

Social Science Docket

A Joint Publication of the New York and New Jersey State Councils for the Social Studies

Teaching Election 2016

**Transformative Elections * Key Websites
Weimar America? * Teaching Ideas**

Debating Social Studies

Teaching Off-Script * Evaluations * Frameworks * Global Regents * edTPA

History Lessons

**Woodrow Wilson & Princeton * Socialism in the U.S. * Fallujah
Citizenship & the Constitution * Declaration of Independence
Standard Oil of NJ * Race Matters * Ferguson**

Economics and the Environment

**Econ 101 * Free Trade * Global Economic Collapse?
Understanding Climate Change**

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Social Science Docket will become Teaching Social Studies

Starting with v. 17 no. 1 Winter-Spring 2017 *Social Science Docket* will be called *Teaching Social Studies* and will be delivered to members of the New York State (NYSCSS), the New Jersey (NJCSS) Councils for the Social Studies, and the New York State Social Studies Supervisors Association (NYS4A) twice a year digitally as a pdf file.

There are other changes taking place as well. Because digitalization removes space restrictions, our goal, in addition to content, curriculum, and teaching articles will be to include regular research-based academic articles that will be peer-reviewed by members of each council's college and university committee.

This is also the last issue that will be edited by Alan Singer, social studies educator at Hofstra University. We thank Dr. Singer for editing *Social Science Docket* for the past sixteen years and the Hofstra University School of Education for housing and supporting its publication.

The new editor of *Teaching Social Studies* is Dr. Mark Percy of Rider University in Lawrence Township, New Jersey. Dr. Percy has been at Rider University since 2012. He has a B.A. in History from the University of Florida, a M.Ed. in Social Studies Education from the University of Florida, and a Ph.D. in Social Science Education from the University of South Florida. He was a high school social studies teacher in Florida before moving to Rider College. Dr. Singer will remain as a NYSCSS representative on *Teaching Social Studies*.

On behalf of our respective Boards of Directors, we thank you for your partnership and membership - and look forward to growing the social studies together in the future. For information or to submit articles, contact: Mark Percy (editor and NJ representative) at mperarcy@rider.edu or Alan Singer (NYS representative) at catajs@Hofstra.edu.

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***Social Science Docket* and is distributed digitally to members of NYSCSS, NYS4A, and NJCSS. It provides opportunities for the presentation of divergent opinions by social studies educators. The views expressed do not represent the official position of the councils. For information or to submit articles, contact: Mark Percy (editor and NJ representative) at mperarcy@rider.edu or Alan Singer (NYS representative) at CATAJS@Hofstra.edu. Projected upcoming themes include: Lessons of the 2016 Election; Evaluating Presidencies; and Writing Women into History. Non-themed articles are welcomed.**

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Teaching Off-Script in the Era of Common Core

By Chris Ognibene

As our profession grows more and more dependent upon standardized test scores, I remain dedicated to an inquiry based (off-script) approach to social studies education. I believe the main goal for teachers is to prepare our students to participate fully in society and have an active voice in the public discourse on government, society, and public education.

In 2016 information is available to students at the click of a mouse, or the tap of an I-Pad. Students today can get more answers in 3 seconds than we could get in 100 hours of research in the local library stacks. How has this information age transformed teaching in the 21st century? Sadly, it really hasn't. Many of my colleagues still hold onto content with a death grip not seen since Chief Jay Strongbow's sleeper hold in WWF matches of the 1980s. So how can concerned, progressive educators fight the tide of prescriptive curriculum and common core standards?

Two of my heroes in this profession are Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner. Thirty years ago they came up with a strategy for teaching off-script that is still relevant today. At the crux of their position is the notion of inquiry-based education. What if you got rid of curriculum, textbooks, and syllabi and simply taught by using questions that engaged and interested students? While I am not quite as radical as the two of them, I agree that traditional methods of teaching history have become mostly obsolete.

The premise is that only when students are interested in following a path of inquiry, based on something they are passionate about, will they be motivated to learn. It is up to educators to harness the passion and leverage the abundance of resources to guide their learning. This idea of inquiry learning is not new. Postman suggests that one of the critical roles of teachers is deciding "What's worth knowing." This manifests itself in classrooms with the use of a very few high quality questions.

How can teachers and students figure out what is worth knowing? In the era of blogs, texts, Twitter feeds, Facebook posts, memes, Fox News, Donald Trump, and Hillary Clinton, people are bombarded by information that is not always reliable. Postman and Weingartner suggest that "schools serve as the principal medium for developing in youth attitudes and skills of social, political and cultural criticism," where public education serves to cultivate students that are discerning, can view problems from multiple perspectives, be able to identify what information is valid and what is not, and critically why that is true. They call this skill becoming a "crap detector."

What could be a more essential skill for all youth in a digital age than determining what information is "crap," or information that is inaccurate or unworthy of further examination? The ability to determine what is

accurate, relevant, what deserves further attention, and then how to transfer and build upon that is the foundation of many of the Common Core Learning Standards. The authors use a quote from an interview with Ernest Hemingway to emphasize their point. Hemingway was asked: "*Isn't there any one essential ingredient that you can identify [to be a great writer]?" He replied, "Yes, there is. In order to be a great writer a person must have a built-in, shockproof crap detector." Teaching kids to filter bad sources, biased points of view and flat out factually incorrect bits of information will serve them the rest of their adult lives.*

What does this look like in a social studies classroom? A few years ago as the eyes of students in my global history glossed over, I began thinking about how to connect themes from Global History to the lives of teenage city school students. The NYS Social Studies framework that was based on the Common Core Learning Standards is rigid and prescriptive, so how can teachers creatively stretch the curriculum to also engage a diverse group of students and find ways to make connections to their everyday lives? This approach requires some extra planning time and does not always result in 100 % "coverage" of material. But I find it leads to meaningful and lasting learning outcomes and will leave students with some big ideas from your classes.

Some examples of these connections to today are: discussing political revolutions through the lens of Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar, illustrating human rights violations with the story of Malala Yousafzai and connecting problems during the Industrial Revolution to Nike and Wal-Mart factories today.

During a unit on the Industrial Revolution, my goal is to create a schema that will stick in student heads beyond high school, and so for the unit the "big idea" is that technology has both positive and negative effects

on people. The positives are easy to remember as factories increase the number of goods that can be produced and led to massive wealth for capitalists (also, the invention of capitalism) and inequalities among European powers. More difficult for students to perceive are the negative effects and externalities caused by technological advancement. To illustrate the topic in a framework students understand we studied Nike factories in Indonesia. Students watched “Behind the Swoosh,” a documentary about the very same practices that hurt workers during the industrial revolution. Students became familiar with the high cost of low wages, long hours and sweatshop conditions. They squirmed at the sight of child labor and rampant pollution and could see evidence of the harm that factories did, and continue to do in urban areas. After viewing the documentary and connecting the issues from 18th century England to 21st century American Corporations, students were asked to use the inquiry approach to further investigate problems associated with technology.



The teacher’s most critical role in this project is facilitating the use of good sources and ensuring students are researching the right questions. All inquiry questions should be divergent. A convergent question is one that requires the student to simply recall a single fact, while a divergent question asks the students to recall facts but also to show that they comprehend the topic, situation, or solution to a stated problem. A divergent question will require that a student

understand the relationship between a fact and/or piece of knowledge within the greater context of the situation. The presentation of inquiry-based projects is also different from traditional class reports or research assignments. Inquiry learning emphasizes telling the story of the “learning journey,” telling how they, the student(s) arrived at the answer. The goal is not the answer; the goal is the learning process. This method provides students the opportunity to determine the mode of presentation that fits best with their experience.

Inquiry and Assessment

Educators that use this approach must know that authentic inquiry-based tasks require multiple forms of assessment. The use of anecdotal records allows teachers to track individual progress. Use of evaluation checklists that include assessing students in planning and regulating their learning, making evaluation standards clear through the use of rubrics and helping students monitor their own progress, provide multiple opportunities to gauge student progress. In a 10th grade social studies classroom in the common core era, students must relate their learning to a regent’s task, like a historical documents based essay. After discovering how cell phones have led to traffic deaths for example, a student must then articulate an argument on the negative effects of technology during the Industrial Revolution. This helps to ease the main concern of many 21st century teachers interested in promoting student inquiry: a tension between promoting inquiry and the more traditional agenda of “covering content.” This skill of transfer, or applying knowledge in a new or novel way, is another that is often featured in the Common Core Learning Standards.

If students are to see themselves as a part of their society, educators have to rethink the way social studies is taught. Dewey believed that if students were provided skills for the here-and-now, they would become more capable of self-support and self-respecting independence, an integral part of citizenship in our modern democracy. Teaching off script by using inquiry-based learning offers an opportunity to achieve this goal.

Teachers Respond to Teaching Off-Script

Sherry Gibbon, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY: Chris Ognibene's observations about teaching in the age of technology are consistent with my experience. Despite tremendous changes in technology that have impacted our lives and the lives of our students, most classrooms tend to be focused on making sure that all of the content is covered. Much of that stems from the demands placed on students and teachers by the high-stakes Regents examinations. As a result, many teaching strategies and questions tend to rely on the lower levels of Bloom's Taxonomy and require recall and only basic understanding.

The age of talk and chalk should be over. There is a tremendous amount of content to be covered. However, sometimes less is more. By carefully identifying important content and creating essential questions that rely on inquiry, teachers can enable students to deeply analyze concepts and content. This approach will create classrooms where students "own" their learning. It is scary to teach this way. But by utilizing engaging strategies and materials such as impeachment hearings, press conferences, meetings of the minds, or "what if" scenarios, students will learn the history and the multiple ways events unfold. By connecting investigations to student lives, they will see the relevance of history as current events develop.

Incorporating multiple perspectives allows students to see that history is muddy. Nothing is ever black or white. This process gets students to examine the role played by bias in decision-making on a more personal level. Isn't that what we really want to develop in our citizenry? Students who have an understanding of our past and how we got here, and who have the ability to look for bias in the media they see every day will become stronger, involved citizens, and will hopefully make good, informed decisions as adults ("Hemingway's 'shock proof crap detector'").

I was always amazed by the fact that NCLB and Race to the Top excluded social studies from the mandated examinations. Teachers know that if it is not tested it is not taught. I have seen social studies and science eliminated from classrooms in elementary schools because of the pressure to teach ELA and math for the standardized tests. I always wondered what the motivation for so doing was — aside from money. It is unfortunate that STEM is valued more than preparing citizens. Could that explain why so few of our citizens who are eligible to vote actually do? To undervalue

something as important as an understanding of the country and the world imperils the future.

Atif Khalil, Fordham H.S. for the Arts, Bronx, NY:

It is virtually impossible to teach Global History in its entirety and reach all the common core framework goals within two years. The course covers the history of humanity and to sustain rigorous instructional outcomes on a daily basis is unrealistic. However, then the question becomes what to leave out? I agree with Ognibene's assertion that history should prepare students to be functional and contributing members of a democratic society. Not simply just preparing students for college and career; but to assist students in understanding what key themes are important in history and social sciences and be able to relate them to the real world. Not simply to accept the status quo or injustice as a norm, but to question tradition and injustices in a free world. Teachers need to be the ones who recognize these key areas of inquiry in order to inspire their students. For example, my school which is a high functioning school in an inner city setting has yearly musical performances. In the past our students have performed *Les Miserables*, *Urinetown*, *Cabaret*, and this year we will be presenting *Evita*. Each academic department was instructed to deliver lessons and create artifacts as part of gallery walk that will be viewable in the school lobby for parents and visitors. While conducting our research on Eva Peron and the political climate in Argentina in the 1940s, it was uncovered that the Perons had close ties to both Germany and Italy during WWII. In fact, following WWII, thousands of high-ranking Nazi officials took refuge in Argentina under the leadership of Juan Peron and his wife Eva. The question is why was this not mentioned in the musical? Why is this not presented to the students so they can make their own judgment about these historical figures?

Matthew Herman, Great Neck (NY) North High School:

Over the past few years, teaching has become highly reliant on standardized test scores and common core aligned curriculum. Under these conditions social studies is rapidly becoming an obsolete subject. Ognibene has devised an idea that encourages teachers to deviate slightly from the rigid framework in order to raise important and meaningful questions. He suggests that rather than teaching non-stop content to apathetic students, teachers should create inquiry-based lessons

that address real-world issues and questions. Curriculum that caters to a specific classroom of students based on their interests and ideas leads to a more engaged class and cultivates more responsible and intuitive learners in the future. One of the most important features in this proposed inquiry-based lesson model is teaching students how to research information. Students have access to so much more information than any other generation before them. There is so much information out there, in fact, that it may be difficult for students to distinguish what is valid, unbiased, and accurate. To keep social studies relevant, teachers must bridge the gap between state requirements and personalized inquiry lessons based on class-raised important questions.

Sarah Polacco, Hofstra University: Ognibene's article describes the need to teach students in an inquiry-based method in the social studies classroom in order to stay relevant, keep students interested, and teach them reliable information in a world that does not provide reliable sources. I agree that traditional textbook teaching methods of social studies are obsolete, and rightfully so. Ognibene argues that the curriculum is not the most important factor to learning, but rather engagement with students in order to help them understand material is what should take priority. He admits that this is not necessarily a new concept, and in fact, educators have been implementing the inquiry-based method for years. Instead of teachers lecturing and posing questions to students, let students pose questions and research answers. An important idea is the "divergent" question that asks students to "recall facts but also show that they comprehend the topic, situation, or solution to a stated problem." By teaching students how to research the right information, and how to discern fact from fiction, learning becomes a lot more meaningful.

Vicky Williams, St. Kitts International Academy: I truly believe that we must be aware of our student's social, emotional, psychological, and physical development as well as their cognitive growth. With this information we become better able to reach students in way that target their individual learning development and capabilities. For this reason I agree with Mr. Chris Ognibene's idea of being able to teach off script. It is safe to say that a teacher must enter a classroom with a concrete strategy on how they plan to educate their students, including common core standards and a predetermined curriculum. However, being able to incorporate student's interest and

background throughout the process of a lesson opens up a whole new avenue for your students that involves critical thinking. Combining student interest with the necessary lesson plan can result in learning that is more fruitful and crystalized.

Elizabeth LiPuma, W. T. Clarke High School, Westbury, NY: Students may not always have an appropriate opinion or a correct answer, but what is most important is that they understand how they formed their conclusions and be able to support it with evidence. In addition, inquiry projects give students motivation to learn and allow them to have a passion for a topic. Students can dig deeper into the subject and research events that correspond to that issue. This builds a connection to the material and gives students independence since they play a part in the learning process. Teachers become the facilitator for learning, rather than lecturers on dense information. Often it is difficult for students to know what is true. Students are quick to reference sources like Wikipedia where anyone can alter the material. This is why it is the teacher's role to guide students on how to filter through resources and search for factual information. Students need research skills because once they enter the world they will be required to look up information everyday, whether for their job or for their own interests. It is also valuable to have students use their skills to address issues, such as human rights violations in Wal-Mart factories abroad. By recognizing these abuses they can become advocates for change.

Rory Forrestal, H. Frank Carey High School, Franklin Square, NY: I believe Ognibene's off-script is the best student-centered approach available to social studies teachers. It may seem radical in the standards based education world, but asking students WHY things are important, and teaching them to relate terms, issues, situations to their lives leads them on the path to self-discovery in learning. I especially liked his idea of the "crap detector." I heard this theory before under an even more colorful name, "bullshit detective." With the wealth of information and misinformation available on the Internet, the ability to research, evaluate, and smell out the crap is an invaluable skill. I teach that Google and Wikipedia are good places to start research, but then see where they lead you into better information and primary sources.

Nancy Maguire, Cornwall (NY) central High School (retired): As a long time teacher of Global History whose classroom experience predates the inquiry

movement of the eighties, I was immediately drawn to “Teaching Off – Script in the Era of Common Core.” Few educators will dispute the value of inquiry – based instruction in a student’s education. There is no doubt that a student learns best when he or she seeks answers to questions that have percolated from one’s own curiosity. Ognibene’s comment “It is up to educators to harness the passion and leverage the abundance of resources to guide their learning” resonated with my conviction that teachers play an integral role behind the scenes in a student’s unique journey of seeking truth as it relates to his/her personal reality.

A central point of the article spoke to the teacher’s role of guiding students toward the use of good resources. I thought the perspective offered on the necessity of student research being grounded in good resources was spot on. Additionally, the connection between information gleaned from sound resources and the inquiry those sources inspire illustrated the true objective of student inquiry and a research project – the most valuable consequence of inquiry learning is the personal metamorphosis that occurs throughout the learning journey.

Ognibene is absolutely correct in saying that students must be able to make personal meaning or connect to the content we expect them to learn. The contemporary connections you cite related to Global History content were excellent examples of topics that students can see as a window into the past. These connections across time and place are essential if we expect students to see any value in studying the past.

So much of the article resonated with observations and suggestions that I found intuitive and compelling. However, one phrase casually cited early in the article and attributed to Neil Post and/or Charles Weingartner left me troubled. Ognibene mentioned the premise “that only when students are interested in following a path of inquiry, based on something they are passionate about, will they be motivated to learn.” I would like him to consider my experience and rethink the veracity of that statement.

As was the case for many men and women of my generation, my parents had no college education and only one had earned a high school diploma. I entered school with a blank slate. If you filled one pail full of what I knew about the world and one pail full of what I

didn’t know, they would have been woefully unequal. The content that shaped my worldview was presented to me in a classroom. While I embraced much of that content, I rejected much of it too. Passion for certain ideas grew from exposure to many different theories and possibilities. I would have had no way of discovering or exploring these possibilities without the inspiration of passionate teachers along the way.

Pursuing one’s passion has many laudable consequences. It can reinforce one’s beliefs. It can satisfy one’s curiosity. It can encourage deep and meaningful investigation. However, it can also encourage a myopic worldview and prevent one from seeing other possibilities. Encouraging students to determine what is valuable for them to investigate while excluding those ideas they find irrelevant can be dangerous. Educators can play an integral role in broadening student perspective and should actively support that objective.

Threaded throughout the article was the suggestion that educators offer significant behind the scenes guidance in inquiry learning. I would just like to reinforce the notion that successful inquiry learning is not student driven although it may appear to be. A teacher’s broad based knowledge, organizational skills, and passions are integral components of the most effective inquiry classrooms.

Tina Abbatiello, West Hollow Middle School, Melville, NY: An effective strategy is making content relevant and meaningful within the framework of a students’ social, emotional, and physical development. As students take in new information, teachers are advised to avoid ‘mindless drilling’ but to include opportunities to learn new material about the world and to connect to prior knowledge wherever possible. The real-world connection is a strong distinguishing element of this learning approach that makes it so motivating for students. Asking students to create a presentation to share their knowledge about a topic they care about is an easy way to connect to the real world. When connecting to student interests it is important to make sure that the project meets the curricular goals within the student presentations.

Disparities in the Educator Evaluation System

By Michael Pezone

As a high school social studies teacher working in an urban school labeled as high needs, I always felt evaluations of teachers were arbitrary. My suspicions are supported by a careful analysis of data reported from New York State and New York City. In 2012-2013, the New York State Education Department instituted the Annual Professional Performance Review (APPR) to evaluate teachers and principals. In 2013-2014, the New York City Department of Education instituted the APPR, which evaluates city educators based on three separate measures. At the end of the school year, each educator receives a final “Overall Composite Rating” of Highly Effective, Effective, Developing, or Ineffective. APPR results are published by New York State in an annual report its report.

Most public attention has focused the use of attention student scores on standardized tests. In April 2015 Governor Cuomo demanded they be raised from 20 to 50%, however after complaints from parents and teacher union, and a major opt-out movement, this measure was dropped, at least temporarily. The use of student scores to measure teacher performance was also eliminated in new federal ESSA mandates. My concern, however, is the arbitrariness of the other accountability measures.

In the 2013-2014 teacher ratings “Other Measures” accounted for 60% of an educator’s evaluation. Generally, this category is based on classroom observations of teachers by administrators who use formal rubrics. The APPR has been tweaked each year since its inception, but its general features remain the same. In order to score well on this component, teachers must administer lessons that satisfy rubric requirements that are scored during announced or unannounced observations. Evaluations affect an educator’s reputation, morale, and motivation, and repeated Ineffective ratings may terminate employment, which places a priority on an evaluation system that is fair and objective.

I analyzed the 2013-2104 Other Measures ratings of New York City and New York State educators to determine if disparities exist. While 2% of state educators received an Ineffective or Developing rating, 9% of New York City educators received such ratings. At the higher end of the scale, 62% of state educators received Highly Effective ratings compared to 31% of New York City educators. State administrators awarded educators a Highly Effective Other Measures rating at twice the rate of New York City administrators. New York City administrators awarded educators an Ineffective or Developing rating at more than four times the rate of state administrators.

The striking disparities raise an obvious question: Why did administrators rate state educators more highly than New York City educators? There can be two possible explanations: 1) Generally speaking, school districts outside of urban areas like New York City attract, develop, and/or retain more effective educators, or 2) Other Measures ratings are significantly affected by demographic differences between schools and districts.

The first explanation does not seem credible. It suggests that disparate performance between students in a wealthy suburban school and students in an impoverished urban school are due to teacher effectiveness. The second answer seems more sensible. To narrow the focus of the study, I examined schools within the New York City system only. New York State issued “School Report Card” grades in 2012-2013, grading each school in the state on a traditional A to F scale and providing key demographic indicators for each school. I randomly selected twelve A-rated and twelve F-rated self-contained New York City high schools and compared the Other Measures ratings of educators in each group. Only 3% of educators in “A” schools received an Ineffective or Developing rating compared to 23% of educators in “F” schools.

Using information found in school Progress Reports, 2013-2014, I tallied the demographic indicators for each group of schools, including the number and percentages of students who are eligible for free lunch, are Black or Hispanic (the report cards list this as one category), English language learners, special education students, or overage. The striking differences in demographic data suggest that there is a correlation between the student populations of each group and educator ratings.

In a State education system characterized by funding inequities, de facto segregation, over-reliance on high-stakes standardized testing, and other social and institutional problems, it would be grossly unfair if the APPR stigmatized teachers and schools for outcomes that are caused by societal inequities. New York State Education Department policymakers at the very least should investigate the issue of ratings disparities and implement policies to ensure that administrators statewide employ the Other Measures component in a fair and objective manner.

New York's New Social Studies Frameworks

by Casey Jakubowski

In 2014, in response to the adoption of the Common Core Learning Standards by the Board of Regents, the New York State Education Department published a revised scope and sequence for social studies K-12 for the state. The action, while straightforward, is not without potential for conflict. History is a subject that ignites people's passions, and can cause conflict within the educational policy making process which determines in a 180 day year whose history is studied and whose history is ignored. In a state as diverse as The Empire State, the constant demands of people to be "included" in the official record of history is large, open, and full of pressure.

This essay examines the United States History and Government (USHG) section of the 2014 version of the New York State Frameworks for social studies grades 9-12. The frameworks are part of a five-pronged approach by the State Education Department to revise social studies instruction in the state. First, the state has retained the five social studies standards in 1) New York and United State History; 2) World History; 3) Geography; 4) Economics and 5) Civic participation. The state also adopted the reading and writing standards for historical literacy that are part of the new Common Core Learning Standards.

New York released the Framework to serve as a "guideline" for social studies professionals throughout the state with a "field guide" that provides further information to teachers on how to implement the Frameworks at the local level. The State contracted with SUNY-Binghamton, and Dean of Education S.G. Grant to produce a "Toolkit," of teacher designed unit plans. The unit plans were designed to implement the five levels of the State's social studies reform efforts, which included 1) State Standards, 2) the practices of social studies as defined by NCSS and the new Common Core Learning Standards, 3) Key Ideas that carry throughout each grade level and unify the units of study, 4) Content Understandings, which are specific knowledge students should learn, and 5) content specifications, which provide concrete examples of what content should be studied in each unit.



NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES RESOURCE TOOLKIT

The Frameworks for social studies are the basis of the end of course examination, one of two social studies exams students can use to satisfy graduation requirements. The Regents exam has historical basis as a high stakes examination that is used for personal accountability for the student, and programmatic accountability for the school graduation rate. The

current Regents exam in United States History and Government is composed of three parts: 1) a 50 question multiple choice section; 2) a thematic based essay question; 3) 10-13 scaffolding questions that students must answer in order to complete a Document Based Essay question.

Within the state's examination development protocol, any portion of materials presented within the old *Resource Guide with Core Curriculum* was considered "fair game" for the examination. It is assumed that the new Frameworks will form the basis for the new Common Core Aligned Regents exams in US History. The question remains in the minds of many teachers about which part of the framework will form the basis for the exam development protocol.

Teachers are asking the question of how to implement the new framework in their classroom and prepare students for the high stakes exam. Additionally, New York has wide sway in the curriculum community, especially in social studies. New York City's sheer size creates power to influence the nation and the world. Past changes by New York State have influenced the Advanced Placement exams, and efforts by textbook publishers to be responsive to the New York market. Additionally, many teacher education graduates from New York colleges will find work in other states across the nation.

The Framework's Content

The USHG curriculum is divided into 11 key ideas that are roughly designated as units for the 180-day school year. The eleven units span the pre-Columbian contact period through Globalization and the US-Chinese rivalry in the economic and political sphere. These eleven units form the basis of USHG's course

coverage and the potential examination questions that could be asked on the year-end Regents exam.

The first unit, Colonial Foundations, is a broad ranged unit that explores the interaction between the new arrivals from Europe and the Native Americans. The unit then asks students and teachers to explore colonial economics, with a focus between the different types of economies in each colonial region. Third, the key idea has students explore the political features of the American Colonies that were drawn from “European government structures, enlightenment thinkers, and colonial self-rule.” This unit is a fairly typical unit that covers founding documents and structures including the Maryland Toleration Act, House of Burgesses, and the New Netherland right of petition. The time for implementing this unit is three weeks (September of the school year). The Colonial unit is typically a truncated review of materials covered in the Seventh Grade US History and New York State history and government course. The unit is covered in a mostly chronological fashion, and expects students to utilize cause and effect reasoning, as well as geographic and economic reasoning.

The second unit of study is an examination of the Constitutional traditions and founding’s of the United States. Using the French and Indian War as the starting point of the era, this unit is a mixture of history and civics. The unit asks students to explore the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and the court cases from the Marshall Court that resulted in increased federal court involvement in the economy. This unit is one of the hardest for students to understand, with many students struggling to grasp the concept of checks and balances, federalism, and judicial review. Many of the content specifications are detailed, and ask students to examine the construction of the federal government enshrined in the constitution. The unit, while following a chronological approach, does ask students to move along an historical continuum in order to understand American governmental structure.

The Pre-Civil War Unit covers the major events of the 1820s-1865. Due to time constraints, social studies teachers have one month (typically November) to deal with the content that the US still deals with to the present. While nationalism, expansionism and sectionalism are the “big three” issues within the unit, there is some concern with the growing rights movements on the domestic side. This Framework provides some clear understanding of the Women’s

Rights movement that formulated the Seneca Falls Declaration of Rights and Sentiments. The unit leads into the fourth unit, the Post-Civil War unit, with an examination of the decisions that the leadership made after the Civil War in Reconstruction. The unit further examines the Westward expansion and examples of how the 14th and 15th amendments did not apply to women, Chinese, and Native Americans. The unit explores the social aspects of post-Civil War America, while laying the foundation for the fifth unit on Urbanization and Industrialization.

The fifth unit is divided into two parts, the growth of industry and the reaction to that growth. The unit is specifically targeted towards understanding of the human cost of the urbanization and industrialization in American history. There are multiple primary source documents that need exploring in this unit, with significant writings from the time period explored in some detail. The Muckrakers again take prominence in this unit, as teachers and students will be explored to the seed documents of the reform movements from the time period.

The sixth unit takes America into the beginning of Imperialism and its involvement in world affairs. Topics explored in this section include the Cuban intervention, and the creation of the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. The imperialism section of the unit sets up the discussion students engage in for the world affairs and World War I. In the unit devoted to the causes of World War I then transitions into the 1920s and 30s with an in depth discussion of the great depression and the Roosevelt Presidency’s attempt to address the national crisis as its central focus. The two units balance the prosperity for white Americans with the struggles of women, African Americans, and underrepresented groups. The unit is designed to set up the American Isolationism of the period with the growing world crisis that is explored in the eighth unit on World War II.

World War II receives its own unit due to the magnitude of the event’s impact on American Society. Foreign Policy and domestic policy take center stage as the unit explores America’s move from isolation to engagement and the reaction to Pearl Harbor. The domestic front receives attention, as the War creates new opportunities for women and minorities. The framework asks students to explore the impact of the war on America and the role America played in the creation of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The prosecution of the Nuremberg

Trials allows teachers to more fully integrate the Holocaust into American History, and allows Chief Justice Jackson, a New Yorker, to gain prominence in social studies.

Units 9 and 10 are designed to cover the Cold War time period from a domestic and foreign policy lens. The Units complement each other as students examine the roles of the USSR and US in pushing each other in world competition. The Civil Rights era takes prominence during this time period, as students learn about the African American Civil Rights movement, and the rise of additional rights movements for other minority groups. Within this unit, students are asked to go beyond Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks and are encouraged to explore other Civil Rights leaders. The unit finishes with the conservative revival of the Reagan Administration. The role of conservatives in government is explored through the Trickle Down economic policies of the 1980s. As instructors move through 9 and 10, they will notice the unit ends before the Persian Gulf War of the 1990s.

As the history of the United States moves into its final unit and the present day, teachers and students examine the first and second Persian Gulf War, the War on Terror, and 9/11. The final questions, exploring how the US and China will interact as rivals and partners in the new global economy is significant, and has wide ranging impact for students in the next era of the United States. This unit will be one of the most difficult to complete for teachers who are teaching the class. The unit is scheduled for the end of the school year, and any weather related event will push content further along in the school year. Additionally, teachers may not feel comfortable teaching this unit with the psychological impact of the Gulf War has had on the United States in recent history.

Conclusion

The Board of Regents in New York has tried to balance the needs of a diverse state, where many different groups clamor for inclusion in the official record and cannon of study. With the inclusion of additionally underrepresented groups in the historical road map to US history, the state has tried to become more inclusive in its study. The Framework does,

however, suffer from an almost universal problem with history: coverage of content. With one hundred and eighty instructional days available to teachers each school year, the 11th grade content of USHG contains over 120 individual content specifications each student must be prepared to learn if they will be properly prepared for the Regents Exam. Each of the eleven units attempts to encapsulate major turning points in American History. The frameworks are an attempt to expose students to a wide range of information concerning American History. The framework also establishes what New York State, as a collective, agrees is the most important historical events, people, and sources that should be studied during the school careers of students.

