then be able to convince administrators to adopt this standard, rather than adhering to arbitrary numbers developed without reference to the needs of our discipline.[112]

The focus on credit hours leads to what a graduate dean once called the *additive fallacy*, according to which "the master's degree is nothing more than an accumulation of course credits. … The additive fallacy assumes that one's competence increases in an additive manner as one accumulates credits. It assumes, for example, that completing 15 hours of a program makes one precisely half as competent as one will be at the end of a 30-hour program."[113] The additive fallacy may also be the source for perennial complaints about the dilution of the master's degree, which succeeding generations of professors have decried as being no better than the "old Bachelor of Arts degree."[114] (Or, as a conservative critic of American higher education recently argued the case, "'critical' methods of teaching and learning have been 'pushed forward' to earlier and earlier years of study in the past generation, [while] mastery of a discipline … has been 'pushed back' to the M.A. years of graduate school."[115]) Meanwhile, both faculty attitudes and administrative policies continue to hearken back to "a time when it was assumed that master's degree programs were housed in doctoral-granting departments and served either as interim degrees for full-time, Ph.D.-bound students or final degrees for those who were not advanced to candidacy."[116] This gives rise to a *subtractive fallacy*, where the master's degree is considered to be just like the doctorate, only less so.

Generic definitions of master's level graduate work *do* have their place, however, especially as an aid to planning and evaluating specific graduate programs. For example, as part of the ongoing effort to harmonize academic requirements in Europe, a group of university educators recently drafted "a general statement of the expected attributes [i.e., outcomes]" for recipients of bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. The "Dublin descriptors" (named for the city where most of their discussions took place) attempt to define student outcomes in five broad areas: knowledge and understanding, applying knowledge and understanding, making judgments, communication, and learning skills. In their scheme, both quantitative and qualitative differences separate the different degrees. A second group of European scholars—in this case, just historians—has proposed a set of "specific skills and competences" for postsecondary history students, including distinctive achievement targets for students completing a bachelor's degree or a master's degrees. (See **Appendix 5**, page 69). These European documents should be useful tools for any American history department that wants to examine its own graduate program(s) from a fresh perspective.[117]

Still another way to look at the distinctive role of the master's degree in training professional historians has been suggested, albeit indirectly, by Lee Shulman, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In a recent essay, Shulman reflected on "the study of professional education that The Carnegie Foundation is now undertaking, looking concurrently at preparation for law, engineering, teaching, and the clergy."[118]

> One emerging theme in this work is that learning to be a professional isn't a purely intellectual endeavor. To become a professional, one must learn not only to think in certain ways but also to perform particular skills, and to practice or act in ways consistent with the norms, values, and conventions of the profession. Thus, to learn to be a lawyer, one needs to think like a lawyer, perform like a lawyer, and act like a lawyer. ... Acting is more than knowing something or performing well; it seems to involve the development of a set of

values, commitments, or internalized dispositions. It reminds me of what theological educators talk about as *formation*—the development of an identity that integrates one's capacities and dispositions to create a more generalized orientation to practice.

A similar view can be applied to the master's degree in history, which is not a professional degree in the same sense as a J.D. or D.D., but more accurately a practitioner's degree. Master's education in history does not necessarily involve a *formation* of the sort Shulman describes, and perhaps not even a *transformation*. Instead it involves, or should involve, a process of *appreciation*, in both senses of the word: an incremental addition of value (i.e., value added to a student's knowledge and skills, in ways that can be fruitfully assessed) and a heightened awareness and understanding (i.e., of the craft and discipline of history). Doctoral programs are primarily designed to train scholars in particular types of historical analysis that emphasize theoretical and structural explanations (as opposed to primarily narrative reconstructions), and which rely upon the critical evaluation of multiple voices and the willingness to accept that historical knowledge is always tentative and incomplete.[119] In the world of practicing historians, the Ph.D. is the anomaly, not the master's degree; the Ph.D. is for those who have the time, resources, talents, and inclination to pursue theoretically informed research at a sustained level of intensity.[120] Indeed, as a growing body of research shows, in most cases K–16 students and the general public do not process history in the same way as historians with doctorates.[121]

Most historians with master's degrees will spend their careers as "past specialists," presenting and interpreting history to students or the general public.[122] They should be trained in a style of historical presentation that accommodates and builds upon nonprofessional understandings of the past, rather than rejecting these understandings because they do not match with the most abstract or "sophisticated" types of historical analysis in the discipline. At a minimum, "it is essential that they [do] not continue to reinforce mistaken views of historical knowledge, whether in schools, in museums, or at historic sites."[123] To achieve this end, master's degree students need to become familiar *enough* with the various types of historical analysis to value and understand the differences between them, but they do not have to master the exhaustive-inquiry approach that has traditionally exemplified doctoral education.[124] Instead, they have the harder task, in some ways, of mediating between different modes of historical interpretation and making sure that their audiences get the best historical information and analysis in any given setting, where "best" is defined as the most *accurate*, *appropriate*, and *useful*. Historians in the public sphere also face the enormous challenge of "stag[ing] dialogues with complex, already-moving minds, not knowing (or being able to evaluate) what the public's synthesis of this material is likely to be at the end of the day."[125]

VI. Unanswered Questions

The Committee on the Master's Degree began its work (and this report) with just one question: "What exactly should an M.A. in history be?" We end the report with no firm answer to the original inquiry—and with even more questions about the current role(s) and the future potential of the master's degree for historians.

First, there are things that *nobody* knows about the master's degree. A close review of the scholarly literature on higher education reveals a number of significant gaps relating to the master's degree, starting with the shortage of research devoted exclusively to the degree.[126] Here are some of the most pressing issues that education researchers have identified as needing further attention:

- **Assessment strategies**: "The development of criteria for assessing quality in the master's degree needs more emphasis."[127]
- **The effectiveness of coursework:** "[T]here has been little systematic study of coursework in graduate programmes … [even while] the quality of higher degrees and the maintenance of standards have become pressing questions."[128]
- **The role and effectiveness of the master's thesis:** "Research into thesis writing refers mostly to the doctoral thesis … [but] the problems and experiences of master's thesis writing have specific characteristics that need to be examined in their own right." In general, "little research on the master's thesis experience is available."[129] (Indeed, our own inquiries among graduate students and department chairs confirm that there is a good deal of uncertainty surrounding the thesis, regarding both the format and the pedagogical utility of the exercise.)
- **The evaluation of master's degree students:** "[I]n most academic institutions, [the graduate] instructors are not trained in what is expected of them as evaluators. … [I have] found very little professional literature relating to ethical issues of evaluation in higher education. … I was mazed to find how inadequate and general were the evaluation guidelines in most institutions of higher education, both for the evaluator and the evaluatee."[130]
- **The professional development of graduate instructors:** "While staff development for the teaching function [of master's programs] appears an obvious target for quality improvement, little evidence was found of institutional staff development programmes targeted directly at postgraduate teaching other than research supervision. Perhaps postgraduate teaching is considered less problematic because of the assumed autonomy and capacity for self-direction of postgraduate students." In most cases, the professional development of graduate instructors at the master's level is "informal, not the product of any institutional provision [i.e., training] for learning about master's level teaching and learning.… If there is something distinctive about master's level work, then there ought, logically, to be dedicated provision for master's programme faculty. The absence of examples of such programmes is striking."[131]

❖ **The goals and desires of graduate students at the master's level:** "[T]here is almost no literature on how students experience their master's programs, much less the effects of their experience on students themselves. … Conspicuously missing are the voices of students and program graduates…."[132]

We challenge historians—as individuals, as members of a history department, and, collectively, as members of the American Historical Association—to tackle these important issues on behalf of instructors and graduate students in every discipline.

Concerns about student debt and financial aid loomed large in the AHA's recent investigation of doctoral education. These are also real concerns for graduate students pursuing master's degrees, although the master's students we consulted while preparing the present report did not seem nearly as worried about the cost of graduate training as did their counterparts in doctoral programs. Nonetheless, to quote one of our colleagues (an independent scholar with little direct stake in graduate education), "the money factor must be taken into account." As he rightly noted, many master's students pay their own way. "What percent of M.A. degrees are provided department funding and what percent find funding externally? What does this external source of revenue [represented by many master's students who pay their own way] mean for history departments and the schools? Are there political/economic factors that keep the M.A. alive and well and thus contribute toward keeping it as a valid degree?"[133] These are all good questions; they deserve more attention; but we do not have enough information about the funding of master's students to begin answering them.

Who *benefits* from your master's degree program?

History departments need to collect more information about their own master's degree students: who they are, where they come from, what they want from their graduate training, why they choose to attend a particular institution, what their intended destinations are, what they study, how much debt they incur, why some leave before completing a degree, etc. We also urge history departments to track the careers of their graduate alumni, not just for a few months but for five years or more. The AHA can then use this information to compile and disseminate a fuller, richer description of the historical profession, which will be an important resource for all historians, including graduate students, and for anyone else who is interested in the future of the discipline.

Finally, we encourage every history department that offers a master's degree in history—or is contemplating a new master's degree program—to consider the following questions: Who *benefits* from your master's degree program? Does your program reflect the mission and circumstances of your department and your university? Whose interests was the program designed to serve? Whose interests does it *actually* serve? Whose interests *should* it serve? There are as many possible variations on these questions as there are stakeholders in graduate history education:

- **The community:** Does your master's degree program prepare teachers, train civil servants, provide better-educated workers for local businesses, enrich the community in other ways?
- **The history faculty:** Does training students at the master's level keep the members of your faculty engaged as scholars? Does it merely satisfy the ego needs of faculty members who might prefer to teacher at doctoral institutions?
- **The university:** Does your master's degree program bring a diversity community of engaged graduate students to the institution? Or does it simply provide a steady source of tuition dollars and cheap teaching assistants?
- **The historical profession:** Are you broadening the pool of qualified doctoral students? Introducing a wide range of historical presenters to the best recent work in the discipline? Promoting a "big-tent" vision of the profession that includes both M.A. holders and Ph.D. holders, college professors, public historians, and schoolteachers—or privileging one of these career destinations over the others?
- **The graduate students:** Do you know what they want from your master's degree program? Are they getting what they want?

From the outside, these questions may invite an unacceptable level of speculation while offering an easy temptation to pass judgments. Every history department faces a different set of circumstances and challenges, a unique set of competing stakeholder interests. Every history department needs to explore these questions in light of local particularities—but also as part of a discipline-wide conversation about the nature and purpose(s) of the master's degree. No less than the future of the historical profession is at stake.

Appendix 1

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Alabama State University	AL		X			X	X				1	0	0	0	1	2
Auburn University	AL	X	X		X	X	X			X	6	7	4	3	2	22
Jacksonville State University	AL	X	X		X	X	X				2	7	8	14	6	37
Troy State University	AL				X			X								
University of Alabama	AL	X	X		X	X	X				23	21	20	15	12	91
University of Alabama at Birmingham	AL	X	X		X		X				10	9	10	5	7	41
University of Alabama in Huntsville	AL	X	X		X	X	X				1	5	0	3	4	13
University of Montevallo	AL		X								1	0	1	2	1	5
University of North Alabama	AL	X														
University of South Alabama	AL	X	X		X	X	X				8	4	4	3	6	25
Arkansas State University	AR	X	X		X		X				8	5	12	5	4	34
Arkansas Tech University	AR	X			X		X									
University of Arkansas at Little Rock	AR	X	X		X	X	X			X	3	1	3	3	4	14
University of Arkansas Main Campus	AR	X	X		X	X	X				10	12	8	11	5	46
University of Central Arkansas	AR	X	X		X	X	X				8	3	8	7	3	29
Arizona State University Main	AZ	X	X		X	X	X			X	20	8	30	15	9	82
Northern Arizona University	AZ	X	X		X	X	X				7	6	5	5	6	29
Prescott College	AZ		X								0	1	0	0	1	2
University of Arizona	AZ	X	X		X		X				11	11	8	12	9	51
Azusa Pacific University	CA		X								0	0	0	0	17	17
California State Polytechnic Univ.-Pomona	CA				X		X									
California State University-Bakersfield	CA	X	X		X	X	X				2	2	1	5	1	11
California State University-Chico	CA	X	X		X		X			X	2	4	5	1	3	15
California State University-Dominguez Hills	CA					X		X								
California State University-Fresno	CA	X	X		X	X	X				6	5	8	8	5	32
California State University-Fullerton	CA	X	X		X		X				18	19	15	22	21	95
California State University-Hayward	CA	X	X		X	X	X				7	4	8	8	5	32
California State University-Long Beach	CA	X	X		X	X	X				8	19	6	10	13	56
California State University-Los Angeles	CA	X	X		X	X	X				6	11	6	7	12	42
California State University-Northridge	CA	X	X		X		X				13	15	10	14	18	70
California State University-Sacramento	CA	X	X			X	X			X	15	13	12	16	7	63
California State University-Stanislaus	CA	X	X		X	X	X				11	8	3	3	12	37
Chapman University	CA						X									
Claremont Graduate University	CA	X	X		X	X	X				13	13	2	10	8	46
Graduate Theological Union	CA	X					X									
LaGrange College	CA	X														
Loyola Marymount University	CA	X		X				X								
Pepperdine University	CA	X	X		X	X	X				2	5	10	8	3	28
Pomona College	CA	X														
San Diego State University	CA		X		X	X	X				10	20	10	15	13	68
San Francisco State University	CA	X	X		X	X	X				22	25	23	25	19	114
San Jose State University	CA	X	X		X	X	X				8	15	10	17	11	61
Sonoma State University	CA	X	X		X	X	X				5	4	5	10	7	31
Stanford University	CA	X	X		X		X		X		28	14	24	21	30	117
University of California-Berkeley	CA	X	X		X	X	X		X		21	26	30	19	19	115
University of California-Davis	CA	X	X		X	X	X				2	3	6	5	5	21
University of California-Irvine	CA	X	X		X	X	X				8	6	9	2	2	27
University of California-Los Angeles	CA	X	X		X	X	X		X		33	32	38	39	20	162
University of California-Riverside	CA	X	X		X	X	X			X	15	13	11	10	13	62
University of California-San Diego	CA	X	X		X	X	X				13	14	14	14	5	60
University of California-San Francisco	CA								X							
University of California-Santa Barbara	CA	X	X		X		X		X	X	18	15	16	17	2	68
University of California-Santa Cruz	CA	X	X		X	X					1	2	8	7	5	23
University of San Diego	CA	X	X		X	X	X				7	17	18	12	27	81
University of Southern California	CA	X	X		X	X	X				10	10	0	2	4	26
University of the Pacific	CA		X				X				0	0	0	1	0	1
Colorado State University	CO	X	X		X	X	X				17	13	19	18	8	75
University of Colorado at Boulder	CO	X	X		X	X	X				16	8	9	11	3	47
University of Colorado at Colorado Springs	CO	X	X		X	X	X				5	5	8	5	5	28
University of Colorado at Denver	CO	X	X		X	X	X				15	8	7	7	11	48
University of Denver	CO	X	X		X	X	X				1	1	0	1	7	10
University of Northern Colorado	CO	X	X		X	X	X				9	2	7	4	4	26
Central Connecticut State University	CT	X	X		X	X	X				0	4	4	5	10	23
Fairfield University	CT							X								

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Saint Joseph College	CT						X									
Southern Connecticut State University	CT	X	X		X		X				6	14	14	11	10	55
Trinity College	CT	X	X		X		X				3	3	3	4	4	17
University of Connecticut	CT	X	X		X	X	X				14	13	10	12	16	65
Wesleyan University	CT	X														
Western Connecticut State University	CT		X		X		X				12	10	10	10	7	49
Yale University	CT	X	X		X		X		X		24	18	19	25	19	105
American University	DC	X	X		X	X	X			X	9	6	15	8	8	46
Catholic University of America	DC	X	X		X	X	X				10	5	10	9	9	43
George Washington University	DC	X	X		X	X	X				8	17	10	12	16	63
Georgetown University	DC		X		X	X					5	1	6	4	3	19
Howard University	DC	X	X		X		X			X	5	6	8	8	5	32
Delaware State University	DE	X														
University of Delaware	DE	X	X		X	X	X		X		12	10	13	15	15	65
Florida Atlantic University	FL	X	X		X	X	X				13	9	18	7	10	57
Florida International University	FL	X	X		X	X	X				2	6	4	2	6	20
Florida State University	FL	X	X		X	X	X			X	11	10	10	9	11	51
University of Central Florida	FL	X	X		X	X	X				5	5	9	4	1	24
University of Florida	FL	X	X		X	X	X		X		11	12	9	5	11	48
University of Miami	FL	X	X		X	X	X				7	3	5	3	2	20
University of North Florida	FL	X	X		X	X					0	4	2	4	7	17
University of South Florida	FL	X	X		X	X	X				12	9	10	15	9	55
University of West Florida	FL		X		X		X				4	4	6	8	11	33
Armstrong Atlantic State University	GA	X	X		X					X	0	3	7	2	1	13
Clark Atlanta University	GA		X	X	X	X	X				0	0	0	3	1	4
Emory University	GA	X	X		X		X				11	11	11	15	3	51
Georgia College & State University	GA	X	X		X	X	X				4	6	4	7	4	25
Georgia Institute of Technology	GA	X	X			X			X		2	0	1	1	1	5
Georgia Southern University	GA	X	X		X	X	X				6	3	3	5	2	19
Georgia State University	GA	X	X		X		X				10	8	10	6	8	42
State University of West Georgia	GA	X	X		X		X			X	4	4	7	3	6	24
University of Georgia	GA	X	X		X	X	X		X		13	9	13	12	7	54
Valdosta State University	GA	X	X		X	X	X				10	9	7	16	8	50
Hawaii Pacific University	HI	X				X										
University of Hawaii at Manoa	HI	X	X		X	X	X				14	8	9	10	3	44
Drake University	IA		X								0	0	1	0	0	1
Iowa State University	IA	X	X		X	X	X		X		8	7	4	7	3	29
Loras College	IA		X								0	0	0	0	1	1
Morningside College	IA	X														
University of Iowa	IA	X	X		X	X	X				17	8	7	6	4	42
University of Northern Iowa	IA	X	X		X	X	X				7	7	5	7	2	28
Boise State University	ID	X	X	X	X	X	X				3	4	8	0	4	19
University of Idaho	ID	X	X		X	X	X				3	5	1	1	2	12
Chicago State University	IL		X		X		X				5	10	7	6	5	33
DePaul University	IL	X	X		X	X	X				8	12	8	12	14	54
Eastern Illinois University	IL	X	X		X		X			X	24	10	20	16	21	91
Illinois State University	IL	X	X		X	X	X				21	24	12	11	14	82
Loyola University of Chicago	IL	X	X		X		X			X	7	9	11	23	9	59
Northeastern Illinois University	IL	X	X		X	X	X				14	13	11	13	12	63
Northern Illinois University	IL	X	X		X	X	X			X	16	17	10	17	22	82
Northwestern University	IL	X	X		X		X				12	8	8	18	16	62
Roosevelt University	IL	X	X		X		X				6	6	3	4	3	22
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale	IL	X	X		X	X	X				18	6	13	7	9	53
Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville	IL	X	X		X	X	X				6	8	5	6	8	33
University of Chicago	IL	X	X		X	X	X		X		20	33	29	26	40	148
University of Illinois at Chicago	IL	X	X	X	X		X				15	6	20	17	7	65
University of Illinois at Springfield	IL	X	X			X	X				2	4	4	5	5	20
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	IL	X	X		X	X	X		X		11	9	19	15	5	59
Western Illinois University	IL	X	X		X	X	X				5	5	5	6	8	29
Ball State University	IN	X	X		X	X	X				11	2	5	8	3	29
Butler University	IN	X	X			X	X				4	1	2	4	1	12
Indiana State University	IN	X	X		X	X	X				2	7	4	8	2	23
Indiana University at Bloomington	IN	X	X		X	X	X		X		39	26	44	24	16	149
Indiana University Southeast	IN					X										

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Indiana University-Purdue University	IN	X	X		X	X	X			X	6	4	7	3	3	23
Purdue University-Calumet	IN		X				X				2	1	1	4	4	12
Purdue University-Main Campus	IN	X	X		X	X	X				10	5	11	8	14	48
University of Indianapolis	IN	X	X		X	X					1	0	0	1	2	4
University of Notre Dame	IN	X	X		X		X		X		14	7	1	6	4	32
Valparaiso University	IN	X	X		X	X					3	5	0	2	2	12
Emporia State University	KS	X	X		X	X	X				8	7	8	6	5	34
Fort Hays State University	KS	X	X		X	X	X				6	6	9	7	4	32
Kansas State University	KS	X	X		X	X	X				10	4	5	4	1	24
Pittsburg State University	KS		X		X	X	X				6	6	4	5	1	22
University of Kansas-Main Campus	KS	X	X		X	X	X				17	11	5	6	2	41
Wichita State University	KS	X	X		X	X	X			X	4	5	7	3	5	24
Eastern Kentucky University	KY	X	X		X	X	X				3	7	5	2	6	23
Georgetown College	KY	X														
Morehead State University	KY						X									
Murray State University	KY	X	X		X	X	X			X	3	1	5	14	8	31
University of Kentucky	KY	X	X		X	X	X		X		9	8	16	8	12	53
University of Louisville	KY	X	X		X		X			X	2	6	4	3	2	17
Western Kentucky University	KY	X	X		X	X	X				4	5	11	9	5	34
Louisiana State University	LA	X	X		X	X	X				11	7	11	1	5	35
Louisiana Tech University	LA	X	X		X	X	X				6	8	5	6	6	31
Northwestern State University	LA		X		X	X	X				5	2	4	2	4	17
Southeastern Louisiana University	LA	X	X		X	X	X				3	2	5	7	6	23
Southern University	LA		X		X						3	0	0	0	0	3
Tulane University	LA	X	X		X	X	X				6	4	5	3	6	24
University of Louisiana at Lafayette	LA	X	X		X		X				1	7	5	7	7	27
University of Louisiana at Monroe	LA		X		X		X				5	5	2	5	7	24
University of New Orleans	LA	X	X	X	X	X	X				13	4	10	8	9	44
Boston College	MA	X	X		X	X	X				12	10	7	8	8	45
Boston University	MA	X	X		X	X	X				11	13	9	5	6	44
Brandeis University	MA	X	X		X	X					16	6	5	9	8	44
Bridgewater State College	MA	X	X	X			X				2	2	3	3	2	12
Clark University	MA	X	X		X		X				0	0	2	4	3	9
Fitchburg State College	MA		X	X		X	X				0	0	0	0	2	2
Framingham State College	MA	X				X	X									
Harvard University	MA	X	X			X	X		X		17	17	28	0	31	93
Mount Holyoke College	MA						X									
Northeastern University	MA	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	8	8	14	13	8	51
Salem State College	MA	X	X	X	X		X				5	2	2	6	6	21
Simmons College	MA	X	X								0	0	7	5	1	13
Smith College	MA	X	X		X		X				2	0	0	0	0	2
Tufts University	MA	X	X		X	X	X				0	7	6	6	7	26
University of Massachusetts-Amherst	MA	X	X		X	X	X			X	22	14	21	15	15	87
University of Massachusetts-Boston	MA	X	X		X	X					10	6	8	6	11	41
University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth	MA	X														
Westfield State College	MA		X	X		X					0	1	0	0	0	1
Worcester State College	MA	X						X								
Goucher College	MD	X				X										
Johns Hopkins University	MD	X	X		X		X		X		16	19	16	16	16	83
Morgan State University	MD	X	X		X						5	2	3	2	2	14
Salisbury State University	MD		X		X	X	X				6	6	2	0	7	21
Towson University	MD							X								
Uniformed Services University of the Health	MD		X								0	0	1	0	0	1
University of Baltimore	MD	X														
University of Maryland-Baltimore County	MD	X	X		X	X	X				9	18	17	8	13	65
University of Maryland-College Park	MD	X	X		X	X	X		X		19	16	16	7	14	72
Washington College	MD	X	X		X		X				4	1	1	15	5	26
University of Maine	ME	X	X		X	X	X				13	9	10	5	10	47
University of Southern Maine	ME							X								
Andrews University	MI		X		X		X				1	2	3	2	1	9
Central Michigan University	MI	X	X		X	X					8	12	10	13	8	51
Eastern Michigan University	MI	X	X		X	X	X				9	6	12	13	15	55
Grand Valley State University	MI	X														
Michigan State University	MI	X	X	X	X	X	X				16	16	12	5	7	56