Bridging Standards and Practice

The New York State K-12 Social Studies Resource Toolkit and Professional Development project **bridges** the *NYS K-12 Social Studies Framework* and teachers' classroom practice.

Teachers will be again asked to make pedagogical decisions based upon the content that is tested on the Regents Exams. When this happens, important, but untested content will be neglected. Students are again exposed to a "trivial pursuit" curriculum that will reduce many of these significant people and events to a factoid. One hope is the implementation documents that have been provided to the field will provide guidance on how to implement an engaging social studies curriculum with the eleven units, thirty-five conceptual understandings, and over 120+ content specifications. The Field guide and the toolkit will become important pedagogical tools for teachers seeking for answers as they implement the new social studies frameworks. New York, because of its size and influence, sets trends across the United States in the areas of textbooks, testing and college level curriculum.

Preliminary Review of the New Global History and Geography Regents

By Alan Singer

I have generally been a “fan” of the New York State Regents exams in Global History (9th and 10th grade) and United States History (11th grade). There always are some questions I do not like, but as I explained to students, if you get one question wrong, you still get a 99%. For me as a teacher, the exams establish a standard in knowledge and skills students should be able to achieve and gave me the freedom as a teacher to make curriculum choices about what is important to know and why, as long as my students did reasonably well on the tests.

In January 2015, the New York State Board of Regents, as part of their effort to promote new national Common Core standards, voted unanimously that students did not have to pass both United States and Global History exams in order to graduate from high school. In addition, starting in June 2018, the Global History and Geography exam would be modified to include only events after 1750 covered in the tenth grade curriculum. This change eliminated topics like the early development of civilizations, ancient empires, the rise of universal religions, the Columbian Exchange, and trans-Atlantic Slave Trade from the test, and in our test-crazed world, possibly also from the curriculum. The exam will also transition to be more closely aligned with Common Core standards.

One justification for this “reform” was historically poor scores on the current Global History exam. However this was more a result of an arbitrary grading system that was used as an excuse to change the format of the test. Raw scores on the integrated Algebra Regents are weighted so that students only needed to get a third of the questions correct to get 65%, or a passing score. However, on the Global History exam raw scores are not “converted” before calculating grades. A student has to get 36 out of 50 multiple-choice questions correct, about 70%, plus about half credit on the short answer and essay questions, to get the same 65% passing grade.

At the April 2016 New York State Council for the Social Studies annual convention, social studies teachers received a preview of the draft for the new Global History and Geography Regents exam. First the obvious: Although the extended essay focuses on enduring issues that span historical eras, and students *can* draw on events and comment on societies prior to 1750, basically the world and world history, at least according to this test, begins in 1750 and students do not have to know anything about earlier periods.

But do students still have to know some history in order to pass the new Common Core-aligned Global History exam? As I read the draft, the answer is “Not Much.”

On the new test, multiple-choice content and conceptual questions will be replaced by “stimulus based multiple choice questions.” Five MCQ sets are provided as samples. Teachers are also shown how each set is aligned to Common Core tasks and the state Social Studies Framework. The first MCQ set of questions is based on a brief quote, 62-words, from Montesquieu’s “The Spirit of the Laws.”

“Nor is there liberty if the power of judging is not separate from legislative power and from executive power. If it were joined to legislative power, the power over the life and liberty of the citizens would be arbitrary, for the judge would be the legislator. If it were joined to executive power, the judge could have the force of an oppressor.”

The quote is followed by two multiple-choice questions.

(1) Which principle is best supported by this excerpt?

1. Separation of Powers
2. Divine Rights
3. Universal Suffrage
4. Self-Determination

(2) Which group’s ideas are best represented by this excerpt?

1. Enlightenment philosophers
2. Absolute Monarchs
3. Communists
4. Missionaries

The length of the quote is useful, as is the reading level of the text, for defining what students should be able to read with understanding in tenth grade. But the big problem is that if a student can read with understanding, or at a minimum match words in the passage with the choices, they would not have to sit through a year-long global history class to answer these questions correctly. The passage refers directly to separate powers and has nothing to do with monarchs, communists, or missionaries.

The second MCQ set is based on a European powers divide China cartoon that is used in many global history textbooks and curricula – with one twist.



In the first set question students have to recognize that the cartoon illustrates imperialism. In the second question students are asked why Japan is show seated at the table. This is the standard Meiji Restoration question carried over from nearly every past Global History Regents. These questions require some content and vocabulary knowledge, but not very much, certainly less than they are expected to have now, and the cartoon evaluation is devoid of any sophisticated higher-order thinking skills.

MCQ Set #3 adapts a world map from the *Encyclopedia Britannica Kids* edition. It highlights the British Empire in the 1920s and the concept being tested is again imperialism. The second question asks, “What later development would change a political situation shown on this map?” Only one of the choices, “Gandhi’s non-violent resistance” refers to the BRITISH EMPIRE or an area highlighted on the map.

MCQ Set #4 has a longer quote from Winston Churchill’s 1946 “Iron Curtain” speech. Students are expected to know that this represents “increasing tension between non-communist and communist nations,” which is pretty clear in the text since it refers directly to “Communist parties.” Students them must identify the organization created in response to the situation described in the text, a recall question that again requires no conceptual understanding or higher-order thinking.

MCQ Set #5 provides students with four imagined newspaper headline that reference the Cold War and students are expected to know it is the Cold War. They are also asked the sequence the events.

The second part of the new Global History Regents is called “Short Answer Question Sets.” In these “sets,” students are provided with document pairs – a reading passage and a cartoon, a reading passage and a map, or two reading passages. In this section the reading passages tend to be longer, between 100 and 300 words. This time students have to answer basically the same short-answer questions each time. Students must explain the historical or geographical “context,” which are defined as the “historical circumstances surrounding this event/idea/historical development” and “where this historical development is taking place, and why it is taking place there.” Students will “identify bias, point of view, audience, or purpose” of the document and “explain how that factor affects the document as a reliable source of evidence.” Last, they must either “identify and explain a cause and effect relationship between the events or ideas found in the documents,” identify a turning point, or make a comparison.

So as a teacher, Part 2 means instruction should emphasize “context,” “point of view,” “cause and effect,” “turning point,” and “similar and different,” just in case we were not doing that already. In case students cannot identify which key concept they are supposed to address in answering a question, the questions make it explicit, i.e. “explain how the geographic context affected the development of the Japanese Empire”; “identify Dr. Tatsuichiro Akizuki’s purpose for wiring this account”; and “identify a turning point associated with the events or ideas found in these documents.”

The last part of the test is the “extended essay” that requires students to “identify and define an enduring issue” as presented in a package of five documents. An enduring issue is defined as “an issue that exists across time. It is one that many societies have attempted to address with varying degrees of success.” Students are instructed to use their knowledge of Social Studies and evidence from three of the documents in their essays. No suggested word length for the essays is provided in the draft.

The sample package has four reading passages ranging from 150 to 450 words and a map. It is not clear if there is a wrong answer if students can identify their own enduring issue as long as they can support their choice. While I think the enduring issue in the five documents is meant to be genocide, document three is an excerpt from the 1948 United Nations convention defining genocide, students can legitimately argue the enduring issue is racism, discrimination, prejudice, human rights, or ethno-centrism.

Bottom line, this is a skills-based minimal competency test, not a new Regents that can be used as a final exam in a Global History course. It is much closer in alignments with the old RCT that was a back-up test so students who failed Regents exams could still earn local diplomas.

But on the bright side, once teachers incorporate the focus vocabulary and appropriate skills into their lessons, scores should soar and the State Education Department, school districts, and social studies teachers can all marvel how “Common Core” has improved student performance.

Historical View of Regents Reforms

By Lorraine Lupinskie

In 1878, Regents exams were administered for the first time as end-of-course exams in the state of New York. Back then, students took a comprehensive history exam, along with exams in Algebra, Elementary Latin, Natural Philosophy (Science) and Physical Geography. Until 1923, exam questions were exclusively subjective, with true/false, completion, and/or matching added to some exams beginning in 1923. The August 1935 History A Regents exam, focused exclusively on European history and containing no objective questions, required students to answer eight short-response type questions including one that asked them to “Give an account of the Spartans including *two* of the following: (a) their government, (b) their system of education, (c) reasons for the failure of Sparta to maintain her leadership” and another that required students to “Describe the internal conditions of Poland that made it an easy prey for partition. Give an account of the part played by *two* of the following in the struggle over the partition of Poland: Catherine II, Frederick the Great, Kosciusko.” A 1959 World History Regents contained multiple-choice questions, as well as the requirement of answering six short-response questions, such as this option: “Every year certain individuals are considered for the Nobel Peace Prize. Explain briefly why each of *three* of the following would or would not deserve the award.” And while choices included Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Mao Tse-tung (sic), and David Ben-Gurion, well over 95% of this World History exam assessed knowledge of European history. By 1966, the World History exam started to look more like the Regents we are familiar with, with fifty multiple choice questions, yet it was still Europe-focused with just a few questions on China, Japan and

India. Students had to respond to four short-answer questions, choosing among seven. It was not until 1988, when the State Education Department changed graduation requirements for students seeking a Regents Diploma, that we see real significant change to the exam. Students were now required to take and pass two exams in social studies, one on United States History and Government and the other in Global Studies. The June 1989 Global Studies Regents had fifty multiple choice questions including several on Latin America and Africa, as well as questions that referred to political cartoons, primary sources, and charts, none of which had been on the older exams. In addition, while students were still given a choice on the second part, having to respond to three of seven questions, the questions required significantly longer responses than on past exams and had the look of what we now think of as the Thematic Essay question. Finally, in June of 2000, the Regents underwent its latest revision (until now), settling on fifty multiple-choice questions and two essays (no choice), the Document-Based Essay Question and the Thematic.

Two years after the first administration of Regents exams as end-of-course tests, the state created syllabi and teaching guides, a clear signal that the goal was classroom instruction would reflect what would be on the exam, i.e. that teachers should be “teaching to the test.” By creating syllabi and guides beginning in 1880, the state was articulating the learning goals and outcomes for the different courses, making clear the state-wide expectation, yet they also implemented a process in which teachers could provide feedback on the exams. Teachers were considered collaborators, they were on the frontline, and worked with the state to develop future exams. Teachers generally believed in

the validity of the assessments because of this process. Thus, the exams evolved to reflect what *teachers* felt students should know and be able to do.

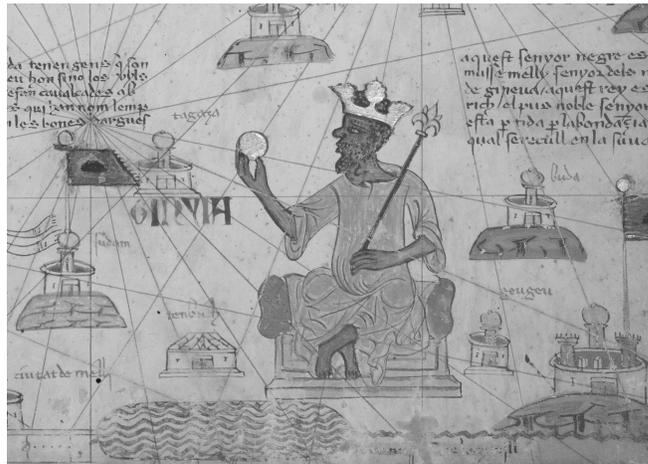
The Current Global Regents

For the last fifteen years, the exams in social studies have stayed the same, but a lot has changed in the world of teaching and learning. While these changes certainly include the adoption of the Common Core Standards and a new teacher-evaluation system, there has also been a lot of research on best practices and the ways in which students best learn about the past and how to prepare them for citizenship in the future. Whether you agree or disagree with Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe and their *Understanding by Design* approach, designing instruction that not only teaches students facts, but also teaches them to use this knowledge in new ways, by applying, extending, transferring, and synthesizing is sound pedagogy. The practices in the new Social Studies Framework require that we teach students good historical habits, habits that they will carry with them beyond high school as they navigate the real world and find themselves having to determine what is and what is not a reliable source and hopefully asking critical questions in order to make sense of the many conflicting voices and opinions that they will daily be presented. The new Framework introduce these practices in kindergarten so that by the time students are in middle school, the practices are habits and students are regularly connecting content to skill. The new Global Regents prototype is an attempt at a valid assessment that seeks to reflect this shift, but falls short of reaching the goal of creating an assessment that truly measures students content knowledge, and at the same time their ability to think and write like historians.

While I agree with Dr. Singer that the prototype of the multiple-choice questions (Part I) seemingly allow for students to simply infer from the stimulus the correct answers, rather than having to demonstrate knowledge, I am tempted to wonder out loud if this is not such a bad thing: the elimination of the DBQ and the scaffolding questions is likely to hurt struggling students, as these questions were often “right-there” types of questions that allowed students to earn “easy” points. Perhaps these types of questions will provide a balance for some of the more challenging aspects of the exam.

Dr. Singer points out that the way the Part 2 questions are designed places an emphasis on the teaching of the practices – I agree, but when he writes,

“just in case we were not doing that already” I can’t agree. We all have done it: reviewing for the Global Regents and telling students, “If you see Mansa Musa the answer is Mali, Muslim, or Mecca” and lessons on Legalism that all too often focus exclusively on strict, harsh punishments rather than on an inquiry into why was it appealing and its legacy.



Lessons on the atomic bomb inevitably lead to a debate on whether we should or should not have dropped it, but we did drop it, so isn’t the better question, *why did we drop it?* After fifteen years, teachers know what is most likely to be asked and all too often teach to those facts and details, rather than teaching for understanding or having student’s practice historical thinking. The new Part 2 questions force us to re-frame lessons so that students will be the ones defining why an event or an idea or an invention was a turning point (rather than us telling them) and will require that we are regularly explaining to students why context is an essential part of understanding the past. Yes, it’s well and good that students can recall that Legalism had strict and harsh punishments, but don’t we also want them to know that Legalism introduced bureaucratic rule in China and this remains a key feature of political rule there until this day?

The New Global Regents

Teachers in the state are still the item writers for the social studies Regents, and this is true of the newest incarnation of the exam. I like the direction that the test is headed in; I believe that as a prototype, it is a good first step and hope that the feedback provided via the NYSED survey will be carefully considered and incorporated. I am, though, perplexed by Part 3. Here there seems to be a missed opportunity to create a writing prompt that would allow students to

demonstrate their ability to think (and write) like historians, while evaluating and synthesizing multiple sources. I even take issue with the idea of calling it an “enduring understanding” essay as this phrase appears nowhere in the framework. If we are supposed to be encouraging historical inquiry and evidence-based claim writing, why design an essay question that sounds like the current DBQ (“evidence from at least three documents” and “include outside information”)? Why not create an historical exercise in which students not only have to demonstrate their content knowledge, but create a claim and provide historical evidence to justify it?

On the 1935 exam, one question asked students to “Compare the government of a French colony of the 18th century with the government of an English colony of the same period. Show how a restriction imposed by England brought about conflict with the American colonies.” Wow, what a question! No doubt, this is a

challenging question, and as a question on an end-of-course exam, the scope is certainly too narrow, but questions such as this allow students to show what they know in terms of content, while at the same time requiring them to make a claim, provide evidence and demonstrate their historical thinking as they compare historical circumstances and evaluate causes.

While I don’t think the State has got it right yet, the Global Regents was due for redesign and the new framework and inquiries provide us with a blueprint for what students need to know and be able to do. Decisions on how to teach have always been local decisions, but have often been informed by what’s on the test. The prototype needs to be adjusted so that it provide students with the opportunity to show what they know in terms of content and their ability to think historically. If these changes can be made, then teaching to the test might not be a bad thing.

Teacher Responses to New Global History and Geography Regents

Sherry Gibbon, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY: Alan Singer hit the nail on the head in his article. The old format of Global and United States History Regents exams, developed by teachers and the State Education Department (SED), consisted of rigorous questions and writing tasks. Grades were disappointing, especially on the Global History Regents, because of the way the state scored the exams. SED’s response is to throw out two more social studies requirements. They already eliminated the elementary and the 8th grade assessments designed to illustrate how well a school’s social studies program was doing in preparing students for high school. Now they have lowered the graduation standard as well. They changed the Global 10th grade assessment so it is only based on one year’s study of history, the period after 1750. In addition, students need only pass one Regents exam, either Global History and Geography in 10th grade or 11th grade United States History and Government, to earn an academic diploma.

There are also problems with the design of the new test. SED is also moving toward stimulus-based multiple-choice questions and extended essays that will rely on enduring themes and issues. The latter sounds good in that it seems to indicate that there will be less need to cover all the content, which might result in more class time to examine issues in depth. However, in examining the sample questions released, it is apparent that the Board of Regents is going down the

same path they followed when they developed the ELA assessment. There is a very heavy reliance on reading and writing skills. They have abandoned the belief that the social studies Regents exams should be tests of content, not reading and writing. From the sample questions, it appears that a good reader can answer the questions without ever attending a class in Global History. A student who finds the clues in the documents or questions can discover correct answers without any prior content knowledge.

The converse is true as well. Students from poorly performing schools or students who find reading complex material challenging will find the new examination more difficult, even if they have a relatively strong content background. I am concerned that students who have reading difficulties may simply give up.

Despite their claim of raising standards by aligning the Global History Regents with Common Core, SED is actually lowering the standards for knowing and understanding history as well as for graduation. Students will do well on these new tests if they can read even when they do not know anything. Scores may go up, especially in more affluent districts, but in poorer districts this will probably not be the case.

Felicia Hirata, Baruch College-CUNY: After reviewing the Draft Prototypes for the Global History and Geography II Regents Exam, I am not in the despair

that several of my social studies colleagues find themselves. The Regents have been helpful in determining the curriculum of the various courses and setting a standard for what a student should know and be able to do to graduate from a New York State high school. I do understand the fear that the history prior to the tested period may be lost because it won't be tested and I share concern that with the new 4+1 Regents requirement Global and American History will be put on the back burner as students are pushed to take a second math or science regents. The Global Regents has the highest regent failure rate. With the pressure to schools and districts to raise graduation rates, no one can blame a school administration for seeking a surer path to graduation for students. The passing rate for the Global Regents in New York City hovers at about 50% even though classes start "regents review" in April. It would dishonest if we did not admit that much of the review, as well as much of the instruction, already are focused on vocabulary and skills rather than historical content. Whatever content students acquire is easily forgotten by the next term. Something isn't working. The draft for new Global Regents is not perfect. But its emphasis on developing skills to analyze text and discerning an author's purpose, drawing conclusions and making connections, and offering opinions based on text, require teachers to think about why is this important to know what students should be able to do. This can only be positive. As an incentive to promote the study of history, I propose that the Regents offer a two-year Global History and Geography Regents for students who want to earn an advanced Regents diploma.

Henry Dircks, Mephram High School, Bellmore: I, also, have generally been a fan of the Regents Exam for the same reasons that Alan Singer stated at the beginning of his critique. I favored the old Regents Exam format because it asked students to demonstrate content knowledge and proficiency in some related skills (point of view, chronological order, synthesis of documents into text, etc.) on a level commensurate with the ability of most of my students. Most scored proficiency and many scored mastery-level. The new Global History Regents Exam requires students go through extra (some might claim superfluous) steps to get the same answer. For instance, in question #1 of the sample, if a student picked out the words: legislative, executive, judge from the text without reading it fully, it's not difficult to choose "Separation of Powers" as the correct answer. Will teachers rely more on training

students to look for key words than on "close-reading" of the text as a strategy for these stimulus-based question? Will students be frustrated by having to go through such skill "hoops" to get the same old answer, like fourth-grade Common Core math students are frustrated by having to multiply using "bundles"? In the Short Answer Question Sets, students will be asked to demonstrate the ability to explain context, identify bias and show cause and effect, etc. The first administration of this exam will be in 2018. That leaves a very short time in which teachers must radically change the focus of lessons away from content and toward skills. Besides the \$3 million "do-it-yourself" template introduced last year with the frameworks, NYSED has offered little guidance and support in the teaching of skills. In a full-Jerry McGuire moment, I'm willing to admit – "How do you teach contextualization?" The stumbling block for the Extended Essay will be for the students to divine the "enduring issue" on their own, even if their teacher has been asking them to pick from a proscribed list of enduring issues throughout the year. Is the jump from sample topics provided on the current Regents format to divining one enduring issue a leap that most students will be able to make (especially during a timed test which requires more time to be devoted to reading texts)? One colleague predicted the following: the new Regents formats will be introduced and administered, using the new frameworks and best practices (skills) associated with the Common Core, and making the tests more difficult. Then, the Regents will provide a grading rubric which weighs the results in a way that most students will pass and graduate (see Integrated Algebra). "Everyone will be happy!" he exclaimed. Not only have I become cynical enough to agree with this prediction, there's anecdotal evidence to support it. Three months ago, our district had all 11th graders take the January administration of the ELA Regents, presumably to give them a second chance at passing in June if they needed it. Even though the students were taking the exam with only one-half year of preparation, all passed. This, by the way, gives much credence to Singer's view that these tests can be passed with little skill or content knowledge.

Pablo Muriel, Alfred E. Smith High School, Bronx: Several issues stand out to me immediately. First, the test is made easier and the content is stripped of very important facts such as Ibn Battuta's travels, the transatlantic slave trade, and the collapse of the first Jamestown settlement in North America which, as

discussed by Howard Zinn, led to cannibalism. The gutting of the test also leaves out important facts about the Caribbean people such as the genocide of the Taino and the racial makeup of the Americas and the Caribbean. The exchange in food, animals, people, and disease that was part of the Columbian Exchange disappears. Contributions of Third World people including the development of potato and maize by ancient Mexican and Peruvian civilizations will no longer be considered important enough to be included on the test. Neither will early development in African, Indian, and Chinese civilizations are left out and the entire crusades and above all the religious and economic reasons are completely excluded. Essentially this new version of global history is totally centered on the European industrial revolution, European ideas and technology, European imperialism, European wars, and European globalization with the United States as an extension of European triumphalism. The study of history becomes so limited and distorted I worry it will be the beginning of the end of social studies as a serious discipline.



Derek Pearce, John Adams H.S., Queens: One of my most engaging lessons as a Global history teacher is on the nuclear strikes on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the closing days of World War II. Students spend two class periods analyzing documents that discuss the United States’ use of atomic weapons. Despite frequent student discomfort with group-work and reading levels that are often significantly below grade-level, students become engaged in a sophisticated discourse on the morality of President Truman’s decision. I made the decision to focus on the nuclear attacks although the topic is usually covered in 11th grade United States history curriculum because it engages student interest. I teach in a high-needs, “priority school,” in a low-income Queens immigrant community. There is a school-wide focus is on getting students to pass Regents exams. Curriculum decisions

are often based on their likelihood of appearing on the “test.” My biggest concern with the upcoming “reforms” to the Global History Regents is that it will further hamstring the ability of educators to make decisions about what to teach based on student interest on topics that are essential to their participation in a broader society. While students can certainly make it through life without knowing the basic tenants of Hammurabi’s Code, they do need to understand how societal values are reflected in legal systems. While they can certainly become functioning adults without being able to identify the effects of the Columbian Exchange, they do need to understand how globalization can both positively and negatively impact communities throughout the world. I worry that these broader ideas will be lost as the curriculum is narrowed to focus on skills. I also fear that in most high schools topics from the pre-modern era will vanish by the end of 2018 as teachers and schools feel compelled to focus only on the time periods that will be “on the test.”



Bill Hendrick, Metropolitan Expeditionary Learning School, Queens, NY: I shared Alan Singer’s article “Preliminary Review of the New Global History and Geography Regents” with a co-worker, another social studies teacher, who was very excited about the possibilities. This teacher informed me that now “we” (referring to Global teachers) can go more in depth on more interesting and engaging topics without being bogged down or stressed about covering a lot of topics that students find to be boring. I do not share in my co-worker’s enthusiasm and optimism. A skilled-based test that deemphasizes the content would do a great disservice to students. On a basic level, students cannot understand and apply the skills being pushed by Common Core (or any valid, relevant skills) without a proper understanding of historical content. The result of this push for skilled-based curriculum will be shallow statements and test answers that are too broad

and narrow for teachers to gain knowledge of students that would be useful and accurate. We teachers gain the most knowledge about our students by observing and assessing their understanding of the content along with their ability to apply the content in their everyday lives. On a deeper level, students need Social Studies to be about the content. The goal should not be to prepare them with the skills that the Common Core standards dictate (without any evidence) are the ones our students need to be “college and career ready” in their future. What’s the point of social studies then? What are we actually teaching students? Social Studies is about understanding why society is the way it is, and how students can make the changes and decisions necessary to improve it. This can be achieved only by allowing students the ability to explore and reflect on the content as the focus of social studies; the skills we teach allow are the pathway to this. These skills give

them a greater opportunity to explore and reflect on the content on a much deeper level. The shift to a skills-based test will only serve to evaluate and rank students, teachers, schools, and the entire public school system using the same flawed, invalid VAM (Value-Added Measures) system that currently afflict other subjects, most notably ELA and Math.

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New Jersey Council for the Social Studies, c/o New Jersey Civic and Law-Related Education, Rutgers University, Busch Campus, 640 Bartholomew Rd., Suite 103-105, Piscataway, NJ 08854 (www.njcss.org) The NJCSS is the only statewide association in New Jersey devoted solely to social studies education. A major goal and accomplishment of the NJCSS has been to bring together educators from all social studies disciplines, including history, economics, political science, sociology, geography, anthropology, and psychology. Our members are elementary, intermediate, secondary and college educators as well as other professionals who share the commitment to the social studies. Together, NJCSS members work toward a better understanding of the social studies and its importance in developing responsible participation in social, political, and economic life.

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edTPA Comes to New Jersey: What are the Possible Ramifications?

by Fred Cotterell

What is edTPA?

Recently there have been a plethora of educational changes that continually impact students, teachers and administrators. These changes influence what is taught, how it is taught, the monitoring of instruction, and the assessment of student learning. They have reduced time available for teaching and learning by diverting time to mandated state assessments. Additionally, some of these changes have resulted in an ever-increasing role that for-profit corporations playing in education. One of the most recent changes taking place across the nation is the adoption by states of a new high-stakes teacher certification performance assessment known as edTPA, administered by Pearson Education. Its ramifications can be profound on teacher education programs, student teaching, and potentially classroom instruction and assessment.

So, what exactly is edTPA?

Each student teacher is required to create an electronic portfolio that provides evidence of his/her competencies in four major areas: planning, instruction, assessment of student learning, and an analysis of his/her teaching. A completed portfolio is then submitted for evaluation to edTPA, which is administered by Pearson Education, a for-profit corporation. edTPA rubrics are used to determine a candidate's score. Each state establishes a minimum pass score that is required for initial teacher certification. Presently, the History/Social Studies minimum passing score for New York is 41 and a Mastery level requires a score of 48 and above.

The electronic portfolio consists of three parts: video clips of the student teacher's instructional capabilities in an actual classroom, plans for 3-5 sequential lessons with personal assessment and commentary on the lessons, and documentation of student learning. A forty-nine page edTPA History/Social Studies Assessment Handbook provides 15 rubrics for the assessed areas and extensive detailed instructions on the amount and type of evidence that needs to be submitted. Scoring of edTPA electronic portfolios is done by teachers, school administrators, and college faculty who are certified by Pearson Education after 20 hours of online training. Each student teacher/candidate pays a fee of \$300 to edTPA/Pearson Education for the portfolio evaluation. This fee is charged every time a student has to resubmit his/her portfolio for evaluation.

When does it go into effect in New Jersey?

edTPA is already in effect in New York state. It was adopted by the New Jersey Department of Education in December 2015. According to the edTPA New Jersey website posted by Pearson Education, "effective September 1, 2017, all candidates seeking the Certificate of Eligibility with Advanced Standing (CEAS) and Certificate of Eligibility (CE) holders seeking the Standard Certificate are required to have participated in the edTPA and met the New Jersey approved passing standard(s)."

What Social Studies competencies does edTPA assess?

edTPA History/Social Studies requires each Social Studies student teacher to demonstrate his/her ability to:

- Plan lessons that "build students' understandings of facts, concepts, and inquiry, interpretation, or analysis skills to build and support arguments or conclusions about historical events or a social studies phenomenon" and "justify instructional plans".
- Develop student "understandings of facts, concepts, and inquiry, interpretations, or analyses to build arguments or conclusions."
- "Actively engage students in inquiry, interpretation, or analysis of history/social studies sources or accounts and in building arguments or conclusions."
- "Promote" the ability of students "to interpret or analyze history/social studies sources/accounts and to build and support arguments or conclusions" and use "evidence from sources as they interpret or analyze and build and support arguments or conclusions"
- Selected or designed "assessments to monitor students' progress toward understanding and use of facts, concepts, and inquiry, interpretations, or analyses to build and support arguments or conclusions."

What are the ramifications of edTPA for Social Studies?

A February 2016 publication authored by several Queen College professors entitled *Policy, Professionalization, Privatization, and Performance Assessment* identifies several possible ramifications for Social Studies. One of which is “tension between classroom practice focused on transmission and classroom practice focused on disciplinary knowledge and analysis.” The authors acknowledge that edTPA History/Social Studies “emphasizes practices requiring generally more analytical thinking in social studies classrooms. Many of these mandated practices have been called for by scholars whose work has been widely associated with efforts to raise the intellectual quality of teaching in general.”

It is possible that the History/Social Studies edTPA could help foster changes in the direction of Social Studies curriculum and practices in existing secondary programs. However, these changes might only be evident over the course of years as the result of changes made to the teacher education programs as their graduates enter the field.

edTPA scores may become one of the most significance factors in determining which Social Studies applicants will be selected in the screening of job applications. Thus, increasing the weight of the edTPA as a high-stakes assessment.

A key component in achieving the level of teaching competency of student teachers is the placement of student teachers with exemplary cooperating Social Studies educators. The role of the cooperating teachers is not addressed in edTPA. Student teachers are too often placed with cooperating teachers that do no help to advance nor model teaching and assessment practices promoted by edTPA. In some teacher education programs student teachers are viewed as social change agents in the schools and classrooms where they are placed. Yet, they have too often not had the opportunity to observe and work with classroom teachers that model the desired practices.

To help address the planning, instructional, and assessment goals that edTPA promotes, assistances is needed to identify and recruit Social Studies cooperating teachers that model exemplary practices. Social Studies supervisors, department chairs, and school/district administrators can play a significant role in this effort.

edTPA History/Social Studies goals helps make the case that more than one 3 credit Social Studies methods course is sufficient to meet the ever-increasing requirements and competencies needed of pre-service Social Studies educator. Already some revisions have been made in Social Studies methods courses to accommodate edTPA. The University of West Georgia Social Studies methods course incorporated edTPA rubrics as the assessment tool for lesson planning.