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Michigan Technological University	MI	X							X							
Northern Michigan University	MI		X	X			X				2	1	1	1	0	5
Oakland University	MI	X	X		X		X				6	8	3	1	1	19
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor	MI	X	X		X		X				27	25	18	17	12	99
Wayne State University	MI	X	X		X		X			X	12	13	11	11	7	54
Western Michigan University	MI	X	X		X	X	X			X	9	6	10	5	9	39
College of Saint Benedict	MN			X												
Concordia College-Moorhead	MN	X														
Minnesota State University, Mankato	MN	X	X		X	X	X				8	2	5	8	4	27
Saint Mary's University of Minnesota	MN				X			X								
St. Cloud State University	MN	X	X		X	X	X			X	2	2	1	4	8	17
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities	MN	X	X		X		X		X		15	12	22	16	9	74
Winona State University	MN						X									
Central Missouri State University	MO	X	X		X	X	X				5	6	2	1	5	19
Lincoln University	MO		X								1	1	2	1	2	7
Northwest Missouri State University	MO	X	X	X		X	X				9	2	5	2	3	21
Saint Louis University	MO	X	X		X	X	X				0	0	1	4	3	8
Southeast Missouri State University	MO	X	X		X		X			X	2	3	4	3	4	16
Southwest Missouri State University	MO	X	X		X	X	X				4	10	5	7	6	32
Truman State University	MO	X	X	X	X		X				3	2	1	2	2	10
University of Missouri-Columbia	MO	X	X		X	X	X				11	9	8	2	7	37
University of Missouri-Kansas City	MO	X	X		X	X	X				10	12	10	12	7	51
University of Missouri-Rolla	MO						X									
University of Missouri-St. Louis	MO	X	X		X	X	X				11	11	6	6	10	44
Washington University in St. Louis	MO	X	X		X		X				6	12	3	5	5	31
Delta State University	MS							X								
Jackson State University	MS		X		X	X	X				1	1	4	2	4	12
Mississippi College	MS		X			X	X				0	0	2	6	6	14
Mississippi State University	MS	X	X		X	X	X				2	9	3	10	4	28
University of Mississippi	MS	X	X		X	X	X				11	10	7	5	3	36
University of Southern Mississippi	MS	X	X		X	X	X				10	10	9	12	11	52
William Carey College	MS			X												
Montana State University-Bozeman	MT	X	X		X	X	X		X		7	2	8	12	11	40
University of Montana	MT	X	X		X		X				7	4	6	12	8	37
Appalachian State University	NC	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	5	7	7	10	3	32
Duke University	NC	X	X		X		X		X		15	12	9	10	5	51
East Carolina University	NC	X	X		X	X	X				16	18	15	21	3	73
Fayetteville State University	NC		X		X		X				4	1	1	2	3	11
North Carolina A&T State University	NC		X	X		X	X				0	1	3	7	0	11
North Carolina Central University	NC		X			X	X				2	3	4	9	4	22
North Carolina State University	NC	X	X		X	X	X			X	21	18	16	17	24	96
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill	NC	X	X		X	X	X		X		27	20	15	25	12	99
University of North Carolina-Charlotte	NC	X	X		X	X	X				11	7	3	8	8	37
University of North Carolina-Greensboro	NC	X	X		X	X	X			X	9	21	8	7	11	56
University of North Carolina-Wilmington	NC	X	X		X	X	X			X	2	4	8	5	5	24
Wake Forest University	NC		X		X	X	X				7	6	8	8	6	35
Western Carolina University	NC	X	X		X	X	X				4	9	5	3	3	24
North Dakota State University	ND	X	X		X	X	X				1	3	1	0	0	5
University of North Dakota	ND	X	X		X	X	X				4	2	1	5	4	16
Chadron State College	NE						X									
Hastings College	NE	X		X												
University of Nebraska at Kearney	NE	X	X		X						3	2	1	1	3	10
University of Nebraska at Lincoln	NE	X	X		X	X	X				6	15	7	7	12	47
University of Nebraska at Omaha	NE	X	X		X		X				8	8	8	10	2	36
University of New Hampshire	NH	X	X		X	X	X				9	8	9	14	11	51
Drew University	NJ	X	X		X	X	X				7	0	0	0	0	7
Fairleigh Dickinson University	NJ		X		X		X				0	0	1	1	1	3
Monmouth University	NJ	X	X		X	X	X				5	1	2	5	7	20
Montclair State University	NJ	X			X		X									
New Jersey Institute of Technology	NJ	X	X								0	0	0	1	1	2
Princeton University	NJ	X	X				X		X		10	18	7	12	19	66
Rutgers University-Camden	NJ	X	X		X		X				6	6	10	8	6	36
Rutgers University-New Brunswick	NJ	X	X			X	X				4	3	2	6	3	18
Rutgers University-Newark	NJ	X	X		X	X	X		X		6	10	11	15	7	49

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Seton Hall University	NJ							X								
William Paterson University of New Jersey	NJ	X			X		X									
New Mexico Highlands University	NM				X											
New Mexico State University	NM	X	X		X	X	X			X	6	10	12	8	16	52
University of New Mexico	NM	X	X		X	X	X				14	10	9	6	10	49
University of Nevada-Las Vegas	NV	X	X		X	X	X			X	14	8	15	4	9	50
University of Nevada-Reno	NV	X	X		X		X				5	1	2	2	2	12
Colgate University	NY		X				X				1	1	1	0	0	3
College of Saint Rose	NY	X			X	X										
Columbia University	NY	X	X		X	X	X		X		31	25	48	31	16	151
Cornell University	NY	X	X		X	X	X				13	12	17	13	12	67
CUNY Graduate Center	NY				X											
CUNY-Brooklyn College	NY	X	X		X		X				14	14	7	4	5	44
CUNY-City College	NY		X		X		X				6	6	3	1	1	17
CUNY-College of Staten Island	NY															
CUNY-Hunter College	NY		X		X	X	X				8	5	6	6	7	32
CUNY-Lehman College	NY	X	X		X		X				2	2	4	3	2	13
CUNY-Queens College	NY	X	X		X	X	X				7	2	5	3	3	20
Fordham University	NY	X	X		X	X	X				14	15	19	11	28	87
Hofstra University	NY						X									
Iona College	NY	X	X		X	X	X				0	0	4	4	1	9
Long Island University, Brooklyn Campus	NY				X											
Long Island University, C. W. Post Campus	NY	X	X		X	X	X				7	5	2	3	4	21
New School University	NY				X											
New York University	NY	X	X		X	X	X			X	40	22	20	21	19	122
Polytechnic University	NY							X								
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	NY								X							
Saint John's University	NY	X	X		X	X					7	10	8	13	3	41
Sarah Lawrence College	NY	X			X											
St. Bonaventure University	NY		X			X	X				4	3	2	1	3	13
SUNY at Albany	NY	X	X		X	X	X			X	37	32	32	27	26	154
SUNY at Binghamton	NY	X	X		X	X	X				20	17	8	13	10	68
SUNY at Buffalo	NY	X	X		X	X	X				15	12	20	13	8	68
SUNY at Stony Brook	NY	X	X		X	X	X		X		27	14	6	4	5	56
SUNY College at Brockport	NY	X	X		X	X	X				8	12	9	11	14	54
SUNY College at Buffalo	NY	X	X		X		X				2	3	0	4	2	11
SUNY College at Cortland	NY	X	X		X	X	X				11	10	6	3	7	37
SUNY College at Fredonia	NY	X					X									
SUNY College at Oneonta/	NY	X	X				X				1	0	2	0	0	3
SUNY College at Oswego	NY	X	X		X	X					0	0	1	4	4	9
SUNY College at Plattsburgh	NY		X								0	0	0	1	0	1
Syracuse University	NY	X	X		X	X	X				5	3	3	5	2	18
University of Rochester	NY	X	X		X	X	X				1	1	6	2	2	12
Bowling Green State University	OH	X	X	X	X	X	X				8	10	9	8	7	42
Case Western Reserve University	OH	X	X		X	X	X		X		3	4	5	8	4	24
Cleveland State University	OH	X	X		X	X	X				13	15	21	20	15	84
John Carroll University	OH	X	X		X	X	X				4	5	5	2	1	17
Kent State University	OH	X	X		X	X	X			X	16	15	8	14	10	63
Miami University	OH	X	X		X	X	X				7	8	3	1	4	23
Ohio State University	OH	X	X		X	X	X				25	36	29	20	15	125
Ohio University	OH	X	X		X	X	X				8	8	8	11	5	40
University of Akron	OH	X	X		X	X	X				9	12	3	7	1	32
University of Cincinnati	OH	X	X		X	X	X				14	17	21	15	14	81
University of Dayton	OH						X									
University of Toledo	OH	X	X		X	X	X			X	9	6	11	8	9	43
Wright State University	OH	X	X		X	X	X			X	11	16	19	18	4	68
Xavier University	OH		X	X		X	X				3	4	8	7	2	24
Youngstown State University	OH	X	X	X	X	X	X				8	8	9	12	15	52
Northeastern State University	OK							X								
Oklahoma State University	OK	X	X		X	X	X			X	6	6	5	12	6	35
Southeastern Oklahoma State University	OK						X									
University of Central Oklahoma	OK	X	X		X	X	X				16	9	10	17	12	64
University of Oklahoma	OK	X	X		X	X	X		X		14	7	16	5	4	46
University of Tulsa	OK	X	X		X	X	X				2	4	6	4	3	19

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Oregon State University	OR	X						X	X							
Portland State University	OR	X	X		X	X	X				17	10	12	11	7	57
University of Oregon	OR	X	X		X	X	X				8	13	12	4	9	46
University of Portland	OR						X									
Arcadia University	PA	X														
California University of Pennsylvania	PA						X									
Carnegie Mellon University	PA	X	X		X	X	X			X	11	4	2	7	4	28
Drexel University	PA	X							X							
Duquesne University	PA	X	X		X	X	X			X	17	13	16	15	18	79
East Stroudsburg University	PA		X		X		X				10	13	8	8	7	46
Edinboro University of Pennsylvania	PA	X														
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	PA	X	X		X		X				8	12	9	7	2	38
Kutztown University of Pennsylvania	PA	X					X									
Lehigh University	PA	X	X		X	X	X		X		7	1	3	6	2	19
Lincoln University	PA				X											
Millersville University	PA	X	X		X	X	X				1	4	1	9	5	20
Penn State University-University Park	PA	X	X		X	X	X		X		14	9	7	6	2	38
Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania	PA	X	X		X	X	X				13	11	5	8	14	51
Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania	PA	X	X		X	X					7	5	0	2	4	18
Temple University	PA	X	X		X		X			X	23	15	15	11	7	71
University of Pennsylvania	PA	X	X		X	X	X		X		11	22	14	12	10	69
University of Pittsburgh, Main Campus	PA	X	X		X	X	X				12	3	9	9	10	43
University of Scranton	PA	X	X		X	X	X				10	9	8	14	5	46
Villanova University	PA	X	X		X		X				20	17	14	26	30	107
West Chester University of Pennsylvania	PA	X	X		X		X				7	4	12	11	12	46
Westminster College	PA	X														
Wilkes University	PA	X					X									
Brown University	RI	X	X		X		X		X		18	14	24	13	9	78
Providence College	RI	X	X		X	X	X				15	12	22	31	19	99
Rhode Island College	RI	X	X	X	X	X	X				2	2	0	1	5	10
University of Rhode Island	RI	X	X		X		X				2	4	3	2	1	12
Bob Jones University	SC							X								
The Citadel	SC	X	X	X	X	X					2	7	2	6	1	18
Clemson University	SC	X	X		X	X	X				5	15	5	8	3	36
Coastal Carolina University	SC	X														
College of Charleston	SC	X	X			X	X				6	4	6	5	6	27
University of South Carolina-Columbia	SC	X	X		X	X	X			X	21	28	9	19	18	95
Winthrop University	SC	X	X		X		X				2	4	6	6	1	19
Augustana College	SD						X									
University of South Dakota	SD	X	X		X	X	X				10	7	3	7	6	33
Austin Peay State University	TN						X									
East Tennessee State University	TN	X	X		X		X				12	8	8	12	4	44
Middle Tennessee State University	TN	X	X		X	X	X			X	10	12	9	10	17	58
University of Memphis	TN	X	X		X	X	X				12	11	18	22	10	73
University of Tennessee-Knoxville	TN	X	X		X	X	X				8	6	9	11	3	37
Vanderbilt University	TN	X	X		X	X	X		X		10	10	5	4	4	33
Abilene Christian University	TX		X		X	X	X				0	0	2	2	0	4
Angelo State University	TX		X		X	X	X				0	0	0	1	3	4
Baylor University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				5	4	7	7	3	26
Hardin-Simmons University	TX		X		X	X	X				2	0	4	3	1	10
Lamar University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				4	1	0	2	4	11
Midwestern State University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				1	5	3	4	4	17
Prairie View A&M University	TX		X				X				0	1	0	0	0	1
Rice University	TX	X	X		X		X				6	4	5	7	4	26
Sam Houston State University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				16	6	3	11	6	42
Southern Methodist University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				5	1	4	5	5	20
Southwest Texas State University	TX	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	10	6	6	10	17	49
St. Mary's University	TX		X		X		X				4	1	3	2	0	10
Stephen F. Austin State University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				3	4	7	6	9	29
Sul Ross State University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				3	1	3	4	1	12
Tarleton State University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				4	0	8	5	3	20
Texas A&M International University	TX					X	X									
Texas A&M University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				6	4	6	9	8	33
Texas A&M University-Commerce	TX	X	X		X		X				3	5	5	3	5	21

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Institutions		Census Sources (see notes)									Master's Degrees Awarded					
Name	State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	5-yr Total
Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi	TX	X														
Texas A&M University-Kingsville	TX				X	X	X									
Texas Christian University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				7	7	0	3	3	20
Texas Southern University	TX	X	X		X		X				1	2	3	3	4	13
Texas Tech University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				7	10	3	13	2	35
Texas Woman's University	TX	X	X		X	X	X				0	2	3	1	4	10
University of Houston-Clear Lake	TX	X	X		X	X	X				11	12	6	7	2	38
University of Houston-University Park	TX	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	10	12	11	13	11	57
University of North Texas	TX	X	X		X	X	X				13	17	9	9	10	58
University of Texas at Arlington	TX	X	X		X	X	X			X	10	17	13	13	7	60
University of Texas at Austin	TX	X	X		X		X		X		21	24	19	19	14	97
University of Texas at El Paso	TX	X	X		X		X			X	9	5	14	2	9	39
University of Texas at San Antonio	TX	X	X		X	X	X				13	15	7	6	20	61
University of Texas at Tyler	TX	X	X		X	X	X				4	4	2	0	3	13
University of Texas of the Permian Basin	TX		X		X		X				5	5	10	3	1	24
University of Texas-Pan American	TX	X	X		X		X				1	1	1	4	1	8
West Texas A&M University	TX		X			X	X				3	2	4	5	4	18
Brigham Young University	UT	X	X		X	X	X				6	3	8	2	5	24
University of Utah	UT	X	X		X	X	X				8	3	7	3	3	24
Utah State University	UT	X	X		X	X	X				10	15	7	5	13	50
Averett College	VA			X												
Christopher Newport University	VA	X			X											
College of William and Mary	VA	X	X		X	X	X				16	12	8	16	6	58
George Mason University	VA	X	X		X		X				37	48	44	33	35	197
James Madison University	VA	X	X		X	X	X			X	12	10	10	10	15	57
Old Dominion University	VA	X	X		X		X				7	9	9	11	15	51
University of Richmond	VA	X	X		X		X				8	11	7	5	4	35
University of Virginia	VA	X	X		X		X				38	26	17	22	18	121
Virginia Commonwealth University	VA	X	X		X		X				0	0	3	11	2	16
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State Univ.	VA	X	X		X		X		X		8	9	9	4	7	37
Virginia State University	VA		X		X	X	X				6	7	6	9	3	31
Bennington College	VT	X														
Goddard College	VT		X								0	0	0	0	1	1
Norwich University	VT		X								2	4	2	6	0	14
University of Vermont	VT	X	X		X	X	X				6	8	8	9	13	44
Central Washington University	WA	X	X		X	X	X				2	4	5	2	3	16
Eastern Washington University	WA	X	X		X	X	X				9	16	9	4	10	48
University of Washington	WA	X	X		X		X		X		16	8	16	15	11	66
University of Washington-Tacoma Campus	WA	X														
Washington State University	WA	X	X		X	X	X				8	11	10	11	9	49
Western Washington University	WA	X	X		X	X	X				8	10	7	15	8	48
Marquette University	WI	X	X		X	X	X				15	15	13	9	13	65
University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire	WI	X	X		X	X	X				4	9	4	1	1	19
University of Wisconsin-Madison	WI	X	X		X	X	X		X		36	32	33	35	24	160
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	WI	X	X		X	X	X			X	23	28	27	22	18	118
University of Wisconsin-River Falls	WI		X				X				5	6	2	7	4	24
University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point	WI	X			X	X	X									
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	WI		X								2	0	0	0	0	2
Marshall University	WV	X	X		X	X	X				8	9	8	9	5	39
West Virginia University	WV	X	X		X	X	X		X		11	5	7	12	4	39
University of Wyoming	WY	X	X		X	X	X				4	4	3	8	3	22

This is a count of institutions that offer at least one variety of the master's degree in history, and not of history departments as such, though there is significant overlap between the two groups. Master's degrees in *history education* go by a wide assortment of names: M.A., M.A.T., M.A.Ed., M.Ed., M.S., M.S.T., M.T.A., etc. These degrees are included on the list only when they are described as *history* degrees by the institutions that award them-for example, when history education programs are lodged in a history department rather than a school of education, or when an institution uses the Department of Education's Classification of Instructional Programs code 13.1328 ("History Teacher Education") to describe the degree, rather than CIP code 13.1318 ("Social Studies Teacher Education").

Appendix 1 (con't)

U.S. Colleges and Universities that Award Master's Degrees in History

Census Sources (keyed to the numbered columns in the table):

1= History departments/programs listed in the American Historical Association's *Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians, 2002–03* (Washington, D.C.: AHA, 2002) that describe themselves as offering any variety of master's degree.

2= Between AY 1995 and AY 2000, these institutions awarded at least one master's degree in any of the six main categories for history in the 1990 Classification of Instructional Programs developed by the U.S. Department of Education: "History, General" (45.0801), "American (United States) History" (45.0802), "European History" (45.0803), "History and Philosophy of Science and Technology" (45.0804), "Public/Applied History and Archival Administration" (45.0805), and "History, Other" (45.0899). This span encompasses the five most recent years of detailed data from the IPEDS Completions survey conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics, retrieved via the National Science Foundation's WebCASPAR system on July 23, 2003. The total number of master's degrees awarded in these categories by each institution is presented in the right-hand columns of the table.

3= Institutions that awarded at least one master's degree in "History Teacher Education" (Classification of Instructional Programs code 13.1328) between AY 1997 and AY 2000. This span encompasses the three most recent years of data from the IPEDS Completions survey, retrieved via the National Science Foundation's WebCASPAR system on July 23, 2003.

4= Institutions listed as offering a history master's degree in *Peterson's Graduate and Professional Programs*, 37th ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 2003), vol. 2: *Graduate and Professional Programs in the Humanities, Arts & Social Sciences*.

5= Institutions listed as offering a history master's degree in the Educational Testing Service *Directory of Graduate Programs*, 17th ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1999), vol. D: *Directory of Graduate Programs in Arts & Humanities and Other Fields*. Based on an independent survey of all accredited institutions of higher education in the United States and Canada.

6= Institutions listed as offering a master's degrees in "History" or "Historical Studies" in the College Blue Book, 29th ed. (New York: MacMillan Reference, 2002), vol. 3: *Degrees Offered by College and Subject*.

7= Institutions listed by the *College Blue Book*, vol. 3, as offering a master's degrees in one or more of the following subjects, but not offering a master's degree in history as such: American Studies, Historic Preservation, History and Philosophy of Science, History Education, Museum Studies, and/or Women's Studies.

8= Institutions with graduate programs in the history of science that offer a distinct master's degree, according to the History of Science Society's online guide to graduate programs, <**http://www.hssonline.org/guide/search.lasso?tInstitution Type=Graduate+Program& tCountry=United+States**>, accessed on July 21, 2003.

9= Institutions that offer a master's degree in public history or a master's degree in history with a minor or concentration in public history, according to the National Council on Public History's *Guide to Graduate Programs in Public History* (Indianapolis: NCPH, 2002).

Appendix 2

Survey Distributed to Graduate Students in Spring 2003

Dear Colleague:

As you may know, the American Historical Association recently launched a major investigation of the master's degree for historians. This comes on the heels of a related study of doctoral training. It is the first time in decades that the AHA has examined the master's degree in any detail. We know that four times as many master's degrees as Ph.D.'s are awarded each year—but beyond that we know surprisingly little about this important degree, or even about the students who are pursuing their master's degrees.

In the months ahead, the AHA's Committee on the Master's Degree will be looking at five broad issues: the definition and function(s) of a master's degree in history; the intellectual content and standards of mastery appropriate to the degree; the occupational opportunities provided by a history M.A., especially for bringing new (or under-represented) groups into the profession; the role of master's degree programs in promoting interdisciplinary studies; and the role and function of the master's in preparing history teachers. At the conclusion of the project, a report to the historical profession will summarize the data collected, present a typology of master's degree programs, and offer some preliminary guidelines for the content of a master's degree in history. For more details, please visit the AHA website at **http://www.theaha.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0302/0302aha1.cfm**.

Below is a series of questions about the experience of graduate students in master's degree programs. Some of the questions address intellectual issues in the discipline of history; others address social and/or economic matters. All responses to this query will be STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL (only the chair of the AHA's Committee on the Master's Degree and its research director will see the raw responses). It would be a great help, therefore, if you can provide the demographic information requested in part I. This will allow us to draw more general conclusions from your individual comments. We deeply appreciate your counsel and your candor.

Please respond by MAY 21, 2003, whether by e-mail, surface mail, or fax. And please feel free to contact me directly if you have any questions or concerns about this survey or about any other aspect of the AHA's investigation.

Thank you,

Philip M. Katz
Research Director,
AHA Committee on the Master's Degree

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Note: ALL of these questions are optional, but we are especially interested in collecting the starred (*) information.

1. Sex: __female, __male
2. Race: __African American, __Asian/Pacific American, __Caucasian, __Latino/Latina, __Native American, __Other
3. Age (check one): __21-25, __26-30, __31-35, __36-40, __41-50, __51-60, __over 60
4. Graduate institution:
5. How many years have you been in the master's program?

*6. Are you enrolled __part-time or __full-time?

*7a. What is the specific title of the master's degree you are pursuing (e.g., Master of Arts, Master of Arts in Teaching, Master of Education, Master of Science, etc.)?

*7b. Are you concentrating on a specific geographic area, subject, and/or historicaltheme for this degree? If so, what?

*8a. Where did you earn your bachelor's degree?

*8b. In what subject did you earn your bachelor's degree?

*9. What are your career goals after completing this master's degree? (check ALL that apply):

__advancement in my current career
__switching to a new career
__ pursuing this master's degree for personal enrichment, as an avocation, or for some other reason that does not include professional development
__pursuing a Ph.D. in history
__pursuing an advanced degree in a field OTHER than history
__faculty member at a four-year college or university
__faculty member at a community or junior college
__public historian
__working at a museum/historic site
__archivist or librarian
__historic preservation officer
__historical consultant
__school teacher at the grades K–6 level
__school teacher at the grades 7–12 level
__school administrator
__writing, publishing, and other media production
__work in the public sector (but not primarily as a historian)
__work in the non-profit sector (but not primarily as a historian)
__work in the private/business sector (but not primarily as a historian)
__undecided
__other (please list)

II. QUESTIONS:

1). Why did you choose to attend this particular institution for a master's degree in history? Please check all that apply but also indicate the MOST important factor:

__reputation of the school
__reputation of the history department or a specific faculty member
__geographic location
__low tuition
__availability of financial aid or other support
__convenient course scheduling
__a specific program or course offered by the history department (if so, please list)
__it was my undergraduate institution
__the recommendation of my undergraduate advisor(s)
__the recommendation of my family and/or friends
__the recommendation of my employer and/or someone working in the field.
__the recommendation of a printed or electronic guide to graduate programs (if so, please identify the guide)
__information on the institution's or the history department's website
__other (please list)

2). Have you pursued graduate work in any other discipline? Or did you consider pursuing graduate work in any other discipline before starting this degree program? If so, what made you choose to pursue the master's degree in history?

3). Did you have a clear idea of the subject content, requirements, and expectations of a master's degree in history BEFORE you began this graduate program? If so, have your original views been confirmed? If not, do you NOW have a clear idea?

4). Do you feel that the subject content, requirements, and expectations for a master's degree in history were faithfully represented to you as you decided whether or not to attend this institution?

5). Does your history department also offer a doctorate in history? Does it offer more than one "track" for the master's degree (e.g., a specialized degree in public history or teaching)? If so, are students in the different programs treated differently in any way?