What are some of the concerns about edTPA?

A considerable amount of time will be needed to collect, organize, and prepare evidence for the edTPA evaluators during student teaching. The Queens College professors also recognized the concern that “Pearson Corporation exclusively administers the edTPA, there is an intersection of interests where the professionalization of teaching meets privatization in education.” Rick Ayers stated on *Diane Ravitch’s Blog* that, “EdTPA seems to be just one more piece of the “reform” effort to break the teaching profession and make it easier to turn teaching into a scripted performance.” He also raised the concern of how “Pearson Education, who is the exclusive administrator of edTPA ... a teacher or teacher educator who, with just 19-23 hours of computer-based training by Pearson was magically transformed from unqualified to evaluate their own teacher candidates to a national expert in evidence-based assessment.”

Currently no explicit EdTPA History/Social Studies Assessment Handbook for New Jersey is available. The one posted at the Marquette University site seems to be exactly like the copy distributed by edTPA at a training session at Rutgers University.

For more on edTPA:

edTPA New Jersey, a Peason Education site https://www.edtpa.com/PageView.aspx?f=GEN_NewJersey.html
Gurl, Theresa J. *Policy, Professionalization, Privatization, and Performance Assessment: Affordances and Constraints for Teacher Education Programs*. SpringerBriefs in Education, 1st ed. 2016 Edition
Rick Ayers: EdTPA “Is Ruining Teacher Professionalism.” *Diane Ravitch’s Blog*. Nov. 13, 2015.

How Should We Remember Public Figures?

By Arlene Gardner

Thomas Jefferson owned African slaves and had children with one of his slaves. Alexander Hamilton would have been happy with a monarchy. Abraham Lincoln suspended habeas corpus during the Civil War. Teddy Roosevelt ordered the dishonorable discharge of 170 African American GIs (later exonerated) for a racial incident in Brownsville, Texas. His cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, signed an executive order authorizing the internment of Japanese during World War II. Richard Nixon had to resign because of his involvement in the cover-up of the break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters. Presidents, much like other human beings, have their faults. Yet, they each also did much to benefit the country. How should historians and social studies students judge their actions?

The current controversy over the racial attitudes and policies of President Woodrow Wilson invites teachers to consider how we can help students evaluate the legacies of public figures. Wilson was President of Princeton University from 1902 to 1910 and Governor of New Jersey from 1911 to 1913. He was elected President of the United States in 1912 on a progressive platform that he called the "New Freedom." He sought to achieve this by attacking the "Triple Wall of Privilege," tariffs, banks, and trusts. Tariffs, he argued, protected large industrialists at the expense of small farmers. The banking system pinched small farmers and entrepreneurs. The gold standard made currency tight and loans too expensive for average Americans.

In office, Wilson signed the Underwood-Simmons Act into law in 1913 reducing tariff rates. He signed the Federal Reserve Act, which made the nation's currency more flexible, and the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which specifically named certain business tactics as illegal, exempted labor unions from antitrust suits and declared strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing legal. President Wilson approved the creation of a Federal Trade Commission to act as a watchdog over business; a child labor bill; a workers' compensation act; and a federal farm loan act. He agreed to limit the workday of interstate railroad workers to 8 hours. Later, with war waging in Europe, President Wilson's attention turned to issues of safety, security, and maintaining democratic societies. Having "kept us out of war," the American people elected Wilson to a second term.

However, Woodrow Wilson's record on race relations, rather than being "progressive," reflected the racism of his Southern upbringing. African Americans initially welcomed his election. During his first term in office, the House of Representatives passed a bill making racial intermarriage a felony in the District of Columbia. Wilson's Postmaster General ordered that Washington offices be segregated. The Treasury and Navy Departments also initiated segregationist policies. Suddenly, photographs were required of all applicants for federal jobs.

When pressed by Black leaders to explain these new federal policies, Wilson replied, "segregation was caused by friction between the colored and white clerks, and not done to injure or humiliate the colored clerks, but to avoid friction." But, concluded noted historian David Levering Lewis: "In every man's life, there's the possibility of making a considerable difference. By attitude, by spoken word, by something done or not done. You'd have to say that in the area of race relations, Woodrow Wilson was deficient on all those points."

In the past, textbooks primarily focused only on the positive actions taken by United States elected officials. This kind of whitewashing skews history and turns it into propaganda rather than a search for the truth. But, should teachers focus only on actions to which we object and ignore those that made life better for many? Or do we acknowledge that many American leaders were flawed individuals? Should teachers excuse actions that they find objectionable today as merely reflecting the cultural views of their times or should we hold leaders to a higher standard than the average person of their time?

These are excellent questions for your students to grapple with. I think we can agree that avoiding anything negative is a terrible idea. But deciding how to understand the impact of a public figure in his or her time period when some actions were exemplary and others highly questionable by today's standards is not an easy task. Students should be encouraged to investigate and try to use objective criteria to understand the actions and decisions of public figures in their historical context as well as their impact, both positive and negative.

Excerpts from Report of the Trustee Committee on Woodrow Wilson's Legacy at Princeton

Adopted by The Trustees of Princeton University, April 2, 2016

<http://www.princeton.edu/main/news/archive/S45/97/32G05/Wilson-Committee-Report-Final.pdf>

In November 2015, the Princeton University Board of Trustees appointed a special committee to consider the legacy of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton. The committee was appointed in response to heartfelt concerns by students and other members of the campus community about the veneration of Wilson on campus, especially in light of increased awareness of his views about race; of particular concern are the position he took as Princeton's president to prevent the enrollment of black students and the policies he instituted as U.S. president that resulted in the re-segregation of the federal civil service. Because the Board of Trustees has authority over decisions about the naming of University facilities and programs, the special committee was asked to consider whether changes should be made in how the University recognizes Wilson's legacy, and specifically whether the school of public and international affairs and the residential college that bear his name should continue to do so.

In the course of a thorough and wide-ranging review, it became clear that the controversy surrounding Wilson's name was emblematic of larger concerns about the University's commitment to diversity and inclusivity – a commitment that in our view is fundamental to Princeton achieving its mission of teaching, research, and service. It was also emblematic of a failure to acknowledge the pain and sense of exclusion that many people of color have experienced, and in some cases continue to experience, on our campus, partly because of the narrow lens through which the University presents its history.

The committee acknowledges that over the course of Princeton's 270-year history, there have been people connected to the University – influential alumni, generous benefactors, and celebrated professors – who have espoused views that are antithetical to our values today. We recognize that the continuing presence of their names on campus may be discomfiting to many, and offensive to some. Our responsibility as trustees is to ensure that the University remains vigilant in placing these representations into a much fuller context and that these representations do not become barriers to the pursuit of our goal of increased diversity and effective inclusion. It was with this understanding that the committee undertook its deliberations.

For reasons that are presented later in this report, the committee recommends that both the Woodrow

Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and Woodrow Wilson College should retain their current names and that the University needs to be honest and forthcoming about its history. This requires transparency in recognizing Wilson's failings and shortcomings as well as the visions and achievements that led to the naming of the school and the college in the first place. Even more important, in the committee's view, is a strong reaffirmation by the Board of Trustees of the University's commitment and determination to be a place that is truly diverse and inclusive, one that embraces, respects, and values all members of its on-campus and alumni communities.

Input from the University Community

The committee created a website (<http://wilsonlegacy.princeton.edu>) to collect observations and opinions about Wilson and his legacy. At the committee's invitation, nine scholars and biographers with relevant expertise posted their understandings of Wilson and his legacy on the website . . . The committee also convened a total of 11 on-campus small group discussions in late January and mid-February in which more than 80 students, faculty, staff, alumni, and others participated. These discussions gave members of the committee opportunities to hear directly from people who held a range of views and offered a number of highly constructive suggestions, while also giving participants in the discussions opportunities for dialogue among themselves and with members of the committee.

The committee received more than 635 submissions through its website. They came from undergraduates, graduate students, faculty, staff, alumni of all ages, and members of the general public. Almost without exception, they were thoughtful and appreciative of the opportunity to comment and to learn more about Wilson. They expressed a range of perspectives and suggestions regarding Wilson and his legacy and the naming of the school and the college. Many commented on their own campus experiences or the experiences of others who have not felt truly welcomed at Princeton. A number accepted the committee's invitation to comment on how the University should think about broader questions related to the representation of historical legacy and naming.

Many noted how little they knew about Wilson prior to this set of conversations and how eye-opening it was to learn more about his legacy at Princeton and beyond, especially with regard to issues of race. Some noted that they had long known of Wilson's views and were pleased to see a growing recognition of why some members of the community would object so strongly to the continuation of Wilson's venerated status on campus. Commenters on all sides appreciated the opportunity to participate in an informed, candid, and – many would say – long overdue conversation about Wilson and his legacy.

A minority of those who commented advocated for changing the name of the school, the college, or both. Even though we eventually came to a different judgment, we acknowledge the passion and thoughtfulness of the arguments they advanced. In most cases, those who advocated change concluded by saying two other things: they emphasized the importance, if the names were retained, of telling Wilson's story more fully and honestly; and they made it clear that the discussion about Wilson's name raised deeper issues about the nature of Princeton as a truly welcoming and inclusive community. Many who advocated for retaining Wilson's name on the school and the college also maintained that Princeton should offer a more honest portrayal of Wilson and express a renewed commitment to diversity and inclusivity. We thank all who took the time to share their views with us through the website.

One of the ways in which Woodrow Wilson is associated with Princeton is through the University's informal motto, which originated with Wilson's address at Princeton's sesquicentennial in 1896. Every time the motto is used, it evokes Princeton's association with Wilson, but it also evokes an aspiration to service that is a fundamental component of Princeton's mission. In 1996, at the celebration of Princeton's 250th anniversary, President Harold Shapiro proposed that the motto be updated to reflect Princeton's growing international presence; and the expanded motto – Princeton in the Nation's Service and the Service of All Nations – was engraved in a plaque that is prominently situated on the front campus. Upon receiving the Woodrow Wilson award in 2014, Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor '76 suggested revising the motto so that it focused less on

service to nations and more on service to humanity. Her proposal echoed the comments of others over the years who have objected to the limitation of aspiring only to the service of nations, and who have asked whether the University's aspiration was truly to be in the service of all nations.

We propose modifying Princeton's informal motto to "Princeton in the Nation's Service and the Service of Humanity." We do so for two compelling reasons. One is that it captures Princeton's mission to serve the public good through teaching, research, and service that make a positive difference in the lives of people in this country and throughout the world. But it also permits the University to recast the front campus plaque, allowing it to reflect both the time honored aspiration stated by Woodrow Wilson and the forward-looking aspiration stated by Justice Sotomayor. The new plaque would contextualize the legacy of Woodrow Wilson; it would allow us to contemporize his expression of Princeton's commitment to service by linking it to our embrace of the coeducational, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, diverse and inclusive composition and ideals of our community today.

Commitment to a Diverse and Inclusive Princeton

We end this report where we began, by reaffirming our insistence that Princeton be a diverse, inclusive, and welcoming community for students, faculty, staff, alumni, and visitors from all backgrounds and perspectives. We recognize that much work needs to be done to achieve this aspiration, and we encourage the board to provide the oversight, accountability, and resources necessary to make significant progress. We call on all members of the University community to recognize and respect the concerns that led to this re-examination of Wilson's legacy – concerns that reflect the experiences of members of our community on campus and beyond – and to join in a concerted effort to help the University live up to higher standards of inclusivity and mutual respect. One of the enduring lessons of this reexamination of Woodrow Wilson's legacy is how much we can learn when we listen deeply to one another, as we have, and as we need to continue to do. We need to acknowledge both the challenges that confront us today and the shortcomings of our past as we focus together on the Princeton we want to become and the steps we all must take to get there.

Princeton's Trustees Failed History with Their Woodrow Wilson Decision

By Richard Rothstein

Originally published as “On renaming the Woodrow Wilson School: The standards of his time, and ours,” *Working Economics* (Economic Policy Institute blog), April 14, 2016, <http://www.epi.org/blog/on-renaming-the-woodrow-wilson-school-the-standards-of-his-time-and-ours/>.

In April, Princeton University trustees announced they were rejecting student protester demands that “Woodrow Wilson” be removed from the names of the university’s School of Public and International Affairs and a residential undergraduate college. The protesters objected to honoring Wilson because he participated in and, as president of the United States, helped lead a national wave of reaction against the progress towards equality that African Americans had made in the decades after emancipation. In particular, Wilson segregated, for the first time, the federal civil service.

The trustees agreed that Wilson’s racial policies as president of the university (where he refused to admit African American students) and president of the United States were a serious blemish on his record. They recommended greater efforts to recruit African American students, programs to better incorporate those students into university life, and “a much more multi-faceted understanding and representation of Wilson on our campus, especially at the school and the college where his name is commemorated.” They made no specific proposals in this regard, but it would seem reasonable to install a prominent plaque at the entrances of these buildings that describe Wilson’s contributions to segregating American society, and distribute a pamphlet to each student at the school and college that describes the origins of segregation and Wilson’s contribution to it. Such an approach would be preferable to removing his name. Preserving the identity of the school and college should be a provocation for ongoing discussion of this history. Sanitizing the names, in contrast, could ensure that future generations of Princeton students will be as little challenged by that history as previous generations have been.

There was, however, a discordant note in the trustees’ report. It said that the continued use of Wilson’s name “implies no endorsement of views and actions that conflict with the values and aspirations of our times.” In this fashion, the trustees subtly associated themselves with a theme propounded by opponents of the student protests, the idea that, as one New York Times letter-writer put it, “judging and vilifying 19th and early 20th century behavior by 21st century standards is neither realistic nor prudent.” A sociology professor wrote that we should not target “incidents and opinions that were normative during [Wilson’s] time in office.” A distinguished law professor said that Wilson “was a man of his own time, and he should be judged accordingly... not only by the

moral standards of today, but by ...his values in the setting of his own time.” And so on.

Philosophers and historians have long pondered whether we can judge the past by today’s standards. But in the case of government sponsorship of segregation, we can avoid the tough questions and be satisfied with judging yesterday’s leaders by standards that were readily available to them in their own time. Prior to Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration in 1913, African Americans had been making slow but steady progress in federal employment, and were about 5% of all federal civil servants nationwide, working side-by-side with whites. They occupied managerial positions as well, sometimes directing an integrated workforce.



Wilson’s cabinet officers demoted African Americans and denied them any further promotions, to prevent them from ever being in supervisory positions over whites. Federal departments installed curtains to separate black and white clerical workers, segregated cafeteria sections by race for the first time, and created

separate bathrooms that black workers had to use in the basements of government buildings. In 1914, the federal civil service instituted a policy of requiring photographs on all job applications, to ensure that further black workers would not be hired. In a New York Times op-ed on the Princeton students' protest, Gordon J. Davis, a prominent African American lawyer, described how his grandfather was peremptorily demoted from a well-paying position as a supervisor in the Government Printing Office to a messenger in the War Department, at half his previous salary. He lost a home and died "a broken man."

Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo justified such treatment with a claim that the Wilson administration's segregation policy was necessary "to remove the causes of complaint and irritation where white women have been forced unnecessarily to sit at desks with colored men." President Wilson stated, "I do approve of the segregation that is being attempted in several of the departments" and wrote to a friend, "We are trying—and by degrees succeeding — a plan of concentration which will put them all together and will not in any one bureau mix the two races."

Civil Service and Upward Mobility

Because the civil service has always been a stepping-stone for upwardly mobile lower-class groups, cases like that of Mr. Davis's grandfather were no small matter. Although not all Davis descendants were permanently set back, many other families were not so fortunate. Wilson's policies decimated the growing African American middle class of Washington, D.C. Given what we know about the limits of intergenerational income mobility in the United States, then as well as now, Wilson's policy had an impact lasting many generations and contributes to the impoverishment of the African American ghetto, particularly in the nation's capital.

Segregation may have been a popular policy for Wilson to follow, but there were contrary voices offering a different standard. Wilson had choices, and if we claim that his decision only followed norms for his time, we inappropriately excuse how he chose. If we make "standards of the time" synonymous with the most conventional, majority opinion of an era, we forfeit our ability to learn from errors of the past, and undermine our will to correct them. Certainly, throughout the twentieth century, outspoken African Americans protested their treatment as a lower caste, denied the full rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by our Constitution. Their voices were always in the

public realm, widely available to offer a standard by which public officials' actions should have been judged. In 1913, an African American delegation met with the president to protest his segregation policies, but Wilson deemed their spokesman impudent and vowed never to meet with him again.

If you dismiss the relevance of African American protests on the ground that whites' "standards of the time" meant not paying attention to black opinion, consider that many white religious leaders also protested Wilson's policy of segregation. The National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States, a mainstream Protestant group, adopted a resolution condemning Wilson's policy at its 1914 convention. The editor of *The Congregationalist* and the *Christian World* wrote to Wilson that his segregation policy violated Christian principles and told his readers that protesting Wilson's policy was the "Christian white man's duty." Senator Robert La Follette's magazine (now known as *The Progressive*) published a series of articles protesting Wilson's policy and concluding that African Americans "should not be discriminated against."

Wilson's Republican predecessors — Presidents William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft— also had different ideas of what was appropriate. None was an integrationist — indeed, each supported "social" segregation, and forcefully so. They made no efforts to challenge Democrats' imposition of a new order of racial subjugation and terror in the South—Republican administrations acquiesced to it — but the Republicans did open an integrated federal civil service to African Americans and sanctioned their promotion within the ranks. As Theodore Roosevelt's term came to a close, 2,785 African Americans worked in federal offices in Washington, D.C., representing 11 percent of the capital city's federal civil service. Of these, 415 were executives, professionals, technicians, scientists, or other white-collar workers. William Howard Taft appointed an African American lawyer, William Lewis, as an assistant attorney general and fought for (and won) his Senate confirmation. This was the highest federal position ever before held by an African American.

As governor of New York, Theodore Roosevelt had hosted African American leaders at the governor's mansion on a number of occasions, sometimes as overnight guests. In one of his first acts as president in 1901, he made a public gesture that symbolized his contempt for the growing national support for

segregation, inviting the African American educator Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House. It was not a popular thing to do; Democratic Senator Benjamin Tillman (who had run for office boasting of his role in the massacre of African Americans at the end of Reconstruction) said, “The action of President Roosevelt in entertaining that nigger will necessitate our killing a thousand niggers in the South before they will learn their place.” The leaders of Roosevelt’s own Republican Party were also critical.

Other Presidents, Other Options

Roosevelt, not easily intimidated, made no effort to pacify Tillman; after Tillman slugged a fellow Democratic Senator who had been cooperating with Roosevelt’s legislative program, the president banned Tillman from White House dinners for the rest of his presidency. Yet while Roosevelt advocated full civil rights for African Americans, he also courted Southern white votes with racial appeals that included declarations about white racial superiority. Neither of Roosevelt’s stances can be deemed the “standards of the time.” Nor, for that matter, were Tillman’s views “normative” for the time. In the national conversation regarding rights of African Americans, Roosevelt had one of many standards, Woodrow Wilson another. We can fairly acknowledge Roosevelt’s and condemn Wilson’s. We don’t have to hold Wilson to contemporary standards; the standards of a considerable number of his contemporaries will do to condemn him.

Wilson’s successor as president, Warren G. Harding, was also no integrationist, but like McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft, he sometimes stood up to the worst advocates of African American suppression. In 1923, the federal government built a hospital in Tuskegee, Alabama for African American veterans of World War I. Alabama administrators adopted a policy that although the hospital served black veterans, no African Americans would be hired, and proceeded to staff the hospital only with white doctors, nurses and other staff. President Harding personally intervened, freezing all hiring at the hospital until African Americans in professional as well as service positions could be recruited.

It is one thing to excuse historic figures for failing to recognize moral standards that were held by nobody, or barely anybody. But if we excuse them for failing to recognize moral standards that were held by some, and of which they were aware but chose to reject, we undermine our constitutional system. The purpose of

the Bill of Rights and the Civil War amendments is to protect minorities and individuals from majority opinion, not from unanimous opinion. Whether because of private prejudice or political expediency, government officials who segregated the nation ignored their constitutional obligations, unpopular though those obligations may have been to most white voters.

By embracing the idea that “our times” are different, the Princeton University trustees ducked the most important issue that the student protesters raised. What does it say about us that it took until 2015 to address the racial legacy of the university’s most prominent leader? It is not as though the students brought up issues with which we, and the trustees, were unfamiliar. Wilson’s role in segregating the civil service has been described in many historical accounts. His promotion of and praise for the film, *Birth of a Nation*, glorifying the Ku Klux Klan’s violent suppression of African Americans at the end of Reconstruction, is known even by many who don’t read history texts. If the university erects a plaque at the entrance of the Woodrow Wilson School, describing Wilson’s role in segregating the nation, the text should also reflect upon the failure of the university, including its present leaders, to acknowledge this legacy for the next hundred years—until student protests forced them to do so.

Also last week, Harvard University President Drew Faust installed a plaque to honor African American slaves that the university had used in its 18th century construction. She observed: “It should not be because we feel superior to our predecessors that we interrogate and challenge their actions. We should approach the past with humility because we too are humans with capacities for self-delusion, for moral failure and blindness, for inhumanity. If we can better understand how oppression and exploitation could seem commonplace to so many of those who built Harvard, we may better equip ourselves to combat our own shortcomings and to advance justice and equality in our own time.”

The Princeton trustees should be commended for their acknowledgement of the past and their new commitment to diversity and inclusion. But rather than a smug boast that “the values and aspirations of our times” are different from those of Wilson’s time, the trustees would have been well served by a bit of Drew Faust’s humility.

Princeton Students Weigh in on Wilson Controversy

Sources: “<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2015/11/23/after-protests-princeton-debates-woodrow-wilsons-legacy/>; “<http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/princeton-and-the-fight-over-woodrow-wilsons-legacy>; <http://dailyprincetonian.com/opinion/2015/09/on-the-legacy-of-woodrow-wilson-a-racist-bigot/>”

Claire Ashmead, junior: “The question is very worth asking.” We should be “actively interrogating spaces on campus, why they are called what they’re called, and whether or not they are hostile.”

Josh Zuckerman, senior: “I don’t like Woodrow Wilson any more than they do, but we can’t impose modern values on historical figures.” He helped organize a petition that calls for “increased dialogue and the creation of a process that properly considers the input of all students and faculty, not merely those who are the loudest.”

Owusu-Boahen is studying West African economic development in the Woodrow Wilson School. “I decided to attend the sit-in to support the overall cause of making marginalized students feel protected on this campus . . . Regardless of what their specific demands are, I’m for the cause. Being a black student on this campus is carrying the weight of oppression on your shoulders and constantly having to explain that that weight exists.”



Woodrow Wilson

Francisco Varela, graduate student in public policy in the Woodrow Wilson School: “Changing a name is not a solution nor a necessary condition to address this problem. When I think of Woodrow Wilson, I think of the inclusive community that I am part of.”

Taimur Ahmad, senior: “Why do all of these students feel like their voices aren’t heard, that their experiences aren’t validated, that they feel unsafe? That’s what this movement is really about.”

Evan Draim, president of Princeton’s College Republicans: The reason Princeton named its institutions after Wilson was “obviously not because the school is trying to sanction his terrible beliefs on race” but because Princeton is “trying to remember that he made many positive contributions to this college.”

Rachel Stone, junior: “Before the protests, I was not as aware of how the legacy of buildings and institutions can directly affect one’s happiness.”

Wilglory Tanjong, student organizers with the Black Justice League: “Should we continue to validate the honoring of Woodrow Wilson because other racist, slavery-endorsing presidents are still being honored? Shall we continue to subjugate, oppress and ignore the existence of our students of color because the world does the same to them? . . . When our university fails to stand up against or acknowledge the wrongdoings of a man who proudly branded himself a racist and segregationist, we all become complicit in the crimes committed against the humanity of black and brown peoples then and the manifestation of racism that continues today. There is no in between.”

Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Effort to End Monopolies

By MaryAnn Kopp and Richard Kopp

What is a Monopoly? Anticipatory activity: To begin this lesson, tell the students that you want to purchase a pen from somebody. Ask whether any of them have a pen that they would be willing to sell. Tell them to write down on a piece of paper the price that they would charge for a pen, using the pen. Also ask them what information you should think about in making your decision about which pen to purchase? The students may suggest the qualities you want in a pen and that you should try to purchase it for the lowest possible price. If the students do not suggest these ideas on their own, raise them for the students. Ask them to discuss why these ideas make sense. Now tell the students to imagine that one student in the class owned all of the pens in the classroom and you can only buy a pen only from somebody in the class. Ask them how this scenario might influence the price of the pen and the quality of the pen being sold. Here you would like to hear the students state that if one person owned all of the pens, that person could charge more money for them and sell lower-quality pens. Ask the students to explain why this is true. They should recognize that since only one person was selling pens, this individual would not have to worry about either the price or the quality of the pens that other people were selling. Explain that this scenario is an example of a monopoly. (From <http://www.econedlink.org/teacher-lesson/686>)



Vintage Esso billboard advertisements. July 1940

Explain that a monopoly is a market structure characterized by a single seller of a unique product with no close substitutes. This is one of four basic market structures. The other three are perfect competition, oligopoly, and monopolistic competition. As the single seller of a unique good with no close substitutes, a monopoly essentially has no competition. Ask the students to explain this definition in their own words. Then shift the discussion: ask the students if they think it is fair for monopolies to exist. Urge them to support their opinions. As the students share their opinions take notes on the board. Encourage the students to express ideas that both support and oppose monopolies. The demand for a monopoly firm's output is THE market demand. This gives the firm extensive market control--the ability to control the price and/or quantity of the good sold--making a monopoly firm a price maker. However, while a monopoly can control the market price, it cannot charge more than the maximum demand price that buyers are willing to pay.

In the absence of government intervention, a monopoly is free to set any price it chooses, and this price is generally the one that leads to the largest possible profit. So, a monopoly may charge a higher price than if there was competition. It may also limit the options available and limit innovation because of its monopolistic position. This may also be true with oligopolies. For example, OPEC countries working together have been able to keep prices high by limiting the quantity of oil they offer on the international market. Adam Smith, who is hailed as the father of free markets, condemned business monopolies in this epic work, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), because they hurt the public by reducing choice, efficiency, and progress while raising prices to whatever levels the monopolist deems necessary to achieve his desired profit.

Activity 1: Who was John D. Rockefeller? How and why did he create Standard Oil of New Jersey?

Born into a modest working class family in upstate New York, John D. Rockefeller entered the then-fledgling oil business in 1863 by investing in a Cleveland, Ohio refinery. Discovery of oil in Titusville, Pennsylvania just before the Civil War led to the rapid growth of a new industry based largely on the use of kerosene for lighting. Oil refining became largely concentrated in Cleveland because of its proximity to the oil fields of Western Pennsylvania, its excellent (and competitive) railroad service, its availability of cheap water transportation (on adjacent Lake Erie) and its abundant supplies of low cost immigrant labor. In 1870, he joined three others to establish Standard Oil, at a time when the refining industry was still highly decentralized, with more than 250

competitors in the U.S. By the early 1880s Standard Oil controlled some 90 percent of U.S. refineries and pipelines. The company was an innovator in the development of the business “trust.” In 1882, all of its properties and those of its affiliates were merged into the Standard Oil Trust, the first of the great corporate trusts. A *trust* was an arrangement whereby the stockholders in a group of companies transferred their shares to a single set of *trustees* who controlled all of the companies. In exchange, the stockholders received certificates entitling them to a specified share of the consolidated earnings of the jointly managed companies. In 1885, Standard Oil of Ohio moved its headquarters from Cleveland to its permanent headquarters in New York City. Concurrently, the trustees of Standard Oil of Ohio chartered the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey (SOCNJ) to take advantages of New Jersey's more lenient corporate stock ownership laws. After enacting laws in 1888-89 that permitted one company to own another, New Jersey became the preferred state for trust incorporations.

Standard Oil had previously purchased 176 acres of land on Constable Hook in Bayonne, the site of marine transfer operations for the Port of New York and New Jersey, in 1872, and by 1885 there was a pipeline connecting it to the field of Texas. On July 4, 1900, a fire broke out in the Constable Hook Standard Oil refinery in Bayonne. It started when lightning caused a number of the large oil tanks to explode. Flaming oil spread out into New York Bay. It took three days to extinguish the fire that in the end caused \$2.5 million in damages yet only nine injuries. In 1906, Standard Oil expanded its operations to over 300 acres at Constable Hook in Bayonne, and the following year it purchased several hundred acres in Linden and Elizabeth, New Jersey, on New York harbor, and built a large facility for processing crude oil that became Bayway, a leading research facility as well as the most northern oil refinery on the east coast of the United States, now owned by Philips 66. Standard Oil dominated the oil products market initially through horizontal integration (creating or acquiring production units that are complementary or competitive, e.g., buying competitors in the same industry doing the same stage of development to reduce competition, increase market share by using economies of scale, or to create a monopoly) in the refining sector, then, in later years vertical integration (integrating multiple stages of production along its production path or supply chain to promote financial growth and efficiency, e.g. growing raw materials, manufacturing, transporting, marketing, and/or retailing). The Standard Oil trust streamlined production and logistics, lowered costs, and undercut competitors. Critics accused Rockefeller of engaging in unethical practices, such as predatory pricing and colluding with railroads to eliminate his competitors, in order to gain a monopoly in the industry. In 1911, the U.S. Supreme Court found Standard Oil in violation of anti-trust laws and ordered it to dissolve. With the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust into 33 smaller companies, Rockefeller became the richest man in the world. During his life Rockefeller donated more than \$500 million to various philanthropic causes.

Activity 2: Standard Oil business practices and the Sherman Antitrust Act

In the United States we value competition in our market system. Competition is a regulating force, along with the self-interest of the consumer, in the US economy. They work together to keep prices low and bring new products to the market place. They also foster innovations that help to bring down the cost of doing business. But are there times when one supplier in a market is better than a competitive market? Should the government work to protect that one supplier in a market? This lesson will explore the idea of monopolies and the actions the government uses when faced with monopolies.

Handout 1: Examples of ways that Rockefeller used the size and clout of Standard Oil to undercut competitors (Adapted from: <http://www.linco.org/standardoil.html>):

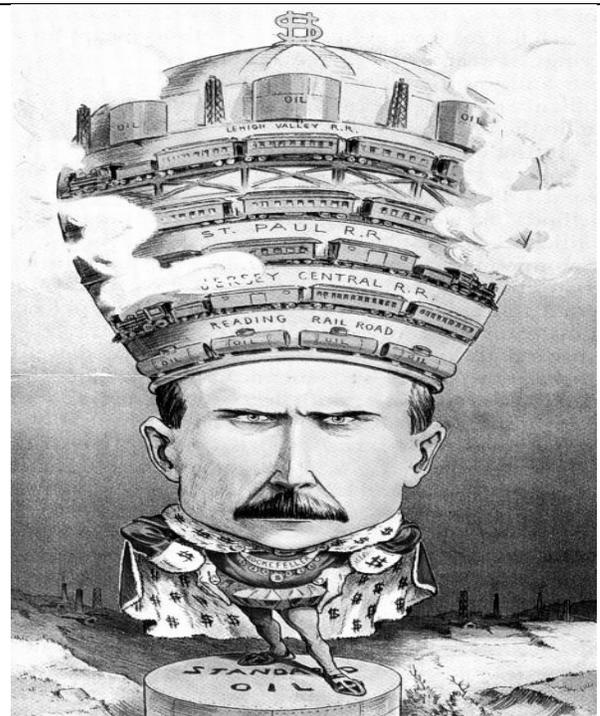
- Temporarily undercutting the prices of competitors until they either went out of business or sold out to Standard Oil.
- Buying up the components needed to make oil barrels in order to prevent competitors from getting their oil to customers.
- Using its large and growing volume of oil shipments to negotiate an alliance with the railroads that gave it secret rebates and thereby reduced its effective shipping costs to a level far below the rates charged to its competitors.
- Secretly buying up competitors and then having officials from those companies spy on and give advance warning of deals being planned by other competitors.

- Secretly buying up or creating new oil-related companies, such as pipeline and engineering firms, that appeared to be independent operators but which gave Standard Oil hidden rebates.
- Dispatching thugs who used threats and physical violence to break up the operations of competitors who could not otherwise be persuaded.

Handout 2 (Adapted from: <http://www.shrm.org/legalissues/federalresources/federalstatutesregulationsandguidanc/pages/shermananti-trustactof1890.aspx>): Contrary to popular belief, monopolies are not illegal in the United States. What is illegal is actions taken by monopolies to limit competition. The Sherman Antitrust Act (Sherman Act, July 2, 1890, ch. 647, 26 Stat. 209, 15 U.S.C. 1–7) was the first United States Federal statute to limit cartels and monopolies. The Act provides: “Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is declared to be illegal.” The Act also provides: “Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a felony.” The Act put responsibility upon government attorneys and district courts to pursue and investigate trusts, companies and organizations suspected of violating the Act. Later, in 1914, the Clayton Act extended the right to sue under the antitrust laws to “any person who shall be injured in his business or property by reason of anything forbidden in the antitrust laws.” Under the Clayton Act, private parties may sue in U.S. district court and should they prevail, they may be awarded treble damages and the cost of suit, including reasonable attorney's fees.

Activity 3: Analyzing a political cartoon

John D. Rockefeller, "King of the World,"
 Source: *Puck Magazine*. 1901.
 Depicted in the cartoon (some of the things your students should identify):
 Rockefeller is sitting on top of a platform labeled Standard Oil (Company name)
 Rockefeller is dressed in king's attire with money signs all in his robe.
 Serious look on his face
 The huge crown atop his head.
 Four railroad companies that Rockefeller owned and used to transport his oil.
 Reading R.R (Monopoly board game)
 Jersey Central R.R
 St. Paul R.R
 Lehigh Valley R.R
 Dollar sign on top of his crown
 The Background is a ruined/destroyed United States.
 Dark grey skies, industry across the land.
 No trees.



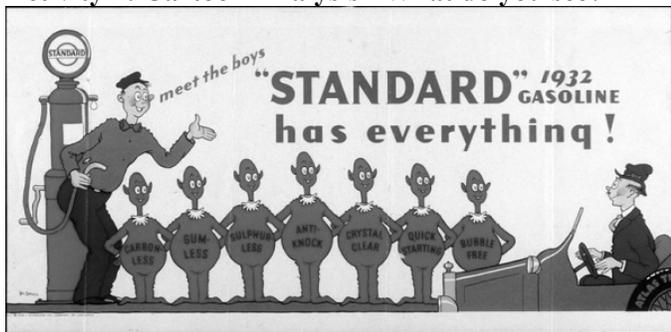
Activity 4: Close Reading: Who is Ida Tarbell? Ida Minerva Tarbell was born in 1857 in northwestern Pennsylvania. She grew up amid the derricks of the oil region. Her father became an oil producer and refiner until a hidden agreement between the railroads and refiners led by John D. Rockefeller in 1872 hit the Pennsylvania oil region like a tidal wave. After graduating from Allegheny College, the sole woman in the class of 1880, Tarbell moved to Ohio to teach science, but resigned after two years and turned to writing. The rapidly changing economic landscape and the rise of monopolistic trusts was “disturbing and confusing people,” wrote Tarbell. A new generation of investigative journalists, later dubbed "muckrakers" by President Theodore Roosevelt, had set out to wage a campaign to expose corruption in business and political lawlessness. Tarbell latched onto the idea of using the story of Standard Oil to illustrate these troubling issues, persuading McClure Magazine to publish a three-part

series on the oil trust. Instantly popular with readers, "The History of the Standard Oil Company" grew to be a 19-part series, published between November 1902 and October 1904. Tarbell wrote a detailed exposé of Rockefeller's unethical tactics, sympathetically portraying the plight of Pennsylvania's independent oil workers. Still, she was careful to acknowledge Rockefeller's brilliance and the flawlessness of the business structure he had created. She did not condemn capitalism itself, but "the open disregard of decent ethical business practices by capitalists." About Standard Oil, she wrote: "They had never played fair, and that ruined their greatness for me."

Activity 5: *Standard Oil Co. of NJ v. U.S. (1911)*: Have students listen to Rockefeller address the court at (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LC9Dh4kR_g (2 min video from "The Men Who Built America"). What does the judge accuse Standard Oil of doing and how? Does John D. Rockefeller address these accusations? John D. Rockefeller does not deny his company's actions. Instead he reminds the court of all the jobs his company provides, millions of dollars he made for the United States. Do these things outweigh his actions? Why or why not?

Activity 6: *Standard Oil today*: Following the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1911, Standard Oil was broken into 33 separate companies and Rockefeller becomes the richest man in the world. In 1926, embodying the phonetic rendition of the initials 'S' and 'O' in Standard Oil, Jersey Standard brought out a new blend of fuel under the trade name Esso. In 1972, the name was officially changed to Exxon, and in 1999, Exxon and Mobil joined to become the Exxon Mobil Corporation. The company evolved from a domestic refiner and distributor of kerosene to a large multinational corporation, involved at every level of oil and gas exploration, production, refining and marketing, and petrochemicals manufacturing.

Activity 7: Cartoon Analysis - What do you see?



This 1932 Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) advertisement is among those preserved by the Dr. Seuss Collection of the Mandeville Special Collections Library at the University of California, San Diego. Source: <http://aoghs.org/editors-picks/seuss-the-oilman/>

Critical thinking: Do you think that corporations should be held liable to clean up any damage they cause to the environment by their operations or should the public pay to clean-up environmental damage because it has benefitted from the products produced and such corporate liability might inhibit economic progress and jobs? Support your answer.

Activity 8: Assessment: Do you think that Standard Oil should have been broken up? Support your conclusion with reasoning and facts.

Environmental Clean-up. Teachers share the following background with students: In 2004, the state of New Jersey filed a lawsuit against Exxon Mobil, claiming that it had polluted 1500 acres of wetlands and surrounding natural environment where it had run its petrochemical operations for decades. Exxon Mobil was found to be responsible for cleaning up the environmental damage at its Constable Hook facilities in Bayonne and its Bayway facility in Linden, NJ, and also at 16 other facilities and roughly 1700 gas stations across the state. The clean-up at Constable Hook has included excavation, stabilization, capping, and the capturing of ground water contamination and installation of steel wall containment systems. The state had originally requested \$8.9 billion for the clean-up. However, NJ Governor Christie agreed to a \$225 million settlement, which has been criticized by politicians and environmentalists

Socialism in the United States: Hidden in Plain Sight

By Robert Shaffer

A version of this article appeared in *Social Education*, January-February 2016.

It was surprising enough that last summer 74-year-old Vermont senator Bernie Sanders attracted large crowds in his long-shot Presidential bid: 11,000 in Phoenix, 25,000 in Los Angeles, and 28,000 in Portland, Oregon. By early spring 2016, Sanders, a “democratic socialist” who for three decades has won office as an Independent, not only still draws crowds in out-of-the-way places – 7,000 in Boise – but has won millions of votes in Democratic primaries and caucuses. Sanders has made the centerpiece of his platform a battle against the “billionaires” and the “1%,” asserting that the political and economic systems in the U.S. today are rigged against the ordinary citizen. Income inequality increases as median wages stagnate. The super-rich avoid paying their fair share of taxes while shredded campaign finance laws provide them undue influence over the political process. Sanders does not dwell on the end goal of socialism – that “a nation’s resources and major industries should be owned and operated by the government on behalf of all the people, not by individuals and private companies for their own profit,” as one textbook puts it – but his socialist self-identification has put the word and the movement back in mainstream American political discourse.

This campaign thus reminds educators of the socialist tradition in U.S. politics and society. Students should know that Sanders and his ideas did not appear out of nowhere, but that people with such views have played important roles in reform movements. Indeed, as we seek to increase students’ sophistication as citizens, discussing Sanders’ ideas alongside those of other candidates, we can find that in U.S. history Socialists have often been “hidden in plain sight.”

Most U.S. history textbooks note the towering figure of American socialism, Eugene Debs, who usually appears at three points: as the American Railway Union head jailed for leading the 1894 Pullman strike; as his party’s Presidential candidate in the four-way 1912 race who received 6% of the vote; and as one of hundreds the Wilson administration jailed for opposing U.S. involvement in World War I. Jesus Garcia and his co-authors, in *Creating America* (2005), use Debs’ progression from union leader to socialist to introduce their chapter on the Progressive Era, highlighting his statement that in the age of Rockefeller the economic playing field was hardly level. Donald Ritchie’s *American History* (2001) provides more comprehensive treatment of U.S. socialists, emphasizing not only their influence during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, but the fear that some reformers had of this radical ideology.

But teachers should expand coverage of American socialism to help students understand the impact this movement has made. To do so, definitions matter. While socialists work to end capitalism, almost all also struggle to improve the lives of workers and other downtrodden people within existing society. Thus, they historically participate in the labor movement, and often strive to expand democracy for women, racial minorities, and others. The tension between movement and goals – between reform and revolution – has long animated intra-socialist debates. In the U.S., reformists have been best represented in Milwaukee, where Socialists largely controlled city government between 1910 and 1940 and elected Victor Berger to Congress for almost two decades. Sanders, in his most explicit elaboration of his socialist vision, at Georgetown University on November 19, 2015 (available online), squarely positioned himself in this tradition of improving people’s lives without seeking to overthrow capitalism: “I don’t believe government should own the means of production, but I do believe that the middle class and the working families who produce the wealth of America deserve a fair deal.”

Socialist or socialist?

Terminology can be confusing to students also with regard to capitalization: “socialist” refers to a person or policy aligned with the concept, while “Socialist” refers to a member of a specific political organization. In the U.S. the main such group began in 1898 as the Social Democratic Party, becoming the Socialist Party of America (SP) in 1901. Two Bolshevik groups split from it in 1919, later forming the Communist Party; Socialists and Communists have often been bitter enemies. The SP split three ways in 1972, with the most visible offshoot becoming Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) in 1982, which continues to this day.

Socialist participation in important reform movements should be discussed with students at several points in U.S. history. Teachers routinely present Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* (1906) as sparking the Meat Inspection Act

championed by President Theodore Roosevelt; the book and its impact are key examples of Progressive muckraking and government regulation of business. Teachers should note that Sinclair, whose main goal was to arouse sympathy for immigrant workers who toiled in unsafe and unsanitary Chicago packinghouses, was a Socialist. Moreover, it was the Kansas-based *Appeal to Reason*, a weekly newspaper with 760,000 subscribers at its height, that commissioned Sinclair to undertake this study. (This state has been reliably Republican for decades, but over 26,000 Kansans, or 7.3% of the vote, cast ballots for Debs in 1912 – and socialist Sanders beat Clinton two-to-one in Democratic caucuses there this year.)

Teachers should also discuss the efforts of Margaret Sanger – a founder of Planned Parenthood – to disseminate information about contraception in the 1910s. Sanger, a nurse, was arrested in 1914 for violating laws against “obscenity,” and even after charges were dropped she faced continual harassment. Especially with recent attacks on Planned Parenthood by Republicans in Congress and terrorists at the clinics, teachers should discuss the group’s origins and the mix of support and opposition it has received – including the Socialist connection. Sanger joined the SP after the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire, and the following year the Socialist *New York Call* serialized her pamphlet, “What Every Girl Should Know,” on sex and sexually-transmitted diseases. When the Post Office censored one installment, the newspaper left the page blank except for these words: “What Every Girl Should Know – NOTHING: By Order of the Post Office Department.” This incident demonstrates that Socialists one hundred years ago were open to new roles for American women – they had years earlier endorsed women’s suffrage – and that they pressed against restrictions on free speech.

Most textbooks mention the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for its defense of biology teacher John Scopes in the 1925 Tennessee “Monkey Trial.” Providing background on the organization – historically as controversial as Planned Parenthood – can link important issues related to World War I and its aftermath. The National Civil Liberties Bureau, led by Socialist Crystal Eastman and pacifist Roger Baldwin, unsuccessfully defended Socialist leader Charles Schenck, who was arrested for distributing anti-draft literature in the case which led to Oliver Wendell Holmes’s 1919 “clear and present danger” doctrine limiting free speech. With the Palmer Raids and other post-war attacks on the left, the NCLB became the permanent ACLU. Thus, an organization dedicated to defending free speech and other rights of all Americans, on the right as well as the left, began as a Socialist offshoot – a connection critics happily note (and exaggerate).

When introducing the Great Depression, innumerable teachers play Yip Harburg’s “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?” which is easily available on *YouTube*. Gary Nash, in *American Odyssey* (2005), states that this song, which dominated radio air-waves in 1931 and 1932 and highlighted labor’s role in building America, “captured the prevailing mood of desperation and shock.” Harburg, who also wrote the lyrics for “The Wizard of Oz,” was a lifelong Socialist. His Depression anthem did not usher in socialism, but, like *The Jungle*, it demonstrates socialist influence on American society.



A more ambitious classroom project on socialism’s Depression-era influence would be a comparison of Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal with the 1932 Democratic and Socialist platforms (available in Donald Bruce Johnson, *National Party Platforms, vol. 1* [1978]). Students will quickly see that the SP platform anticipated the New Deal more than the Democratic platform. For example, the Democratic convention urged *decreased* federal spending and a balanced budget, and for “old age insurance” to be provided under state laws.

Meanwhile, Socialists called for \$5 billion for public works (about what the Works Progress Administration would spend), a national system of old age pensions (achieved through Social Security), the abolition of child labor and the establishment of a minimum wage (largely accomplished through the Fair Labor and Standards Act), and “the passing of laws enforcing the rights of workers to organize into unions” (largely embodied in the National Labor Relations Act). To be sure, FDR did not follow Socialist calls for racial equality, bank nationalization, or public ownership of power resources – although the Tennessee Valley Authority faintly echoed that last point. The

Democrats did call for separation of investment from commercial banking, a reform realized in the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act but repealed in 1999, –which Sanders wishes to restore. Some may say that Sanders, in the end, is running more as a New Dealer than as a socialist.

Discussion of A. Philip Randolph’s March on Washington Movement of 1941, which resulted in an Executive Order banning racial discrimination in war industries, is now standard in textbooks. Randolph was a trade union leader and a long-time Socialist, who first ran for office on that party’s ticket in 1920. Similarly, the incarceration of Japanese Americans is now prominent when covering the World War II “home front.” SP presidential candidate Norman Thomas was among the major contemporary critics of this massive violation of civil liberties, which even Congress later acknowledged was wrong. Thomas wrote that this “horrible indictment of our democracy . . . was born of panic, race prejudice, and greed for Japanese-American property.” Recognition of this stance is especially timely in 2016, when some Republicans call for overt discrimination against Muslims.

While the Socialist movement declined after the 1940s, its adherents still left their mark. SP newspaper editor Michael Harrington wrote *The Other America* (1962), helping inspire the War on Poverty. President Kennedy read this best-seller, which demonstrated that even in the nation’s most affluent period one-fourth of its people remained poor, and President Johnson briefly hired Harrington as a consultant. Harrington later presided over DSA, articulating the new socialist strategy of working within the Democratic Party, “on the left wing of the possible.” Harrington thus reaches back to Sinclair, with a socialist tract stimulating reform, and forward to Sanders, the former Independent running as a Democrat.

The 1963 March on Washington focused on supporting the civil rights bill that Kennedy endorsed that summer, but there are Socialist connections here, too. The lead organizers, Randolph (from that earlier March on Washington Movement) and Bayard Rustin, were SP leaders. Moreover, the march demanded equal rights and a comprehensive federal jobs program. William Jones rightly argues in *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights* (2013) that this economic radicalism must be remembered to grasp the movement’s origins and trajectory.

Furthermore, the dramatic rise of public employee unionism in the 1960s – shamefully ignored in textbooks – also owed a debt to Socialists. Milwaukee Mayor Frank Zeidler, elected as a Socialist from 1948 to 1960, worked assiduously to legalize public sector collective bargaining – the 1935 NLRA excluded such employees – and Wisconsin became the first state, in 1959, to institutionalize such bargaining. This background, of course, has become more poignant since 2011, when Wisconsin governor Scott Walker launched his all-out attack on public employee unions, including teacher unions.

To be sure, the SP, its spinoffs, and successors neither achieved nor credibly contended for government power. However, individual Socialists helped achieve important reforms and led social movements, and socialist ideas percolated into U.S. society and government. These ideas and reforms were often quite controversial at the time of their adoption and later, but Americans of many different viewpoints have often fully embraced reforms once labeled “socialist.” As Bernie Sanders’ breakout candidacy reveals, socialist ideas and personalities may appeal to more Americans than conventional wisdom would acknowledge. In order for students to analyze and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of this socialist alternative, teachers should bring to light its prior influence on our society, an influence that is readily apparent – if one knows where to look.

**** Save the Dates ****

**NYSCSS 2016 Summer Institute
“Teaching And Assessing The Social Studies Practices”
July 18 - 20, 2016 at the Desmond Hotel, Albany NY
www.nyscss.org/events/institute**

**NJCSS 2016 Annual Fall Conference
“Next Generation Social Studies: Literacy, Inquiry and Technology”
Secondary School Teachers (Grades 5-12) October 25, 2016 at Rutgers Busch Campus**

Citizenship and the Constitution: A Legal History

By Paul Finkelman

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The question “Who is a citizen of the United States?” has become a hot button issue in American politics. Donald Trump and others want to change the historic American rule that grants citizenship to people born in the United States. But, any attempt to take citizenship from people born in this country would flagrantly violate the United States Constitution and existing statutes and legal precedents, and run counter to the entire legal history of the country. With a few exceptions, American law since the Constitution was written has always been that “all persons born” in the United States are citizens of the United States. This concept was enshrined in the Constitution when the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, and has been upheld by courts and Congress ever since.

The Founders assumed that people born in the United States were citizens even if their parents were aliens. In the 1790s James Madison argued that someone born in America before the Revolution was a natural born citizen of the United States, even though he was studying overseas when the Revolution took place. Madison’s point was that birthright citizenship was based on where you were born, and not where you were raised or lived.

This rule was based on the legal principle of *jus soli* (“the right of the soil”), which meant that you were a citizen of the place where you were born. *Lynch v. Clarke* (1844), which all American courts generally followed, illustrates this rule. Julia Lynch was born in New York while her parents were temporary visitors, but shortly after her birth, Julia’s parents moved back to Ireland, where she remained for the next twenty years. Nevertheless, the court ruled that she was an American citizen at the time of her birth, and that her long residence in Ireland did not affect her birthright citizenship.

However, in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) the Supreme Court held that only whites could be citizens of the nation, and blacks born in the United States - whether free or slaves - could never be considered citizens of the nation. This controversial ruling was the law of the land until it reversed by federal law or a constitutional amendment. But the decision led to the odd result that in 1860 free black men in six states voted for members of Congress and presidential

electors under state law but were not considered citizens of the United States under federal law.

The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, reversed this by finally setting out what constitutes American citizenship: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.” Since 1868 *all* persons born in the United States were citizens at birth, except for the very small category of those “not subject to the jurisdiction” of the United States.

This language is confusing to some people, but no one in 1868 had any doubt what it meant. This was a standard legal term for foreign diplomats and their families, who are *not* “subject to the jurisdiction” of the United States. In *Elk v. Wilkins* in 1884 the Supreme Court also held that an Indian born on tribal lands, and subject to tribal law, was not a citizen of the United States unless Congress made them citizens “under explicit provisions of treaty or statute to that effect.” In 1924, in the Indian Citizenship Act, Congress did just that, declaring that Indians born in the United States, even on tribal lands, were citizens at birth.

Thus, under the Fourteenth Amendment all children born in the United States (except the children of foreign diplomats) are citizens at birth. This includes the children of citizens, immigrants, tourists, refugees, and anyone else found in the United States. American-born children of undocumented aliens are citizens of the United States at birth.

Significantly for the current debate, the Fourteenth Amendment actually made the children of illegal immigrants citizens. In 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves from Africa and other places. Despite this law, smugglers had brought thousands of African slaves into the country after 1808. These people were not born in the United States and thus they did not automatically become citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment. However, their American-born children were citizens at birth. The framers of the 14th Amendment fully understood that the American-born children of what were effectively illegal aliens were birthright citizens of the United States.

Meanwhile, in the 1850s more than 40,000 immigrants from China arrived in the United States,

mostly going to California. They clearly could not become citizens under the Naturalization Act of 1790 because they were not “white.” Under *Dred Scott* their children could not be citizens at birth because the Court had held that only white people born in the U.S. were citizens at birth.

In 1870 Congress allowed people of African ancestry to become naturalized citizens, but still prohibited the naturalization of Asian immigrants. In 1882 the United States severely limited Chinese immigration under what is known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. Subsequent laws prohibited Chinese immigrants from leaving the United States and then returning. But, what was the status of the American-born children of Chinese immigrants?

United States v. Wong Kim Ark

In 1898 the Supreme Court gave the answer in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*. Mr. Wong was born in California to parents who were immigrants from China. In 1894 Mr. Wong visited his family in China, coming back to the United States in 1895. Customs officials would not let him return to the country of his birth, arguing he was an “excluded” Chinese immigrant and that people of Chinese ancestry could not be American citizens.

But, in upholding Mr. Wong’s citizenship, the Court explained that under the Fourteenth Amendment “all children, born within the dominion of the United States, of foreign parents holding no diplomatic office, became citizens at the time of their birth.” The Court noted this was the “settled and definite rule of international law, generally recognized by civilized nations,” was “the ancient rule of citizenship by birth within the dominion, and in the Fourteenth Amendment “the fundamental principle of citizenship by birth within the dominion was reaffirmed in the most explicit and comprehensive terms.” Thus, Mr. Wong was a natural born citizen of the United States because

he was born in the United States, even though his parents were aliens and could never become citizens.



Wong Kim Ark offers some guidance to the status of the American-born children of undocumented aliens. The United States is free to allow or never allow undocumented aliens to become naturalized citizens, just as the nation refused to allow Chinese immigrants to become citizens. But, under *Wong Kim Ark*, the American-born children of aliens ineligible for citizenship are natural born citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Whatever the nation decides to do about immigration, it cannot take away American citizenship from those people who were born here, even if their parents are undocumented. Such children are natural born citizens, or birthright citizens. The history of the citizenship clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and indeed the entire history of the United States, suggests that political leaders should think long and hard before they try to change the “settled and definite rule of international law, generally recognized by civilized nations,” which was “the ancient rule of citizenship by birth within the dominion.”

Projected upcoming themes: Lessons of the 2016 Election; Evaluating Presidencies; and Writing Women into History. Regular features include teaching with historic places; document-based instruction; local history; using oral history; addressing controversial issues; book, movie and museum reviews; social studies resources (including organizations and web sites); multicultural literature. Articles should be between 5 and 10 pages typed (1000-2000 words). Lesson plans and learning activities should be appropriate for classroom use. All submissions via e-mail. Authors should use APA format without footnotes or endnotes. This is a peer-reviewed journal by an editorial committee of social studies teachers. Articles, lessons and activities may be duplicated by teachers for classroom use without prior permission. For additional information contact Mark Percy (mpercy@rider.edu) or Alan Singer (catajs@hofstra.edu).

The Declaration of Independence and Its Relevance Today

Book review by James Carpenter

Allen, Danielle. (2014). *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality*. New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 315 pages.

Writing to wife Abigail on July 3, 1776, John Adams asserted, “the second day of July 1776 will be the most memorable epocha, in the history of America.” Indeed it should be celebrated by “solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty” and “with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other.” It was on that day that the Second Continental Congress formally voted on Richard Henry Lee’s resolution declaring our independence from Great Britain, making it “the official declaration of independence.” While we may not celebrate July 2nd every year, the Fourth of July is characterized by parades, fireworks, patriotic concerts, flag waving, and family cookouts, not to mention sales at many stores. The Fourth is often referred to as our nation’s birthday and the celebrations honoring the Declaration contain both the festiveness Adams urges as well as a certain reverence.

tones that people use when looking at the Declaration and our other founding documents.

But how is this historic text accessible to Americans in the 21st century? In a painstaking examination of the Declaration of Independence, Danielle Allen offers us some guidance. Using multiple tools, including those of history, philosophy, linguistics, logic, and math, she challenges the reader to reconsider individual understandings of democracy, freedom, and equality. Allen’s premise is clear: “The Declaration of Independence matters because it helps us see that we cannot have freedom *without* equality” (21, original emphasis). Arguing that in contemporary America “we think we are required to choose between freedom and equality,” she fears that as a society we may be abandoning equality (23). She then takes us on a journey that is both personal and philosophical by deconstructing the text of the Declaration to demonstrate its relevance to all Americans in the 21st century. In the course of this journey, Allen forces each reader, teacher, academic, parent, tradesperson, student, to confront important questions about, among other things, democracy, citizenship, freedom, and equality.

In her tour-de-force examination of understanding the Declaration, Allen is consistently guided by a Deweyan understanding of democracy, namely describing it broadly as a way of life. She discusses the evolution of the text as an example of democratic writing and editing. After establishing this framework within which the Declaration was written, Allen deconstructs the document line-by-line, clause-by-clause, and often word-by-word. In this manner, we can “clarify the principles that belong to a democratic people” (103). She carefully explicates the flow of the document from one section to the next. In this process she incorporates not only the historical context, but also includes references to her own life, to literature, to math, and, of course, to philosophy. In doing so Allen incorporates a style that is thoughtful yet accessible to all. For example, her explanation of a syllogism (161-162) is easily understood by those of us who may not recall its meaning from our introductory philosophy courses. The result of this detailed examination is forcing readers to confront their own understanding of



While the day is one of festive celebration, the actual document that asserted America’s right to rebel and to assume the status of an independent nation is not as clearly remembered. Pauline Maier (1997) in *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* described how the original Declaration of Independence traveled an inglorious road and became a nearly forgotten document. She told the story of “how, after a period in which the Declaration of Independence was all but forgotten, it was remade into a sacred text, a statement of basic, enduring truths often described with words borrowed from the vocabulary of religion” (xviii). Visitors to the National Archives in Washington DC will feel the same sacred aura with the recessed indirect lighting and the hushed

not only democracy but also the relevance of these 1,337 words to their own lives.

Unlike some earlier works on the Declaration, Allen's work is not strictly a political or historical narrative. Rather, hers is more of a linguistic analysis in which she attempts to prove that we need not choose between freedom and equality nor even prioritize one over the other. As Americans we need to understand "that equality is the bedrock of freedom" (108). In her discussion of the Declaration, Allen is aware of the obvious inequality that existed in America in 1776. However, she parses the vocabulary of the text to illustrate the Declaration's "argument about political equality" (44), which is not the same thing as general equality. She then proceeds to analyze the preamble through the lens of equality. For example, Allen argues that the first clue to the meaning of equality in the Declaration comes when the authors assert that as independent states they have equal status as other nation-states. This "does not mean equal in power" but instead they "equal *as* a power" (122, original emphasis). She continues to connect the language of the document with the concept of equality.

While Allen's book is an impressive work, there are still problems that need be addressed. First, in her discussion of the use of the word "tyranny," she fails to adequately contextualize for 21st century readers what the term meant for 18th century colonists. In her focus on the rationale of the founders, Allen fails to fully recognize how they had enjoyed a great deal of freedom as citizens of the most democratic nation of the time. Colonists were Englishmen living in the colonies and enjoyed the rights that accompanied that distinction. Thus to accuse King George III of tyranny – indeed of seeking to become an absolute despot – represented a dramatic change in their thinking; a change that Allen might have taken into account more. Secondly, while she discusses each of the individual grievances listed in the Declaration, Allen fails to

develop the idea that many if not most of these were Acts of Parliament. Why would Jefferson and the other authors of the Declaration choose to focus on the King when the Navigation Laws, the Stamp Act, and the Intolerable Acts were passed by Parliament? Similarly, in discussing the audiences for whom the Declaration was written, Allen fails to mention those living in the colonies. While there was little chance in converting Loyalists to the rebel cause, as many as one-third of the population was undecided and might be susceptible to a persuasive argument such as that put forward by Jefferson, Adams, Sherman, and others. Indeed Pauline Maier made a case "that the Declaration of Independence was designed first and foremost for domestic consumption" (131). Addressing these historical issues would have made an excellent work even better.

In the final analysis, these concerns do not seriously detract from this text. Allen has written a book that is accessible to multiple audiences – teachers, scholars, and citizens from every walk of life. Her examination of the document suggests ways in which educators of United States History or Government might approach it. Reading each section, examining the choice of vocabulary, having students speculate why certain words were chosen, offer great possibilities for relating the Declaration to student lives in the 21st century. Non-educators will benefit as well from her careful discussion of the Declaration and its meaning. Indeed Allen clearly notes that we all are guilty of not being familiar with this most famous document (278). In urging each of us to carefully read or reread the Declaration, Allen is hopeful of restoring "our national commitment to equality" (282). By clearly demonstrating that the Declaration can "once more be ours, as it was always meant to be," she has shown us one way to do so.