6). Are you satisfied with the range and content of the courses offered to graduate students in your department? What changes, if any, would you like to see in the coursework?

7). Does your master's program require a thesis? If not, what other final project is required (e.g., a comprehensive exam)? Do you feel that the rationale for the final project has been adequately explained to you?

8). Would you say that your department provides a broad or a narrow training in history? Are you encouraged to think about history as a large discipline, encompassing many different fields and approaches? Are you encouraged to pursue interdisciplinary courses or research projects?

9). How would you describe the graduate student community in your history department? Is it friendly or unwelcoming? What does the department do (or fail to do) to encourage community among master's degree students?

10). Do master's students play a substantive role in the governance of your department? Are they involved in the graduate program decisions that directly affect them?

11). Does your department provide any financial aid to master's degree students? What other kind(s) of resources does your department make available to its master's students (e.g., research funds, support for language training, office space, computer access, etc.)? Are there additional resources you would like to see the department offer?

12). What kind(s) of paid work, if any, have you done for your department (e.g., as a research assistant or teaching assistant)? Were you satisfied with the workload, the pay, and/or the conditions of employment? Was your experience typical of other master's degree students in the department?

13). In section I, we asked you to indicate your career goal(s) after completing this master's degree in history. Do you feel that your department is preparing you adequately for your chosen career goal(s)? Does the department provide master's students with any special training or information in these areas of professional development? Do some of the potential career paths for historians receive more attention and/or respect from your department than others?

14). In your view, what skills, knowledge, etc., make someone into a "professional historian"? Is your master's program providing you with these things?

15). What is the most important thing you have learned about the discipline of history so far in this master's program?

16). What is really good about your master's degree program—in particular, what would you like to see other history departments emulate in their own master's programs?

17). What is/are the most significant challenge(s) facing the master's degree program in your history department?

18). Are there any other issues related to graduate education, at your institution or across the discipline of history, that you would like to see the AHA's Committee on the Master's Degree to explore?

19). What do you think the American Historical Association, as a professional organization, can do to improve graduate education for students at the master's degree level?

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR OBSERVATIONS

Appendix 3

Essential Competencies for National Park Service Employees: Historians (Developmental Level)[1]

***Description*:** Historians who satisfy the competencies at the Developmental Level hold the knowledge and skill usually conferred by a Master's Degree in American History, American studies, American civilization, or architectural history, and also the proficiency in historic preservation equivalent to a Master's Degree in historic preservation or public history with a specialization in preservation or cultural resource management. . . . [At this level,] historians easily conduct research in primary and secondary sources, know how to evaluate and interpret a variety of source material, and can synthesize information from these sources into coherent historical arguments. They can study cultural resources and discern their important physical and associative characteristics. At this level, historians participate in the planning and development, as well as implementation, of a variety of interdisciplinary cultural resource projects. They also have begun to participate in the ongoing dialogue of the larger professional fields of history and historic preservation. . . .

Competencies:

I. Professional Discipline

- ❖ Provides information and knowledge about American history.
- ❖ Broad knowledge of American history, architectural history, or landscape history with detailed knowledge on a specific topic.
- ❖ Working knowledge of the theories, principles, practices, and techniques of the historical method (see **Research and Survey**).
- ❖ Knowledge of historical discussion and debate on topics of expertise.
- ❖ Ability to identify and maintain professional contacts with colleagues within the history profession, including memberships in historical organizations and attendance at conferences.

II. Preservation Law, Philosophy, and Practice

- ❖ Provides information and knowledge on the identification, evaluation, documentation, registration, treatment, and management of cultural resources.
- ❖ Knowledge of the origins and development of the historic preservation movement and of historic preservation theory, philosophy, and practice, including a working knowledge of the laws, regulations, standards, and NPS policies and guidelines …
- ❖ Ability to design and conduct activities and create products that reflect sound preservation principles and practices.

III. Research and Survey

- ❖ Conducts and/or reviews historical research and cultural resource surveys.
- ❖ Ability to determine the need for research and/or survey, and to outline a scope and objectives of the study.

- ❖ Strong working knowledge of research techniques and methodologies and the ability to apply them, such as:
  1. Ability to identify and gather primary and secondary source materials in libraries, archives, National Park Service record holdings, and other facilities;
  2. Ability to evaluate critically historical evidence and to place research and survey findings into a larger context;
  3. Ability to draw conclusions of fact from historical evidence. …
  4. Ability to write analytical histories on one or more simple or complex topics.
  5. Ability to evaluate critically historical research, planning documents and proposals, and other documents. …

IV. Program and Project Management

- ❖ Completes a variety of preservation projects and activities.
- ❖ Working knowledge of related disciplines involved in cultural resource activities, such as art and architecture, landscape architecture, archeology, collections management, and interpretation.
- ❖ Ability to participate in the development and implementation of a variety of interdisciplinary cultural resource research, planning, technical assistance, and reporting projects. …

V. Writing and Communication

- ❖ Presents information on historical and preservation topics, issues, and programs in oral and written form to NPS managers, colleagues, other professionals, and the public.
- ❖ Ability to prepare and deliver effective talks and papers on historical topics and preservation issues.
- ❖ Ability to draft policy letters, reports, and briefing papers; write informational articles; and complete other written assignments.

VI. Training

- ❖ Presents standardized training on historical topics and on preservation history, law, regulation, policies, guidelines, and practices.
- ❖ Ability to organize, coordinate, and/or direct the logistical aspects of training courses or conferences.
- ❖ Ability to develop effective goals, learner-centered objectives, agendas, presentations, activities, and participant evaluations for training events.
- ❖ Ability to use a variety of teaching techniques, as appropriate, including lectures, open or directed discussions, question/answer sessions, media presentations, individual and group exercises, and field studies.

Appendix 4

Sample Outcome Statements from History Master's Degree Programs

The formal outcome statements that are printed in graduate catalogues and appear on history department websites do not necessarily reflect the actual goals or accomplishments of any given graduate program. Given the banal content of many outcome and mission statements—which are written, it appears, to satisfy the demands of administrators, accreditors, and other external observers— this is probably a good thing. At their best, however, outcome statements are the product of frank self-appraisal; they serve as guides for departmental planning; they help potential students to be well-informed consumers when choosing a graduate program; and they give current students (and their teachers) a yardstick for measuring academic and personal progress.

To be sure, many history departments do provide informative, constructive outcome statements for their master's programs. The best tend to come from departments that do not have doctoral programs as well. Here we offer three examples, without endorsing the particular content of any of them. We urge every history department to produce and disseminate an honest and practicable outcome statement that reflects its own institutional and departmental priorities, its own resources, and the interests of its own faculty and (potential) graduate students:

Illinois State University[1]

History M.A. and M.S. Objectives: The main object of these programs is to advance students' knowledge and understanding of the essentials of historical study beyond what they achieved at the undergraduate level. These programs include three core elements – the development of students' general methodological and philosophical knowledge; their instruction in the skills necessary for historical research, composition, and presentation; and, the study of specific periods and places.

The specific objectives of these programs are to assist students to:

- Develop understanding of the philosophy of historical study.
- Develop knowledge of historiography, including major themes and narratives in history.
- Develop multidisciplinary knowledge of research methods in history and the social sciences.
- Develop knowledge at an advanced level of diverse periods, peoples, and societies.
- Demonstrate the ability to apply their knowledge in examinations, research papers and presentations and, as appropriate to the program option, in thesis form.

State University of West Georgia[2]

The M.A. in History at West Georgia has for its primary purpose the development of a more sophisticated understanding of the discipline of history for the post-baccalaureate student accepted into our master's program.

Students completing the Master of Arts Degree in History, through the completion of the thesis or non-thesis program will:

- ❖ demonstrate the ability to undertake advanced historical research;
- ❖ show basic familiarity with historical literature in major and minor fields of study;
- ❖ demonstrate an understanding of historiography and its permutations over time;
- ❖ be able to identify and describe career options in the field of history;
- ❖ demonstrate a knowledge of the theory and ethics of public history [for Public History concentration];
- ❖ demonstrate knowledge of the standards and practices for at least two fields in public history [for Public History concentration];
- ❖ Apply practical skills in at least two fields of public history [for Public History concentration].

Washington College (Maryland)[3]

The master of arts program with concentration in history offers advanced training in American and European history, with elective courses available in other social science fields. Courses are structured with special emphasis on those aspects of the subject likely to be useful to teachers of history and social studies in pre-college level institutions. The major has among its aims: (1) to supplement the student's basic stock of factual and bibliographical data; (2) to bring the student abreast of the findings of recent scholarly work; (3) to encourage, by example, effective methods of dealing with controversy in historical interpretation; (4) to strengthen the student's skills in the use of primary materials as sources for reconstruction of the past; and (5) to demonstrate the usefulness of acquiring basic competence in other social science disciplines for broadening the scope and enhancing the sophistication of historical understanding.

Appendix 5

Defining a Distinctive Role for the Master's Degree: Recent European Efforts

A. Dublin Descriptors

These descriptors were drafted by members of the Joint Quality Initiative task force of the European University Association, 2003–4.[1]

Bachelor's degrees are awarded to students who:

- ❖ have demonstrated knowledge and understanding in a field of study that builds upon and supersedes their general secondary education, and is typically at a level that, whilst supported by advanced textbooks, includes some aspects that will be informed by knowledge of the forefront of their field of study;
- ❖ can apply their knowledge and understanding in a manner that indicates a professional approach to their work or vocation, and have competences typically demonstrated through devising and sustaining arguments and solving problems within their field of study;
- ❖ have the ability to gather and interpret relevant data (usually within their field of study) to inform judgments that include reflection on relevant social, scientific or ethical issues;
- ❖ can communicate information, ideas, problems and solutions to both specialist and non-specialist audiences;
- ❖ have developed those learning skills that are necessary for them to continue to undertake further study with a high degree of autonomy.

Master's degrees are awarded to students who:

- ❖ have demonstrated knowledge and understanding that is founded upon and extends and/or enhances that typically associated with Bachelor's level, and that provides a basis or opportunity for originality in developing and/or applying ideas, often within a research context;
- ❖ can apply their knowledge and understanding, and problem solving abilities in new or unfamiliar environments within broader (or multidisciplinary) contexts related to their field of study;
- ❖ have the ability to integrate knowledge and handle complexity, and formulate judgments with incomplete or limited information, but that include reflecting on social and ethical responsibilities linked to the application of their knowledge and judgments;
- ❖ can communicate their conclusions, and the knowledge and rationale underpinning these, to specialist and non-specialist audiences clearly and unambiguously;
- ❖ have the learning skills to allow them to continue to study in a manner that may be largely self-directed or autonomous.

Doctoral degrees are awarded to students who:

- ❖ have demonstrated a systematic understanding of a field of study and mastery of the skills and methods of research associated with that field;
- ❖ have demonstrated the ability to conceive, design, implement and adapt asubstantial process of research with scholarly integrity;
- ❖ have made a contribution through original research that extends the frontier of knowledge by developing a substantial body of work, some of which merits national or international refereed publication;
- ❖ are capable of critical analysis, evaluation and synthesis of new and complex ideas;
- ❖ can communicate with their peers, the larger scholarly community and with society in general about their areas of expertise;
- ❖ can be expected to be able to promote, within academic and professiona contexts, technological, social or cultural advancement in a knowledge based society.

B. Common Reference Points for History Curricula and Courses

These achievement standards and competenc(i)es for history students at various levels were proposed by the History Subject Area Group of the European Union's Tuning Educational Structures in Europe project (2003).[2]

Proposed Formulation in general terms of the level of achievement which should be reached by History Students completing each level of History studies.

Type of studies	Description of achievement
History for first cycle history degrees [i.e., undergraduate history majors]	[T]he student at the end of a first level History degree should: … 1. Possess general knowledge and orientation with respect to the methodologies, tools and issues of all the broad chronological divisions in which history is normally divided, from ancient to recent times. 2. Have specific knowledge of at least one of the above periods or of a diachronic theme. 3. Be aware of how historical interests, categories and problems change with the time and how historiographical debate is linked to political and cultural concern of each epoch. 4. Have shown his/her ability to complete and present in oral and written form—according to the statute of the discipline—a medium length piece of research which demonstrates the ability to retrieve bibliographical information and primary sources and use them to address a historiographical problem.

Type of studies	Description of achievement
History for a second Cycle History Degree [i.e., master's degree in history]	A student completing a second cycle degree in History should have acquired to a reasonable degree the subject specific qualities, skills and competences listed below. He/she will have built further on the levels reached at the first cycle so as to: 1. Have specific, ample, detailed and up-to-date knowledge of at least one great chronological division of history, including different methodological approaches and historiographical orientations relating to it. 2. Have acquired familiarity with comparative methods, spatial, chronological and thematic, of approaching historiographical research. 3. Have shown the ability to plan, carry out, present in oral and written form—according to the statute of the discipline—a research-based contribution to historiographical knowledge, bearing on a significant problem.

List of Subject Specific Skills and Competences
[Note: this list was used to frame the discussion that produced the achievement standards listed above]

1. A critical awareness of the relationship between current events and processes and the past.
2. Awareness of the differences in historiographical outlooks in various periods and contexts.
3. Awareness of and respect for points of view deriving from other national or cultural backgrounds.
4. Awareness of the on-going nature of historical research and debate.
5. Knowledge of the general diachronic framework of the past.
6. Awareness of the issues and themes of present day historiographical debate.
7. Detailed knowledge of one or more specific periods of the human past.
8. Ability to communicate orally in one's own language using the terminology and techniques accepted in the historiographical profession.
9. Ability to communicate orally in foreign languages using the terminology and techniques accepted in the historiographical profession.
10. Ability to read historiographical texts or original documents in one's own language; to summarize or transcribe and catalogue information as appropriate.

11. Ability to read historiographical texts or original documents in other languages; to summarize or transcribe and catalogue information as appropriate.
12. Ability to write in one's own language using correctly the various types of historiographical writing.
13. Ability to write in other languages using correctly the various types of historiographical writing.
14. Knowledge of and ability to use information retrieval tools, such as bibliographical repertoires, archival inventories, e-references.
15. Knowledge of and ability to use the specific tools necessary to study documents of particular periods (e.g. paleography, epigraphy).
16. Ability to use computer and internet resources and techniques elaborating historical or related data (using statistical, cartographic methods, or creating databases, etc.).
17. Knowledge of ancient languages.
18. Knowledge of local history.
19. Knowledge of one's own national history.
20. Knowledge of European history in a comparative perspective.
21. Knowledge of the history of European integration.
22. Knowledge of world history.
23. Awareness of and ability to use tools of other human sciences (e.g., literary criticism, and history of language, art history, archaeology, anthropology, law, sociology, philosophy, etc.).
24. Awareness of methods and issues of different branches of historical research (economic, social, political, gender related, etc.).
25. Ability to define research topics suitable to contribute to historiographical knowledge and debate.
26. Ability to identify and utilize appropriately sources of information (bibliography, documents, oral testimony etc.) for research project.
27. Ability to organize complex historical information in coherent form.
28. Ability to give narrative form to research results according to the canon of the discipline.
29. Ability to comment, annotate or edit texts and documents correctly according to the critical canons of the discipline.
30. Knowledge of didactics of history [i.e., subject-specific pedagogy for history].
31. Other.

Notes

I. A (Very) Brief History of the Master's Degree

1. Philip L. Harriman, "The Master's Degree," *Journal of Higher Education* 9:1 (January 1938): 23–28; Richard J. Storr, *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); Patricia J. Gumport, "Graduate Education and Organized Research on the United States," in *The Research Foundations of Graduate Education,* ed. Burton R. Clark (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 225–60.

2. Robert J. Barak, "A Skeleton in the Closet," in *The Master's Degree: Jack of All Trades,* ed. Joslyn L. Green (Denver: SHEEO Association, 1987), 32. Barak goes on to quip that "Since the early years, … only the length of time required for the degree (now less) and the cost of the degree (now more) have changed."

3. Ephraim Emerton, "The Requirements for the Historical Doctorate in America," *Annual Report of the AHA for the Year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 79.

4. John L. Snell, "The Master's Degree," in *Graduate Education Today,* ed. Everett Walters (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1965), 86, 88–89. Also see Dexter Perkins, John L. Snell et al., *The Education of Historians in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 87–107.

5. For more details about this survey, see Philip M. Katz, "CGE's E-mail Survey Focuses on Challenges in Graduate Education," *Perspectives* 39:4 (April 2001): 11–15.

6. Clifton F. Conrad and David J. Eagan, "Master's Degree Programs in American Higher Education," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* 6, ed. John C. Smart (1990), 107.

7. Among many other examples, see Alison Schneider, "Master's Degrees, Once Scorned, Attract Students and Generate Revenue," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 21, 1999, A12; Rosemary Lowe Hays-Thomas, "The silent conversation: Talking about the master's degree," *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 31:3 (June 2000): 339–45; Michael J. Giordano, "Revaluing the Master's Degree," *PMLA* 115:5 (October 2000): 1271–73; and Moheb A. Ghali, "Return of the Masters," *CGS Communicator* 35:7 (August–September 2002): 3–4, 6, 10.

8. Scott Smallwood, "Graduate studies in science expand beyond the Ph.D.," *Chronicle of Higher Education,* April 6, 2001, A14–15; Council of Graduate Schools, "Professional Master's Program in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Request for Proposal," July 28, 2003, at **http://www.cgsnet.org/pdf/PSSHM_RFP.pdf**, accessed on October 25, 2004. On the mixed results of this effort so far, see Yudhijit Bhattacharjee, "Poor job market blunts impact of new master's programs," *Science* 5634 (August 8, 2003): 752, and Judith Glazer-Raymo, "Trajectories for Professional Master's Education," *CGS Communicator* 37:2 (March 2004): 1–2, 5.

9. Burton Bollag, "European Higher Education Seeks a Common Currency," *Chronicle of Higher Education,* September 26, 2003, A52. Wolf Wagner, "The Bachelor's and the Master's Degrees: Higher Education Policy Under Wrong Assumptions," *European Education* 34:1 (spring 2002): 88–92, offers a critique of the degree structure in the United States, which has served as a model for many of the proposed European reforms.

10. Sally L. Casanova et al., "The Master's Degree, the Comprehensive University, and the National Interest," *CGS Communicator* 25:3–5 (March–May 1992): 1–5; Carol Olson and Milton A. King, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Decision Process of Graduate Students in College Choice," *College and University* 60:4 (summer 1985): 308.

11. David L. Angus with Jeffrey Mirel, *Professionalism and the Public Good: A Brief History of Teacher Certification* (Washington, D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, 2001) is a useful introduction to the debates over certification, despite the authors' neoconservative animus against the schools of education. For one recent effort to reinvigorate the master's degree for teachers, see Peggy J. Blackwell and Mary Diez, *Toward a New Vision of Master's Education for Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 1998). Education researchers are deeply divided on the question of whether having a master's degree, in either an academic subject or in education, actually improves teaching and learning in the classroom; all they *can* agree upon is that the research is sketchy. See Dan Goldhaber, "The Mystery of Good Teaching," *Education Next* 2:1 (spring 2002): 50–55, which should be balanced (politically and methodologically) by Linda Darling-Hammond and Gary Sykes, "Wanted: A national teacher supply policy for education: The right way to meet the 'Highly Qualified Teacher' challenge," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 11:33 (September 17, 2003).

12. A precocious example can be found in "The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Chicago," *American Historical Review* 10:3 (April 1905): 498–501.

13. Peter T. Knight, ed., *Masterclass: Learning, Teaching, and Curriculum in Taught Master's Degrees* (London: Cassell, 1997), 3.

14. Carol Everly Floyd, "Balancing State and Institutional Interests to Enhance Master's Degree Programs," *Planning for Higher Education* 26:3 (spring 1998): 56–59; Kay J. Kohl and Jules B. LaPidus, "Postbaccalaureate Futures: Where Do We Go from Here?" in *Postbaccalaureate Futures: New Markets, Resources, Credentials,* ed. Kohl and LaPidus (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education/Oryx Press, 2000), 231–36.

II. The History Master's Degree: A Snapshot in Statistics

15. *Projection of Education Statistics to 2013* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 2003), 77; Laura G. Knapp et al., *Postsecondary Institutions in the United States: Fall 2002 and Degrees and Other Awards Conferred: 2001–02* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 2003), Table C.

16. *Digest of Education Statistics, 2002* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 2003), Tables 246 and 268; Knapp, *Postsecondary Institutions*, Tables C and 21; Daniel Golden, "Quick Studies: Colleges Ease Way for Teachers to Get Advanced Degrees," *Wall Street Journal* (September 22, 2003): A1. Golden's analysis was based on degrees received in academic year 2000–01; the next year saw a slight decline in the number of minority students earning master's degrees in education.

17. Robert B. Townsend, "History Takes a Tumble in Degrees Conferred: New Data Shows Field Lagging Behind," *Perspectives* 41:7 (October 2003): 14–15, 59.

18. Townsend, "History Takes a Tumble," 14–15; Townsend points out that there have been "notable improvements" in the status of the history B.A. since 1998, but the decline since the early 1990s has been even more notable.

19. See Table 6 and *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities: Summary Report 2001* (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 2002), Appendix Table A-3.

20. Debra Stewart, "The Changing Landscape of Master's Education: Implications for Penn State," address delivered at Penn State University, October 3, 2001, 2, at **http://forms.gradsch.psu.edu/workshops/pennstatetalk.pdf**, accessed on October 25, 2004. Also see Phaedra Brotherton, "Graduate degrees continue upward trend," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 18:11 (July 19, 2001): 45–49, and Peter Syverson, "The New American Graduate Student, Part II," *CGS Communicator* 35:5 (June 2002): 3, 7.

21. Page Melton, "What Does it Take to Get There?" *Black Issues in Higher Education* 20:10 (July 3, 2003): 30, quoting Peter Syverson from the Council of Graduate Schools.

22. Stephen Kulis, Heather Shaw, and Yinong Chong, "External Labor Markets and the Distribution of Black Scientists and Engineers in Academia," *Journal of Higher Education* 71:2 (March/April 2000): 211. They add that "[t]his seemingly modest goal will not be easily attained, however, given current trends in doctoral production..."

23. Also see Syverson, "New American Graduate Student," and Casanova et al., "The Master's Degree," 2.

24. A less optimistic scenario is that a continuing decline in the percentage of male students will eventually lead to the "feminization" of the historical profession, "which is frequently, if erroneously, assumed to signify a 'decline in status' … typically translat[ing] into lower salaries and prestige." If so, "the historical profession must challenge such false associations and, more positively, emphasize

the importance of the increased representation of previously (and still) underrepresented groups and their invigorating impact on the discipline." Thomas Bender, Philip M. Katz, and Colin Palmer, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 31–32.

25. Here and elsewhere, we rely upon the National Center for Education Statistics count of master's degrees awarded, which includes the degrees awarded in six subfields (as defined by the 1990 Classification of Instructional Programs): "History, General" (45.0801), "American (United States) History" (45.0802), "European History" (45.0803), "History and Philosophy of Science and Technology" (45.0804), "Public/Applied History and Archival Administration" (45.0805), and "History, Other" (45.0899). However, we believe that these numbers represent a significant *undercount*, because they do not include degrees in the history of science, history education (even when awarded through a history department), some varieties of public history (such as historic preservation), and degrees in cognate fields or interdisciplinary fields that may rely heavily upon historical methods and be taught by historians (area studies, ethnic studies, church history, and so on).

26. Perkins and Snell, *Education of Historians*, 86–87.

27. Perkins and Snell, *Education of Historians*, 87. Another snapshot of master's-level education for historians in the 1950s can be found in J. F. Wellemeyer Jr., "Survey of United States Historians, 1952, and a Forecast," *American Historical Review* 61:2 (January 1956): 339–52.

28. American Historical Association, *Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians, 2002–03* (Washington, D.C.: AHA, 2002); IPEDS Completions Survey for AY2000–01 (s.v. "History" and "History Teacher Education"), retrieved via the NSF WebCASPAR system on July 23, 2003; *Peterson's Graduate and Professional Programs*, vol. 2, *Graduate and Professional Programs in the Humanities, Arts & Social Sciences*, 37th ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 2003); Educational Testing Service, *Directory of Graduate Programs,* vol. D, *Directory of Graduate Programs in Arts & Humanities and Other Fields*, 17th ed. (Princeton, N.J.: ETS, 1999); *College Blue Book,* vol. 3, *Degrees Offered by College and Subject*, 29th ed. (New York: MacMillan Reference, 2002); History of Science Society web site at **http://www.hssonline.org/guide/search.lasso?tInstitutionType=Graduate+Program&tCountry=United+States**, accessed on July 21, 2003; National Council on Public History, *Guide to Graduate Programs in Public History* (Indianapolis: NCPH, 2002).