Frederick Douglass was not as impressed with the Declaration and Independence Day

"What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy – a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages." - Frederick Douglass' 1852 speech on the meaning of the Fourth of July to enslaved Africans.

Sunrise Over Fallujah and its Uses for Teaching about War

By Sarah Polacco

Walter Dean Myers' 2008 war novel, *Sunrise Over Fallujah*, follows the memoir of a fictional character, Robin Perry, reluctantly known as "Birdy" throughout the story, and his experiences in war. The Harlem native chooses to enlist right after high school, instead of applying to college, despite the fact that he is not at all prepared for the experience. In fact, he often questions why he made this decision. All he knows is that he is headed for Iraq where American troops are supposed to secure the country, while positively interacting with its people.

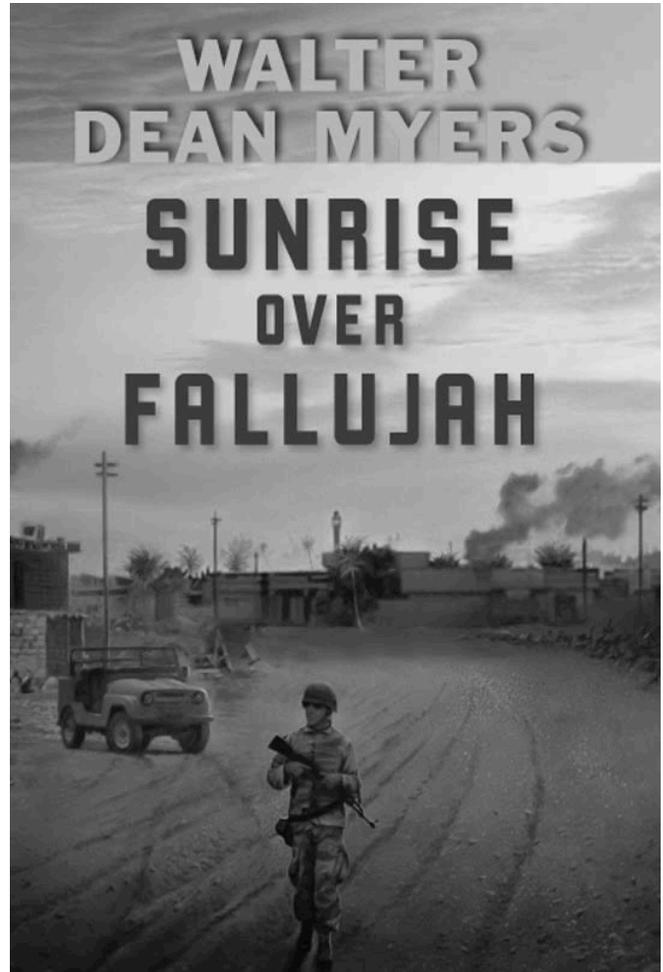
Birdy is paired up with a team of soldiers in the Civilian Affairs Battalion engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom. At first, he thinks that he will not be fighting, but he quickly learns he was mistaken. *Sunrise Over Fallujah* is a collection of Birdy's memories and a roller coaster of emotions he experiences throughout war. They are expressed through inner monologues and letters to his parents and uncle, who fought in Vietnam. The novel begins with Birdy's introduction to his team members; men and women who he soon realizes are far more prepared for the evils, fears, and experiences people associate with war.

Birdy befriends two soldiers in particular. Jonesy is a blues-playing guitarist with a southern twang, eagerly awaiting his return to Georgia so he can open up a nightclub. Birdy finds it hard to relate to Jonesy at first, but eventually comes to appreciate and depend on his unique exterior and different view of the world, always relating life to music. Birdy also immediately has his eyes on Marla, the young and tough orphan who chose to enlist because she failed to see any other options for her future. She reveals to him that she spent years going from foster home to group home, never being adopted or truly wanted. Marla felt that her hard knock life prepared her for a life in war. However, as with most of the characters, war gets to Marla and she eventually turns to Birdy for comfort after he kills two men who hold her at gunpoint and attempt to rape her.

The novel constantly switches between comfort and disgust, showing all of the evils and unlikely relationships that war brings on. One minute, Birdy is playing an innocent game of soccer with the native Iraqi children, and the next, he is watching civilians die in the streets.

Myers successfully lets readers see inside the mind of his protagonist and uses this device to get his point

across. War is complicated. There is daily gunfire and the rules for engagement are not explicit. Because Birdy was unprepared for war, he is extremely relatable. Readers meet a young boy from Harlem trying to figure out his life as we watch him grow in this raw and unconventional location.



There is a scene when the team's van gets shot down that stands out for me as a teaching point. Everyone immediately unpacks their guns and begins to fire at their enemies, except for Birdy. Instead, he panics and drops to the floor and watches his teammates fight back. Once he regains the wherewithal to understand his position, he picks up his gun and begins to shoot, or so he thinks. It is not until the battle is over that Birdy discovers he had his gun on safety the entire time and did not fire a single bullet. At this moment, Birdy realizes how mentally unprepared he is

for war. I believe Birdy's shortcomings as a soldier will help students identify with his character and his struggles to figure out who he is as a human being.

To better understand Birdy, the book, and the events in Iraq, I interviewed a combat veteran of U.S. action there. Rory Forrestal, currently a staff sergeant in the U.S. Army, admitted to a similar scenario when he witnessed mass gunfire for the first time and simply watched in awe as bullets and dust flew past him. It was not until his corporal gave him a firm whip with his gun that it occurred to him to shoot back. Rory's story made me realize that this uncertainty is perhaps rather common for soldiers, especially for beginners. Students, especially teens, can use Birdy and Rory's stories to relate to their own perceived "shortcomings" as they fight their way through middle school and high school.

The book clearly introduces the question of "war, what is it good for?" There is one point in *Sunrise Over Fallujah* when Birdy cracks. He watches one of his teammates, the father of two young children, die for no reason. He then finds the fire within himself to seek revenge and at this point Birdy realizes that this is what war does. It makes you hard. It makes you angry with people who you do not know and want to do things to them you never thought you were capable of. It makes you want to kill.

After Birdy's first kill, he wonders if these were in fact "bad people." He recalls his team member, Pendleton, and his untimely death, and thinks of what an honorable man he was. He wonders if the Iraqi man that he shot was also a good man, possibly a husband and a father, fighting for a similar cause, but on the opposing side.

The scariest part, Birdy thinks, is if and when it will happen to him. This would be an interesting, yet sophisticated topic to bring up in a classroom. I would pose the questions, "Are these accurate thoughts?" "Do people really think this way?" "Does Birdy's desire to kill make him a bad person?" "Is Birdy any different from the man he killed?" These questions introduce war to students in a way that is not often addressed.

Usually social studies classes focus on battles, maps, weapons, generals, underlying and immediate

causes, justifications, and results. However, *Sunrise Over Fallujah* introduces students to the people who actually fight wars and must decide how to act under grave stress. This is what makes Walter Dean Myers' book so significant for teaching. If nothing else, this book reminds students that war is not just something from the past. Wars are being fought today by young people a little older than they are.

If a school's English curriculum was aligned with social studies, students could read and discuss *Sunrise Over Fallujah* in their English class while studying the other aspects of the War in Iraq in their history class. As an English teacher, I would use the book to appeal to students' emotional side, or pathos. As an activity, I would have students pretend that they are in a war and finally get the opportunity to write to their loved ones. I will explain to students that they cannot tell their parents where they are, or where they are headed, a rule soldiers must adhere to. It would be interesting to see what direction they take. Would they sound excited about finally getting in touch with their families or would they lament on their current lives?

Another thing Rory brought up in his interview that I found incredibly powerful and important to address in schools was his mention of the twenty-two American soldiers and combat veterans who commit suicide every day. Soldiers and veterans are clearly not receiving the help they need to recuperate from the evils of war.

Suicide also remains one of the leading causes of death among American teens today, with numbers slowly increasing. Knowledge of these statistics may help struggling teenagers understand that they are not alone in their feelings and make it possible for them to seek help.

I believe successful teaching comes when deep connections are made to students between curriculum and their personal lives. Not only is Myers' novel a great piece of historical fiction that accurately addresses struggles faced by combat soldiers on a daily basis, but it also can help teenage readers better understand the pressures they experience in their own lives.

Between the World and Me

Ta-Nehisi Coates is an African American writer, journalist, and educator. He is a national correspondent for The Atlantic and writes about cultural, social and political issues, especially those that reflect race in the United States. *Between the World and Me* (2015) was written as a letter to his teen-age son about the realities of being African American in the United States. It won the 2015 National Book Award and was a finalist for a Pulitzer Prize. It was reviewed for Teaching Social Studies by Atif Khalil, a high school social studies teacher in the Bronx, and Vicky Williams, an elementary school teacher from St. Kitts in the West Indies.

A Bronx High School Teacher's View

By Atif Khalil

In 1970, Bobby Tolan led the National League with 57 stolen bases. He also helped the Reds get to the World Series in the same season. Tolan has a World Series ring with the St. Louis Cardinals and has made two other World Series appearances. His best season came in 1969 while playing for Cincinnati where he batted .305 with 21 home runs and 93 RBIs. Tolan was not a hall of fame player, but he was a key cog in several World Series contending teams. Mr. Tolan now collects a lucrative MLB pension and has settled his family in Belaire, Texas enjoying retirement and a successful major league career. Tolan's most memorable moments may not have come running the bases or getting a clutch hit in a World Series game however. His most lasting memory might have occurred on December 31, 2008. On that New Year's Eve, Bobby Tolan watched his son Robbie Tolan get shot by veteran Belaire Police Officer Jeffery Cotton in his own driveway. Robbie Tolan was followed home that evening by two police officers. As he pulled into his driveway, the officers emerged from the darkness with flashlights and guns drawn. The former major leaguer Bobby Tolan and his wife came out of their home responding to the disturbance on their property. Mrs. Tolan, who came to her son's defense, was thrown against a garage door. At this point, the younger Tolan came to his mother's defense, which led Officer Cotton to discharge his service revolver into the chest of eighteen-year-old Robbie Tolan. Robbie Tolan was shot in the chest by a white police officer in his family's driveway after the white police officer threw his mother against a garage door. Robbie Tolan was followed home because it was believed he had stolen the vehicle he was driving. Robbie Tolan's body was nothing more than collateral damage that evening. In a conducting lawsuit, Officer Jeffery Cotton was acquitted of all charges and the Bellaire Police Department would not entertain the possibility of racial profiling or institutional racism.

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A Caribbean Teacher Reads Ta-Nehisi Coates

By Vicky Williams

In August 1924, Jamaican political leader and Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey said, "Liberate the minds of men and ultimately you will liberate the bodies of men." The black body has long been a focus, a topic, a laborer, a means of profit, a shell chipped at over centuries in and through every continent on this earth. Beautiful black bodies that once housed the soul and minds of Kings, Emperors, Queens and Empresses in Africa where Blacks were ripped from their motherland and forced to build a country that devalues them. The black body is an echoing theme throughout *Between the World and Me* by Ta-Nehisi Coates. In the *New York Times* bestseller Coates writes a letter to his 15-year old son, and in this letter readers are able to get a minor glimpse of what it means to be Black in America, from the lived perspective of a Black man. Coates not only highlights the social and historical context of the anxiety that plagues Black people in America, he provides examples to prove that this is the case regardless of academic, economic, or social standing. The letter is an attempt to introduce his young son to the history of the "great nation" where they reside and alert him to the current crises that are a direct result and continuation of this history.

Coates starts by recalling his constant awareness of violence and danger growing up in Baltimore, then delights of the enlightenment he found in his very own Mecca, Howard University in Washington D.C. He explains, "The Mecca is a machine, crafted to capture and concentrate the dark energy of all African peoples and inject it directly into the student body. The Mecca derives its power from the heritage of Howard University, which in Jim Crow days enjoyed a near-monopoly on black talent. And whereas other historically black schools were scattered like forts in the great wilderness of the old Confederacy, Howard was in Washington, D.C. — Chocolate City — and thus in proximity to both federal power and black power."

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Atif Khalil, continued from p. 36: Robbie Tolan's black body was worthless in the eyes of the law that evening. This is the thesis of Ta-Nehisi Coates' *Between the World and Me*. White supremacy is not merely a taboo written in history books, it is a reality that people of color must deal with as their history, their present, and their future.

Toni Morrison hailed *Between the World and Me* as "required reading." Educators should take Morrison's endorsement and integrate this text into their curriculum because it serves as a crucial analysis of today's race problem. In addition, the lyrical prose explores the relationship between a father and son with such emotion that even those who never had the desire to bear children may suffer a second of regret. Coates has accomplished what the great writer James Baldwin did nearly 50 years prior with his publication of *The First Next Time*. Baldwin's essays as explanations of race relations during his lifetime to his nephew, and Coates' letter to his son both expose the "Black Man" and the American Dream. The title of TNC's best seller is a tribute to a poem written by Richard Wright bearing the same name: *Between the World and Me*. Written in the 1930s, Wright's poem tells the story of lynching of a black body drawing the same vividly morbid images as Billie Holliday's *Strange Fruit*. TNC's work is the modern version of these stories. Inexcusably and Intolerably, TNC's version of *Between the World and Me* may paint even more a bleaker and darker picture as he explains to his son the fear of living in America as a black male. In the past, these instances of violence seemed to be the work of fringe elements. TNC argues that the attack on the black body has now become an institutional norm.

TNC invites us into his world growing up in the streets of Baltimore as a youngster and then his life in New York as young and struggling writer. Throughout the text he references and retells the story of race, slavery, and segregation in America while explaining to his son, that this is the world I have brought you into. His work is full of anger as he chronicles the institutional racism and brutality of local police. He recounts a story of being pulled over by Washington D.C. police and while sitting in the back of a police car he recalls,

"I knew that the PG County Police had killed Elmer Clay Newman, then claimed he'd rammed his own head into the wall of a jail cell. And I knew they'd shot Gary Hopkins and said he'd gone for an officer's gun. And I knew they had beaten Freddie McCollum half-blind and blamed it all on a collapsing floor. And I had read reports of these officers choking mechanics, shooting construction workers, slamming suspects through the glass doors of shopping malls (Coates, 76).

TNC recounts the instances of police brutality that he has witnessed and the world has ignored for generations. However, TNC does not offer solutions to problems, rather he chronicles them and instills fear and hopelessness amongst his readers. An example of this hopelessness is seen witnessed in the following passage: "[My mother] knew the galaxy itself could kill me, that all of me could be shattered and all of her legacy could be spilled on the curb like bum wine. And no one would be brought to account for this destruction, because my death would not be the fault of any human but the fault of some unfortunate immutable fact of 'race,' imposed upon an innocent country by the inscrutable judgment of invisible gods. The earthquake cannot be subpoenaed. The typhoon will not be under indictment" (Coates, 82). TNC's message to his son is often times self-defeating. He portrays race in America as a preset immovable force in the country. In this sense, he has accurately described the history of race in this country, yet at the same time created a self fulfilling prophesy for his son. Instead of explaining that this is the history of your country, you need to know this, understand this and fight this. He has virtually left his son in an empty void of hopelessness and despair.

As Toni Morrison stated, this indeed is required reading. It is required reading as both a primary and secondary source in understanding the history of race in this country. Also, in understanding one man's concern for his child in a world full of institutional racism. However, we must also use the text as means for advocating for social justice and dialogue on the relationship between the white establishment and black America. It is ultimately up to students who read this text, whether black or white what they will do with the future and how will they shape it after understanding the past. TNC's work is an eloquent recount of his experiences and the experiences of many blacks in America. The anger is justifiable and with good reason. However, the message of hopelessness and futility serves no positive purpose and will only breed another generation of the status quo. In order to stop the instances of racial violence on young blacks such as Robbie Tolan, Travon Martin, and countless others both white and black youth must be empowered with the courage to destroy racial barriers. It is important for young blacks and whites to understand the past, however it is equally important to learn from it. TNC's work further perpetuates the divide between white and black. Rather than seeking a way to bridge the difference, TNC has built a wall.

Vicky Williams continued from p. 36: After graduating, Coates moved to New York City, where he expanded his environment and furthered his development as a writer. His intellectual coming-of-age did not come easy. As a Black boy in America, Coates believed that schools had very little to offer him in terms of education, and were more concerned with making him compliant than they were with teaching him. “The world had no time for the childhoods of black boys and girls. How could the schools? Algebra, Biology, and English were not subjects so much as opportunities to better discipline the body, to practice writing between the lines, copying the directions legibly, memorizing theorems extracted from the world they were created to represent. All of it felt so distant to me.” His belief that “Schools did not reveal truths, they concealed them” (27) pushed Coates to seek answers elsewhere. As an educator I know that this idea is not a new one among young children, especially young Black children. This is just one example of many struggles and disconnects that Coates addresses in this book. These struggles that have plagued the lives of African Americans should be highlighted in the first step towards awareness, and I think that is what *Between the World and Me* provides, awareness.

I recently moved to New York City from the Caribbean, and in reading this book I see an immense similarity in its progression my growing awareness of what it means to be Black in America. I did not grow up in a place where Blacks were thought of as inferior; we were taught to believe that we were the foundation and building force of our society, of our country. We were taught that to compete with one another served mainly as motivation for your competitors and yourself. I am not claiming a Caribbean Utopia, far from it. I grew up in a country that Huffington Post lists as having one of the highest murder rates in the world. Yet I have never been as conscious about safety as I have since living here, and I know its not about being in a different county or big city living, I lived in Canada for four years and never felt this. Coates thinks this feeling might be specific to the United States. He recalled travels to Paris where “I felt that I had missed part of the experience because of my eyes, because my eyes were made in Baltimore, because my eyes were blindfolded by fear” (126).

I understand that completely now living in the United States. In the eyes of America and the police officers that carry with them “the power of the American State and the weight of an American legacy” I am no different from Sandra Bland, I look no different from Tanisha Anderson, my life has no more value than that of Meaghan Hockaday. So even without growing up here, and having that fear instilled in me at a young age, I am on guard.

I know this book was not written for me or people like me. It was written to display an unjust racial reality for those who have been conditioned to act as if it does not exist. The constant violence and killings of young Black Americans by the very same institutions that are supposed to protect them has been justified or overlooked. So although the book appeals to me, I think its true purpose is to transcend the confines of “a book about race” and create a spark of awareness for the majority population of this crisis faced by over twelve percent of Americans.

In *Between the World and Me*, Ta-Nehisi Coates lifts the veil and gives his readers a telescopic view of the history of violence against Blacks in America, the fears of a Black man, the fears Black parents and the conditions and struggles in and of Black communities. With this book, the author shows how the exploration of ideas and theories through books and the teachings of activist such as Malcolm X helped to develop his own insight, views, and values and encouraged both questions and answers. Coates explains how the preoccupation of always being on guard, anticipating violence or danger around every corner, results in the robbery of time, of positive life experiences, of the ability to truly be liberated, to truly be free.

This book is an alert to us as educators. It helps put in prospective the reluctance of some students and the makes it hard to ignore the blind spot many educators have as a result of living in a White supremacist society.

The goal of school should be to share information, create thinkers, and to provide a supportive environment that breathes confidence, knowledge, and education. The future of a just America depends on it, James Baldwin wrote, “Every Negro boy and every Negro girl born in this country until this present moment undergoes the agony of trying to find in the body politic, in the body social, outside himself/herself, some image of himself or herself which is not demeaning. Now, many, indeed, have survived, and at an incalculable cost, and many more have perished and are perishing every day. If you tell a child and do your best to prove to the child that he is not worth life, it is entirely possible that sooner or later the child begins to believe it.”

Knowledge and information were outlets and a saving grace for Ta-Nehisi Coates. *Between the World and Me*, if nothing else, tells its readers to be skeptical in the narratives that are presented to us, to seek answers, generate questions, and to be aware.

Federal Ferguson Report on the Death of Michael Brown

By Matthew Herman

On August 9, 2014 18-year-old Michael Brown was shot to death by a police officer in his hometown of Ferguson, Missouri. This shooting sparked a national controversy over alleged racially biased police brutality. The events surrounding the death of Michael Brown have forced American society and the American justice system to reflect and reevaluate. In the fall of 2015, the United States Department of Justice released a report detailing an investigation into the policing tactics used by the City of Ferguson. *The Ferguson Report* attempts to shed light on some of the practices of the Ferguson Police Department that ultimately led to the shooting of an unarmed young African American man. While this Report received criticism from both conservative and liberal sources, *The Ferguson Report* raises excellent questions about the roles and responsibilities that police forces have to American citizens. Its findings are especially useful for teachers discussing race in America today.

Ferguson is a small city of about 21,000 people located in the Greater St. Louis metropolitan area. About two-thirds of the population of Ferguson is African American. At the time of the shooting, the Ferguson Police Department (FPD) employed 54 officers, four of whom were African American. In the early afternoon on August 9, 2014, FPD officer Darren Wilson fatally shot Michael Brown. This shooting immediately piqued the interest of the mainstream media because a White police officer gunned down an allegedly innocent 18-year-old Black man.

Conflicting Testimony

The events discussed in the report are based on testimony of witnesses who were in contact with or observed the actions of both Michael Brown and Darren Wilson. According to the official court testimony, Michael Brown and his friend Dorian Johnson walked into a convenience store several blocks away from Brown's home. While in the store, Brown allegedly stole cigarillos and shoved the store clerk on his way out. The store clerk called 911 and officer Darren Wilson responded to the call. Following the details given to him by the dispatcher, Officer Wilson encountered Brown and Johnson walking in the middle of the street and immediately told the two men to move over to the sidewalk.

The specific events that followed are highly contested and differ depending on whose account is

read. In general terms, Michael Brown allegedly reached his arm into Officer Wilson's vehicle which then resulted in Officer Wilson firing two shots at Brown. After being grazed by one of the two shots, Michael Brown and Dorian Johnson fled from the vehicle. While Dorian Johnson hid behind a car, Darren Wilson pursued Brown down the street on foot and ultimately fired his weapon six more times. It is likely that the sixth and final shot killed Michael Brown. Officer Darren Wilson's entire encounter with Michael Brown lasted less than 90 seconds.

FPD and St. Louis County police officers reported to the scene within minutes of the shooting and were met with some hostility from local residents. Following the events on August 9 local, state, and federal officers conducted numerous investigations. A combination of peaceful and non-peaceful protests occurred in Ferguson in the months after the death of Michael Brown. Tensions reached a boiling point on November 24, 2014 when a grand jury determined that Darren Wilson was not guilty of committing any crime. Prosecuting attorney Robert McCulloch took an atypical approach to the proceedings in that he required the grand jury to analyze and discuss all of the evidence of this case over the span of three months in a non-sequestered environment.

After hearing evidence the grand jury was tasked with determining if Officer Wilson was guilty of any crime including whether there was probable cause that Wilson committed a crime. Many believe that this unorthodox approach prodded the grand jury towards not indicting Wilson on any charges. Following the decision of the grand jury, protests erupted in Ferguson and all over the country. Some of the protesting, particularly in Ferguson, escalated into full-scale riots that, in turn, produced extreme police action.

Underlying Problems

The events that transpired in Ferguson were the result of a lack of trust and mutual respect between the FPD and the citizens of Ferguson. As a part of its federal investigation the Department of Justice attempted to find evidence as to why relations between the FPD and the African American community of Ferguson is so strained and it designed some strategies to help improve a relationship for the future.

The Ferguson Report found substantial evidence that the Ferguson Police Department implemented

questionable policing practices that are driven, in part, by racial bias. The Department of Justice discovered that the FPD's policing practices were primarily motivated by generating revenue. The vast majority of police action was geared toward aggressive enforcement of municipal codes, with little thought given to whether these aggressive strategies were promoting public safety or unnecessarily undermining community trust. This led to many FPD officers to view Ferguson's citizens, particularly the African American community, less as constituents to be protected and more as potential offenders and sources of revenue.

Abuse of Authority

The Ferguson Report also found evidence that the FPD expected and demanded compliance even when they lacked legal authority. Often times, officers interpreted the exercise of free speech as unlawful disobedience. One glaring example occurred in the summer of 2012. A 32-year-old African American man sat in his car to cool off after playing basketball in a public park. An officer pulled up behind the man's car and demanded to see the man's social security number and ID. Without any cause, the officer accused the man of being a pedophile, referring to the presence of children in the park, and ordered the man out of his car for a "pat down". After the man refused to let the officer search his car, the officer arrested him at gunpoint charging him with eight violations of Ferguson's municipal code. One charge, "Making a False Declaration," was for initially telling the officer that his name was Mike instead of Michael.

This case and numerous others provide insight into the careless and aggressive policing tactics that could have easily facilitated the shooting of Michael Brown. The Department of Justice generated some very disturbing statistics highlighting the obvious racial bias within the FPD. According to the Report, 85% of all vehicle stops, 90% of all citations issued, 92% of all warrants issued, and 96% of all arrests for an outstanding municipal warrant were against African Americans. As mentioned earlier, the city of Ferguson is only 67% African American, yet the statistics show that nearly 9 times out of 10 police action was being taken against the African Americans.

Following the shooting of Michael Brown the trust between the African American community of Ferguson and the FPD was heavily severed. Many speculators claimed that the majority of protest occurring within Ferguson was being led by "outside agitators," rather than "real Ferguson residents." This view is contra-

dictory to the findings of the report. The Department of Justice found that distrust and anger towards the FPD was longstanding and largely attributable to the FPD's approach to law enforcement. As a consequence of these practices, law enforcement is seen as illegitimate in Ferguson, and the partnerships necessary for public safety are, in some areas, entirely absent.

In a conclusion, the Justice Department outlined ways the FPD could alter practices and restore relations with its angered community. One of the most obvious changes is a shift from revenue-generating to community policing to promote public safety. One of the most important recommendations is that the FPD should completely change its approach to when force is used. Instead of responding to situations aggressively, officers should be trained to approach scenarios cautiously and with intent to de-escalate the situation in a peaceful manner. Additionally, the report points out the need for the FPD to be open to community involvement and to encourage positive interactions with the African American community of Ferguson.

The warning signs were clearly visible that something horrible could happen in this small Missouri city. If a state or federal agency caught many of the FPD's illegal or amoral practices earlier, Michael Brown could still be alive today. However, it is not common practice for police departments to be scrutinized by outsiders until after there has been an incident. While the death of Michael Brown certainly raised a lot of controversy, it also put a spotlight on terrible and lethal policing.

Unfortunately, Ferguson is not unique. Over the past few years there have been numerous instances of young minority men (and others) falling victim to extreme policing. While these news stories might be sensitive or uncomfortable topics to bring up in the classroom, they cannot be avoided. The death of Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, etc. should be used as an opportunity to start a dialogue addressing tough questions facing our society and the way we handle conflict. Talking about facts surrounding these cases and addressing the root causes of why events like these happen are important to all classrooms, regardless of their racial/ethnic makeup. When teachers open up discussion on sensitive subjects they are allowing students to explore their own feelings and be exposed to other perspectives. Teachers that provide opportunities to speak and learn about these controversial topics will, in turn, create more intelligent, unbiased, and tolerant citizens for the future.

Most of What You Learned in Econ 101 Is Wrong

By Noah Smith (Adapted from a version published on *Bloomberg View*)

Greg Mankiw, author of the most popular college introductory economics textbook, is often regarded as America's econ teacher. He famously refers to his "Principles of Economics" as "my favorite textbook," and I must admit that it's also my favorite. It's written in a clear, explanatory style and covers the basics of most important theories in modern economics. But Mankiw's book, like every introductory econ textbook I know of, has a big problem. Most of what's in it is probably wrong. In the last three decades, the economics profession has undergone a profound shift. The rise of information technology and new statistical methods has dramatically increased the importance of data and empirics. This means that many professional economists are no longer, as empirical pioneer David Card put it, "mathematical philosophers." Instead, they are more like scientists, digging through mountains of evidence to find precious grains of truth. And what they have found has often been revolutionary. The simple theories we teach in Econ 101 classes work once in a while, but in many important cases they fail.

Econ 101 theory tells us that minimum wage policies should have a harmful impact on employment. Basic supply and demand analysis says that in a free market, wages adjust so that everyone who wants a job has a job – supply matches demand. Less productive workers earn less, but they are still employed. If you set a price floor – a lower limit on what employers are allowed to pay – then it will suddenly become un-economical for companies to retain all the workers whose productivity is lower than that price floor. In other words, minimum wage hikes should quickly put a bunch of low-wage workers out of a job. That's theory. Reality, it turns out, is very different. In the last two decades, empirical economists have looked at a large number of minimum wage hikes, and concluded that in most cases, the immediate effect on employment is very small. It's only in the long run that minimum wages might start to make a big difference.

That doesn't mean the theory is *wrong*, of course. It probably only describes a small piece of what is really going on in the labor market. Employment probably depends on a lot more than just today's wage level – it depends on predictions of future wages, on long-standing employment relationships and on a host of other things too complicated to fit into the tidy little world of Econ 101. For academic economists, that's no problem. If existing theories explain only a sliver of reality, they simply roll up their sleeves and get to work. Many labor economists are now working on complex theories that model the process of employees looking for work and employers looking for people to hire. For professional theorists, empirical failures simply mean more work to do. But for Econ 101 classes, explaining only a small slice of reality isn't good enough. If econ majors leave their classes thinking that the theories they learned are mostly correct, they will make bad decisions in both business and politics. We shouldn't train tomorrow's business elite to have faith in theories that have only a small amount of empirical success.

Another example is welfare. Econ 101 theory tells us that welfare gives people an incentive not to work. If you subsidize leisure, simple theory says you will get more of it. But recent empirical studies have shown that such effects are usually very small. Occasionally, welfare programs even make people work *more*. For example, a study in Uganda found that grants for poor people looking to improve their skills resulted in people working much more than before. This has big political implications. If we train tomorrow's business elites to think that welfare encourages laziness, they may block support for policies that really improve the lives of the poor – and the economic productivity of the whole nation. But this is precisely what Econ 101 is now doing.

So what's the solution? Complex theories sometimes do a better job of explaining reality than simple ones, but these theories are way beyond the mathematical skill of most undergrad econ majors. A better alternative is to start teaching empirics in 101. Current textbooks, including Mankiw's, almost all play down the role of data and evidence. They sometimes refer to the results of empirical studies, but they don't give students an in-depth understanding of how those studies worked. Yet this wouldn't be very hard to do. The kind of empirical analysis now taking over the econ profession – often called the "quasi-experimental" approach – isn't that hard to understand. Simple examples could even be done in the classroom, or as homework assignments.

In other words, the economics profession has gotten real, and it's time for Econ 101 to do the same. We now have an academic economics profession focused on examining evidence and an Econ 101 curriculum that focuses on telling pleasant but often useless fables. Econ education needs to get with the times.

Aim: Is fear of global economic collapse just a “Chicken Little” story?

1. What is the “multitrillion-dollar problem” described in passage A?
2. Why does the author of passage A believe this “problem” is a threat to the global economy?
3. According to passage B, why will the U.S. economy be threatened by events in the developing world?
4. In passage B the author describes himself as “skeptical” in the past. How does this affect your response to his arguments?
5. Chicken Little is the children’s book character who ran around telling the other farm animals that the sky was falling. In your opinion, is fear of global economic collapse just a “Chicken Little” story?



A. Toxic Loans Around the World Weigh on Global Growth by Peter Eavis, NYT, February 4, 2016, A1

Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/04/business/dealbook/toxic-loans-in-china-weigh-on-global-growth.html>

Beneath the surface of the global financial system lurks a multitrillion-dollar problem that could sap the strength of large economies for years to come. The problem is the giant, stagnant pool of loans that companies and people around the world are struggling to pay back. Bad debts have been a drag on economic activity ever since the financial crisis of 2008, but in recent months, the threat posed by an overhang of bad loans appears to be rising. China is the biggest source of worry. Some analysts estimate that China’s troubled credit could exceed \$5 trillion, a staggering number that is equivalent to half the size of the country’s annual economic output. Official figures show that Chinese banks pulled back on their lending in December. If such trends persist, China’s economy, the second-largest in the world behind the United States’, may then slow even more than it has, further harming the many countries that have for years relied on China for their growth. But it’s not just China. Wherever governments and central banks unleashed aggressive stimulus policies in recent years, a toxic debt hangover has followed. In the United States, it took many months for mortgage defaults to fall after the most recent housing bust — and energy companies are struggling to pay off the cheap money that they borrowed to pile into the shale boom. In Europe, analysts say bad loans total more than \$1 trillion. Many large European banks are still burdened with defaulted loans, complicating policy makers’ efforts to revive the Continent’s economy . . . Elsewhere, bad loans are on the rise at Brazil’s biggest banks, as the country grapples with the effects of an enormous credit binge.

B. If There Is a Recession in 2016, This Is How It Will Happen by Neil Irwin, NYT, February 5, 2016, B1

Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/05/upshot/if-there-is-a-recession-in-2016-this-is-how-it-will-happen.html>

More and more news headlines and stock market analysts’ reports have started predicting, or at least insinuating, that a recession could be near in the United States . . . I’ve had a hard time envisioning how economic turmoil in countries like China and Brazil and supercheap oil could somehow combine to drag down the mighty United States economy . . . But after thinking about it some more . . . I think I have a handle on how the economy could end up in a substantially worse place by the end of the year. What we’re dealing with isn’t just a run-of-the-mill economic slowdown in emerging markets, but the reversal of a 15-year cycle in which capital has flowed into emerging markets year after year while debt grew. Now that’s reversing, and we’re seeing a version of Warren Buffett’s maxim that “you only find out who is swimming naked when the tide goes out” . . . Now that capital is going out rather than coming in, we’re seeing just how much of the growth in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America since 2000 has been driven by a credit bubble and how much is real, durable economic activity. This will put those countries’ economies under pressure. Global investors will discover more poorly run companies and weak governmental structures than they had generally assumed existed during the emerging markets boom, when an influx of foreign money masked those problems. The steep drop in oil prices is both a cause and effect. For oil-producing countries . . . falling oil prices mean a drop in revenue and a lot of stress on major oil companies. And the slowdown in economic activity across global emerging markets reduces demand for oil, creating a vicious cycle. That isn’t the only vicious cycle at work here. The weakening of emerging economies causes their currencies to fall relative to the dollar. Now that should help their exporters, but in the current moment it can make the debt crisis worse. Every tick the Chinese *renminbi*, the Indonesian *rupiah*, or the Brazilian *real* goes down against the dollar makes it harder for the countries’ companies to repay their debts.

“Yea or Nay for Free Trade?” – Student Debate

By Annie Law

Task: Take a position. After reviewing the main ideas for each viewpoint above, justify your position on “free trade” and remember to support your response below by citing two main ideas as mentioned in the excerpts.

Background: Economists are divided on many issues, but nearly all agree that free trade is a good thing. This view is so influential that most United States politicians, both Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative, claim to support free trade. However, with the growth of the Internet, worldwide investment, and large American trade deficits, a few economists and politicians are rethinking the traditional consensus on free trade.

Removing Barriers to Trade Is Essential to a Sustained American Economic Recovery

Sources: Ikenson, Daniel J., and Scott Lincicome. “Removing Barriers to Trade Is Essential to a Sustained American Economic Recovery.” “Beyond Exports: A Better Case for Free Trade.” *Free Trade Bulletin*, 2011.

1. Most Americans enjoy the fruits of international trade and globalization every day: driving to work in vehicles containing at least some foreign content, relying on smart phones assembled abroad from parts made in multiple countries (including the United States), having more to save or spend because retailers pass on cost savings made possible by their access to thousands of foreign producers, designing and selling products that would never have been commercially viable without access to the cost efficiencies afforded by transnational production and supply chains, enjoying fresh imported produce that was once unavailable out of season, depositing bigger paychecks on account of their employers’ growing sales to customers abroad, and enjoying salaries and benefits provided by employers that happen to be foreign-owned companies.
2. The pervasive view that exports are good and imports are bad is a central misconception upon which rests the belief that trade negotiations and “reciprocity” are essential to trade liberalization . . . This misguided premise that imports are the cost of exports and should be minimized lies at the root of public skepticism about trade. Ironically, it is also a prominent feature of the favored pro-trade argument . . . In his State of the Union speech, President Obama referred to his administration’s goal of doubling exports by 2014 — a goal for which an entire bureaucracy has been erected—to make the point that “the more we export, the more jobs we create at home.” Not once in that speech did the president acknowledge the importance of imports to the bottom lines of those U.S. companies that he expects to create American jobs. The problem is not that export potential is used as a selling point. The problem is that it is too often the exclusive selling point, and that contributes to unfavorable impressions about imports and the trade deficit — two statistics, by the way, that typically increase when the economy is expanding and fall when the economy is contracting . . . of the “Top Ten Reasons Trade Is Good for America,” a list extracted from a recent letter to Congress from a coalition of businesses and posted on the website of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, only one made reference to imports . . . We must articulate a more resonant message so that the benefits of trade need not be rationalized or couched in defensive rhetoric.
3. The case for free trade is much broader than the one that trumpets only export potential. And it is more elegant. The most principled case is a moral one: Voluntary economic exchange is inherently fair, benefits both parties, and allocates scarce resources more efficiently than a system under which government dictates or limits choices. Moreover, government intervention in voluntary economic exchange on behalf of some citizens necessarily comes at the expense of others and is inherently unfair, inefficient, and subverts the rule of law. At their core, trade barriers are the triumph of coercion and politics over free choice and economics. Trade barriers are the result of productive resources being diverted to achieve political ends and, in the process, taxing unsuspecting consumers to line the pockets of the special interests that succeeded in enlisting the weight of the government on their side.
4. Beyond the moral case for free trade, when people are free to buy from, sell to, and invest with one another as they choose, they can achieve far more than when governments attempt to control their decisions . . . Free markets are essential to prosperity, and expanding free markets as much as possible enhances that prosperity. When goods, services, and capital flow freely across U.S. borders, Americans can take full advantage of the opportunities of the

international marketplace.... Study after study has shown that countries that are more open to the global economy grow faster and achieve higher incomes than those that are relatively closed.

Trade Restrictions Protect American Workers and Help Restore the U.S. Economy

Sources: Fletcher, Ian. "Trade Restrictions Protect American Workers and Help Restore the US Economy." "The Crumbling of Free Trade — And Why It's a Good Thing," *Tikkun*, March 12, 2011.

1. Our free trade policy is the answer to a question that currently has most mainstream economists scratching their heads: What killed the great American job machine? This policy has been partly responsible for increasing inequality in the United States and the gradual repudiation of our 200-year tradition of broadly shared middle-class prosperity. It is a major player in our rising indebtedness, community abandonment, and a weakening of the industrial sinews of our national security. America's economy today continues to struggle to emerge from recession because our trade deficit—fluctuating around \$500 billion a year for a decade now—acts as a giant "reverse stimulus" to our economy. It causes a huge slice of domestic demand to flow not into domestic jobs, thus domestic wages and thus more demand, but into imports, therefore foreign wages, and therefore a boom in Guangdong, China; Seoul, South Korea; Yokohama, Japan; and even Munich—not Gary, Indiana; Fontana, California; and the other badlands of America's industrial decline. Our response? Yet more stimulus, leading to an ever-increasing overhang of debt, both foreign and domestic, the cost of whose servicing then exerts its own drag on recovery.

2. The technical plot thickens here fast, but we can begin by noting that any serious discussion of free trade must confront David Ricardo's celebrated 1817 theory of comparative advantage, whose tale of English cloth and Portuguese wine is familiar to generations of economics students. According to a myth accepted by both laypeople and far too many professional economists, this theory proves that free trade is best, always and everywhere, regardless of whether a nation's trading partners reciprocate. Unfortunately for free traders, this theory is riddled with dubious assumptions, some of which even Ricardo acknowledged. If they held true, the hypothesis would hold water. But because they often don't, it is largely inapplicable in the real world. Here's why: Ricardo's first dubious assumption is that trade is sustainable. But when a nation imports so much that it runs a trade deficit, this means it is either selling assets to foreign nations or going into debt to them. These processes, while elastic, aren't infinitely so. This is precisely the situation the United States is in today: Not only does it risk an eventual crash, but in the meantime, every dollar of assets it sells and every dollar of debt it assumes reduces the nation's net worth...The third dubious assumption is that free trade doesn't worsen income inequality. But, in reality, it squeezes the wages of ordinary Americans because it expands the world's effective supply of labor, which can move from rice paddy to factory overnight, faster than its supply of capital, which takes decades to accumulate at prevailing savings rates. As a result, free trade strengthens the bargaining position of capital relative to labor. And there is no guarantee that ordinary people's gains from cheaper imports will outweigh their losses from lowered wages . . . The fifth dubious assumption is that free trade won't turn benign trading partners into dangerous trading rivals. But free trade often does do this, as we see today in China, whose growth is massively dependent upon exports. This is especially likely when trading partners practice mercantilism, the 400-year-old strategy of deliberately gaming the world trading system by methods like currency manipulation and hidden tariffs.

3. There is an appropriate policy response. For starters, the United States should apply compensatory tariffs against imports subsidized by currency manipulation, an idea that originated with Kevin Kearns of the U.S. Business and Industry Council and was passed by the House of Representatives in the previous Congress. Also essential is a border tax to counter foreign export rebates implemented by means of foreign value-added taxes. Perhaps even more important than the pure economics of free trade is its political economy (an older and more accurate term). For the fundamental reality of free trade is that it relieves corporate America from any substantial economic tie to the economic well-being of ordinary Americans. If corporate America can produce its products anywhere, and sell them anywhere, then it has no incentive to care about the capacity of Americans to produce or consume. Conversely, if it is tied to making a profit by selling goods made by Americans to Americans, then it has a natural incentive to care about American productivity and consumption. Productivity and consumption are prosperity. The rest is details.

Understanding Climate Change: The Mystery of 3 Scary Numbers

by Bill Bigelow

This article originally appeared in the Fall 2013 issue of *Rethinking Schools*.

Every now and then an article comes along that takes such a novel approach to an issue, I feel like I'm seeing something with new eyes. Such was the case when I read Bill McKibben's July 19, 2012 *Rolling Stone* article, "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math." It made me see our climate predicament with such clarity that I knew immediately I had to figure out how to turn this article into curriculum. The "terrifying new math" is pretty simple. McKibben, founder of 350.org and the world's most prominent climate campaigner, proposes that there are just three numbers that we need to pay attention to reach some radical conclusions about the future of fossil fuels.

Three Scary Numbers

The first scary number is two degrees Celsius, or about 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit. In the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Accord, 167 countries, including the United States, pledged that "deep cuts in global [greenhouse gas] emissions are required . . . so as to hold the increase in global temperature below two degrees Celsius." The Copenhagen Accord was a timid, inadequate document. According to McKibben, even a two-degree rise in global temperatures is fraught with danger, but it's the only international consensus on a climate target, "the bottomest of bottom lines."

The second scary number is 565 gigatons — or 565 thousand million tons. That is humanity's carbon "budget" — how much carbon dioxide we can pour into the atmosphere with a reasonable chance of keeping global temperatures to a two degrees Celsius increase. 565 gigatons sounds like a lot until we realize global carbon dioxide emissions rose by 31.6 gigatons in 2011, and that projections call for humanity to blast through our 565-gigaton quota in less than 16 years.

The final number makes the other two numbers so frightening: 2,795 gigatons. This represents the stored carbon in reserves held by coal, oil, and gas companies, and countries, such as Kuwait, that act like fossil fuel companies. The fossil fuel industry already has plans to exploit five times as much carbon as can be burned without exceeding the two degrees ceiling. Burning these fossil fuels would enter the world into a dystopia of climate science fiction—a rise in sea levels not seen in human history, species extinction, droughts, super-storms, heat waves from hell, coral kill-offs, and consequences we cannot yet imagine.

"We need to leave at least 80 percent of that coal and gas and oil underground," McKibben writes. But "burning that coal and oil and gas is already factored into the share prices of the companies involved — the value of that carbon is already counted as part of the economy." This would be the equivalent of these companies writing off \$20 trillion. Not only is the

fossil fuel industry not planning to write off any of this \$20 trillion, it is using its immense wealth to add new reserves. Just as an example, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Exxon plans to spend \$37 billion per year through 2016 on increasing oil production.

The simplicity of McKibben's "three scary numbers" helped me put into perspective some of the "softer" responses to global warming. So many environmentalists — and students — want to "be positive" and concentrate on alternatives: everything from buying locally to stepped-up recycling, planting more trees, and developing greener sources of energy. No doubt, it's crucial to imagine and work for alternatives. But for any of this to make a difference, we need to recognize fossil fuels — and those who exploit them — as immediate and staggering threats to life on Earth. One clear implication is that we cannot nice our way out of this. We have to educate and enlist our students in imagining a very different future in terms of energy use and fighting to make that happen. A full curricular treatment of climate chaos needs to do more than merely frighten students with scary numbers. But these numbers of McKibben's invest our thinking about the climate with a two-plus-two-equals-four certainty. It's not probable that the route we're on leads to catastrophe — it's for sure.

The Mystery Activity

I love the structure of mixer/tea party activities that get students up out of their seats and talking with one another to figure out a bigger picture. I decided to write clues drawn largely from McKibben's *Rolling Stone* piece. Through talking with one another, I wanted students to solve the "mystery of the three scary numbers." Well, maybe not solve, but at least come to recognize why these numbers are, in fact, so scary and begin to reflect on their implications. Further activities or discussion about the climate crisis would build from a common recognition of the mathematical fact that we are on an unsustainable trajectory.

My colleague Tim Swinehart, who teaches at Lincoln High School in Portland, Oregon, invited me into his economics class to teach a couple of “Three Scary Numbers” sessions with him. I held up a copy of *Rolling Stone*. “Last year, the magazine published an article that generated more interest, more likes, more shares, more Twitter mentions, than any article *Rolling Stone* had ever published. And here’s the thing: The article is about just three numbers, three very scary numbers.”

“So we’re going to do an activity that we call the ‘Mystery of the Three Scary Numbers.’ And, basically, you have just two tasks: figure out what the three numbers are and why they’re scary. Afterward, we’ll talk about the meaning of these scary numbers and what we can do about them.”

We distributed a question sheet to everyone, and each student also received one of 28 clues. Each of the three scary numbers was in 16-point bold type so students were sure to spot these “this is a big deal” numerals. The handout asked questions like:

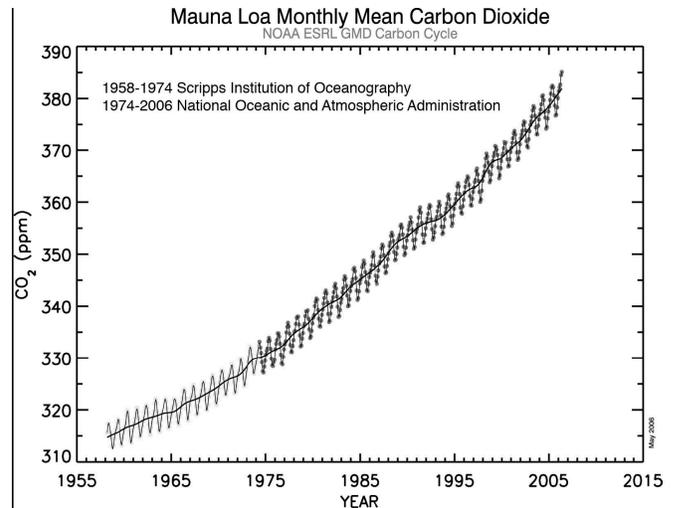
- Find someone who has one of the three “scary” numbers (in large, bold type). What is the number?
- List as many details as you can find out about this number (at least three).
- Find three other numbers about climate change. What is the number and why is it important?

Some of the clues stuck faithfully to describing something about one of the three scary numbers, for example: Two degrees Celsius is about 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit. In 2009, 167 countries signed on to the Copenhagen Accord. These 167 countries are the biggest polluters in the world, responsible for 87 percent of all greenhouse gas emissions. The accord states that we cannot raise the Earth’s temperature more than two degrees Celsius without risking planetary disaster. All 167 countries, including the United States, pledged: “We agree that deep cuts in global [greenhouse gas] emissions are required . . . so as to hold the increase in global temperature below two degrees Celsius.”

Other clues focused on different numbers: Over the past 30 years, permanent Arctic sea ice has shrunk to half its previous area and thickness. As it diminishes, global warming increases. This is due to several things, including release of the potent greenhouse gas methane trapped under nearby permafrost, and because ice reflects the sun’s energy whereas oceans absorb it. Oil companies see the disappearance of Arctic ice as an opportunity to make more profit by drilling for more

oil — which will create even more global warming. Royal Dutch Shell has spent \$4.5 billion preparing to drill in the Arctic. One of the world’s leading environmentalists, David Suzuki, calls this “insane.”

One clue featured the “Keeling curve” — the graph that depicts the inexorable rise in atmospheric carbon dioxide that Charles David Keeling began measuring in 1958 at Mauna Loa in Hawaii. When Keeling first began his measurements there, he recorded 313 parts per million; in 2013, it passed 400 parts per million.



The more one knows about basic climate science, the easier time one has with this activity. When teacher Adam Sanchez did the activity with 9th graders, he realized that his students needed a bit more initial familiarity with the concept of greenhouse gases and the relationship between burning coal, oil, and gas and releasing carbon into the atmosphere.

I introduced the mixer by reminding students that each of them had a different clue and that each clue offered important information that would help them figure out the mystery of what makes these three numbers so scary. Tim and I encouraged the students not to wait until the very end to begin making sense of this, but to talk with one another about the big picture as they circulated throughout the class. The rules of the game were simple: Clues could only be shared verbally, no handing over clues to anyone, and conversations had to be one-on-one to encourage maximum participation. Finally, this was a get-up-and-mingle activity, so no just hanging out at one’s desk waiting for “callers” to arrive.

Students wasted no time: “I need a bold number! Who has a scary number?” One student encountered 2,795 gigatons. “That’s a lot,” she said in a quiet voice.

“So what are these numbers saying?” another asked. “The numbers are important because we only have a couple of years.” “Well, we’re already in trouble.” Toward the end of the activity, I watched a student cock her head and ask no one in particular: “So is this saying that we’re going to die?”

Students were fully engaged throughout the half hour or so of the clue hunt. When it felt that conversations were winding down, Tim and I asked everyone to form a large circle and continue to discuss the final assignment sheet questions, which asked: Why are these numbers important? What actions should be taken?

We wanted students to feel free to share whatever occurred to them, and so did not over-direct the conversation. After this activity, students would continue to study the climate crisis with Tim and connect real human beings with these numbers. For now, we simply wanted to hear how they made sense of this new information.

“These are insane numbers,” Matt said. He mentioned the potential species extinction and the rising seas. Cory pointed out that, at current rates, “We’re on track to hit two degrees quickly, it’s not some far-off endpoint”— which was exactly the sensibility we hoped students would draw from the activity: Climate change is not about the future, it’s about now. Michele was struck by the possibility of widespread desertification. Even James, a confirmed libertarian, argued that there was no reason to think that the market would somehow on its own be moved by these numbers: “I’ve never had it quantified like this, or had such a grim picture painted . . . This has to be a shift that we make.”

Not surprisingly, when it came to what “we” should do, students were all over the map. There was the student offering a techno-fix: “NASA is thinking about Mars.” Sonia and many other students thought as responsible consumers: We should “use more local products and make permanent changes, not just ‘I rode the bus one day’”; we should recycle and compost more; we should cut down on meat and travel; we should walk more; we should stop wasting water. And there were students whose “we” extended to what the government should do: start taxing coal, find alternative sources of energy; “the government should lead a ‘war on climate change.’” Interestingly, the

more students talked, the more distant their solutions became. When a couple of students began criticizing the Chinese government for its alleged climate crimes, I pointed out how the conversation had drifted from changes that were more in our power to influence to those that weren’t.

For homework, we gave the class an abbreviated version of McKibben’s “Global Warming’s Terrifying New Math” article to reinforce the information they encountered in the mystery activity. McKibben does not write with high school readers in mind, but having encountered much of his argument in the mystery, we knew students would find it more accessible. McKibben’s strategic punch line is the need to launch a campaign to demand that colleges, retirement systems, and cities divest from holdings in fossil fuel companies — borrowing from the important divestment activism of the anti-apartheid movement during the 1980s.

Given the terrifying math McKibben presents, Tim and I did not seek to suggest that there was a single “do this” answer. We wanted to raise the question of what we should do — not answer it. So, in addition to McKibben’s divestment proposal, we introduced students to a *Huffington Post* critique by Christian Parenti, author of *Tropic of Chaos*, who argues that attacking fossil fuels through the stock market is misguided for a host of reasons and that we need to focus our energies on “the important things government can do, right now, if pressured by grassroots action.”

We weren’t looking for students to take sides. But we did want them to recognize the urgency of activism. Maria wrote: “The three scary numbers are very scary. What scares me the most is how well this information is known without any action.”

Of course, people are acting, and more study would introduce students to a range of strategies and actions. For now, we were content simply to have students “do the math,” in the words of the 350.org campaign that built from McKibben’s Rolling Stone article. Do the math, and recognize the profound immorality of leaving the future of life on Earth to the profit-driven choices of the fossil fuel industry. As Matt wrote, “This made me want to change how this country functions. We are past the time of oil and coal.”

Confronting Climate Change: Book Reviews

Tambora: The Eruption that Changed the World by Gillen D'Arcy Wood; *The Sixth Extinction, An Unnatural History* by Elizabeth Kolbert; *The World Without Us* by Alan Weisman

Tambora: The Eruption that Changed the World

Review by Rory Forrestal

Global climate change and its impact on our planet's future continue to be debated. They emerged in the 2016 Presidential election cycle when candidates from the Republican Party either denied the existence of global climate change or of its human causes. Democrats are more willing to accept science and acknowledge the threat of climate change to human societies, but offer no clear solution to address what is a drastic, potentially cataclysmic concern. In addition to frightening scientific predictions based on contemporary research on CO₂ concentrations in the atmosphere, there are historical studies that illustrate the impact of smaller events on short-term regional and global climate, particularly volcanic eruptions.

Gillen D'Arcy Wood discusses the global impact of the 1815 eruption of the Indonesian volcano Mount Tambora and the expulsion of aerosols and other gaseous abnormalities into the stratosphere. It offers a unique and comprehensible view into the fragile interdependence of humanity and the natural environment and how abrupt shifts in climate affect human society.



While popular culture focuses on better-known volcanic eruptions such as Mt. Vesuvius or Mount St. Helen, Wood argues that the Mt. Tambora eruption had far greater global reach. Vesuvius has romantic appeal in art and literature and artifacts from the site provide insight into ancient Rome, it had little to no effect on global weather. The eruption of Mount Tambora located on Sumbawa Island of Indonesia (formerly the Dutch East Indies in 1815) however had a dramatic effect on the global climate and global weather patterns. The three years following the April 10, 1815 eruptions experienced a 5-6 degree Fahrenheit decline in global temperatures producing the most chaotic climate and harsh conditions for societies since “The Little Ice Age” of the Middle Ages. Technology

developed during the Cold War to measure the effects of nuclear fallout and the studies of Ice-Core samples have allowed scientists to examine the magnitude of this eruption.

The eruption of Mt. Tambora spread 50 kilometers cubed worth of matter to a million kilometers squared in the atmosphere. The immediate aftermath of the eruption was the decimation of Sumbawa society and the death of the islands approximately 100,000 inhabitants from lava, debris, and the poisoning of the water table as sulfur dioxide, sulfuric acid, and volcanic ash spewed into the troposphere and then rained down on their island. Mt. Tambora, according to Wood, differed from most volcanic eruptions when it spewed volcanic aerosols 40 kilometers high into the stratosphere where they can last for up to three years. “By shooting its contents into the stratosphere with sudden biblical force, Tambora ensured volcanic gases reached sufficient height to seriously disable seasonal rhythms of the global climate system, throwing human communities worldwide into chaos.”

The reach of Mt. Tambora's eruption was felt worldwide. The year 1816 was known in Western Europe as “the year with no summer,” in Germany as “Das Hungarjahr” (the hungry year or year of hunger), and in the Eastern United States as “Eighteen-Hundred-and-Froze-to-Death.” Stratospheric aerosols not only produced a global decrease in temperatures, but also major shifts in climate and weather patterns, which had devastating impact on agriculture and animal husbandry. Wood also describes how the cold temperatures and abnormal weather patterns decimated crops led to social and political chaos in Ireland, Germany, England, Yunnan China, India, and the Eastern United States. Calls for “Bread or Blood!” were heard in many cities after years of failed crops and there was starvation in Europe, China, and India. In India, disrupted monsoons created floods that destroyed years of crops and led to a cholera epidemic that eventually spread west through Europe to the United States. In addition, with the absence of food supplies for humans and animals, livestock, including beasts of burden (plow horses, oxen), were consumed. This meant depleted food supplies even after climate conditions returned to normal.

In his poem, “Bitter Famine,” Chinese poet Li Yuyang, described the impact of the Mt. Tambora eruption on the people of Yunnan province.

Outside, the starved corpses pile high,
While in her room the young mother
Waits upon her child’s death. Unbearable
Sorrow. My love, you cry to me to feed you—
But no one sees my tears. Who can I tell which aches
More? My heart or my body wasting away?
She takes her baby out to the deep river.
Clear and cool, welcome water...
She will care for that child in the life to come.

Teachers can use material from this book in Global History as a case study to help students better understand the relationship between history, society, and environment. It can also be used to help students understand scientific method and climate science that lies behind contemporary predictions of climate catastrophe.

The Sixth Extinction, An Unnatural History
Review by Elizabeth LiPuma

The Sixth Extinction, An Unnatural History by Elizabeth Kolbert describes Kolbert’s journey around the world to document mass extinction of life forms on Earth. The book describes five previous mass extinctions caused by the collusion of the Earth with meteors, and provides an explanation for a sixth extinction taking place today, solely due to human actions. Her account shows how quickly humans are changing the planet, so much so that other species cannot keep up to with the pace of change. She systematically uses each chapter to describe species having difficulty surviving under new conditions brought about by global interaction and climate change. Her flowing stories, humor, and witty comparisons make the dense scientific information comprehensible to all readers.

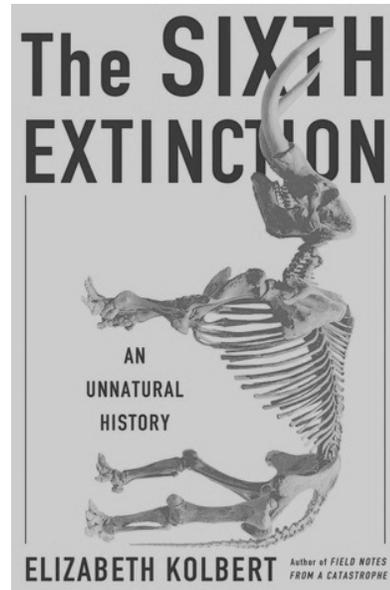
According to Kolbert, over the past half billion years there have been twenty mass extinctions; five were so devastating that they are placed in their own category. Mass extinction eliminates both the “fit” and “unfit” and environments can take millions of years for life to recover. Kolbert and a number of scientists believe that if current changes continue, half of the world’s species may disappear by the end of this century. Once a species is extinct, it is gone forever.

In the opening chapter Kolbert joins a search for amphibians in Panama. Amphibians have been on this planet since before the dinosaurs and are resilient

animals able to adapt to conditions in nearly every environmental zone except Antarctica. However, two decades ago researchers noticed that frog species were disappearing and the suspect is a fungus known as Chytrid, which has swept across the globe, probably because of human actions. Today, many frog species are classified as endangered.

In another chapter Kolbert examines how carbon dioxide in the atmosphere produced by the Industrial Revolution is making water more acidic and combined with rising global temperatures is killing aquatic species. Especially vulnerable are coral reefs that play a vital role in the oceanic food chain. They provide the architecture for aquatic ecosystems; millions of aquatic species spend part of their life cycle on coral reefs which they rely on for protection and food. Within the next fifty years all coral reefs may cease to grow and start to dissolve with a major impact on bio-diversity.

Kolbert concludes that humans are changing the world so rapidly, and in unanticipated ways, that one day our own species may not be able to adapt to environmental pressures and may also be threatened with extinction. Humans have already caused permanent damage to the planet, but Kolbert argues continued efforts by people to preserve the natural world will not be in vain.



Video resources that make similar points and can be used in the classroom include “Science Today: Stopping Chytrid, Saving Frogs” by the California Academy of Sciences; “Ocean Acidification” by the AFP news agency; “Climate Change Impacts on the Great Barrier Reef”; “Humans are causing the sixth

great extinction,” a World Wildlife Federation report; “Global warming and human extinction 2030-2100”; “How Humans Can Try To Prevent 6th Mass Extinction”; and “Get Ready for the Next Mass Extinction,” an interview with Elizabeth Kolbert by a Wall Street Journal columnist.