29. Casanova et al., "The Master's Degree," 1–5. On the intense localism of the market for public-school teachers (which affects both the selection of an undergraduate college and the location of a teacher's first job), see Donald Boyd et al., "The Draw of Home: How Teachers' Preferences for Proximity Disadvantage Urban Schools," *NBER Working Paper no. 9953* (Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2003).

30. The survey is described in more detail later in this report. Appendix 2 is a copy of the survey instrument.

31. Peter T. Knight, "Growth, Standards and Quality: The Case for Coursework Master's Degrees," *Quality in Higher Education* 3:3 (1997): 213.

32. See the Georgetown University history department's web site at **http://www.georgetown.edu/departments/history/graduate/description.html**, accessed on October 25, 2004. In fact, Georgetown awards about four Master of Arts degrees in history each year, according to the Department of Education.

III. Destinations and Desires

33. "Problems of the Master's Degree: Report of the Committee on the Master's Degree Presented to the Association of American Universities," *Journal of Higher Education* 7:5 (May 1936): 265.

34. Philip L. Harriman, "The Master's Degree," *The Journal of Higher Education* 9:1 (January 1938): 25–6. For the long persistence of this view, see Clifton Conrad, Jennifer Haworth, and Susan B. Millar, *A Silent Success: Master's Education in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 314–17.

35. Theodore S. Hamerow, *Reflections on History and Historians* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 94.

36. Harriman, "The Master's Degree," 23. Catharine R. Stimpson, dean of the graduate school at New York University, has offered a complementary argument about the desirability of more "general education for graduate education," which she sees as an antidote to the atomization inherent in most discipline-specific graduate training. Stimpson, "General Education for Graduate Education: A Theory Waiting for Practitioners," *Peer Review* 6:3 (spring 2004): 13–15.

37. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2002–03 Edition* (s.v. "Social Scientists, Other"), at **http://www.bls.gov/oco/ocos054.htm,** accessed on October 25, 2004.

38. From a 1995 thread on the H-Teach electronic discussion list, archived at **http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~teach/ threads/phD-cut.html**, accessed on October 25, 2004.

39. An earlier version of this section appeared as Philip M. Katz, "Another View of the Master's Degree: Institution-switching on the Way to a Ph.D.," *Perspectives* 42:1 (January 2004): 40–44.

40. Personal communication (e-mail) to Philip M. Katz, November 9, 2003. For a thoughtful analysis of the several reasons that students pursue a master's degree instead of a doctorate, see Tomme R. Actkinson, "Master's and Myth: Little-Known Information about a Popular Degree," *Eye on Psi Chi* 4:2 (winter 2000): 19–21, 23, 25, or at **http://www.psichi.org/pubs/articles/article_90.asp**, accessed on October 25, 2004.

41. One historian who earned his Ph.D. in the early 1970s described a typical encounter with the master's degree in decades past: "[I never] actually … obtained an M.A. There was an opportunity to do so once one completed the Ph.D. qualifying exam but it involved walking all the way across campus to file a form and pay an extra fee; I just figured I would wait to do it until I washed out of the program and needed a degree of some sort; since I never did, I ended up without the master's degree."

42. Personal communication from Lance Selfa at NORC to Philip M. Katz, July 29, 2003.

43. The figures provided in **Table 6** should be considered underestimates, because the analysis there does not account for non-responses on the survey or for students who earned their master's degrees from foreign institutions. If we only consider the new Ph.D.'s in history during the decade who were American citizens or permanent residents, then 85 percent earned a master's degree first (see **Table 7**, right-hand columns).

44. One study from 1990 suggests that black and Hispanic doctoral students are somewhat more likely than their white counterparts to have a master's degree in hand when they start a doctoral program. However, the analysis was based on a survey of students in a variety of fields at just four large public research universities. The data on historians from NORC, which is based on a small (and aggregated) sample, does not necessarily contradict this finding. See Michael T. Nettles, *Black, Hispanic, and White Doctoral Students: Before, During, and After Enrolling in Graduate School* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1990), 9.

45. These figures only include Ph.D. recipients who were U.S. citizens or permanent residents.

46. S. Vining Brown et al., *Research Agenda for the Graduate Record Examinations Board Minority Graduate Education Project: An Update* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1994), called for more "information on the pathways minority students take to and through graduate school to identify points at which large numbers of students may be lost. Are minorities who obtain doctorates more likely than White students to have … finished a master's degree before enrolling for a doctorate, and/or attended a master's only institution?" (46). The data on minority historians presented here offers a partial answer to their query, but more research is still needed.

47. The paucity of basic research in the area was confirmed by Anne J. MacLachlan, who heads an important research project on minority graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley; personal communication to Philip M. Katz, September 1, 2003.

48. Brotherton, "Graduate degrees continue upward trend," 46; Kulis et al., "External Labor Markets," quoted from the authors' abstract.

49. For a comparable discussion, see George H. Tucker and Lawrence V. Annis, "The Ideal Function of the Terminal Master's Degree Program for a Ph.D.-Pursuing Student," *Professional Psychologist* 12:3 (June 1981): 336–40.

50. Richard Hoffman (San Francisco State University), remarks at a "Forum on the Master's Degree in History," annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Seattle, January 7, 2005.

51. Craig McInnis et al., *The Master's Degree by Coursework: Growth, Diversity and Quality Assurance* (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1995), 70.

52. Leonard V. Koos, "Preparation for Community-College Teaching," *Journal of Higher Education* 21:6 (June 1950): 312. These paragraphs contain a very simplified account of the development of American community colleges; for a more sophisticated treatment that stresses both the diversity of community colleges and their continuous focus on preparing students for baccalaureate programs, see Steven Brint and Jerome Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

53. Edward A. Gallagher, "Jordan and Lange: The California Junior College's Role as Protector of Teaching," *Michigan Academician* 27 (1994): 3; Earl Seidman, *In the Words of the Faculty: Perspectives on Improving Teaching and Educational Quality in Community Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985), 251–66. The very real need to improve history graduate students' preparation as classroom teachers is addressed throughout Bender et al., *Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century*.

54. Koos, "Preparation for Community-College Teaching," 316.

55. Jenny L. Lee, "University Reference Group Identification among Community College Faculty," in Charles L. Outcault, ed., *Community College Faculty: Characteristics, Practices, and Challenges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 21–28.

56. For the shifting demographics of community college teaching, I have relied primarily on Lee, "University Reference Group Identification"; Tronie Rifkin, "Public Community College Faculty" (n.d.), an issue paper prepared for the American Association of Community Colleges, at **http://www.aacc.nche.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/ResourceCenter/Projects_Partnerships/Current/NewExpeditions/IssuePapers/Public_Community_College_Faculty.htm**, accessed on October 19, 2004; Kimberly Garcia, "Project Ph.D.: More Colleges Snagging Professors with Doctorates …," *Community College Week*, January 9, 2000; and Nadine I. Hata, ed., *Community College Historians in the United States* (Bloomington, Ind.: Organization of American Historians, 1999).

57. Rifkin, "Public Community College Faculty," n.p.; Lee, "University Reference Group Identification," 23.

58. Martin Finkelstein, "The Morphing of the American Academic Profession," *Liberal Education* 89:4 (fall 2003).

59. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations in this section are from public postings on the H-World electronic discussion list, archived at **http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lx&list=H-World&month=0310**, accessed on October 26, 2004.

60. The two web sites were **http://higheredjobs.com** and the online edition of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, **http://chronicle.com**. According to Howell, "Not all positions available were sampled. Major states like California, which often have local positions advertised only on by local advertising means, were visited to collect data from jobs not offered on the two national web sites. … However, it was not possible to visit all 50 states" (personal communication to Philip M. Katz, October 20, 2003). The data in this paragraph were kindly provided by Professor Howell and are reproduced with his permission, though he does not necessarily share in our conclusions.

61. Nadine I. Hata, "Perspectives on the Community College Job Market: What to Expect," in *Community College Historians*, ed. Hata, 56.

62. Kathleen Kennedy Manzo, "Community College Faculty," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 17:13 (August 17, 2003): 54; Illinois Board of Higher Education, *Opportunities for Leadership: Strategies for Improving Faculty Diversity in Illinois Higher Education* (April 2003), 12.

63. Hata, "Introduction," *Community College Historians*, 12. David Berry discussed the "coffin" of graduate curricula at a focus group of historians in New York City, May 13, 2003. Also see David S. Trask, "The Survey Course: The Specialty of the Community College Historian," in *Community College Historians*, ed. Hata, 43–48.

64. Diane Ravitch, "A Brief History of Teacher Professionalism," White House Conference on Preparing Tomorrow's Teachers, March 5, 2002, at **http://www.ed.gov/admins/tchrqual/learn/preparingteachersconference/ravitch.html**, accessed on October 25, 2004; Marilyn McMillen Seastrom et al., *Qualifications of the Public School Teacher Workforce: Prevalence of Out-of-Field Teaching, 1987–88 to 1999–2000* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 2002), 58.

65. Education reformer G. Stanley Hall chose history as his inaugural topic for a series of volumes on pedagogy "because, after much observation in the schoolrooms of many of the larger cities in the eastern part of our country, the editor, without having a hobby about its relative importance or being in any sense an expert in history, is convinced that no subject so widely taught is, on the whole, taught so poorly." G. Stanley Hall, "Introduction," *Methods of Teaching History*, 2nd ed. (1884; rept. Boston, 1902, as vol. 13 of *Heath's Pedagogical Library*), ix. For a longer historical view, see Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, "The Teaching of History," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 474–504, and Sam Wineburg, "Crazy for History," *Journal of American History* 90:4 (March 2004): 1401–14.

66. Michael Kirst and Andrea Venezia , "Bridging the Great Divide Between Secondary Schools and Postsecondary Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 83:1 (September 2001): 92.

67. Arnita Jones, "Reforming History Education in the United States," *Perspectives* 41:7 (October 2003): 7–8. Unfortunately, very little of the grant money has been used to develop new curricula for master's degree programs.

68. For an example of this in one state, see: Mike Bowler, "Teachers Fear Social Studies is Becoming History; State Tests Are Cutting Time for Subject, They Say," *Baltimore Sun*, May 6, 2003, 1B, and "History and Social Studies Education in Maryland: A Cause for Concern" (April 22, 2003), at **http://www.mdhc.org/documents/paper.pdf**, accessed on October 25, 2004.

69. Peter Stearns, "Building Bridges Between Historians and Educators," *Perspectives* 41:5 (May 2003): 37–40.

70. Frank B. Murray, "Accreditation Reform and the Preparation of Teachers for a New Century," Wingspread Conference on *New Teachers for a New Century,* Racine, Wisc. (November 17–19, 1999), at http://www.teac.org/literature/wingspread.pdf, accessed October 26, 2004. "Alternative certification" is a typical response to concerns about an inadequate supply of qualified teachers, as the history of the Master of Arts in Teaching demonstrates. In times of lesser concern about the nation's classrooms, degrees in education (at both the undergraduate and master's levels) have reasserted their role as the primary training ground for teachers. See R. Baird Shuman, "An MAT Program to Meet Future Needs," *Improving College and University Teaching* 29:1 (winter 1981): 9–11, and Richard J. Coley and Margaret E. Thorpe, *A Look at the MAT Model of Teacher Education and its Graduates: Lessons for Today* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1985).

71. See Robin R. Henke and Lisa Zahn, *Attrition of New Teachers Among Recent College Graduates: Comparing Occupational Stability among 1992–93 Graduates Who Taught and Those Who Worked in Other Occupations* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, 2001), iii, for a quick review of the literature on retirements and attrition among elementary and secondary teachers.

72. Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 2, 24, 34, and passim; for a more detailed look at recent trends in certifying *history* teachers, see "The Education and Certification of History Teachers: Trends, Problems, and Recommendations," *ERIC Digest* (ED422267), August 1998.

73. From a posting on the H-Teach electronic discussion list, October 4, 2003, archived at **http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lx&list=H-Teach&user=&pw=&month=0310**, accessed on October 25, 2004.

74. Daniel Golden, "Quick Studies," A1. Also see National Education Association, *Status of the American Public School Teacher, 2000–2001* (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 2003), 78–79.

75. William V. Mayville, *A Matter of Degree: The Setting for Contemporary Master's Programs* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1972), 3–4.

76. See Sarah Drake Brown and John J. Patrick, "History Education in the United States: A Survey of Teacher Certification and State-Based Standards and Assessments for Teachers and Students," a report prepared for the AHA, National Council on the Social Studies, and Organization of American Historians (June 2003).

77. Golden, "Quick Studies."

78. Comment from the director of a secondary education program at a public university in New York, at the focus group of historians convened in New York City, May 13, 2003.

79. Personal communication (e-mail) to Philip M. Katz, November 9, 2003.

80. Anonymous responses to the AHA survey of master's degree students, spring 2003.

81. Personal communication (e-mail) to Philip M. Katz, September 4, 2003.

82. Donald Schwartz, "Using History Departments to Train Secondary Social Studies Teachers: A Challenge for the Profession in the 21st Century," *History Teacher* 34:1 (November 2000): 36.

83. Goldhaber, "Mystery of Good Teaching."

84. Andrew J. Wayne and Peter Youngs, "Teacher Characteristics and Student Achievement Gains: A Review," *Review of Educational Research* 73:1 (spring 2003): 107.

85. University of Delaware historian Raymond Wolters, quoted in James A. Whitson, "What Social Studies Teachers Need to Know: The New Urgency of Some Old Disputes," in *Critical Issues in Social Studies Teacher Education,* ed. Susan Adler (Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age Publishing, 2004), 11.

86. Epstein, "Past, Present, and Future," 29.

87. John Shedd, "Why and How Should History Departments Train Secondary Social Studies Teachers?" *History Teacher* 34:1 (November 2000): 30.

88. Alan Booth, "Rethinking the Scholarly: Developing the Scholarship of Teaching in History," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 3:3 (October 2004): 247–66; Schwartz, "Using History Departments," 35–37.

89. Kathleen Medina et al., *How Do Students Understand the Discipline of History as an Outcome of Teachers' Professional Development?* (Davis, Calif.: California History-Social Science Project, 2000), 18–19, 8.

90. Based on a focus group discussion at the National Humanities Center, September 2003.

91. Suzanne M. Wilson, "Parades of Facts, Stories of the Past: What Do Novice History Teachers Need to Know?" in *Teaching Academic Subjects to Diverse Learners*, ed. Mary M. Kennedy (New York: Teachers College Press, 1991), 110.

92. For a useful introduction to this growing body of literatures see Keith C. Barton, "Research on Students' Historical Thinking and Learning," *Perspectives* 42:7 (October 2004): 19–21, and Terrie Epstein, "The Past, Present, and Future of Research on History Education," *Education Researcher* 32:4 (May 2003): 29–32.

93. From a response to the AHA survey of history department chairs, February 2001.

94. "Benchmarks for Professional Development in Teaching of History as a Discipline," *Perspectives* 41:5 (May 2003): 41–44, available online at **http://www.historians.org/teaching/policy/Benchmarks.htm**. Also see the Teaching Division's "Advice to History Departments on NCATE Review of Teacher Preparation Programs" (2002), at **http://www.historians.org/teaching/NCATE.htm**.

95. "Report of the Third Conference on American History Held under the Auspices of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 2 and 3, 1950," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 74:2 (April 1950): 247–48.

96. On the development of public history as a subdiscipline see Barbara J. Howe, "State of the State of Teaching Public History," *Teaching History* 18:2 (fall 1993): 51–58, and James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., *Public History: Essays from the Field* (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger, 1999).

97. Quoted in Bender et al., 68. *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* both documents and condemns this narrow view of graduate training and the profession. Also see the recent report of the AHA Task Force on Public History, "Public History, Public Historians, and the American Historical Association," available online at **http://www.historians.org/governance/tfph/TFPHreport.htm**.

98. See Appendix 1 and Arnita A. Jones, "Clio Confronts Adam Smith: A Survey of National Trends in the Adjustment of Training Programs for Historians," *OAH Newsletter* 6 (January 1979): insert.

99. An earlier version of this section appeared as Philip M. Katz, "Public History Employers—What Do They Want? A Report on the Survey," *Perspectives* 41:6 (September 2003): 35–38, which describes the survey methodology in more detail.

100. A few graduate programs in public history did receive consistently high marks: Arizona State University, Middle Tennessee State University, the Cooperstown program in museum studies (part of the State University of New York system), the Winterthur program in Delaware, the University of South Carolina, and the historical administration program at Eastern Illinois University.

101. There is a substantial overlap here with the "elements of mastery" discussed in the next section of the report.

IV. Where Is the Mastery in the Master's Degree? Common Knowledge, Skills, and Identities for History Professionals

102. An earlier version of this section appeared as Philip M. Katz, "Where Is the *Mastery* in the History Master's Degree?" *Perspectives* 41:8 (November 2003): 24–27.

103. Richard James and Craig McInnis, "Coursework Master's Degrees and Quality Assurance: Implicit and Explicit Factors at Programme Level," *Quality in Higher Education* 3:2 (1997): 108–109. For a more general statement about the poor state of assessment in higher education, see Richard J. Stiggins, "Assessment Literacy for the 21st Century," *Phi Delta Kappan* 77:3 (November 1995): 238–45.

104. Peter T. Knight, "Learning, Teaching and Curriculum in Taught Master's Courses," in Knight, *Masterclass*, 8.

105. Floyd, "Balancing State and Institutional Interests," 57–58.

106. Pauline Thorne, "Standards and Quality in Taught Master's Programmes," in Knight, *Masterclass*, 27.

107. Joslyn L. Green, "A Cri de Coeur—And Questions to Consider," in *The Master's Degree: Jack of All Trades,* ed. Green (Denver: SHEEO Association, 1987), 55.

108. Mary Selke, "The Professional Development of Teachers in the United States of America: the practitioners' master's degree," *European Journal of Teacher Education* 24:2 (2001): 210, 206.

V. Defining a Distinctive Role for the Master's Level in History

109. Knight uses the term "masterness" in a headnote on p. 16 of *Masterclass*.

110. Mary Ann E. Borchert, *Master's Education: A Guide for Faculty and Administrators—A Policy Statement* (Washington, D.C.: Council of Graduate Schools, 1994), 30–31. The CGS also funded the most thorough review available of master's programs: Conrad, Haworth, and Millar's *A Silent Success.* Conrad and his co-authors take a much more sophisticated approach, distinguishing four basic types of master's programs: Ancillary programs (i.e., master's degrees earned on the way to the Ph.D.), Career Advancement programs, Apprenticeship programs, and Community-centered programs. Each type has its own cluster of goals.

111. Thorne, "Standards and Quality," esp. 17–20; on the tyranny of the credit hour in general, see Jane V. Wellman and Thomas Ehrlich, eds., *How the Student Credit Hour Shapes Higher Education: The Tie That Binds* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003). However, Kohl and LaPidus argue in *Postbaccalaureate Futures* that "the quality measure in postbaccalaureate education is shifting from credit, or time spent in class, to competency" (232).

112. These arguments were suggested by Noel Stowe, chair of the history department at Arizona State University, during a roundtable discussion of master's education at the annual meeting of the National Council for Public History, Houston, April 27, 2003.

113. Joyce V. Lawrence, "The Additive Fallacy and an Added Concern," in Green, *The Master's Degree*, 28–29.

114. Harriman, "The Master's Degree," 24, quoting Harvard president A. Lawrence Lowell. In 2003, we heard similar complaints during our focus groups with historians.

115. Mark C. Henrie, "Finding and Following the Core," in *Choosing the Right College 2004,* ed. Jeremy Beer (Wilmington, Del.: ISI Books, 2003), xxiv.

116. Casanova et al., "The Master's Degree," 2.

117. The practical difficulties in applying a generic set of standards to particular academic programs are discussed in Harvey Woolf et al., "Benchmarking Academic Standards in History: an empirical exercise," *Quality in Higher Education* 5:2 (July 1999): 145–54. The authors describe the efforts by an informal consortium of history departments in the United Kingdom to define performance measures for both graduate and undergraduate degree programs. They conclude that "whatever methods [are] used … the whole process of establishing standards is subtle, organic, and opaque … [and] many of the informal methods of setting commonly-agreed standards that were used when group sizes were smaller [are] no longer viable or sufficient" (151). In their view, the process of *defining* performance standards was ultimately more useful than *applying* the benchmark standards to assess the quality of individual programs.

118. Lee S. Shulman, "Making Differences: A Table of Learning," *Change* 34:6 (November/December 2002): 36–44; quoted here from the online version at **http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/elibrary/docs/printable/making_differences.htm**, accessed October 15, 2004.

119. As E. H. Carr noted long ago in *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage, 1961), "The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy, but one which is very hard to eradicate" (10).

120. My thanks to Linda Shopes, chair of the AHA Task Force on Public History, for reminding me of this fact.

121. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Persistence of the Past*: *The Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Barton, "Research on Students' Historical Thinking and Learning."

122. The phrase "past specialists" comes from Dipesh Chakrabarty, keynote address to the annual meeting of the World History Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 29, 2001.

123. Personal communication from Keith Barton (University of Cincinnati) to Philip M. Katz.

124. As Harvard historian Wilbur Cortez Abbott, a member of the AHA Committee on the Writing of History, wrote back in 1926, there are "there are plenty of [graduate] courses in 'historical method,' in 'analysis and criticism,' in 'problems,' in all the scientific side of historical work, [but] there are to be found few or none on the side of presentation. … The whole stress has been laid too much on information and on methods of investigation, too little on presentation." Abbott, "The Influence of Graduate Instruction on Historical Writing," in Jean Jules Jusserand et al., *The Writing of History* (New York: Scribner's, 1926), 46–7.

125. Personal communication from Richard Rabinowitz (American History Workshop) to Philip M. Katz, September 30, 2003.

VI. Unanswered Questions

126. As one expert lamented in the late 1980s, "a search of the literature yields many publications on graduate education, but precious few on the master's degree" (Barak, "A Skeleton in the Closet," 33). Little has changed since then.

127. Judith S. Glazer, "Toward a New Paradigm," in Green, *The Master's Degree*, 10.

128. Richard James and Craig McInnis, "Coursework Master's Degrees and Quality Assurance," 101.

129. Oili-Helena Ylijoki, "Master's Thesis Writing from a Narrative Approach," *Studies in Higher Education* 26:1 (2001): 22; Ada Demb and Kelly Funk, "What Do They Master? Perceived Benefits of the Master's Thesis Experience," *NACADA Journal* 19:2 (fall 1999): 20.

130. Naama Sabar, "Toward Principled Practice in Evaluation: Learning from Instructors' Dilemmas in Evaluating Graduate Students," *Studies in Educational Evaluation* 28:4 (2002): 330–31, 339.

131. James and McInnis, "Coursework Master's Degrees and Quality Assurance," 106; Knight, *Masterclass*, 11–12.

132. Clifton F. Conrad, Katherine M. Duren, and Jennifer Grant Haworth, "Students' Perspectives on Their Master's Degree Experiences: Disturbing the Conventional Wisdom," in *The Experience of Being in Graduate School,* ed. Melissa S. Anderson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 65–76.

133. From a posting on the H-World electronic discussion list, October 9, 2003, archived at **http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lx&list=H-Teach&user=&pw=&month=0310**, accessed on October 25, 2004.

Appendix 3

1. The National Park Service established "essential competencies" for the agency's historians at three levels: Entry, Developmental, and Full Performance (roughly equivalent, in terms of academic preparation, to a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, and a doctorate). Only the competencies from the Developmental Level are reproduced here. A few competencies that refer exclusively to policies and procedures at the NPS have been deleted. See **http://www.nps.gov/training/npsonly/RSC/historia.htm** for the complete document.

Appendix 4

1. See **http://www.assessment.ilstu.edu/program/History/history.htm**, accessed on February 18, 2005.

2. See **http://www.westga.edu/~history/assessmentfrom%20fachandbook.htm**, accessed on September 4, 2003.

3. See **http://grad.washcoll.edu/history.html**, accessed on May 2, 2003.

Appendix 5

1. Joint Quality Initiative Group, "Shared 'Dublin' descriptors for the Bachelor's, Master's and Doctoral awards" (revised March 23, 2004), online at **http://www.jointquality.org/content/ierland/Result%20Draft%20Dublin%20Descriptors%203%20cycles.doc**, accessed on June 25, 2004; an earlier version, without the doctoral descriptors, appears in the *Graz Reader* (prepared for the European University Association conference on "Strengthening the Role of Institutions," convened in Graz, Austria, on May 29–31, 2003), 56–59, online at **http://eua.uni-graz.at/eua-reader-graz.pdf**.

2. Julia González and Rober Wagnenaar, *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe: Final Report, Phase One* (Bilbao and Groningen: University of Deusto and University of Groningen, 2003), 147–59, online at **http://www.relint.deusto.es/TuningProject/index.htm**.