The World Without Us

Review by Tina Abbatiello

The *World Without Us* by Alan Weisman considers the environment if humans suddenly disappeared. Each chapter examines a different time period, locale, or human eco-system. Weisman notes that scientists posit different climate change scenarios that could possibly undermine human existence by undermining food production. If humans continue to pump carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, the great northern and southern ice caps will melt. One possibility for the future is that the world gets dramatically warmer shifting agriculture to regions otherwise unsuitable for crops. Meanwhile severe weather events would destroy eco-systems, especially on the coasts. Another projection involves the cold water from melting ice caps interfering with the flow of the North Atlantic “Gulf Stream” precipitating a

new Ice Age. If civilization is severely weakened or humanity disappears cities would rapidly deteriorate and most man-made artifacts would gradually dissolve away. Only plastics and radioactive waste are likely to survive deep into the future. At the same time conditions for plants and animals world would change drastically. Colonizing tress would take over, and biodiversity increase. However species dependent on humans, especially domesticated animals and scavengers, may well die out. For example, millions of dogs that live on the fringes of human habitats where they scrounge or beg for food would likely disappear.

Video resources that make similar points and can be used in the classroom include: ‘What If Humans Disappeared?’ which covers everything from the early years of homo sapiens, and our species’ impact on wildlife to our leaky homes, describing in detail exactly how they would fall apart without constant care. This is a very effective way to let the complexities of environmental problems reveal themselves. This book offers a simple challenge to the human race to prove that “intelligence really makes us special after all” (272) and that we can preserve the natural world through common sense actions.

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10 Election Websites We Cannot Teach Without - with Essential Questions and Activities We Use with Them

By Andrea Libresco and Jeannette Balantic

Updated from a 2012 article in *Social Education*. Some of these activities are adapted from Andrea Libresco, Jeannette Balantic, and Jonie Kipling. (2011). *Every Book is a Social Studies Book: How to Meet Standards K-6*.

1) Annenberg Political Fact Check (<http://www.factcheck.org>). This non-partisan organization assesses the accuracy of candidates' information in ads, speeches, and debates.

Question: How can we acquire reliable knowledge about the candidates' positions and accomplishments?

Activity: Check out the veracity of claims made in ads, speeches and debates. Compare to information on candidates' websites.

2) The Living Room Candidate – Presidential Ads 1952-2012 (<http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/>). Videos of historic ads by year. “Curator’s choice” contains iconic ads, including the daisy ad of 1964 and the laughter at Agnew ad of 1968. “For teachers” section is outstanding and contains eight lessons.

Questions: What makes an ad effective? Is everything we see in political ads true?

Activities: Analyze words, music and visuals of ads on the site to identify their different methods of persuasion. Students use the “admaker” function on the site to edit ad from past presidential campaigns.

3) Voter Chooser 2016 OR Vote Match Quiz OR Candidate Match Game – USA Today

(<http://www.votechooser.com/>). A 10-question quiz to find out which candidates' views most closely match your own (<http://www.ontheissues.org/Quiz/Quiz2014.asp?quiz=Pres2016>). A 20-question quiz to find out which candidates' views most closely match your own (<http://www.usatoday.com/pages/interactives/candidate-match-game/>). An 11-question quiz to find out which candidates' views most closely match your own. This quiz allows you to assign a weight to each issue.

Questions: Which candidates' views most closely match your own? About which issues do you care most?

Activity: Take at least two of the quizzes to see which candidates' views most closely match your own. Compare, contrast and assess the questions on the different quizzes.

4) Daryl Cagle’s Professional Cartoonists Index (<http://www.cagle.com/politicalcartoons/>). Hundreds of current cartoons on a variety of topics, organized by issue and cartoonist.

Question: What makes a cartoon effective?

Activities: To understand political cartoons, it is necessary to anticipate the issues and people that may appear in a cartoon. Look through the newspaper and brainstorm issues that you think a cartoonist might focus on, about which people may have strong opinions. Anticipate the people who might appear in cartoons, find a photo of each person, and determine which features of each person that cartoonists might emphasize or caricature. List symbols that might be depicted in cartoons (e.g. America, peace, democracy, death, power, justice, liberty, greed) and draw a picture to represent each. Analyze cartoons, using the steps below:

What do you see? Identify setting, people, symbols, words, action taking place

What does it mean? Connect what you see to an issue in the news.

What is the cartoonist’s message about the issue portrayed? Look for evidence in the cartoon of how the cartoonist feels about the issue.

What is your opinion? Do you agree or disagree with the cartoonist’s position?

Draw a political cartoon, using the questions below to guide your thinking: What is your topic/issue (the economy, the war, immigration, the housing market, etc.)? What is your opinion/position on the topic/issue? Who are the people you want to portray? Where will the scene take place – does it have to be the real thing? What symbols can you use to represent the issues and/or people?

5) National Priorities Project - Trade-Offs (<http://nationalpriorities.org/en/interactive-data/trade-offs/>). In this interactive site, you select your state, town, county or congressional district and a program in the military budget, and find out what else your tax dollars could provide.

Question: How should we allocate resources between domestic and military spending?

Activity: Watch the animated 3-min. video at <http://www.truemajority.org/oreos/>, where Ben Cohen (of Ben and Jerry’s ice cream) uses Oreos to show how much the U.S. spends on the military vs. social programs. Discuss how you think U.S. spending should be allocated.

6) NYT - Budget Puzzle: You Fix the Budget

(<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/11/13/weekinreview/deficits-graphic.html>). In this interactive site, you decide how to allocate money with respect to specific domestic and defense dollars, as well as how to deal with the deficit, and the extent to which tax increases will be part of the equation.

Question: What combination of taxes and spending will result in the most effective budget for the American people and the economy?

Activity: Select the options in the online activity that will address America’s budget shortfalls. Students will recognize that closing deficits requires hard choices, including cutting programs and/or raising revenue.

7) U.S. Presidential Election Results (<http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/>). Interactive site of historical election results by year and state, showing popular and electoral votes statistically and on a map.

Questions: How is it possible to win the popular vote and not assume the presidency? Should the Electoral College be kept or abolished? How likely a prospect is it that the Electoral College will be abolished?

Activity: Because the baseball playoffs occur in October, a sports analogy helps explain the winner-take-all system; e.g., you can score more runs overall in the playoffs [popular], but unless you win each game [electoral], you don’t win the overall series. You can substitute a current series for the teams and scores in the chart below.

2002 World Series	Game 1	Game 2	Game 3	Game 4	Game 5	Game 6	Game 7	Total
Anaheim Angels	3	11	10	3	4	6	4	41
San Francisco Giants	4	10	4	4	16	5	1	44

8) Five Thirty Eight – Nate Silver’s Political Calculus (<http://fivethirtyeight.com/>). Nate Silver is the best forecaster of elections, and his site includes graphics, maps, and thoughtful explanations for his predictions.

Question: Who is likely to win the election? Which states are most competitive?

Activities: Follow the pre-election scenarios of Electoral College victory for either side. Discuss why there might be differences among polls. Explain where you would spend you money if you were one of the candidates.

8) Pros and Cons of Controversial Issues (<http://www.procon.org/>). ProCon.org lists the candidates’ positions on 61 (at the time of this writing) different issues, A-Z (including particular aspects of the economy, education policy, the environment – and that’s just the E’s!), gathered with the aim of offering a neutral non-partisan comparison. It also includes this information about the minor party candidates. Teachers can select the issues and text that they want to use in a lesson and avoid issues that are too complex or developmentally inappropriate.

Question: Which are the most important issues in this election? What data is most important in helping you decide your own stance on issues? Where do the candidates stand on those issues? Do you notice a pattern in the candidates’ stances? Do you notice a pattern in your own stances on the issues?

Activities: The site contains a number of lesson ideas, including having students: Use statements on the site to distinguish between fact and opinion. List all relevant information and supporting evidence that would have to be provided to them before they would agree that one side’s claim has been adequately supported. Choose a controversial topic and conduct research on the website to get a range of relevant facts, opinions, and perspectives; write editorials or letters using persuasive arguments and effective reasoning and evidence while anticipating criticisms of their opinions; submit to school or local newspapers and/or to elected representatives. give speeches espousing either a pro or con position on an important social issue.

9) U.S. Census Voting and Registration (<http://www.census.gov/data/tables/2012/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-568.html>). Tables of voting and registration in the 2012 election by race, gender, age, class education, income, marital status, veteran status, etc. (Adapted from Lynn O'Brien).

Questions: What are the characteristics of likely voters? How does knowledge of voting behavior affect candidates' activities?

Activities: Who Votes? Students read profiles of potential voters and decide if they would be likely to vote in the next presidential election. They work individually; then, we tally their results on the board, recording all yes/no votes for each potential voter. Students give reasons for their decisions, and we compile a list of students' hypotheses about behavior of likely voters.

YES	NO	Sue is 19 years old. She works as an electrician and lives in Alabama. She has never been to college and is not planning to attend. She does not belong to a trade union.
YES	NO	Carlos is a lawyer, 52 years old. His family came from Mexico three generations ago. He is a family man and is interested in community affairs. He has four children and owns his own home.
YES	NO	Carol is an unemployed waitress who did not finish high school. She is 22 years old and lives at home with her parents.
YES	NO	Charlie is 48 years old and is African American. He lives in Ohio, where he works as a carpenter and has held the same job for the past 25 years.
YES	NO	Sagar is a school teacher in California. He is 39 years old and is active in local PTA meetings. He is working on his master's degree in the evenings.

To check the accuracy of their hypotheses, students work in pairs to analyze charts and graphs about voting percentages of different demographic groups (by age, race and ethnicity, gender, income, education, marital status, region, etc.) in the last election. These statistics can be accessed through the United States Census, the United States Election Project, and the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Students report back as to whether their hypotheses were accurate or not. Students then re-examine the profiles of potential voters and re-evaluate their earlier decisions.

Students examine and evaluate candidates' campaign itineraries in light of the census data about likely voters.

10) South Africa Votes: (<http://images.google.com/images?hl=en&q=south+africa+voting+lines&gbv=2>). Photos of Black South Africans waiting on 7-hour lines to vote in when they were first able to vote for Nelson Mandela for president.

Questions: Why do people in some countries stand on line for seven hours to cast their vote while a high proportion of Americans can't be bothered to vote? How difficult were struggles for suffrage in America?

Activities: Contrast those who fought and even died for the right to vote with some apathetic Americans.

Students read historical fiction about people who fought for the right to vote, including *The Day GoGo Went to Vote* by Elinor Batezat Sisulu. In this multiple-award-winning book, a little girl accompanies her hundred-year-old great-grandmother, Gogo, to the polling place in 1994, the first election in which black South Africans were allowed to vote. Though housebound, the great-grandmother is determined to vote and does so with a little help from her community. Examine photos of seven-hour voting lines for this election. Discuss the importance of voting to the previously disenfranchised. Read biographies and other non-fiction sources about struggles for suffrage in the United States, including the disparity between the granting of the constitutional right to vote for African Americans and the actual ability to exercise that right. Examine the online timeline of voting rights in American history at <http://archive.fairvote.org/righttovote/timeline.htm> to select what you think are the 8 most important advances in voting rights to research, illustrate, act out, etc. Analyze and then draw cartoons about voter apathy. Research current voting rights issues, including voter purges in voter id laws. Have students make buttons and bumper stickers for a get-out-the-vote effort.

Teaching Election 2016

By Alan Singer

Nobody knows the eventual outcomes of the Republican and Democratic Party primaries and Presidential nomination process. Will Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton hold onto their leads? Will Bernie Sanders or Ted Cruz push to the front? Will either party seek out an alternative candidate at its convention? Will voters eventually tire of the Republican Party's ongoing reality television show and demand more substance discussion of issues? Again, who knows? There are a number of ways for United States history and government teachers to approach this election cycle. One approach is to leave the snarling and insults behind and have students compare this election with trends and patterns from previous presidential contests.

Some Presidential elections are corrections, others are affirmations, fewer are mandates, and very few are transformative. In a corrective election, the incumbent party is voting out of office because the public blames them or their candidate for continuing national malaise. Examples are the Clinton election in 1992, the Bush election in 2000, and the Obama election in 2008. Affirmations are essentially reelections, Reagan in 1984, Clinton in 1996, Bush in 2004, and Obama in 2012, although sometimes, as in the election of George Bush in 1988, the same party remains in power with a different candidate. There have been very few mandates that sweep a party to overwhelming majorities in the House and Senate as well as the Presidency. Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and Lyndon Johnson in 1964 definitely qualify as mandates.

Transformative Presidential Elections

But transformative Presidential elections that realign politics in the United States for the long-term and integrate new political parties into the two-party system are exceedingly rare. The last time a new political party was swept into office was the Republican Party in 1860 in the midst of the crisis that brought on the civil war. However other elections did mark new political alignments. Between the Civil War and 1928 the Republican Party dominated national politics and the Presidency. However in 1932, a combination of urban immigrants who newly became citizens and were now eligible to vote with the Great Depression made the Democratic Party dominant until 1968. In 1968, White working class men, partly in response against the Civil Rights Movement and partly due to the loss of skilled manufacturing jobs became to shift from the Democratic to the Republican Party. The shift was best exemplified by the relatively rapid movement of Southern Whites, who had been loyal to the Democratic Party since Reconstruction, into the Republican Party where they continue to remain.



In April, the *New York Times* ran an article, “Electoral Map Is a Reality Check to Donald Trump’s Bid” (April 3, 2016: A1). The article focused on the electability of Donald Trump as a potential Republican Party candidate, but made the point that the appeal and positions that make it possible for a candidate to win a major party’s Presidential nomination could actually put a candidate at a decided disadvantage in the general election. In 1964 Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona who was to the right of the Republican Party mainstream and in 1972 Senator George McGovern of South Dakota who was to the left of the Democratic Party mainstream each secured their party’s nomination and both went down to resounding defeats in the November election. The Times pointed out that as of March 2016, Donald Trump, who was leading in the Republican Party delegate count, trailed Hillary Clinton, his likely Democratic Party opponent, in every key state, including swing-states Florida and Ohio. In public opinion polls, Mrs. Clinton led Trump by double digits in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania. The authors argued, “Mr. Trump could

be hard-pressed to win more than 200 of the 270 electoral votes required to win.”

In the Republican primary campaign Donald Trump’s greatest support came from White male voters who felt alienated by political, demographic, and economic trends in the United States. However the same stands that endeared Trump to these voters appear to have contributed to his unacceptable rating by large majorities of women, non-whites, Hispanics, voters under 30, and voters with college degrees. According to *New York Times* and *CBS News* polls, each group viewed him unfavorably by a margin of 2-to-1. But public opinion polls do not always transfer into votes. Tracking polls and comparing them to final vote tallies can be a middle school or high school project.

While it is not clear what kind of Presidential election 2016 will be, correction, affirmation, mandate, or transformative, it does appear that even a resounding defeat for the Republican Party Presidential candidate will not severely wound the party on either the national or local levels. According to an analysis of the two-party system by Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson in the *New York Times* (April 3, 2016: A3) “predictions of a Republican crackup should be greeted with skepticism.” They believe pundits pay too much attention to Presidential elections misunderstand recent Republican electoral successes “which rest less on effective governance than on attacking government, and especially the occupant of the Oval Office.”

After being soundly defeat by Barack Obama and the Democrats in 2008, in the 2010 midterm election Republicans gained more seats in the House of Representatives than any party had since 1938. Since 1988, the Republican Party has struggled in presidential elections, but has done exceedingly well in Congressional races, holding majorities in the House and Senate for much of the last three decades. Republicans have also increased their hold over governorships and state legislatures. Hacker and Pierson concluded that in the modern era of highly partisan politics “presidential contests are less likely to usher in dominance than to invite opposition,” opposition that often leads to success in other electoral realms.

In addition, political scientist Thomas F. Schaller argues that the federal system currently works to the advantage of the Republican Party in at least three ways. According to Schaller, over the last generation Republicans have gained strength in rural areas which creates an advantage in the Senate where less populated states like Alaska and Idaho get the same

number of Senators as more populated ones like New York and California. The Republican Party has also benefited from the high concentration of Democratic voters in urban areas where the Republican Party virtually no longer functions. In 2012, Republicans had more than 30-seat edge in the House, although Democratic Congressional candidates actually received more votes nationwide. Last, significantly lower voter turn out in non-Presidential election years has also helped Republicans hold onto state and local offices. This explains Republican success in Gubernatorial elections because more than 80% do not occur in Presidential election years.

Political Composition of the 50 U.S. States
Based on annual state averages of party affiliation from Gallup Daily tracking
District of Columbia not included

	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15
Solid Democratic	29	23	13	11	13	12	11	11
Lean Democratic	6	10	9	7	6	5	6	3
Competitive	10	12	18	15	19	19	18	16
Lean Republican	1	1	5	7	3	2	5	8
Solid Republican	4	4	5	10	9	12	10	12
Total Democratic	35	33	22	18	19	17	17	14
Total Republican	5	5	10	17	12	14	15	20
Net Democratic	+30	+28	+12	+1	+7	+3	+2	-6

Schaller’s analysis suggests that even if the Democratic Party candidate wins a resounding election victory in the 2016 Presidential election, the Republican Party, rather than disintegrating, will likely hold onto state and local offices and maybe even the House and/or Senate. However, other social scientists predict more seismic political changes. David Voas of University College London believes support for Donald Trump reflects, in part, a process of long-term secularization in the United States that will diminish the importance of conservative Christian voters, a major part of the Republican Party coalition for the past three decades. Kenneth Scheve of Stanford University sees an increasing disconnect between the anti-tax policies that benefit wealthy Republican donors and the party’s opposition to social services that would benefit working-class Republican voters. The demographic shift and the social and economic needs of traditional Republican voters both threaten to make the 2016 Presidential race a much more transformative election than currently anticipated.

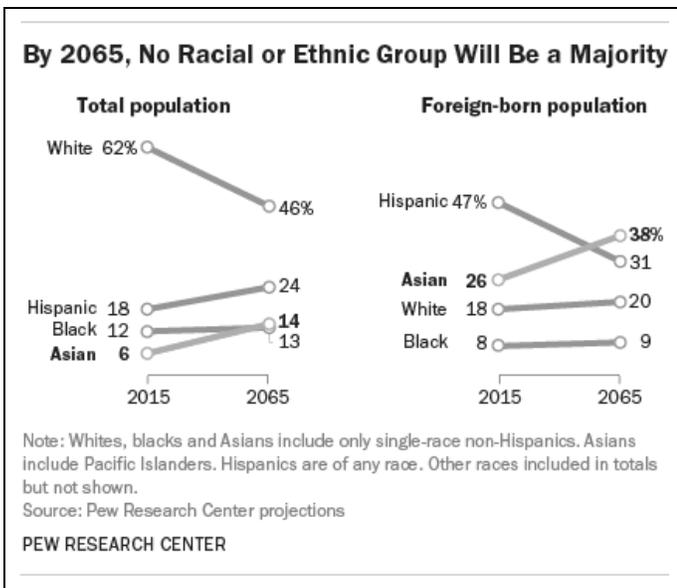
Political commentator Michael Lind of the New America Foundation (“Trumpism and Clintonism are the Future,” *New York Times*, April 17, 2016, SR2) argues that Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton and not

their opponents represent the mainstream of their respective political parties. Clinton’s campaign is drawing on and hoping to expand the Obama electoral coalition through what Lind argues is a “synthesis of pro-business, finance-friendly economics with social and racial liberalism.” Her support is especially strong in Black and Latino communities and amongst women. To maintain this support Hillary Clinton has become significantly more progressive on immigration reform, gay rights, and in opposition to mass incarceration, than Bill Clinton was during his 1990s administrations. Lind credits the Bernie Sanders phenomenon more to generational politics, a sense of tiredness with the Clintons, and Hillary’s lack of charisma, than he does to a commitment to democratic socialism.

expect to win national elections they will have to bring party ideology more in line with the demands of their voting base.

Some of the disconnect Lind notes in the Republican Party split between party officials and its voting base may also be present in the Democratic Party. Democratic Party presidential candidates, unlike Bernie Sanders, believed the solution to complex problems was smarter governance rather than more fundamental reform. Whether Hilary Clinton secures her party’s nomination or wins the general election, she shares other things with the Democratic Party elite and candidates. Every party nominee since Jimmy Carter, including Bill Clinton and Barak Obama, supported the idea of active government initiatives to address economic and social problems, but not of a powerful executive branch prepared to act alone without support from a recalcitrant legislative branch. Essentially they sought compromise with a Republican Party that would never compromise with them, and this undermined their presidencies.

Bernie Sanders may not have enough support to secure his party’s nomination. But even if she is nominated by the Democrats and elected President, Hilary Clinton may not be in a position to do much to reshape the nation.



Meanwhile, Southern White voters and White working-class men, who had both been part of the New Deal Democratic Party coalition have long since jumped to the Republican Party and disproportionately support Donald Trump’s candidacy. This transformation really started in 1968 and drove the Reagan campaigns to victories in 1980 and 1984. According to Lind, Trump draws on, rather than is responsible for, White rightwing populism, a movement that is less religious than in the past and demands “middle-class entitlements plus crackdowns on illegal immigrants, Muslims, foreign trade rivals and free-riding allies.” He argues that if Republicans



The Different Strategies of Bernie Sanders and Henry Wallace

By Norman Markowitz

Henry Wallace was the Bernie Sanders of 1948 – but with this difference. While Bernie was an independent who decided to challenge the establishment by seeking the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party, Wallace did the opposite. He had been a Democrat, Secretary of Agriculture during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s first two administrations, and Vice President of the United States from 1941-1945 before choosing to lead a third party campaign.

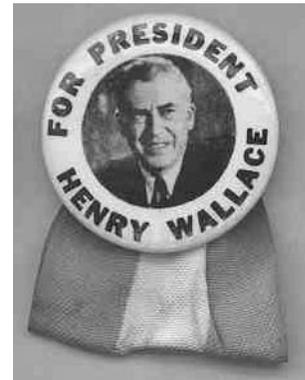
First and foremost Bernie Sanders and Henry Wallace are different people from very different backgrounds and very different skills. Wallace was an intellectual and not a politician. Before he came to Washington he was an agricultural economist, plant geneticist, and the editor of Wallace’s Farmer, a prominent farm journal that his family controlled. Although the family was in the progressive wing of the GOP, he was very much of an independent progressive who voted for Robert LaFollette in 1924 and kept it secret from the family.

Henry Wallace’s 1948 Progressive Campaign

Wallace was chosen by Roosevelt to be Secretary of Agriculture in 1932 and Vice President in 1940. He was a New Dealer, a left New Dealer and during World War II he was associated with positions that were to the left of both Roosevelt and the National administration. Largely oblivious to party politics, he became the target of powerful groups within the institutional democratic party, the urban political machines, and the Southern white Supremacists, many of whom were allies of the Republicans in the conservative coalition, whose interests Roosevelt juggled with the groups which passionately supported the New Deal and rallied around Wallace, the industrial labor movement, the community based grassroots movements fighting for slum clearance, public housing, public transportation, public power, the construction of public hospitals and clinics, what was then called work relief for the unemployed and home relief for the unemployable, meaning the disabled and most of all, women with dependent children. The industrial labor movement and the developing movement against racism, later called the civil rights movements, were Wallace’s most important backers.

Because of his opposition to the developing Cold War, Harry Truman fired Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. After a brief period as editor of the New

Republic, he was convinced to lead a third party campaign, the Progressive Party, to save both the New Deal and peace from the Truman administration and a Republican Party that gained control of Congress in the 1946 elections and was expected to win the 1948 election. Henry Wallace defined his political vision and program as “progressive capitalism” and saw co-existence and most active cooperation with the Soviet Union and revolutionary movements through the world as the basis for the success of that program.



Although Wallace and the Progressive Party suffered a major electoral defeat, they broke new ground in their militant commitment to ending segregation, their conscious support for women’s rights, and advocacy of what I call the third New Deal, the New Deal embodied in Franklin Roosevelt’s economic bill of rights, the New Deal that never was. The Progressive Party pushed the Truman campaign very far to the left of where it had been — the administration ran on a program calling for a Fair Deal with a social security based national health program, federal aid to education, reviving the plans for new TVA’s for the Missouri and Columbia River Valleys, national Housing legislation with a large component of public housing, and a plank in the Democratic Party platform challenging segregation and racism, which led some of the Southern Democrats to bolt the party and run Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as an independent candidate for the Presidency.

“Feel the Bern”

Bernie Sanders started as an activist, for civil rights, for peace, and for what he has long called democratic socialism. During long career in public life Sanders has been a politician seeking to develop an alternative party third party politics. Sanders was

elected to local and statewide office as an independent, although he has worked with the Democratic caucus in Congress and has had the support of the Vermont Democratic party. In his Presidential campaign, and against long odds, he was trying to take the mass forces supporting him into the institutional Democratic Party and to transform it into a democratic socialist party influenced directly by European Social Democracy and the American New Deal.



Bernie Sanders is a much better politician than Henry Wallace. He is a much more powerful speaker and adept at reaching mass audiences with a simple “agitational” message. Wallace’s enemies inside the institutional Democratic Party were much stronger than the forces aligned against Sanders. They used an expanding Cold War anti-Communism to attack the Progressive Party, using the Smith Act to arrest leaders of the American Communist Party who they suspected were behind the Progressive Party. Today, the Obama administration will not arrest Michael Moore, Cornell

West, the editors of the Nation and other publications, or the leaders of the Communication Workers Union, and accuse them of plotting terrorist actions because of their support of the Sanders campaign.

The labor movement has also shifted. In 1948, the CIO, not only endorsed Truman, but launched campaigns to purge open Progressive Party supporters from its central labor councils. Today, the AFL-CIO has endorsed no candidate in the Democratic primaries and Sanders has some important union support.

There are other comparisons that greatly favor the ability of Bernie Sanders to influence the future of the Democratic Party. Wallace was running for President against an incumbent Democrat as a third party candidate, albeit an unpopular one. Sanders ran for the Democratic nomination against an institutionally powerful, but personally suspect, opponent. The Republican Party candidate in 1948, Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, was the leading figure in its centrist wing and not seen as a far right threat to accepted doctrine, unlike leading Republican Party candidates in 2016, Donald Trump or Ted Cruz, who threaten to lead the country back to a world without minimum wages, trade union rights, public employment, and health insurance, a world where poverty and homelessness would be real again. Although anything is possible with candidates like Trump and Cruz, it is doubtful that Sanders can be portrayed as a Trojan horse of the Iranians or the Chinese.

Election 2016: Weimar America?

By Eric Weitz (Adapted from Moyers and Company <http://billmoyers.com/story/weimar-america/>)

All around the Web, in print, and on radio comes the claim that America has entered its “Weimar” phase. Economic collapse, political paralysis, rampant homosexuality, a desperate, disoriented populace open to the ravings of a demagogue – that is the portrait we get of Germany between the end of World War I in 1918 and the Nazi seizure of power in 1933. That is where America is supposedly situated in 2016.

Yes, Weimar Germany ended badly, horribly so. But the America of today bears little similarity to Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s. America is a society ripped through by gaping inequalities, but it is hardly in a state of economic collapse. It still boasts the world’s largest economy and it has recovered from the Great Recession far better than many others in the Western world. America is still a powerful country internationally, one that deploys its military at will, something that Germany, suffering under the strictures of the Versailles Peace Treaty, could never attempt. Yes, there’s political paralysis in Washington, yet it barely rises to the level of Weimar Germany, where over 20 parties were represented in the Reichstag and the country was governed by a presidential dictatorship for the three years prior to the Nazi takeover.

Moreover, commentators right and left, focused only on the negatives and the disasters that ensued, the Third Reich, World War II, and the Holocaust, leave out so much about the great democratic experiment that was the Weimar Republic. Germans had greater political freedoms than ever before. A vast program of public housing moved hundreds of thousands out of tenements into modern, light-filled apartments. Public health clinics sprang up around the country. Many offered sexual counseling to a population that physicians claimed lacked fundamental knowledge about reproduction and the pleasures of the body and lived in sexual misery. Literature, philosophy, musical theater and film all flourished, much of it new, edgy and experimental. Brecht and Weill’s *Threepenny Opera*, Thomas Mann’s *The Magic Mountain*, Martin Heidegger’s *Being and Time*, these and much more are great markers of 20th century Western culture that we still read, view and hear with pleasure and profit.

The lessons to be learned from Weimar Germany are not the ones we hear and read about today. Weimar Germany did not collapse under the weight of its various crises. It was actively destroyed by a conservative elite, noble landowners, high-level state officials, businessmen, army officers, that chose to ally with the Nazi Party. As we watch the Republican establishment’s ineffectual flailing to stop Donald Trump, it is worth remembering that Weimar Germany’s old-style conservatives never really liked Hitler and the Nazis either. To them, the Nazis were too loud, uncouth, and low class. But they admired Hitler’s nationalism, his promise to revive Germany’s great power status, his opposition to democracy, and his anti-communism. And they were either indifferent to or actively supported the Nazis’ anti-Semitism. The conservative elite got much more than they had bargained for with their willingness to turn political power over to the Nazis. Some would live to regret their choice, many not until American and British bombs rained down on German cities and the Red Army approached Berlin.

But the conservatives had made Hitler and the Nazis *salonfähig*, as one says in German. Colloquially in English, that means “acceptable in polite society.” That is the real lesson from Weimar Germany and the real danger when traditional or moderate conservatives throw in their lot with radical conservatives. The moderates may not like the radicals, may not embrace them, but when other alternatives have failed, they bring the radicals into the fold, claim that power will inevitably moderate their more wild side, reassure the population that the radicals are really not that bad after all.

That is where we are today with Donald Trump. Trump is not a fascist or a neo-Nazi, as some have claimed, though he has certainly made countless racist and misogynist comments. He has also proclaimed a blatant disregard for laws, treaties and constitutional provisions in an America that is supposed to be governed by the rule of law. While some Republicans are backpedaling and trying to block a Trump nomination, we are still being treated to the spectacle of many Republican candidates and office holders asserting that they will support him if he is chosen by the party. These are the people who are making Trump *salonfähig*.

In America today, the major threats from those who claim to believe in democracy yet undermine its substance by deploying great wealth in the political process and devaluing the diversity of American society. And the danger comes especially from those who perhaps should know better, but make anti-democratic, radical conservatives *salonfähig*. That is the real lesson to be taken from Weimar Germany.

Can It Happen Here?

Donald Trump is not Adolf Hitler, the United States is not Weimar Germany, and history never exactly repeats itself. But some of the historical parallels between politics in 1920s Germany and the United States today are very disturbing. In 1935, Sinclair Lewis published an allegorical political novel *It Can't Happen Here* about a rightwing Senator elected president after a populist campaign promoting a return to prosperity, patriotism, and traditional values (Make America Great Again?). As president he dismantles civil liberties and tries to establish a fascist United States. Maybe it can happen here? Below are headlines and excerpts from articles that appeared in the *New York Times* in November and December 1922. A year later Adolf Hitler was arrested and imprisoned for leading an attempt to overthrow the state government in Bavaria. In 1925 Hitler and the Nazi Party published his racist tract *Mein Kampf* or My Struggle. By 1933 Hitler held power in Germany. World War II started in 1939. Jews were placed in extermination camps and about six million were murdered. Worldwide, about eighty million people died in World War II.

NEW POPULAR IDOL RISES IN BAVARIA: HITLER CREDITED WITH EXTRAORDINARY POWERS OF SWAYING CROWDS TO HIS WILL, November 21, 1922, pg. 18: "He is credibly credited with being actuated by lofty, unselfish patriotism. He probably does not know himself just what he wants to accomplish. The keynote of his propaganda in speaking and writing is violent anti-Semitism . . . But several reliable, well-informed sources confirmed the idea that Hitler's anti-Semitism was not so genuine or violent as it sounded, and that he was merely using anti-Semitic propaganda as a bait to catch masses of followers and keep them aroused, enthusiastic and in line for the time when his organization is perfected and sufficiently powerful to be employed effectively for political purposes. A sophisticated politician credited Hitler with peculiar political cleverness for laying emphasis and over-emphasis on anti-Semitism, saying: "You can't expect the masses to understand or appreciate your finer real aims. You must feed the masses with cruder morsels and ideas like anti-Semitism. It would be politically all wrong to tell them the truth about where you really are leading them."

ANTI-SEMITISM RIFE ALL OVER BAVARIA: KNILLING GOVERNMENT MUCH CONCERNED BY GROWING STRENGTH OF HITLER'S FASCISTI MOVEMENT, November 28, 1922, pg. 23: "Hitler, the Fascisti leader, has been going about preaching his doctrines. He was receiving an ovation from several thousand persons in the streets of the capital . . . This party has become the rallying point for all the disgruntled elements in the State . . . Hitler parades primarily under the anti-Semitic banner, which is attractive to many outside the ranks of his party."

BAVARIAN FASCISTI STAGE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, WITH 50,000 IN ATTENDANCE, December 2, 1922, pg. 13

HELP FROM AMERICA TO BAVARIAN FASCISTI: MONEY IS BEING SENT, IT IS SAID, BY ANTI-SEMITES OF GERMAN EXTRACTION, December 11, 1922, pg. 3: "American money is helping to finance the Fascisti movement in Bavaria led by Herr Hitler . . . The funds from overseas are declared to be confined to donations by German-American anti-Semites and friends of Bavarian National Socialists . . . Herr Hitler is reported to have given interviews in which he said that his program embraced as essential that large masses of the Jews of Bavaria be taken as hostages in order to influence the international financial and business worlds in favor of Germany. The movement is constantly growing and is declared to be enveloping individuals in all circles of life."

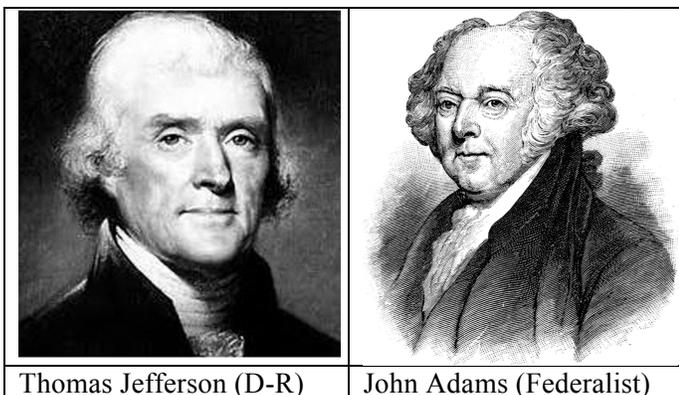
BERLIN HEARS FORD IS BACKING HITLER: BAVARIAN ANTI-SEMITIC CHIEF HAS AMERICAN'S PORTRAIT AND BOOK IN HIS OFFICE, December 20, 1922, pg. 2: "A rumor is current here that Henry Ford, the American automobile manufacturer, is financing Adolph Hitler's nationalist and anti-Semitic movement in Munich . . . Hitler reviewed the so-called Storming Battalion attached to his organization, numbering about 1,000 young men in brand new uniforms and all armed with revolvers and blackjacks, which, however, they carried concealed. Naturally, peaceful citizens ask who paid for all these uniforms and arms . . . The wall beside his desk in Hitler's private office is decorated with a large picture of Henry Ford. In the ante-chamber there is a large table covered with books, nearly all of which are a book written and published by Henry Ford."

Transformative Elections in American History

Developed by Tina Abbatiello, Rory Forrestal, Jr., Matthew Herman, Atif Khalil, Elizabeth LiPuma, Sarah Polacco, and Vicky Williams

The Revolutionary Election of 1800

The presidential election of 1800 was the fourth presidential election in the United States of America. It is sometimes referred to as the “Revolution of 1800,” because in a rematch of the 1796 election, Vice-President Thomas Jefferson defeated incumbent President John Adams. In this election political parties and disagreements solidified between the pro-French and pro-decentralization Democratic-Republicans and the British leaning and pro-centralization Federalists. Chief political issues included opposition to the tax imposed by Congress to pay for the mobilization of a new army and the navy for a possible war against France in 1798 and the Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Federalists in an attempt to quiet Democratic-Republican opposition in newspapers.



Thomas Jefferson (D-R)

John Adams (Federalist)

This election exposed major flaws in the original Constitution. Drafters of the Constitution had not anticipated the rise of organized political parties. Members of the Electoral College were authorized vote for two names for President so both Democratic-Republican Party candidates, Thomas Jefferson and his running mate Aaron Burr, received the same number of votes when each elector who voted for Jefferson also voted for Burr. The election was sent to the House of Representatives for a resolution, which finally selected Jefferson on the 36th ballot. To rectify the flawed presidential election mechanism, the Twelfth Amendment, ratified in 1804, was added to the United States Constitution, stipulating that electors make a discrete choice between their selections for president and vice-president.

Candidate	Party	Electoral Votes
Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	73
Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican	73
John Adams	Federalist	65
Charles Pinckney	Federalist	64

In addition, the result of this election was affected by the Three-Fifth Compromise at the constitutional convention. Every five “others,” meaning enslaved Africans, were counted as three people for purposes of representation in the House and for votes in the Electoral College. Without the additional electoral votes for Jefferson from the slave states, Adams would probably have been reelected, albeit with a lower number of popular votes than Jefferson.

State	Pop.	Free	Enslaved	Electoral Vote	Adj.
S. Carol	249,073	141,979	107,094	8	6
Virginia	747,610	454,983	292,627	21	15

Jefferson was subsequently criticized by Federalists as having won “the temple of Liberty on the shoulders of slaves.” The election of James Madison in 1808 and Martin Van Buren in 1836 were also influenced by the 3/5 Compromise.

This election was also a unique victory for a democracy. Often in revolutionary governments the incumbent party or faction is unwilling to give up power and a democracy becomes a dictatorship. With all the legal conflicts surrounding the election of 1800, John Adams put national unity and democratic principles ahead of personal ambition and left office without a fight.

McKinley v. Bryan “Crown of Thorns” (1896)

The Election of 1896 marked a turning point in U.S. economic and political policy. In the 1870s, the economy was transformed from a largely agricultural society into an industrial society led by corporations and trusts with the consolidation of wealth and power. This led to great gains in wealth for industrialists in the east but spelled disaster for poorer farmers in the south and west. As Republicans supported big business, a Populist movement gained momentum with the farmers

and the “common man.” Eventually predatory business practices led to a full financial collapse culminating on the “Panic of 1893.”



1896 cartoon from *Puck* magazine ridiculing McKinley's promise of prosperity for every group.

The 1896 presidential election where Republican William McKinley defeated Democrat William Jennings Bryan represents a shift in power from rural, farm, traditional America, to pro-business groups and urban industrial centers. McKinley forged a coalition of businessmen, professionals, skilled factory workers, and prosperous farmers. He was strongest in the Northeast, Upper Midwest, and on the Pacific Coast. Bryan, the Democratic Party nominee, was also supported by the Populist Party and some “Silver” Republicans who favored an inflated currency to benefit debtors. He ran strongest in the South, rural Midwest, and Rocky Mountain states.

William Jennings Bryan (Democrat): “You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.”

William McKinley (Republican): “Our creed embraces an honest dollar, an untarnished national credit, adequate revenues for the uses of the government, protection to labor and industry, preservation of the home market, and reciprocity which will extend our foreign markets. Upon this platform we stand, and submit its declaration to the sober and considerate judgment of the American people.”

Republican campaign manager Mark Hanna pioneered modern campaign techniques. With a \$3.5 million budget, he outspent Bryan by a factor of five.

Although Bryan lost the election, his coalition of “outsiders” dominated the Democratic Party into the twentieth century and played a crucial role in the liberal economic programs of Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Lyndon Johnson.

1896 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
William McKinley	Republican	271
William J. Bryan	Democrat	176

The New Deal Great Society Coalition, 1932-1964

In 1920, 1924, and 1928, the Republican Party dominated Presidential politics and the Democratic Party was in disarray. Its 1924 convention at Madison Square Garden in New York City lasted 103 ballots before a little known compromise candidate was nominated.

1920 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Warren Harding	Republican	404
James Cox	Democrat	127

1924 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Calvin Coolidge	Republican	382
John Davis	Democrat	136
Robert LaFollette	Progressive	13

1928 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Herbert Hoover	Republican	444
Alfred Smith	Democrat	87

The Great Depression starting with the Stock Market collapse in 1929 and the emergence of powerful new voting blocs, the urban immigrant working-class and labor union voters, transformed electoral politics in the United States. The Democratic Party dominated the Presidency, with the exception of Dwight Eisenhower, from the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 through the election of Lyndon Johnson in 1964. It was a New Deal/Great Society coalition committed to the idea that active government could promote economic prosperity and address social inequality.

1932 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Herbert Hoover	Republican	59
Franklin Roosevelt	Democrat	472

The 1932 election produced a sharp ideological contrast. Herbert Hoover argued, “Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. Economic wounds must be healed by the action of the cells of the economic body – the producers and consumers themselves . . . We must not be misled by the claim that the source of all wisdom is in the federal government.” In response, Franklin Roosevelt pledged his government to a “new deal for the American people” based on the idea of “bold, persistent experimentation.”

The 1964 Presidential election saw a similar ideological divide. Republican Barry Goldwater argued for a sharply reduced government with cuts in the social safety net while Lyndon Johnson advocated federal action on civil rights, a campaign against poverty in the United States, and government supported medical insurance for the old and the poor.

1964 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Barry Goldwater	Republican	52
Lyndon Johnson	Democrat	486

Nixon’s Southern Strategy (1968)

In 1968 the Democratic Party split as southern states bolted the party in response to its support for Civil Rights laws. Democrats had controlled the South dating back to the Civil war. This combined with a concerted appeal by Republican Party candidate Richard Nixon to disaffected White voters led to Nixon’s election over Democrat Hubert Humphrey and independent segregationist George Wallace. The Wallace third party campaign attracted many Southern White voters, facilitating their later movement into the Republican Party. A contributing factor in Humphrey’s defeat was opposition to the War in Vietnam, a war Humphrey was forced to support in order to get his party’s nomination.

1968 Electoral Vote

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote
Richard Nixon	Republican	301
Hubert Humphrey	Democrat	191
George Wallace	American Ind.	46

Vote Shift in the South

State	% Dem. 1960	% Dem. 1968
Alabama	58%	19%

Arkansas	54%	30%
Georgia	63%	27%
Louisiana	64%	28%
Mississippi	59%	23%
South Carolina	51%	33%
Tennessee	46%	28%

In his speech accepting the Republican Party nomination, Nixon pronounced, “The wave of crime is not going to be the wave of the future in the United States of America. We shall re-establish freedom from fear in America so that America can take the lead in re-establishing freedom from fear in the world. And to those who say that law and order is the code word for racism, there and here is a reply: Our goal is justice for every American. If we are to have respect for law in America, we must have laws that deserve respect. Just as we cannot have progress without order, we cannot have order without progress, and so, as we commit to order tonight, let us commit to progress. And this brings me to the clearest choice among the great issues of this campaign. For the past five years we have been deluged by government programs for the unemployed; programs for the cities; programs for the poor. And we have reaped from these programs an ugly harvest of frustration, violence and failure across the land. And now our opponents will be offering more of the same – more billions for government jobs, government housing, government welfare. I say it is time to quit pouring billions of dollars into programs that have failed in the United States of America.”

In after-the-fact interviews, two Nixon advisors explained how they understood Nixon’s election strategy. In 1981, Republican Party consultant Lee Atwater candidly told an interviewer: “By 1968 you can’t say ‘nigger’ — that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states’ rights and all that stuff.” In 1994, John Ehrlichman, domestic policy chief in the Nixon Administration explained: “We knew we couldn’t make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did.”

Teaching Ideas for Election 2016

Structured Academic Controversy

By Nicole Waid

I recommend teaching election 2016 through an approach called “Structured Academic Controversy” that promotes the idea of civility. Generations of social studies teachers have embraced teachable moments to infuse real examples of the electoral process found in the social studies curriculum. The 2016 presidential election has presented unique challenges for social studies teachers due to the divisive rhetoric of the presidential candidates and their surrogates. In a recent survey of 2000 K-12 social studies teachers conducted by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) 40 % of respondents voiced their hesitance to teach about the election. Teachers are concerned that the unfiltered comments would invoke fear and confusion in their students. The teachers also feel ill at ease about presenting examples of incivility in the election in schools that are attempting to combat bullying and promote diversity. Social studies teachers face the arduous task of teaching about the 2016 election in a way that encourages civility and respects diversity. *Teaching Tolerance* suggests teachers combat the incivility by emphasizing the societal good through respect and listening to opposing viewpoints. One strategy that focuses on respect, listening, and civil discussion is “Structured Academic Controversy.” Structured academic controversy is a method that allows students to move beyond a black and white understanding of the issues to a more nuanced understanding through a process of inquiry using multiple sources with varying perspectives. The focus of structured academic controversy is promoting the understanding of alternative viewpoints rather than “winning” a debate.

Recently a teacher candidate in the SUNY-Oneonta program approached me about his interest in having a debate about the Affordable Care Act. I suggested doing a structured academic controversy instead. The teacher candidate assembled a collection of documents from varying perspectives on the issue. The students analyze the documents in groups and discuss the main points of the arguments. After a few days of research on this one issue, students engaged in a civil discussion on this controversial topic. Students presented their arguments using evidence-based claims while other students in the group

listened without interrupting. After the one student group had finished, the other team presented their case, and the other side listened. After the initial sharing of ideas, they came together to try to come to a consensus, even if it was only on a few specific points. During the activity, no students interrupted each other, and they were able to discuss the issue based on evidence, not emotion. Hand size or accusations of lying did not come up at all.

The lesson the teacher candidate learned from this activity was that students could discuss controversial topics in a civil way in the classroom. The same evidence-based discourse could occur with the key issues that should be at the center of the discussion in the 2016 presidential election. Social studies need not avoid a teachable moment due to the toxic incivility; they can make it a teachable moment on how civility can lead to a more productive discussion of the issues.

Fence Jumping

By Danielle Yucht

In order for students to gain knowledge and deep understanding about the Presidential candidates, I plan to teach about the election using an inquiry process followed by a Fence Jumping Activity. For the inquiry component, students compile information on the major candidates. In groups of 4, they will develop an in depth analysis of each candidate’s position on 1) The economy, 2) Foreign Policy and Defense, 3) Immigration, and 4) Education. Using credible news sources of their own choosing and candidate websites, students will become experts on each candidate. The inquiry is launched with a biography of each candidate and a screening of their acceptance speech at their party’s convention. During a jigsaw activity, students share knowledge gained independently with the rest of the group. After students share the information, the entire group will have in depth knowledge of each candidate’s positions on the issues above. Fence Jumping is a debate style activity introduced by Joe Simmons, AP of SPED for Queens Preparatory Academy, a Collegiate Preparatory School in Springfield Gardens, NY. For the activity, students prepare two arguments for each candidate, supported by evidence, and a potential answer to a rebuttal. During the activity, the class is divided into three groups. Each

candidate is represented, and the third group is “On the Fence.” Students on the fence are required to listen to the debate and choose a side at the end. During the debate, a student presents an argument that is rebutted by a student on the other side and counter-argued by another student. All students get the chance to speak and share their arguments. At the end of the debate, students “On the Fence” share which side they will “jump” to, and the most compelling reason why. If they cannot decide, they are asked if they have any questions to help them decide. After the inquiry and debate are completed, students will write an argument essay in which they take a position on which candidate would make the best President of the United States. The requirements for the essay include a clear thesis that is supported by arguments and evidence. It also required is a counter argument and conclusion.

Promoting Political Involvement

By Pablo Muriel

Teaching the elections in the “Age of Common Core” may appear to be complicated considering that most administrators expect you to teach a scripted curriculum that is geared towards standardized test. However, I discover that students appear more engaged when presented with material that is situated within their experience.

A method I use is to get students actively involved in the political process. Although a curriculum geared towards political activism does not exist within the United States history scope and sequence, I find that students that become engaged in

these activities do better on the Regents exam. Therefore, I make connections between the curriculum and current events. One example is the current political atmosphere that exists within both parties. Both Republicans and Democrats have polarizing figures, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, that have energized the masses. While teaching about the Great Depression and the rise of FDR, students drew connections between the 2008 housing market crash and the 1929 stock market crash and structural unemployment and poverty in both eras.

Economically both time periods are marked by income inequality that FDR and Sanders use as talking points to mobilize supporters. Students examined photographs from the 1930s and news footage of FDR speeches. I asked them to imagine themselves in that time period and they had to decide if they would have supported FDR and the New Deal and why. Next students imagine they are at a pro or anti-New Deal rally and write what they would do and how they would perceive themselves at the rally. As a final step, students attend contemporary political rallies to support the candidate of their choice. This spring, most attended a Bernie Sanders rally in the Bronx just before the April Democratic primary. A major focus is promoting student literacy. After a class debriefing discussion, students write about their experience at the 2016 political rally and compare it with what they imaged in their 1930s rally. Needless to say, students were much more engaged in the class discussions of the past and politics after experiencing an actual political event.

Citizens, Not Spectators

“Citizens, Not Spectators” is a voter education program developed through a cooperative effort by the Center for Civic Education and the Arsalyn Program of Ludwick Family Foundation. The goal of the program is to increase the voting rate among young Americans by demystifying the voting process. Lessons for grades 4 through 12 serve to familiarize students with the process and the duty of being a responsible and informed citizen so that it becomes a natural part of their lives. The core of the program offers a series of lessons for both the fall and spring terms. The series is available in three- and five-lesson segments. Both of these segments focus on a culminating activity, *a simulated election*. Here students can put into the practice the skills and knowledge they have learned about the election process, candidates, issues of a particular election, and the rules and regulations for voting in their state and the nation. Each presidential election cycle presents the opportunity to examine how we elect our president. The lessons provided here can be easily expanded or adapted to look at local and state candidates and issues. They can be used as part of a specific unit of study or can be infused throughout the fall term leading up to the election. However a teacher chooses to use the materials, it is strongly recommended that a simulated election be held in either the classroom, the social studies department, or the school as a whole just before the November election. Lesson material is available at <http://www.civiced.org/cns-teachers/lesson-plans>.

New Jersey Citizens Making Change: Improving Your Community

A middle-level lesson by Arlene Gardner for the NJCSS and the New Jersey Center for Civic Education. More lessons are available at <http://civiced.rutgers.edu/njlessons.html>.

Objectives: Students will be able to: Describe the role of the citizen in the American system of republican democracy; Explain what public policy is and how citizens can influence it; Identify, analyze, select and promote a solution to a local community problem.

NJ Core Content Social Studies Standards & Common Core ELA Standards

- 6.1.4.A.3- Determine how “fairness,” “equality,” and the “common good” have influenced change at the local and national levels of Us Government
- 6.1.4.A.11- Explain how the fundamental rights of the individual and the common good of the country depend upon all citizens exercising their civic responsibilities at the community, state, national and global levels.
- 6.1.4.A.12- Explain the process of creating change at the local, state, or national level.
- 6.1.4.B.8- Compare ways people choose to use and divide natural resources
- 6.3.4.A.2- Contact local officials and community members to acquire information and/or discuss local issues
- 6.3.4.A.3- Select a local issue and develop a group action plan to inform school and/or community members about the issue.
- 6.3.8.A.2- Participate in a real or simulated hearing to develop a legislative proposal that addresses a public issue, and share it with an appropriate legislative body.
- 6.3.4.B.1- Plan and participate in an advocacy project to inform others about environmental issues at the local or state level and propose possible solutions.
- 6.3.8.B.1- Evaluate alternative land use proposals and make recommendations to the appropriate governmental agency regarding the best course of action
- 6.3.8.C.1- Contact local officials and community members to obtain information about the local school district or municipal budget and assess budget priorities
- RI.4.2- Determine the main idea of a text and explain how it supported by key details.
- RI.4.4- Determine the meaning of general academic and domain-specific words and phrases in a text
- RI.4.7- Interpret information presented visually, orally,...
- RI.4.9- Integrate information from two texts on the same topic in order to write or speak about the subject knowledgably.
- W.4.1- Write opinion pieces on topics...supporting a point of view with reasons and information
- W.4.2- Write informative/explanatory texts to examine a topic and convey ideas and information clearly.
- W.4.7- Conduct short research projects that build knowledge through investigation of different aspects of a topic.
- SL.4.1- Engage effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (in groups)
- SL.4.2- Paraphrase portions of a text ...in diverse media and formats, including visually, quantitatively and orally.
- RH.6-8.1- Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.
- RH.6-8.2- Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.
- RH.6-8.3- Identify key steps in a text's description of a process related to history/social studies (e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interest rates are raised or lowered).
- RH.6-8.4- Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary specific to domains related to history/social studies.
- RH.6-8.5- Describe how a text presents information (e.g., sequentially, comparatively, causally).
- RH.6-8.6- Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts)
- RH.6-8.7- Integrate visual information (e.g., in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts.
- RH.6-8.8- Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.
- W.8.1- Write arguments to support claims with clear reasons and relevant evidence

WHST.6-8.2- Write informative/explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events, scientific procedures/ experiments, or technical processes

WHST.6-8.4- Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

SL.8.1- Engage effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grade 8 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly

SL.8.4- Present claims and findings, emphasizing salient points in a focused, coherent manner with relevant evidence, sound valid reasoning, and well-chosen details; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.

SL.8.5- Integrate multimedia and visual displays into presentations to clarify information, strengthen claims and evidence, and add interest.

Vocabulary & Essential Questions: Civic Concepts

- What is the role of the citizen in the American system of republican democracy?
- What is public policy and how can citizens influence it?
- Why is it important for citizens to work for the common good?

Questions/Activities/Procedures:

What is the “common good”?

Have students discuss what they think is the “common good”. The class will (or should) come up with a definition such as actions or activities that are shared and beneficial for all or most members of a given community. Although the United States economic system of capitalism protects an individual’s use of private property, sometimes an individual’s (or corporation’s) use of his or her private property may be contrary to the environmental needs (air, water, transportation, safety) that affect all members of a community and requires a decision for the “common good”. Local and state issues often have a greater impact on the lives of most people than national issues.

How do we decide what is “for the common good”?

In a representative democracy, like the United States, we vote. Individuals also have the opportunity to influence decisions by speaking with their representatives, individually, through the media, or most commonly by organizing with other individuals who have similar interests or views to “lobby” those who are making the decisions at local, state and national levels.

What is public policy?

Public policy is the concept or idea that guides a course of action or procedure in dealing with public issues or problems.

It includes the decisions, commitments and actions made by those who hold or affect government positions.

Public policies resolve conflicts, are authoritative and are usually embodied in laws, rules or regulations.

Why is it important to learn about public policy making?

Ignorance about the public policymaking process leaves us without the tools to get things done.

There is confusion about who does what in the policymaking arena.

Knowledge, practical experience and citizenship skills empower citizens to influence public policy.

What is “civil society”?

- Civil society is the sum of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest the interests and will of its citizens
- Individuals come together (associate) to pursue interests they share and these associations monitor and influence government
- Initiatives affecting the general welfare, such as soup kitchens, used clothing, etc., are sometimes undertaken by “civil society,” that is, self-organized private groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, PTAs, unions, religious organizations, etc.
- Have students identify some local efforts by civil society organizations to improve the community
- Have students identify some public policies implemented to improve the community

What advantages does public policy have?

- Civil society solutions depend on the voluntary efforts of individuals and may end.
- Public policy solutions are authoritative and continue until changed.
- Citizens making decisions for the common good.

Read and discuss the decision-making process and its impact in *Letting Swift River Run* (Janet Yolen, 1992). The residents of a town make a decision for the common good to let Swift River be dammed and turned into a reservoir to supply drinking water for the larger community.

1. What were the trade-offs?
2. How was the decision was made?
3. Who was responsible for the decision?
4. Were the people living in the area included in the decision making process?
5. How were the lives of the Swift Valley residents changed following the building of the reservoir?
6. What did the people in the towns receive in compensation for giving up their homes?
7. Do you think that the decision to let Swift River be dammed was for the common good?
8. Are there any situations in New Jersey similar to Swift River? (Tocks Island)

The controversy over the Tocks Island Dam Project

Vocabulary: Hydroelectric power: power from the production of electricity by waterpower

Reservoir: a man-made lake where water is kept for use

Displaced: removed from one's home

Background: A proposal to build a dam at Tocks Island to create a huge reservoir six miles upstream from the Delaware Water Gap had been around a long time. It had four purposes: flood control, water supply, hydroelectric power and recreation. The most exciting spin-off was that the project would have created a national recreation area serving both New York and Philadelphia metro areas including New Jersey. It would have been the largest dam project east of the Mississippi River. The project involved the purchase of 70,000 acres of land and the construction of a reservoir that would be 40 mile long and a mile wide. Some 600 families and property owners whose land would be flooded had to be displaced. Some of these families had lived on and worked the land for centuries. Construction was to begin in 1967 and by 1972 the reservoir was to begin filling and be fully operational by 1975. Opposition to the project began almost immediately among landowners on both sides of the Delaware whose properties were to be taken by the government. Search online for information regarding the Tock Island Dam project, including the following, to answer the questions below:

http://delawarewatergap.org/TOCKS_ISLAND_DAM_PROJECT.html

<http://www.nps.gov/dewa/historyculture/stories-tocks.htm>

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5ZyFpr4I_Y

1. What were the trade-offs?
2. How was the decision was made?
3. Who was responsible for the decision?
4. Were the people living in the area included in the decision making process?
5. How were the lives of the residents on either side of the Delaware River changed following the condemnation of their property?
6. What did the people in the towns receive in compensation for giving up their homes?
7. Do you think that the decision to build a huge dam was for the common good?
8. Do you think the decision to ultimately NOT build the dam was for the common good?

Citizens take Action for the Common Good: Read and discuss the history, action taken and results in *A River Ran Wild* (by Lynne Cherry, 1992) a true story about the pollution and ultimate cleaning of the Nashua River in Massachusetts. Have students work in pairs or small groups to complete a sequencing graphic organizer and a cause and effect graphic organizer.

1. How did the Native Americans treat the land and the Nashua River?
2. What impact did the Industrial Revolution have on the Nashua River?
3. What role did citizen participation play in the history of the Nashua River?

4. What would daily life be like along the Nashua River if concerned citizens had not taken action to clean up the river?

Consider the connections between land use and the conflicts between Native Americans and European colonists in the 1700s. Are there any situations in New Jersey similar to Swift River? Numerous rivers in New Jersey, most notably the Passaic River, have been the site of industrial pollution and hazardous waste for years. Students could investigate and report about how the river became polluted, what progress has been made cleaning it up, and what they think, based on their research, needs to be done. Compare *A River Ran Wild* with *The Lorax* by Dr. Seuss (1971), a fable where the Onceler ruins the environment by cutting down the beautiful Truffula trees to make “thneeds” and the Lorax, who speaks for the trees, calls upon a young boy who lives in town and has visited him to do something about the situation. Or, read *The Lorax* (not the 2012 movie!) for lower grades or reading levels instead of *A River Ran Wild*. After reading *The Lorax*, involve your students in a mock hearing before the EPA using *The Lorax* characters. Each character testifies before the board about the problems caused by the Onceler and what might be a good solution.

Community Service versus changing public policy: Students identify several local problems. Perhaps there are poor people in the community who need assistance with adequate food or clothing, or elderly people who need help shoveling the snow in the winter. For each problem identified, students consider possible solutions.

1. What would be a solution that can be done by civil society?
2. What would be a solution that can be done through public policy?
3. Which would provide a more long-lasting solution?

Students Take Action - Address a Local Problem in depth:

- They prioritize the community problems they have identified by their scope (How many people are affected?), intensity (How important is this issue? Student might look at existing data or reports or do their own survey), and duration (is this a new problem or one that has been around for a while?)
- Students select one or several problems for the class or groups of students to research, gathering and evaluating information on the problem
- Groups of students examine and evaluate the pros and cons of various alternative solutions
- Then students identify the public policy that they think, based on their research and evaluation, will best address the problem
- Finally, the students develop an action plan to get their policy adopted by the appropriate governmental agency (which may be the State Legislature, the Governor, an executive agency, a local town council, municipal or county agency, or local school board) and prepare (and send!) persuasive letters explaining their plan to the appropriate individual
- Have your students, individually and as a class, reflect on what they learned by using their research, critical thinking and communication skills to influence public policy to improve their community
- You might want to consider using the framework provided by *Project Citizen*, project based civic education program for students grades 3-12 that emphasizes responsible participation in local and state government. The materials have been developed by the Center for Civic Education and are inexpensive in print or ebook format at store.civiced.org

Assessment: Teachers grade the student participation in the project as well as their written reflections.

Extension: Projects may be organized into digital portfolios that document the student work and emailed to the New Jersey Center for Civic Education at civiced.njclre.rutgers.edu, for the annual *Project Citizen* Digital Portfolio Showcase the last week of May. The projects can be sent in any digital format, such as a powerpoint, Photostory, a website, a video, a movie using Movie Maker, Live Binders, or any other type of computer-based presentation that you can send by link to a website. The digital portfolios are reviewed by a panel of evaluators who assess the projects according to a series of rubrics. The project with the highest points is sent as New Jersey’s representative to the National *Project Citizen* Showcase sponsored by the national Center for Civic Education in California. The projects are uploaded to <http://civiced.rutgers.edu/projectcitizen.html> where they can be seen by others. You can see projects from 2012, 2013 and 2014, as well as the rubrics, online at this website.

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